

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

589 'Militant' subs to go;
sales goal is within reach!

—PAGES 7, 14

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 56/NO. 45 December 11, 1992

UN vote condemns U. S. trade embargo on Cuba

BY SARA LOBMAN

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations General Assembly, meeting November 24, overwhelmingly approved a resolution condemning the U.S.-organized trade embargo against Cuba. Only the United States, Israel, and Romania opposed the resolution, a fact that reflected the decreasing isolation of Cuba in the world and the growing tensions between the different imperialist powers under the impact of the world economic crisis.

Canada, New Zealand, and France, faced with the need to defend their own trade and markets, were among the 59 nations that supported the resolution.

Seventy-one delegations, including Britain, Germany, and the rest of the European Community, abstained.

The debate in the General Assembly came just a month after President George Bush signed into law the so-called Cuban Democracy Act, also known as the Torricelli bill. This measure is intended to tighten the U.S. embargo on Cuba — imposed more than 30 years ago — by restricting its trade with other countries.

It forbids foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies to trade with Cuba and closes U.S. ports to ships that have called on Cuba within the previous six months. In addition, it bars any ships carrying goods or passengers "in which Cuba or a Cuban national has any interest."

The stated aim of the Cuban Democracy Act is to hasten the collapse of the Cuban government. It seeks to use the huge weight of the U.S. economy in the world to hinder the ability of other countries to trade with Cuba.

The UN resolution, submitted by Cuba, was titled "Necessity of Ending the Economic, Commercial and Financial Embargo Imposed by the United States of America Against Cuba." While the text of the resolution did not mention the United States by name, it expressed concern over the recent "promulgation and application by Member States of laws and regulations whose extra-territorial effects affect the sovereignty of other States and the legitimate interests of entities or persons under their jurisdiction,



Militant/Dan Fein

United Nations vote to condemn U.S. trade embargo of Cuba followed passage of Torricelli bill, which extends embargo to U.S. subsidiary companies abroad. Above, October 23 Miami protest against signing of Torricelli bill.

and the freedom of navigation."

The resolution called on all states to refrain from passing such laws, and to repeal or invalidate any that might already be in force. It also placed a report and discussion on the implementation of the resolution before the 48th session of the General Assembly next year. Since the UN General Assembly does not have the power to make binding decisions, the vote on November 25 does not compel the United States to take any action.

Vote reflects competing trade interests

During the discussion the representatives of many governments pointedly explained that they could not allow a third party to determine who their country traded with. "The government of Mexico will always firmly reject any attempt to apply in its territory the legislation of any other state," stated Jorge Montaño, Mexico's permanent

representative to the United Nations.

Ambassador Ronaldo Mota Sardenberg, representative of Brazil, said that subsidiary trade was regulated only "by Brazilian legislation, by international agreements to which Brazil is a party, and by the decisions of international organizations of which Brazil is a member."

"Principles are involved which directly affect our economic interests," said the New Zealand representative in explaining why his government was supporting the Cuban resolution. The Canadian delegate made a similar point, while assuring the United States that Canada's vote "does not reflect involvement in a dispute between the United States and Cuba, or complacency with Cuba's human rights record."

Britain's United Nations representative, speaking on behalf of the 12-nation European Community, criticized the "extra-

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Europe's currencies in turmoil as more are devalued

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

For the third time in two months Europe's monetary markets are in turmoil as a new wave of devaluations calls into question the future of the European Monetary System.

The latest crisis was spurred by Sweden's decision November 19 to allow its currency, the krona, to float. This has meant an effective devaluation of around 9 percent against the German mark. Two months earlier the Swedish central bank had gone to extreme lengths to hold the line on devaluation by pushing interest rates as high as 500 percent. However, similar tactics were no longer working.

The week prior to the devaluation, the Swedish bank spent nearly \$25 billion in an effort to bolster its currency, which was almost double the amount spent during the September currency crisis.

A few days later Spain and Portugal devaluated their currencies by 6 percent. This was the second devaluation for the Spanish peseta in the past two months. Since the summer the peseta has fallen about 15 percent against the mark.

Portugal reluctantly let the value of its currency, the escudo, fall since it carries out more than 20 percent of its trade with Spain and thus could not permit any further widening of the gap between the two currencies.

Iceland also recently devalued its currency by 6 percent.

These moves follow the devaluation of the British pound and the Italian lira last September, which resulted in their withdrawal from the European Community's Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). This system was designed to provide currencies with stable values and semi-fixed exchange rates. Over the past two months the lira and the pound have lost 12 percent and 13 percent of their value, respectively, against the German mark.

"This autumn's round of European cur-

Continued on Page 13

Washington proposes Somalia intervention, offering to send tens of thousands of troops

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Washington has announced its desire to carry out a large-scale military intervention in Somalia. It raised the proposal in a United Nations Security Council discussion.

On November 26, U.S. officials suggested sending tens of thousands of troops into Somalia, on the condition that they be under the command of the United States, not the United Nations. The stated aim of the intervention would be to deliver food relief to the country.

U.S. officials say Washington does not intend to interfere in Somali political affairs. But statements by UN officials make it clear that the aim is to impose some sort of stable regime. The UN Security Council president, Andre Erdos of Hungary, said, "We need a central authority which can govern the country."

The *Washington Post* reports that "several [U.S.] diplomats cited Cambodia as the kind of operation that could ultimately evolve"

out of UN action in Somalia. UN forces are currently administering Cambodia.

An estimated 300,000 Somalis have been killed in the war and widespread famine that have gone on in that country for more than a year now. The fighting is between rival wings of the United Somali Congress, which overthrew the dictatorship of Mohammed Siad Barre in January 1991.

The U.S. proposal, which will be considered by the UN Security Council along with a resolution to authorize the use of force in Somalia in early December, would involve sending an infantry division of 15,000 to 25,000 troops into the country.

"This is the Desert Storm way of handling Somalia," said a senior government official, referring to the murderous assault by Washington on Iraq in 1991, which was also carried out under the UN banner.

Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid, head of one of the main factions fighting in Somalia, said he supported the U.S. move.

There is bipartisan support in the United States for military intervention in Somalia. President-elect William Clinton stated, "I have felt for a long time we should do more on Somalia. I applaud the initiative of President Bush and the administration." Democratic politician Jesse Jackson telephoned both Bush and Clinton to express his support for the proposal, calling it "America at its best."

European governments and international relief agencies have not been so quick to embrace Washington's plan. A spokesperson for British prime minister John Major said the proposal was "too vague" to comment on. Baroness Chalker, Britain's minister for overseas development, warned that "there is clear risk that aid agencies might be targeted by Somali factions if there were to be a decision regarding troop deployment without local agreement."

Representatives of organizations providing food relief in Somalia expressed similar concerns.

Novack Fund needs final push to go over the top!

BY SAMAD SHARIF

As this issue of the *Militant* goes to press, supporters of the George Novack Pathfinder Reconstruction Fund are pulling out all the stops to make and surpass the \$166,900 goal.

In the remaining few days of the drive, every effort must be made to collect outstanding pledges — and get those who can to kick in a little more.

Supporters in Atlanta; New York; Philadelphia; Twin Cities; Minneapolis; Seattle; and San Francisco have reported that they already have payments in the mail going over their quota. The deadline for completion of the fund is December 1 and the next

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Venezuela coup attempt

The Venezuelan government of Carlos Andrés Pérez suspended basic civil liberties, including freedom of speech, the right to peaceful protest, and freedom of assembly, and established a 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. curfew after a failed coup attempt November 27.

It was the second failed uprising this year by sectors of the Venezuelan armed forces. The coup attempt began before dawn and included air attacks against the presidential palace in Caracas, the capital. Small crowds of people watching the bombing cheered each time a plane attacked the executive office complex. In Caracas and other cities, crowds took to the streets and chanted anti-government slogans. Some expressed support for the coup. The rebels' call for an insurrection, however, was largely ignored by the country's working people and students.

No official figures on the number of dead and arrested have yet been released.

Poland to ban abortions

A special Polish parliamentary commission recently approved a proposal that would ban virtually all abortions in Poland and would threaten those who perform the procedure with prison terms. Abortion is currently legal.

The measure also includes a provision banning any diagnostic tests, such as amniocentesis, that could result in miscarriage. The bill will be reintroduced into both houses of Parliament, where it is expected to be adopted.

Last December, Poland's Congress of Physicians passed a resolution prohibiting doctors from performing abortions except in cases of rape or if a woman's life is in danger.

UN okays force against Liberia

The United Nations Security Council authorized the use of force to cut off shipments of military supplies to rebel fighters in the western African country of Liberia.

In a unanimous vote the 15-member council approved an embargo under the same UN provisions used against Yugoslavia and Iraq.

The measure is intended to bolster efforts by a seven-nation West African "peacekeeping" force led by Nigeria to defeat Liberian guerrilla leader Charles Taylor.

Mistrial declared in case against Salvadoran immigrant

The prosecution of Daniel Enrique Gómez ended November 25 when a Washington, D.C., judge declared a mistrial in the assault case against the Salvadoran immigrant. The case sparked three days of street protests and disturbances in May 1991 in the Mount Pleasant area against widespread police brutality. Jurors said they were deadlocked over whether to believe the police version.

Gómez had faced two charges: assaulting a police officer and assaulting a police officer with a dangerous weapon. According to the police, Gómez attacked Officer Angela Jewell with a knife as police attempted to arrest him on a charge of drinking in public. She shot Gómez in the chest, critically wounding him.

Several defense witnesses, however, declared that his hands were cuffed behind his back when he was shot.

N.Y. City Council urges amnesty for Puerto Rican prisoners

The New York City Council passed a resolution urging the United Nations to call on the U.S. government to grant unconditional amnesty to all Puerto Rican political prisoners. After a heated debate, 36 council members voted in favor of the resolution, nine voted against, and two abstained. There are 24 Puerto Rican political prisoners in U.S. prisons.

Rent is too high for the poor

Three-quarters of poor families in most of the largest U.S. metropolitan areas are paying more than what the government considers affordable for rent, according to a new study of low-income housing.

In a survey of 44 cities, the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found that 75 percent of households earning less than \$10,000 per year are paying more than 30 percent of their incomes in rent — the federal standard for affordable housing established during the 1980s.



About 3,000 protested November 25 in Stuttgart, Germany, against racist violence. Banner in the middle reads "silence = acquiescence."

lished during the 1980s.

The survey said that in the average metropolitan area, 88 percent of poor whites, 85 percent of poor Hispanics, and 78 percent of poor Blacks could not find affordable housing. The study noted that Blacks and Latinos suffered disproportionately because they are a higher percentage of all poor people in the country.

'Third World' conditions in U.S.

The famine relief organization Oxfam, which operates in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, is turning its attention to the hunger problem in the United States. "You don't have to go overseas to find the Third World," said Oxfam president John Hammock.

Tufts University in Medford, Massachusetts, estimates that hunger has increased by 50 percent in the United States since the mid-1980s, and that 30 million people go hungry in this country.

Requests for emergency food assistance increased 26 percent in major U.S. cities last year, the U.S. Conference of Mayors reports.

Peace Corps businessmen volunteer to 'aid' Russia

The Peace Corps is sending its first volunteers to Russia. On November 20, 102 U.S. business executives and graduates of business schools arrived in Moscow for three months of language training before being assigned to small business centers throughout Russia.

The volunteers, on two-year assignments, were invited by the Russian government to teach Russian entrepreneurs how to survive and prosper under capitalism.

Man convicted under AIDS law

Salvatore Gamberella, a 28-year-old unemployed shipyard welder in Louisiana who has the HIV virus that causes AIDS, was found guilty of putting his former girlfriend at risk. The jury deliberated for only 12 minutes. He faces a 20-year sentence and is the first person to be prosecuted and con-

victed under Louisiana's five-year-old criminal AIDS law. Half the states now have specific laws similar to Louisiana's, which makes it a crime when a person who knows he has the AIDS virus does not inform his sex partner.

A few days before Gamberella was convicted, Alberto González, 28, also carrying the HIV virus, was convicted in Portland, Oregon, on charges of attempted murder for having unprotected sex with a young woman.

Gamberella maintained that he informed his girlfriend, Darla Trosclair, he had the virus; she said he never did. In the trial it became his word against hers.

U.S., Britain, France threaten Libya with more sanctions

The governments of France, the United States, and Britain issued a joint statement November 27, threatening "even more effective" sanctions against Libya. The sanctions are intended to force the Libyan government to turn over several Libyan citizens to British, French, and U.S. authorities.

Britain and the United States are demanding the extradition of two Libyans whom they accuse of playing a role in bombing two U.S. and French airliners in the late 1980s. France is calling for four others to be turned over for questioning. The three governments claim Libya was behind the bombings, which killed 441 people. Libya has denied the accusations.

Since March, Libya has been under United Nations Security Council sanctions that ban arms sales and all civilian flights to and from the country. These sanctions are hurting working people in Libya. Hundreds of government employees have reportedly not received their pay in months. Major construction work has been postponed, and the country's \$10 billion oil industry is deteriorating due to a lack of spare parts.

— SELVA NEBBIA

THE MILITANT INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

Malcolm X— Revolutionary leader

This week's 'Militant' carries an article based on an introduction to the newly reprinted Pathfinder book 'By Any Means Necessary.' Over the next several weeks the 'Militant' will feature excerpts from speeches by Malcolm X, a review of the new book 'February 1965: The Final Speeches,' and a review of Spike Lee's film about Malcolm X. Don't miss an issue!



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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.

African National Congress seeks 1993 vote

BY DEREK BRACEY

The African National Congress (ANC) and the South African government have announced they will hold three days of talks beginning December 2. The talks will discuss a date for elections involving all people in the country.

South African president F.W. de Klerk announced a day earlier that the government's "target" date for elections was April 1994. De Klerk said these were "attainable goals," not firm commitments. "We are presenting [the date] because we feel it is necessary to introduce a note of realism."

The African National Congress rejected the proposal to postpone elections to such a distant date, but encouraged a meeting to discuss earlier dates. "We consider it to be a victory in that for the first time we've been able to get the government to commit itself to clear time frames," said ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli. "We would like to see those elections take place sometime next year."

The ANC's National Working Committee adopted a resolution November 18, outlining the organization's stance in the fight for a democratic government. Titled "Negotiations: A Strategic Perspective," the document sets out several new positions by the ANC in relation to the transition to a new government.

The proposals include a consideration for a "government of national unity" that could exist for a period even after the adoption of a new constitution.

The resolution notes that "a swift negotiations process combined with mass action and international pressure" is necessary. It points out that the resumption of an armed struggle by the revolutionary democratic forces "is neither preferable nor viable at this juncture."

It also rejects a "protracted negotiations process," given "the capacity of the regime to endlessly delay" while "restructuring in order to undermine future democratic transformation." It underscores "the cost to the people of a protracted negotiations process; the need to as urgently as possible address the dire socioeconomic needs of the people; and the need to prevent a further consolidation of the counterrevolutionary forces."

Acknowledging previous agreements by de Klerk and the ruling National Party, the document states, "We have already won the



July 1991 ANC conference. Group rejected government call to postpone elections.

demand for an Interim Government of National Unity.

"However," it adds, "we also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces

and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of National Unity — provided that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the

functioning of the government."

The document discusses the need for a new government to take steps to address threats to the new power, outlining some measures that "may have to be part and parcel of a negotiated settlement" in order to facilitate the restructuring of the state officialdom and security forces. "If the transition to democracy affects the interests of these individuals in these institutions [—civil service, military, and police—] wholly and purely negatively, then they would serve as fertile ground from which the destabilisers would recruit," says the document.

To deal with this problem as these institutions are restructured, "it may be necessary to address the question of job security, retrenchment [severance] packages and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement."

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party announced November 25 that a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take place soon. The purpose of the meeting would be to discuss political differences and to address the question of the accelerating violence in the province of Natal, where Inkatha is based.

South African government hired convicted assassin to spy and disrupt ANC activities

BY DEREK BRACEY

The government of South African president F.W. de Klerk suffered another major blow to its credibility when damaging evidence was released of a covert "dirty tricks" campaign by the apartheid regime, months after the time de Klerk had announced it had stopped. The documentary evidence was disclosed by judge Richard Goldstone, who is heading a government-appointed commission investigating political violence in South Africa.

At a November 16 press conference, Goldstone said his commission had obtained documents showing that in May 1991, General "Witkop" Badenhorst, then chief of South African Military Intelligence (MI), hired former army hit squad agent

Ferdie Barnard, a convicted assassin, to work undercover against the African National Congress. The ANC had been unbanned 15 months earlier, at which time de Klerk had insisted that covert operations against the group came to a halt.

Barnard joined the Civil Co-Operation Bureau, a clandestine army hit squad unit working under Military Intelligence. In June 1991, Barnard submitted a plan to MI that targeted the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The plan was to try to lure Umkhonto members into criminal activity. It was approved by senior Military Intelligence officers, though Barnard insisted it was never implemented.

Barnard was appointed head of a task force that was provided with far-ranging access to state information sources. "Mr. Barnard's team," Goldstone reported, "had the ability to obtain access to: the computer system of the South African Police criminal bureau; contacts at immigration control; contacts at licensing authorities; revenue office computers; the voters' roll; credit bureaus; and an independent group of telephone 'bugging' experts." One of Barnard's "sub-agents" helped to install computers at ANC headquarters.

Barnard reported directly to senior MI officials. An Aug. 23, 1991, report referred to a "support agent network" of "prostitutes, homosexuals, night-club managers and criminal elements." Barnard's services were ended on Dec. 31, 1991, on instructions from the then-minister of defense Roelf Meyer, who

now heads the government team negotiating with the ANC. Meyer requested that Barnard be paid off to keep quiet about his job.

Goldstone said the secret Military Intelligence documents detailing Barnard's activities were obtained on November 11 after a tip-off led investigators to a large MI operations unit that apparently is still functional. "In the operational centre in question there are 48 members who operate credit cards," Goldstone said, noting that they involved expenditures of hundreds of thousands of rands. One of these agents was Leon Flores, who was arrested by British police in London in April 1992 in connection with a plot to assassinate South African police defector Dirk Coetzee.

The revelations sparked condemnation in South Africa. The *Johannesburg Sun* ran a front-page editorial denouncing the "moral corruption, not to say depravity" of the military. A *Business Day* editorial called on the government to "come clean," but said that if it did, "there may be no one left in [de Klerk's] party to govern."

South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Harry Schwarz, expressed "anger and outrage" at the MI activities. "I know I speak for the whole embassy when I say how frustrated we feel about this sort of thing. It has cut the ground from under our feet," Schwarz said.

On November 19 de Klerk rejected Goldstone's request for broader powers to widen his investigation, instead promising the judge more police personnel with whom to work.

ANC youth leader speaks to hundreds of high school students in Iceland

BY JOHN COX

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — Andile Yawa, a leader of the African National Congress Youth League and president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, concluded a four-day tour here November 21. Yawa spoke to more than 400 people, predominantly students, in meetings held at four high school and university campuses.

Speaking at a meeting at the University of Reykjavik November 21, Yawa explained that the African National Congress (ANC) was "working to resume the peace process," which had been sabotaged by the government-organized massacres at Boipatong in June and in the Ciskei region in September. He also discussed the recent scandals related to covert government operations designed to discredit the ANC (see article this page).

"Top officials of the racist government have been implicated, including Rudolf Meyer, the chief negotiator of the National

Party," Yawa said.

Yawa emphasized that the revelations have provoked a crisis for the government, as they demonstrate that "those closest to [South African president F.W.] de Klerk cannot be trusted," including officials who had claimed to be interested in ending such activities.

At each of the meetings, the ANC youth leader was asked a variety of questions. Many of these dealt with violence associated with the Inkatha Freedom Party of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, which claims to represent the Zulu-speaking people in South Africa. This violence is usually depicted in the major media as "Black-on-Black violence."

At the university meeting, Yawa said that the "government is depositing large sums of money in Inkatha bank accounts" and that the apartheid regime has long used its relationship with Inkatha to foment violence. He also answered the claim that Buthelezi represents the 8 million Zulu people, saying that "a large percentage of the Zulu-speaking people are in the ANC. Many of them, such as [long-time ANC member] Harry Gwala, are in the leadership." Yawa added that the image of inter-Black warfare is used to suggest that "the Blacks cannot run the country."

The largest meeting of Yawa's tour was held at the main high school in Keflavik, 30 miles south of Reykjavik, attended by close to 300 students. Meetings were also organized at a high school in Breidholt, outside of Reykjavik, and at the Idnskolin Apprentice School. Students and young workers who are learning specific trades study at the apprentice school and are organized into a union. Yawa met with the leadership board of this union while in Iceland, as well as with the Federation of Youth Organizations of Iceland.

— CALENDAR —

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Celebrate the Grand Opening of the New Pathfinder Bookstore. Slideshow, speakers, live music, photo display. Sat., Dec. 12. Buffet, 4 p.m.; program, 5 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$5. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge

Memorial Meeting for Ned Ryerson. Ryerson, a longtime supporter of the Socialist Workers Party and board member of the Political Rights Defense Fund, died November 18 in Boston. Join in celebrating his life. Memorial meeting and reception. Sun., Dec. 6, 2 p.m. Cambridge Friends School, 5 Cadbury Rd.

—from Pathfinder—

THE STRUGGLE IS MY LIFE

Nelson Mandela

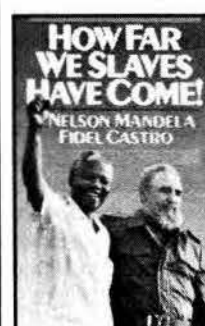
"My political beliefs have been explained in my autobiography, *The Struggle Is My Life*."

— NELSON MANDELA, JULY 1989

Includes speeches following Mandela's release from prison. 218 pp., 32 pp. of photos, bibliography, index.



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NELSON MANDELA

FIDEL CASTRO

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Speaking together in July 1991, Mandela and Castro discuss the anti-apartheid struggle, Cuba's contribution, and the challenges facing the Cuban and South African people today.

83 pp., 8 pp. of photos, introduction, notes, index

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Fund needs final push to go over the top!

Continued from front page
issue of the *Militant* will print the final score board.

Within the last week, supporters in New York City collected \$4,221 and have raised their original quota from \$15,000 to \$17,651. Supporters in San Francisco have gone over their original quota by \$3,013. Paul Montauk, who organizes the effort for the fund in the San Francisco area said that they have an additional \$550 in the mail and will be collecting \$600 more this week.

"Just last week two members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union at the Hormel plant in Atlanta contributed their bonus checks totaling \$1,025 to the fund and helped Atlanta go over the top," Miguel Zarate, the organizer of the fund in Atlanta reported. Earlier in the drive a member of the United Auto Workers there contributed his

bonus check of \$800. Zarate reports that supporters of the fund got a big boost in raising money after hearing a forum in Atlanta given by George Fyson, managing editor of the *Militant* on "How the 1992 elections hid the real political issues and prepared deepening aggression by Washington."

Last week a group of the *Militant* supporters from the Morgantown, West Virginia, area traveled to Charleston, West Virginia, where they sold six *Militant* subscriptions and raised \$50 for the Novack Fund.

Supporters around the country, from Baltimore; Birmingham, Alabama; Chicago; Washington, D.C.; and Los Angeles have been organizing meetings to redouble their efforts in the last stretch of the fund drive. Similar meetings are taking place internationally, in Britain, Canada, Sweden, and New Zealand. A sup-

porter of the Reconstruction Fund recently sent a contribution of \$150 from Tehran, Iran.

Completing reconstruction

"Money is very much needed to complete reconstruction of the new section of Pathfinder's printing plant on Charles Street, explained Frank Forrestal who is Director of the George Novack Reconstruction Fund.

New air-conditioning and heating units were put on top of the roof last week, and duct work to bring air-conditioning to the rest of the printshop will begin this week. But, to keep the project moving, bills amounting to at least \$120,000 will need to be paid by December 19. Forrestal noted that partial payments have been made on the new skylights, the air conditioning units, and other projects in the new plant.

The printshop is operating while the Charles Street plant is nearing completion, with scaffolding still in use. All the printshop equipment that was sent into storage during the reconstruction of the Charles Street plant is now back. The stitcher machine that is used for binding Pathfinder pamphlets and *Perspectiva Mundial* will be operating by December 7.

Working alongside the reconstruction project, Pathfinder's printshop produced four books totaling 45,000 copies during November. These include speeches by Malcolm X in three books: *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, *By Any Means Necessary*, and *The Last Speeches* as well as *To Speak the Truth* by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

The George Novack Reconstruction Fund will enable Pathfinder Press to continue to produce these and other valuable books and make them available to students, working-class fighters, and revolutionaries around the world. Every contribution — no matter how big or small — will make a difference.



Volunteer workers putting structural steel in place for new air-conditioning unit at Pathfinder Building. Novack Fund will help to pay for final costs of reconstruction project.

\$150,000



\$129,912

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SAN FRANCISCO	12,530	15,543	125
NEW HAVEN	\$500	550	110
SALT LAKE CITY	6,500	6,529	102
CLEVELAND	4,200	3,750	90
NEWARK	11,000	9,255	85
NEW YORK CITY	15,000	12,339	83
MIAMI	3,250	2,585	80
ST. LOUIS	6,500	5,200	80
ATLANTA	5,500	4,345	79
DETROIT	7,000	5,400	78
PHILADELPHIA	4,000	3,043	77
SEATTLE	6,000	4,390	74
CHICAGO	6,500	4,687	73
GREENSBORO	3,000	2,160	72
LOS ANGELES	15,000	10,752	72
HOUSTON	6,000	4,220	71
BALTIMORE	4,500	3,040	68
MORGANTOWN	3,000	1,997	67
BOSTON	6,000	3,881	65
TWIN CITIES	9,865	5,970	61
PITTSBURGH	4,500	2,660	60
DES MOINES	3,500	1,498	43
BIRMINGHAM	3,000	1,097	37
CINCINNATI	1,000	100	10
WASHINGTON, D.C.	4,950	4,055	82
PORTLAND	750	0	0
U.S. TOTAL	153,545	119,086	78
BELGIUM	1,100	1,100	100
FRANCE	1,030	1,030	100
GERMANY	1,429	1,429	100
PUERTO RICO	100	100	100
NEW ZEALAND	3,006	2,625	87
SWEDEN	2,450	2,075	85
AUSTRALIA	650	538	83
CANADA	2,905	1,629	56
BRITAIN	1,860	300	16
TOTAL	\$168,075	129,912	87

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Sandinista youth organization holds conference

BY ROLLANDE GIRARD
AND RON ROBERTS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Four hundred delegates from around the country attended the 6th Assembly of the July 19 Sandinista Youth (JS-19), held here November 6-8, to discuss a political platform and elect a new leadership. The majority of participants were students.

The JS-19 was formed following the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution in 1979, which overthrew the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and established a government of workers and farmers led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Thousands of youth joined the JS-19 to participate in activities like the 1980 literacy crusade, volunteer agricultural work, and military defense of the revolution against the U.S.-directed contra war.

Following the political retreat of the FSLN leadership away from mobilizing workers and peasants in their class interests, the FSLN was defeated in the 1990 elections. "After the elections the JS-19 suffered a massive loss of membership and many questioned whether it should continue to exist," stated Henri Petrie, the group's outgoing national coordinator. In the main report presented to the JS-19 national Assembly, Petrie criticized the FSLN for a "lack of leadership and programmatic vacuum."

The JS-19 is taking steps to distance itself from its origins in the 1979 revolution. The organization is now a member of the International Union of Democratic Youth, which is affiliated with social-democratic parties around the world. Over the last several years the youth group has concentrated on organizing social and sports activities, parties, and

beauty contests. Not all members of the JS-19 have agreed with this shift toward becoming a social rather than political group.

Debate on JS-19 logo

A discussion broke out during the convention on the logo of the organization, which shows a young man with a rifle in one hand and a book in the other. The emblem says "Study, Defense, Production." The leadership proposed removing the rifle, but this was resoundingly rejected by the delegates who spoke proudly of their participation in the defeat of the contras in the mid-1980s.

The delegates assessed the deteriorating economic situation facing young people in Nicaragua. Unemployment is very high among youth. Those who work get very low wages, and many students cannot continue their studies due to financial difficulties. After the end of the contra war, many youth who had been in the Sandinista Popular Army (EPS) found themselves with few opportunities to work.

Although there were no formal discussions organized on worker and peasant struggles at the meeting, some members of the JS-19 who are peasants spoke about the current hardships of living in the countryside, and one described how he and other peasants defended their cooperative against the former landowner who tried to take the land back by force.

Many of the social services the government had made available in the early years of the revolution, such as daycare and free lunch programs for children, are now being cut, making it harder for women to partici-

pate in the activities of the JS-19. Abortion, which is illegal in Nicaragua, was not discussed.

"There are a number of people who disagree with the lack of discussion on a perspective for women's liberation," explained Petrie. "We are left with organizations like the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Women's Organization that only offer courses on typing and sewing."

The assembly discussed the need to involve the JS-19 in organizations like the National Union of Nicaraguan Students (UNEN), which led the strike against university budget cuts in July and August and forced the government to back off from its proposed 6 percent education budget cut.

Solidarity rally with Cuba

An enthusiastic rally in solidarity with Cuba took place the first evening of the meeting. The crowd was greeted by a representative of the Cuban consulate in Nicaragua, and international guests. The Union of Young Communists from Cuba sent greetings to the rally. In the 1980s, many Nicaraguan youth went to Cuba to study, and some are still there today. Many JS-19 members are sympathetic to the Cuban revolution and inspired by the role Cuba played in providing Nicaragua with much needed assistance and solidarity during the years of the revolution.

Many delegates defended the rejection of the socialist perspective by the FSLN leadership. Others, such as Ramón Reyes Torres, a delegate from Pueblo Nuevo, explained that "for those who are at an impasse, like our country, the Cuban system is an example."

Several international delegations gave greetings to the assembly, including representatives from the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front youth of El Salvador, the French Communist Youth Movement, The October 8 Revolutionary Youth of Brazil, and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) from the United States.

Many delegates were interested in the meaning of the U.S. elections and voiced hope that President-elect William Clinton would give Nicaragua some economic help. But some carefully listened to the view presented by the representative of the YSA, who pointed out that Clinton has already expressed his willingness to carry out military intervention in Yugoslavia and Somalia.

This aggressive U.S. foreign policy, the socialist delegate noted, occurs as the United States and its imperialist rivals in Europe and Japan sink into economic crisis and enter increasingly into conflicts over trade and markets.

Larry Astorga, the out-going deputy coordinator of the JS-19, was elected full-time national coordinator. Violeta Delgado was elected deputy coordinator, and Enrique Pilarte was re-elected as international relations representative.

Labor News in the 'Militant'

For weekly eyewitness reports on working-class struggles from the mines of South Africa to the mills and factories of North America read the *Militant*. See page 2 for subscription information.

Germany faces growing economic crisis

West enters recession as rulers fail to restore capitalism in eastern region

BY GEORGE FYSON

German chancellor Helmut Kohl admitted for the first time November 25 that western Germany is in a recession. His remarks followed announcements that some of Germany's major companies have experienced drastic declines in sales and profits and are slashing tens of thousands of jobs.

In recent months Daimler-Benz, the country's largest company, announced job cuts of 20,000. Volkswagen says it will cut 12,500 jobs and Deutsche Aerospace 7,500. Western Germany's official unemployment rate has begun to climb and now stands at 6.7 percent.

This occurs as it is more and more widely recognized that the problems created for German capitalism by the attempt at unification with eastern Germany have put strains not only on Europe as a whole but on prospects for world economic recovery.

"The U.S. can't spark global [economic] growth without Europe also stepping up demand," warned Terence Roth in the *Wall Street Journal* November 16. "Europe's malaise could hurt Mr. Clinton's recovery plans if demand [in Europe] for U.S. goods keeps shrinking."

Roth blamed "Germany's unwillingness to give up old battles against inflation" for paralyzing European governments' monetary policies. A European economic slowdown had been predicted for the mid-1990s, but "not this year," he added, "What threw everything off balance was Germany's sudden reunification in 1990."

'Like a python'

While commentators in the capitalist media at first touted Germany's reunification as heralding a new age of expansion and strength for capitalism, it was not long before it began to be seen as a mixed blessing. "It is like a python that has swallowed a sheep. It takes time to digest," Klaus Friedrich, a senior economist at Frankfurt's Dresdner Bank, explained in June.

Less optimistic observers began questioning this view. "It has become increasingly unclear whether Germany can make a success of unification," noted Peter Norman in the April 25-26 issue of the *London Financial Times*. Now the projections for incorporating eastern Germany are being lengthened indefinitely, as the sheep turns out to be indigestible.

The depth of the economic and social crisis and the uncertainty in Germany are highlighted by the widespread attacks by rightist thugs on immigrant workers in both the eastern and western parts of the country. These attacks have dramatically escalated in 1992. The activity of the gangs, which has included murders of foreign-born workers and their families, gains an impetus from the public position to curb immigration taken by all the major capitalist parties of Germany. The leadership of the opposition Social Democrats has added its voice to calls by the government coalition parties for a curb on the right to asylum, which is the means by which most immigrants enter Germany.

While the government has taken steps to deport some undocumented immigrants, such as the several hundred Gypsies who are being returned to Romania, they have little prospect of expelling the bulk of the immigrant workers. Many immigrants have been in Germany for decades, despite their inability to become citizens. Today some 6 million "foreigners" live in Germany.

Production falls in east

An October 26 article in the *Financial Times* summed up developments in the east German economy with the headline "Optimists repeatedly disappointed." The article noted that production has dropped by half in the last two years. "Gross domestic product in east Germany of nearly DM100 billion [German marks] in 1990 plummeted to DM50 billion [1DM = US \$0.62]. Employment, which in the first half of 1991 still stood at 9.3 million, fell to only 6 million in the second half of this year." East Germany's population is about 17 million.

"Real unemployment [in the east] is well over 30 percent," the article reported. In addition, "More than 300,000 short-term workers produce little which can be sold in return for their German government-subsidized wage. Another 400,000 east Germans are kept off the unemployment rolls by publicly-financed job-creation programs, which are to be abolished. Nearly 800,000 citizens receive pensions five years in advance of normal retirement age. Still another 500,000 east Germans have moved to west Germany to find work while 500,000 commute to jobs in the west."

Most of the government funds being poured into eastern Germany go to sustain the growing numbers of unemployed and underemployed workers there. "Of a gross DM218 billion [\$135 billion] in public

billions families face is that they have scarcely begun to reimpose conditions of capitalist exploitation on eastern Germany, where the rule of a capitalist exploiting class was done away with in the 1940s and 1950s.

Unification has brought working people in east and west closer together, with the result that wages in the east have already been forced substantially upward, despite the high unemployment and underemployment. In two years, wages in the east have almost doubled, although they remain between one-half and two-thirds as much as wages in the west for the same jobs.



Workers on strike in Bonn in April. Real unemployment in eastern Germany is more than 30 percent and is climbing in the west, where thousands are facing layoffs.

funds being transferred from western to eastern Germany this year, only about one quarter is for investment," reported the *London Economist* April 4. "The rest is going for unemployment benefits, family allowances, pensions and the like." A *New York Times* article in March predicted that at the current rate of spending the amount paid out on eastern Germany could surpass \$1 trillion by the year 2000.

The German government boasts that its program of selling off state-owned enterprises in the east is working well, with the special sales agency known as the Treuhand having sold "9,000 of the 12,000 companies put under its charge," in the words of Economics Minister Jürgen Möllemann. But this claim masks the reality.

Borrowing to pay for privatization

Many of the enterprises that were sold were unloaded for a nominal price. In some cases, huge sums have been given or offered to west German capitalists to purchase plants in the east.

Despite an inducement of \$217 million to take over and modernize the Eko steelworks near the border with Poland, for example, the steel industry giant Krupp did not take up the deal. Key eastern industries, including textiles, chemicals, machine-building and ship-building, are kept in operation only with government subsidies.

Mercedes-Benz recently decided not to go ahead with a \$620 million truck plant south of Berlin. "Other companies have slowed investment plans or even sought to resell former East German companies they recently bought from the agency," according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Treuhand has taken on huge debts to finance the sales of enterprises. "Already expected to rise to DM250 billion [\$155 billion] by the end of 1994," a *Financial Times* article said, Treuhand debts "are almost certain to be a good deal higher, according to insiders at the agency."

"Even professional optimists at the finance ministry in Bonn reluctantly agree that the Treuhand could turn into a 'bottomless barrel,'" reported the *Economist*.

The problem for German capitalism is not just a short-term drain on government revenues, but a worsening situation with no end in sight. "The Bundesbank put it optimistically when it said that despite improvement in some areas [in the east] there was no evidence of a 'self-sustaining recovery,'" noted the *Financial Times*.

The fundamental problem the German

capitalist rulers are able to make with the union officialdom, in the longer term they are on a collision course with the labor movement as a whole in Germany. As they seek to impose austerity measures in the west in response to the effects of the recession, and to postpone wage increases in the east, this will more and more push working people in both regions of Germany together in a common struggle.

One of the biggest effects of the breaking down of barriers between east and west Germany is the ability of workers to travel and communicate, substantially limiting the ability of the capitalist rulers to pit one section against the other.

These events demonstrate that, despite the extraordinary circumstances existing in eastern Germany, the existing workers state has not been overthrown there. The capitalist rulers' battle to carry out that overthrow, which requires defeating the working class and driving it down to a level where capitalists can once again make profits from it, still lies ahead.

In east Germany — as is being proven in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Russia, and elsewhere — getting rid of a workers state involves more than a government putting up state enterprises for sale.

Capitalist class destroyed

Through titanic struggles of workers and peasants, the Russian revolution of 1917 tore private property in the means of production — the mines, mills, and factories — out of the hands of capitalists and landlords, who disappeared as a social class. These gains were extended into Eastern Europe on the heels of the Soviet victory over Hitler's armies. Mass mobilizations of workers, although under tight bureaucratic control, abolished capitalism in several countries of that region.

The actions of the ruling bureaucracies in Eastern Europe, directed at driving working people out of politics and isolating them from working people in the rest of the world, was paving the way for capitalist restoration. But capitalism was not restored, neither in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, nor when the Stalinist bureaucratic rulers abandoned their "communist" clothing and openly proclaimed capitalist goals.

In fact, by strengthening the confidence of working people and opening them up to the rest of the world for the first time in decades, the 1989-91 overturns of the Stalinist regimes made the restoration of capitalism still more difficult.

The failure so far of the most powerful capitalists in Europe — those headquartered in Bonn — to make significant headway in reestablishing capitalism in the eastern part of Germany underlines the difficult battle they have ahead. It also points to the risk they face that working people in the west and in the east will be drawn more and more into a common fight, which could lead to explosive consequences for German capitalism as a whole.

Agreements are in place to raise public sector wages in the east to 80 percent of those in the west by July 1993. In the metalworking industry parity is timetabled for 1996. As a *Financial Times* editorial concluded: "The root of Germany's economic and social problems is the pace at which wages in the east and west are converging . . . But east German productivity is only a third of west German levels."

While the government has invested massively to modernize the infrastructure in the east, particularly roadways and communications, this alone will not transform the situation. The reality is that the capitalists are unwilling to invest in industry in the east.

Kohl and other government and business leaders have over the past several months campaigned for "sacrifices" in the national interest. Kohl is currently seeking a "solidarity pact" with west German unions, in which he holds out a promise to keep propping up unprofitable major industries in the east in return for the unions' agreement to limit wage demands.

Last April public employees and metalworkers organized strikes to press pay demands. Union members point out that workers are bearing the costs of reunification while employers' profits are protected. Regardless of the short-term deals the

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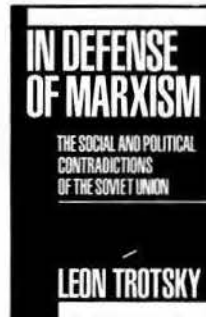
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Supporters around the world demand: 'Free Mark Curtis!'

Printed below are excerpts from a few of the 225 letters that were sent to the Iowa State Board of Parole in support of Mark Curtis's fight for justice.

On behalf of our school, Jakobsbergs Folk High School in Stockholm, Sweden, we ask you to consider Mark Curtis eligible for parole. We think there is more than one reason for that.

- Mark Curtis has no previous criminal record and he is known for and has shown big social engagement.

- Mark Curtis has now spent more than three years behind bars. That time is longer than the average time for other prisoners who are sentenced for rape, and the behavior of Mark Curtis has, as far as we can understand, been without remarks.

- Bearing this in mind and the fact that Mark Curtis can count on big support outside of prison, we find it remarkable that he did not get parole in November 1990.

We also have many questions about the trial against Mark Curtis. Did he get a fair trial? We doubt that.

We think the time has come for justice for Mark Curtis and hope that an immediate parole would start that process.
*Jakobsbergs Folk High School
Ingemar Sallnäs, Principal
Stockholm, Sweden*

I am writing in support of parole. This case has aroused worldwide interest and his release would be welcomed.

*Tony Benn
Member of Parliament,
House of Commons
London, England*

I am in strong support of granting parole to Mark Curtis.

Had Mark's conviction been just, which I doubt, he has already served longer than the usual length of time for prisoners of his alleged crime. Yet Mark has been a model prisoner! Aside from the moral injustice of his incarceration, further imprisonment would only be a senseless financial drain on the state of Iowa.

Let justice be served! Further jail time would be of no useful purpose. Allow Mark Curtis his long overdue parole this November.

*Jacque Delario
Financial Secretary
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union,
Local 8-990, Folcroft, Pennsylvania*

I am writing to urge you to grant parole to Mark Curtis. Many of the members of my Local Union who know Mark, believe that he is innocent.

As time goes on, more and more people at my worksite agree that Mark's continued imprisonment is a total waste of State money and prison space.

I would not be hesitant to welcome Mark as a neighbor or coworker and I believe that Mark's parole would be in the best interest of this community and this State.

*Harold Ruggless
Vice-president,
United Auto Workers Local 270
Des Moines, Iowa*

I have been an elected official of the above Union for twenty-one years representing workers in the Meat Packing Industry in New Zealand, the industry in which



Andile Yawa (right), president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, visiting Mark Curtis in August 1992 at Iowa state prison in Ft. Madison.

Mark Curtis was an active Unionist before his arrest and imprisonment on false charges of rape and burglary.

I have followed closely Mark's case for several years. I have read the material produced by both the Mark Curtis Defence Committee and prosecution evidence against him.

After careful consideration of both sides in the case I am convinced of Mark's innocence.

The recent victory by Mark in his civil rights lawsuit against the Des Moines Police for brutally beating him reaffirms my belief that he was wrongfully charged and should be released.

Although it is not the Parole Board's job to judge Mark's guilt or innocence, it is your job to release prisoners when, like Mark they have: good work record in prison; has community support; has had no previous conviction; has served more than the average term for sexual abuse, in

the State of Iowa.

I therefore urge your Board to release Mark Curtis.

I believe that any delay by the Parole Board would be unfair and unjustified and could be seen by the rest of the world as a continuing form of victimisation.

I therefore urge your Board to release Mark Curtis.

*J. Ross Evans, assistant secretary
Auckland and Tamoana Freezing Works
Abattoir and Related Trades Employees
Industrial Union of Workers
Auckland, New Zealand*

We believe that time has come for this meat packinghouse worker, a union activist, an advocate of immigrants' rights, to be released. The awful political plot, unworthy of your country, which sentenced him in 1988 to a 25-year imprisonment, should no longer prevail. We heard that on January 31, a federal court found the two policemen of Des Moines guilty of brutalities on the night of his arrest. Thus he is entitled to "relief and compensations, in order to compensate for the violation of his constitutional rights and for the personal injuries he has suffered."

Therefore, it is clear that what was at stake was in fact both Mark Curtis's efforts to unite all the workers in the food industry and his role in defending his Asian and Latin American colleagues. . . .

Mark [should] be freed with no delay, as requested . . . by hundreds and hundreds of people all over the world and by many committees and associations.

*Roland Wlos
Secretary, Committee in Defense of
Liberty and the Rights of Man in
France and Around the World
Paris, France*

St. Louis rally aids unionist's parole fight

BY BILLIE JONES

ST. LOUIS — "For the first time in four years I could see a crack in the prison walls during my parole hearing."

These words were part of a message that imprisoned union and political activist Mark Curtis sent to a November 21 rally of supporters here. Curtis's parole hearing had taken place only a few days earlier.

James Warren, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, was the featured speaker at the event.

This year, explained Warren, Iowa parole board members had a discussion among themselves as to whether Curtis's parole should continue to be contingent on his participation in the Sexual Offenders Treatment Program (SOTP).

The SOTP requires that a prisoner admit guilt in order to complete the program. Each year Curtis has explained to the board that because he is innocent he cannot admit guilt to the frame-up charges of sexual abuse and burglary for which he was convicted.

Affects thousands of prisoners

Programs like SOTP, Warren said, are used all over the country. Sometimes they are offered as an alternative to imprisonment and sometimes they are used as a condition for release. "These programs are used to abuse, dehumanize, and break workers," Warren explained.

In the case of Mark Curtis and many others in prison, programs like the SOTP are used not to help people get out of jail early but to keep them in longer if they don't admit guilt.

"Mark's challenge to maintain his innocence is of great importance for thousands of workers who are being forced to go through these programs," said Warren.

Warren encouraged everyone to redouble their efforts to win justice for Curtis. The recent parole board hearing showed that it is getting more and more difficult for the Iowa prison authorities to justify their refusal to grant Curtis's parole, he noted.

During the discussion period, Warren was asked if supporters should begin an effort to win support for Curtis from president-elect

William Clinton. Warren explained that support exists from people from all kinds of political backgrounds and that support should be tapped. At the same time he reminded his audience that Clinton's record is not good when it comes to the rights of workers who are imprisoned. Clinton disrupted his presidential election campaign twice to oversee executions in his home state of Arkansas.

Supporters speak for Curtis

Other speakers at the rally included Kitty Loepker, a member of United Steelworkers of America, who chaired; Ray Graham, a high school student; and Harold Compere, coordinator of Concerned Hai-

tians and Friends.

Loepker had just received notice that she has been put on Curtis's visitors list at the Fort Madison prison where he is being held.

Graham told the group he had seen a video about the Curtis frame-up several years ago and had been winning over his schoolmates to support Curtis's defense case ever since. Compere said the Curtis fight parallels the Haitian struggle. Haitian fighters, just like Curtis, are routinely framed up, beaten, and jailed because they are fighting for justice, he noted.

More than \$400 was raised for the Curtis Defense Committee through a raffle and contributions.

Facts about the frame-up of Mark Curtis

Mark Curtis is a union and political activist who was framed up by the Des Moines police in March 1988. At the time, 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 of that year, seized 17 workers — 16 Mexicans and one Salvadoran — 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.

On March 4, Curtis attended a protest meeting for the 17 workers, where he spoke in Spanish to urge his union, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, to take the lead in defending these workers.

Later that night Curtis was beaten by cops at the Des Moines police station. They shattered his cheekbone and put a gash in his face that required 15 stitches. As they beat him they yelled, "You're a Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds."

Curtis was originally charged with sexual abuse of a 15-year-old Black high school student and assaulting the cops who beat him. Later the charge of burglary was added, which in the state of Iowa carries a mandatory sentence of 25 years; the charge of assaulting the police was dropped. The "burglary" consists of his allegedly being in the house uninvited — he was standing on the enclosed front porch — and committing a felony (the sexual abuse charge) on the premises.

In September 1988 Curtis was convicted and sentenced to 25 years in state prison.

At the trial not a shred of evidence was presented that Curtis committed any crime. A prosecution forensic expert, Paul Bush, testified that there was no physical or medical evidence of rape. He told the court, "As far as sexual contact is concerned I found no seminal fluid or hairs to tie the two individuals together."

In addition, there was no physical evidence on Curtis's clothing that he was on the floor of the porch that night, a porch that was covered with debris, dirt, and dog hairs. The alleged victim had leaves, porch dirt, and dog hairs on her

clothes. Curtis didn't.

Crucial to the prosecution's case was the testimony of arresting officer Joseph Gonzalez. However, the judge barred from the trial the fact that Gonzalez had been previously caught lying on a police report and brutalizing a suspect, for which he had been suspended and put on probation for a year. The jury was also prevented from knowing about the cop beating of Curtis.

At the trial the alleged victim testified that her attacker had a belt; Curtis wore none that night. She said he had smoker's breath; Curtis never smoked. She also told the hospital personnel who examined her the night she said she was attacked that her assailant was five feet, six inches tall. Curtis is over six feet, one inch tall.

Last January Curtis won an important victory in a civil rights lawsuit he filed against cop brutality. Federal judge Charles Wolle ordered the Des Moines cops to pay Curtis more than \$60,000 in legal fees and damages. This decision exposed the fact that the cops lied about the beating they inflicted on Curtis the night of his arrest.

Every hour and subscription count in effort to top goal!



Militant



Militant/John Elias

Sales of subscriptions to *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are picking up as December 5 completion date nears. Left, Portland, Oregon; Right, New York City.

BY SARA LOBMAN

While we still have a serious fight ahead of us, supporters from an increasing number of cities around the world are now confident that they will meet their goals for the international drive to win new readers of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine, *New International*.

This week 353 *Militant* subscriptions were received at the business office. To make the goal... 589 *Militant* subs, 140 subs to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 576 copies of the *New International* are needed. Every hour and every subscription count.

This week supporters in St. Louis, which has hugged the bottom of the chart for most of the drive, sent in 22 *Militant* subscriptions. Richard Sorrentino reports that the big change has been in organizing daily to get supporters out on the street. "The committee responsible for organizing the drive meets every single night to map out the next day's activities," he explained.

One team participated in a rally of 300 in Decatur, Illinois, to support members of the Allied Industrial Workers at A. E. Staley Manufacturing Co. who are fighting a concession contract that the company has imposed. Four subscriptions were sold at the rally.

On the way out of town the team stopped at the farm of the president of the Illinois American Agricultural Movement and sold him a sub. They also sold a sub to a Caterpillar worker at the United Auto workers union hall.

Last week we reported that Matt Herreshoff from Houston would spend a week helping out in St. Louis. The results were so good that St. Louis has volunteered to free Sorrentino up to join sales teams in Iowa.

Des Moines and Auckland supporters on course

Supporters in Des Moines, Iowa, also had their best week yet. Volunteers in the *Militant* business office just opened a packet of 16 *Militant* subs and three subscriptions to *PM*, moving Des Moines towards the top of the chart for the first time.

They have decided to raise their *PM* goal from 16 to 25. Supporters in Iowa also sold five copies of the *New International* this week. Ardy Blandford reports that a highlight of the week was a team to Iowa City which sold six *Militant* subs, one *PM* sub, and nearly

\$100 of Pathfinder literature. "We are fighting to make all our goals," Blandford reports.

In Auckland, New Zealand, four subscriptions were sold to workers at the New Zealand Forest Products paper mill who were recently part of a 10-week national strike. Supporters find it helpful to have teams meet briefly after sales to review how things went, and to make sure all follow-up work is organized.

Miami and Salt Lake raise subscription goals

Campaigners in Salt Lake City, Utah, and in Miami have decided that they can take responsibility for a larger part of the international goal than they originally planned. Both cities have raised their goals.

Miami supporters, who have been helping to lead the international drive for several weeks, say they have found the key to making their goals has been getting everyone out on as many sales as possible. Thirty-seven different teams were fielded in southern Florida last week. Almost every supporter participated in at least five sales.

Supporters in other areas are also looking ahead. Ken Riley in Los Angeles says they plan to "bust through our goal and then go over." They have reason to be confident. While many of the subscriptions have not yet reached New York, Riley reports that they only need 15 *Militant* subs and 12 *PM* subs to make their goal. They are already over the top in *New International*.

Diana Newberry reports that a highlight of sales in Southern California was four subscriptions sold to workers at the Chevron refinery by a plant gate team. "One worker, who had never seen the paper before, was so impressed with the coverage of the strikes of garment workers in New York and drywall workers in California that he decided to skip the introductory subscription and get a six-month sub instead," Newberry said.

Regional teams planned

Several campaigners from Morgantown just returned from Charleston, West Virginia, where they sold six *Militant* subs and a *PM* sub. They also sold \$100 of Pathfinder literature, signed up two new members of the Pathfinder Readers Club, and got a \$50 contribution for the George Novack Reconstruction Fund.

Teams are also being organized for the Tennessee and Virginia coal fields.

Jason Coughlin reports that supporters in Boston will be fielding a two-day regional team to western Massachusetts. The team will visit Amherst College and sell in Springfield. Several Boston campaigners have decided to take a day off work to join the team.

Coughlin reports that Boston is beginning to turn the drive around. "For the first time," he said, "we have a lot of people going out all the time, to the stores, to the campuses, and all over the place." He reports that Boston supporters have won 16 new readers of the *Militant*, six to *PM*, and that five have bought copies of *New International* this week. Since this put them just two short of making their *PM* goal, Boston has decided to raise its goal by five to 30.

Reconstruction brigade members join team

As part of the all out effort to make the international drive, members of the reconstruction crew working at the Socialist Workers Party leadership school have joined supporters in New York City and Newark for the past two Saturdays.

Pat McGinnis reported that his team at the Journal Square train station in Jersey City, New Jersey, sold two *Militant* subs, 15 single copies of the paper, and five Pathfinder titles off a table. "One guy came up and told us he'd been looking for the *Militant* ever since reading about it in *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*," McGinnis said. "He bought a sub and a copy of *To Speak the Truth* by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara." The team also sold two copies of the *Communist Manifesto*.

Roger Annis reports that nine subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold to delegates at the founding convention of the Communications, Energy, and Paperworkers Union of Canada in Montreal on November 28. The union was created through the fusion of three unions and has 145,000 members.

New Internationals sold

After only two nights of the Claridad Festival in San Juan, Puerto Rico, Ron Richards reports that 4 copies of *New International* were sold along with a subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*. This puts Puerto Rico over the top on its *New International* and *PM* goals.

The drive ends December 5. The final scoreboard will be printed in the *Militant* No. 47.

SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

AROUND THE WORLD

	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		New International Single issues	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES							
Twin Cities, MN *	88	100	88%	11	13	12	30
Houston *	65	75	87%	10	13	16	30
Des Moines, IA *	64	80	80%	15	25	8	40
Washington DC	56	70	80%	11	20	8	35
Miami *	75	95	79%	21	30	51	60
Birmingham, AL	51	65	78%	0	3	4	35
Newark, NJ	98	125	78%	23	35	39	65
Cleveland	47	60	78%	2	6	24	40
Salt Lake City, UT *	58	75	77%	8	13	5	20
Philadelphia	57	75	76%	7	13	10	35
Los Angeles	94	125	75%	47	75	67	70
San Francisco	71	95	75%	15	35	20	60
Chicago *	63	85	74%	11	19	14	35
Greensboro, NC	47	65	72%	1	5	19	30
St. Louis	57	80	71%	1	3	19	35
Morgantown, WV	35	50	70%	3	2	17	30
Atlanta	44	65	68%	3	5	4	30
Pittsburgh	47	70	67%	0	3	5	35
Seattle	50	75	67%	11	23	8	35
Detroit	49	75	65%	6	6	9	35
New York	95	175	54%	25	50	63	90
Boston *	48	90	53%	20	30	33	45
Fl. Madison, IA	1	2	50%	0	0	0	0
Portland, OR	6	12	50%	0	1	1	10
Cincinnati	12	25	48%	1	5	6	5
Baltimore	34	75	45%	2	6	1	25
New Haven, CT	3	15	20%	1	1	1	6
U.S. TOTAL	1,415	2,002	71%	255	440	464	966
AUSTRALIA *	22	25	88%	3	6	17	20
BARBADOS	0	6	0%	0	0	0	5
BELGIUM	5	6	83%	2	4	7	10
BRITAIN							
London	32	45	71%	1	5	15	40
Sheffield	21	35	60%	1	3	5	20
Manchester	15	35	43%	0	2	9	30
BRITAIN TOTAL	68	115	59%	2	10	29	90
CANADA							
Toronto *	51	65	78%	10	15	34	40
Vancouver	40	60	67%	8	10	7	20
Quebec City	2	3	67%	0	0	0	2
Montreal *	30	55	55%	5	20	9	50
CANADA TOTAL	123	183	67%	23	45	50	112
FRANCE	2	3	67%	1	2	9	10
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland	35	40	88%	0	3	5	8
Wellington	25	35	71%	1	1	8	10
Christchurch	14	25	56%	0	1	10	8
N.Z. TOTAL	74	100	74%	1	5	23	26
PUERTO RICO	0	2	0%	4	5	6	4
SWEDEN *	49	50	98%	19	20	19	20
TOTAL	1,761	2,496	75%	310	543	624	1,266
SHOULD BE		2,056	88%		338		900
DRIVE GOALS		2,350			450		1,200

IN THE UNIONS

Union	Militant/PM			NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES					
UTU *	49	50	98%	6	15
UFCW *	48	50	96%	7	15
UMWA	17	18	94%	5	6
OCAW	42	50	84%	3	20
IAM	80	110	73%	4	42
ILGWU	22	32	69%	4	9
USWA	57	90	63%	7	30
UAW	50	80	63%	8	35
ACTWU	29	48	60%	3	26
U.S. TOTAL	394	528	75%	47	198
SHOULD BE	462		88%		
CANADA					
USWA	3	12	25%	2	5
IAM	2	10	20%	0	4
CAW	3	15	20%	2	8
ACTWU	1	10	10%	0	4
CANADA TOTAL	9	47	19%	4	21
SHOULD BE	41		88%		
NEW ZEALAND					
MWU	2	2	100%	0	1
UFCW	4	5	80%	0	1
EU	2	5	40%	0	1
N.Z. TOTAL	8	12	67%	0	3
SHOULD BE	11		88%		
SWEDEN					
Metal Workers	7	7	100%	3	2
Food Workers *	3	4	75%	1	1
SWEDEN TOTAL	10	11	91%	4	3
SHOULD BE	10		88%		

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 Chemical Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union

* Raised goal

Malcolm X: his road to a revolutionary and anticapitalist international outlook

The following article is an expanded version of the introduction to a new, August 1992 edition of *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X, published by Pathfinder Press. The article is copyright © 1992 by Pathfinder and reprinted by permission of the publisher.

BY STEVE CLARK

By any means necessary. "That's our motto," explained Malcolm X to the founding rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) in June 1964. "We want freedom by any means necessary. We want justice by any means necessary. We want equality by any means necessary." This collection of Malcolm X's speeches, interviews, and statements, first published in 1970, takes that motto as its title. All of its contents are from the last year of Malcolm's life, following his public announcement in March 1964 that he was no longer a member of the Nation of Islam.

Over the next eleven months, Malcolm refined and expanded his revolutionary outlook in light of his broadening political experience. He traveled to numerous U.S. towns and cities, to Africa and the Middle East, and to Britain, France, and Switzerland, increasing his knowledge of struggles by Blacks and other oppressed and exploited peoples the world over. At the same time, he reached out to, influenced, and was influenced by a growing range of other fighters and revolutionaries, including socialists and communists.

In the early 1960s, while still the most prominent and popular spokesperson for Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X used his platforms in Harlem and Black neighborhoods across the country, as well as on dozens of college campuses, to denounce the policies of the U.S. government both at home and abroad. He campaigned against every example and manifestation of anti-Black racism and was outspoken in condemning the pillage and oppression of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America for the profit and power of the U.S. and other imperialist regimes.

Forced out of Nation of Islam

By 1963 the conflicts that were to lead to Malcolm being forced out of the Nation of Islam had ripened. The turning point came in April 1963, when Malcolm was called by Elijah Muhammad to his winter home in Phoenix, Arizona. There, Malcolm learned from Elijah Muhammad himself the truth of rumors then spreading in the Nation that Muhammad had engaged in sexual relations with a number of teenage women in the organization. When, as a result, several of these young women had become pregnant, Muhammad had taken advantage of his power and authority in the Nation to organize to have them subjected to humiliating internal trials and suspended from membership on charges of "fornication."

In his autobiography, Malcolm recounts walking with Elijah Muhammad beside the swimming pool at his Phoenix home. "You recognize that's what all of this is — prophecy," Malcolm recalls Muhammad telling him, in explanation of his conduct. "I'm David. When you read about how David took another man's wife, I'm that David. You read about Noah, who got drunk — that's me. You read about Lot, who went and laid up with his own daughters. I have to fulfill all those things."

Malcolm commented on the impact this discovery had on him in a January 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine, published here. "When I found that the hierarchy itself wasn't practicing what it preached," Malcolm said, "it was clear that this part of its program was bankrupt." In several speeches and interviews contained in *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, recently published by Pathfinder, Malcolm elaborated further on the reactionary political consequences of such corrupt "personal" behavior and hypocrisy. Elijah Muhammad was guilty not only of abuse of women, but also abuse of power and authority, drawing the organization's chain of command into the cover-up.



Robert Parent

Malcolm X at N.Y. Militant Labor Forum in January 1965

Malcolm's reaction to Elijah Muhammad's conduct, and Malcolm's decision to inform the ministers of several other East Coast mosques of what he had learned, posed a threat to the Nation's top leader, who above all counted on his lieutenants to police attitudes in the organization on matters close to Muhammad's family, power, and property. Muhammad decided to silence Malcolm and did so in late 1963, using as the pretext Malcolm's reply at a public meeting in New York to a question about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Referring to the racist hatred and violence in U.S. society, Malcolm had said that the shooting of Kennedy was a case of "the chickens coming home to roost."

Elijah Muhammad ordered Malcolm to remain silent in public for ninety days, and Malcolm complied. As it became clear that the gag was not going to be removed, however, Malcolm made the decision in early March 1964 to announce his separation from the Nation of Islam.

Nation of Islam: obstacle to politics

By the early 1960s, Malcolm was increasingly straining against the limits of the perspectives of the Nation of Islam, a bourgeois nationalist organization with a leadership bent on finding a separate economic niche for itself within the U.S. capitalist system. He felt more and more constricted by the Nation's refusal to become involved "in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by," as he put it in the January 1965 interview.

Malcolm's conversion to the Nation of Islam while in prison at the end of the 1940s was not a political act, nor even primarily a religious one in the way the term is normally understood. Rather, it was the particular road along which Malcolm, as an individual, pulled his life back together after living for several years as a street hustler and small-time criminal. In his autobiography, Malcolm recounts "how deeply the religion of Islam had reached down into the mud to lift me up, to save me from being what I inevitably would have been: a dead criminal in a grave, or, if still alive, a flint-hard, bitter, thirty-seven-year-old convict in some penitentiary, or insane asylum."

It was in prison that Malcolm developed personal qualities that were a precondition to his later transformation into a revolutionary political leader: his confidence in his own self-worth and the discipline for hard work and concentrated study. And it was while he was a leading minister of the Nation of Islam in the early 1960s that Malcolm began to develop revolutionary political views under the impact of struggles

by Blacks and other oppressed peoples in the United States and worldwide.

But the Nation was not Malcolm's road to politics, nor even a detour. It was a dead end.

"I've never tried to take part in anything political," Malcolm acknowledged at a rally in Harlem in July 1964. "Couldn't see it. For one thing, I was in a religious organization that was talking about something coming by-and-by. And any time you start thinking about something by-and-by, you can't take hold of anything now-and-now or here-and-here."

Revolutionary-minded fighters such as himself "were in a political vacuum," Malcolm said in a speech in February 1965, just a few days before his assassination. "We were actually alienated, cut off from all type of activity with even the world that we were fighting against. We became a sort of a religious-political hybrid, all to ourselves. Not involved in anything but just standing on the sidelines condemning everything. But in no position to correct anything because we couldn't take action."

Not a straight road

Until being silenced by Elijah Muhammad in late 1963, however, Malcolm was still seeking to resolve his sharpening contradictions within the framework of the Nation's perspectives. Most difficult of all for Malcolm was the prospect of a complete break with Elijah Muhammad, whom Malcolm had revered as a teacher, spiritual guide, and father.

According to Alex Haley, who collaborated with Malcolm in preparing his autobiography, Malcolm had written the following dedication when work on the project began, prior to his being driven out of the Nation: "This book I dedicate to The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, who found me here in America in this muck and mire of the filthiest civilization and society on this earth, and pulled me out, cleaned me up, and stood me on my feet, and made me the man I am today."

Even after his public "declaration of independence" from the Nation in March 1964, Malcolm a few days later still explained being driven out of the organization by Elijah Muhammad in the following way in the interview with A.B. Spellman that opens this book:

"Many obstacles were placed in my path [in the Nation of Islam], not by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, but by others who were around him, and since I believe his analysis of the race problem is the best one and his solution is the only one, I felt that I

could best circumvent these obstacles and expedite his program better by remaining out of the Nation of Islam."

The course of action Malcolm advocated in the Spellman interview, however, was already beginning to accelerate his divergence from the course of members and leaders of the Nation, including their explanation of and solution to the "race problem." "We will work with anybody who is sincerely interested in eliminating injustices that Negroes suffer at the hands of Uncle Sam," Malcolm told Spellman.

The Nation's leadership, on the other hand, never joined forces with others unless it served their own direct interests, regardless of the stakes for the fight against oppression. Malcolm later acknowledged, for example, that he himself had represented Elijah Muhammad in secret negotiations with top Ku Klux Klan leaders in 1960. Muhammad hoped to find an accommodation with the Klan that would result in obtaining some land for the Nation in the South. The Nation leader also maintained ties with American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell. "Rockwell and Elijah Muhammad are regular correspondents with each other," Malcolm told an audience in Harlem the week before he was assassinated. "You can hate me for telling you this, but I'm going to tell it to you."

In March 1964, Malcolm organized the Muslim Mosque, Inc. The new organization "will have as its religious base the religion of Islam," he told Spellman. "But the political philosophy of the Muslim Mosque will be black nationalism, the economic philosophy will be black nationalism, and the social philosophy will be black nationalism."

Malcolm, however, soon recognized the need for the political organization he wanted to build to be open to all Blacks who wanted to mount a united struggle against racist discrimination, inequality, and injustice — regardless of religious beliefs, if any, broader political views, or other organizational affiliations. The founding rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity as an organization separate from the Muslim Mosque and Islamic faith was held in June 1964. Malcolm's speech to the OAAU's founding rally and two subsequent OAAU-sponsored meetings are published in this volume.

Keeping Malcolm's legacy in print

Within months of Malcolm's assassination on February 21, 1965, Pathfinder — in collaboration with the *Militant* newspaper, the main publisher of Malcolm's speeches the last year and a half of his life — brought out *Malcolm X Speaks*, a collection of his available speeches and statements going back to November 1963. *By Any Means Necessary* was published five years later as a companion volume, putting into print numerous items that had subsequently become available for publication; this sixteenth printing contains for the first time an index to make it easier to read and use this book. Eight pages of photographs have been added.

Pathfinder has also published *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*, *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*, *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*, and the Spanish-language *Habla Malcolm X*. At the same time that this new edition of *By Any Means Necessary* is being issued, *February 1965: The Final Speeches* is also appearing, the first in a multivolume series that will collect together, in chronological order, the major speeches, interviews, and writings of Malcolm X.

Altogether, these books contain the overwhelming majority of speeches by Malcolm that are available in print from the final year of his life. In them readers will discover the revolutionary views Malcolm had come to while still inside the Nation of Islam, as well as those reflecting his rapidly accelerating political development during the last months of his life, following his return from Africa in late November 1964.

Malcolm's independent political life only began, and only could have begun, once he was outside the Nation of Islam. That's

when he began to speak for himself. "Notice all my former statements were prefaced by 'the Honorable Elijah Muhammad teaches thus and so,'" Malcolm said in a December 1964 interview, looking back on his years in the Nation. "They weren't my statements, they were his statements, and I was repeating them." "Parroting them," the interviewer interrupted. "And now the parrot has jumped out of the cage," Malcolm affirmed.

'Internationalizing the struggle'

Malcolm sought to "internationalize" the fight against racism, segregation, and national oppression, as he put it in the Spellman interview. During these months, he never spoke to an audience without cogently explaining and scathingly condemning the United States of America's "criminal activity" in organizing murderous bombing raids and other military aggression against liberation fighters and civilian populations in the Congo (today Zaire); he took to task the leaders of major U.S. civil rights organizations for their failure to speak out against these crimes. He expressed solidarity with the freedom fighters in Indochina, confidently asserting that Washington's "complete defeat in South Vietnam is only a matter of time." He identified with the revolutionary victories of the Chinese and Cuban people against imperialist domination.

In the speeches and interviews in the latter half of this book, Malcolm recounts



Robert Parent

Malcolm X announcing his separation from Nation of Islam on March 12, 1964.

observations from his July-November 1964 visit to Africa and the Middle East (he had visited there in April and May of that year as well). His experiences during that four-month-long trip had a profound impact on him and freed him to draw even more far-reaching political conclusions.

Malcolm X was an uncompromising opponent of Washington and of the Democratic and Republican parties — the twin parties of capitalist colonialism and racism. He never gave an inch to United States nationalism ("Americanism"), even in its popular patriotic guises so attractive to middle-class misleaders of organizations of the oppressed and exploited.

"You tell me what kind of country this is," he stated at the OAAU's founding rally in June 1964. "Why should we do the dirtiest jobs for the lowest pay? Why should we do the hardest work for the lowest pay?... I'm telling you we do it because we... have a rotten system. It's a system of exploitation, a political and economic system of exploitation, of outright humiliation, degradation, discrimination."

Malcolm X rejected the "lesser-evil" politics promoted by the overwhelming majority of those who claimed to speak and act in the interests of the oppressed and working people.

'No friends' in twin political parties

"Don't treat Uncle Sam like he's a friend," Malcolm told participants at a second OAAU rally the following month. "If he was your friend, you wouldn't be a second class citizen. . . . No, you have got no friends in Washington, D.C."

In 1964 Malcolm refused to endorse or campaign for Democratic presidential candidate Lyndon Baines Johnson against Republican Barry Goldwater. "The shrewd imperialists knew that the only way that you will voluntarily run to the fox is to show you a wolf," Malcolm said. It was the Johnson administration, Malcolm pointed out, that was presiding over the U.S. war against the people of Vietnam and the slaughter of liberation fighters and villagers in the Congo. It was the Johnson administration that was carrying out policies at home that perpetuated racism and economic and social injustice.

This political stance in 1964 set Malcolm apart from, and helped earn him the enmity of, just about every other prominent leader of Black rights organizations or the trade unions, as well as the vast majority of those who called themselves radicals, socialists, or communists — the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and others. Virtually the only organization that welcomed Malcolm's view that Blacks and other working people have "no friends in Washington" was the Socialist Workers Party; like Malcolm, the SWP rejected the call, captured in a slogan popularized by SDS that year, to go at least "part of the way with LBJ."

Collaboration with other revolutionists

Being forced out of the Nation of Islam, and fighting to come to grips with the truth about the course of the Elijah Muhammad-led sect, had a profound impact on the evolution of Malcolm's thinking and activity. It was similar in some ways to the political consequences for revolutionaries in Cuba, South Africa, and elsewhere of the break-up of the Stalinist parties and apparatuses in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Today, with the shattering of once widely held illusions that these apparatuses would somehow be reformed, revolutionaries of various origins and differing experiences — who for decades were blocked by Stalinist prejudices and intimidation from political collaboration and civil exchange of views — find themselves much better able to engage in common activity and get to know and judge each other in action as fellow fighters.

Similarly, Malcolm's freedom from the political and organizational constraints of the Nation of Islam propelled him toward seeking collaboration with any fighter for Black freedom, regardless of religion, political views, or skin color. This parallel is instructive from another standpoint, as well. Like the Stalinist organizations, the Nation of Islam was also proven irreformable. This helps explain something that remained somewhat of a mystery to many of those attracted to Malcolm after he was outside the Nation: that is, why so few of its organized followers could be won to the OAAU beyond the original core that came with Malcolm when he was expelled. During the final months of his life, Malcolm more and more put away such false hopes among his supporters as he turned his eyes and energies instead to young fighters and to other revolutionaries, in the United States or anywhere else, who demonstrated in practice that they were worthy of the name.

Malcolm stretched out his hand to revolutionaries and freedom fighters in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and elsewhere. On his way back from Africa, in his November 1964 speech to a public meeting in Paris, France, published here, Malcolm pointed to the revolutionary example set by African

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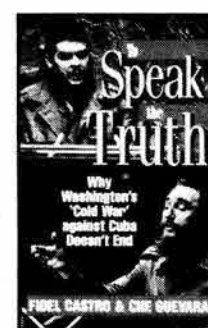


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National Congress leader Nelson Mandela while on trial in apartheid's courts in South Africa.

In December 1964 Malcolm (who had demonstratively welcomed Fidel Castro to Harlem four years earlier) invited Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara to speak before an OAAU meeting in Harlem; at the last minute Guevara was unable to attend, but sent "the warm salutations of the Cuban people" to the meeting in a message that Malcolm insisted on reading himself from the platform (see *Malcolm X Speaks*, p. 102).

In the United States, Malcolm X spoke on three occasions to large meetings of the Militant Labor Forum organized by Socialist Workers Party members and supporters in New York City. This was a departure for Malcolm. Even while still a spokesperson for the Nation of Islam, he had spoken to audiences on campuses where a big majority of students were white. Malcolm's decision to accept the invitation to speak at the Militant Labor Forum in early 1964, however, was the first time he had agreed to appear on the platform of a meeting of a revolutionary political organization outside Harlem or the Black community in other cities; the question-and-answer period from that meeting appears in these pages. Malcolm returned to speak at meetings of the Militant Labor Forum in May 1964 and January 1965. (These three speeches are published in *Malcolm X Speaks*.)

Anticapitalist political outlook

Through Malcolm's experiences during this period, especially following the Africa

trip, his revolutionary outlook became increasingly anticapitalist and, then, also prosocialist. This broadening of Malcolm's political world view is particularly striking in this collection in his speech to the Paris meeting in November 1964 and his January 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist* magazine. In the speeches and interviews published here, readers will also follow other shifts in Malcolm's thinking and political course:

- Malcolm rejected the views on "race," Black separatism, Jews and anti-Semitism, and opposition to intermarriage that he had publicly defended for many years as a spokesperson for Elijah Muhammad.

- He came to recognize the important place of women in political struggle and economic and social life. This shift occurred under the combined impact of Malcolm's revulsion against Elijah Muhammad's degradation of women and his own observations and experiences in the United States, Africa, and elsewhere.

- Malcolm began to explain, and act on, the need for Black organizations to forge alliances — as equals — with other groups of working people and youth who had proven themselves in practice to be committed to revolutionary change by any means necessary.

- He was increasingly attracted toward involvement in various struggles for equal rights, emphasizing the need for organized self-defense against racist terror gangs or fascist outfits such as the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens' Councils, and American Nazi Party.

Continued on Page 14

Pearl Chertov: 56 years of winning workers and youth to communism

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS
AND HARRY RING

The life of Pearl Chertov, a founding member of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who contributed 56 years of her life to the struggle for socialism, was celebrated at two memorial meetings held in Philadelphia and Los Angeles. Chertov died October 15 at the age of 71. More than a hundred supporters and friends gathered at the Friends Center in Philadelphia November 1, and another 60 attended a Los Angeles memorial meeting November 14.

Dave Gracey of the American Friends Service Committee, welcomed everyone to the Philadelphia meeting. He pointed out that Chertov used to spend a lot of time at the Friends Center helping to organize workers and students from Philadelphia to participate in the massive anti-Vietnam War marches on Washington, D.C., in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

"We have a lot to celebrate here as we review the contributions made by Pearl to the struggle of the working class and the building of the communist movement," said Craig Gannon, who presented the keynote talk to the Philadelphia meeting on behalf of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

As a young woman growing up in Philadelphia, Chertov was drawn to politics in the mid-1930s as a result of the struggles by working people to build industrial unions and organize the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Chertov joined the Young People's Socialist League (YPSL), which in 1938 merged with two other organizations to form the Socialist Workers Party.

In 1940 she met Morris Chertov, also a member of the party. They married, raised

what a communist party was all about," Feldman stated.

"She measured everything she did and said by whether it won new people to the fight, inspired them with knowledge and confidence, and forged fighters into leaders of our party and our class."

Robin Maisel, who was also part of this group of radicalizing students at the University of Pennsylvania and who was won to the communist movement as a result of Chertov's diligent work, told the Los Angeles meeting, "Pearl didn't wait for us to find the party but set about the serious business of recruiting us. She never missed an opportunity to get us to buy a copy of the *Militant*."

"Pearl talked politics and pulled no punches with us," continued Maisel. "She always spoke her mind. And although the formulations were not polished prose, the ideas were always clear and straight from her head and heart."

Ilona Gersh, who worked with Chertov in Philadelphia in the late 1960s and Chicago in the early 1970s, explained how she led by example. "You could always count on Pearl at political events," Gersh said. "She'd be there with the *Militant* and the latest pamphlet, signing people up for subscriptions, for the mailing lists, and upcoming activities."

"She was especially effective in developing young women as leaders of the socialist movement because of the example she set as a leader herself."

Helps defend Rosenbergs

Chertov jumped into the campaign to defend Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell, who were tried and convicted on frame-up charges and concocted evidence of stealing the "secret" of the atom bomb and giving it to the Soviet Union. Despite a worldwide defense campaign, the Rosenbergs were executed on June 19, 1953. The U.S. capitalist rulers hoped this move would instill fear among working-class fighters who dared to stand up against Washington's policies.

"The fight to save the Rosenbergs was not won," Gannon explained in his talk, "but Pearl helped ensure that there was at least some resistance. She knew that you didn't always win. Sometimes you took a blow. But fighting was the only way to strengthen yourself and to weaken the next blow that would surely come." One of Chertov's great strengths as a political activist was her ability to work with diverse forces — with different views on many things — on political activity where there was common agreement.

In the mid-1950s, political activity began opening up again with the rise of the civil rights movement. Chertov was an active participant in this fight. In the early 1960s she picketed Woolworth department stores demanding an end to its segregated lunch counters. She was also an activist in the fight to desegregate Girard College and the public schools in Chester, Pennsylvania.

Chertov was inspired by the triumph of the Cuban revolution in January 1959. She helped found the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, which organized protests against U.S. aggression and a threatened invasion of the island.

'Always moving into action'

"Pearl was always reaching out for politics, always moving into the action," Craig Gannon commented at the meeting. "She acted on the understanding that where there was resistance, there were potential revolutionists who needed to be reached."

These new political developments — the fight for Black rights, the Cuban revolution, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the emergence of a women's liberation movement in the late 1960s — helped draw a whole new generation of youth toward revolutionary politics.

Fred Feldman, who was won to the revolutionary movement as a student at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in the mid-1960s, spoke about the important role Chertov played in winning radicalized students to the communist movement. "Pearl led both by her example and by her words, and we needed plenty of both to learn

what a communist party was all about," Feldman stated.

"She measured everything she did and said by whether it won new people to the fight, inspired them with knowledge and confidence, and forged fighters into leaders of our party and our class."

Robin Maisel, who was also part of this group of radicalizing students at the University of Pennsylvania and who was won to the communist movement as a result of Chertov's diligent work, told the Los Angeles meeting, "Pearl didn't wait for us to find the party but set about the serious business of recruiting us. She never missed an opportunity to get us to buy a copy of the *Militant*."

"Pearl talked politics and pulled no punches with us," continued Maisel. "She always spoke her mind. And although the formulations were not polished prose, the ideas were always clear and straight from her head and heart."

Ilona Gersh, who worked with Chertov in Philadelphia in the late 1960s and Chicago in the early 1970s, explained how she led by example. "You could always count on Pearl at political events," Gersh said. "She'd be there with the *Militant* and the latest pamphlet, signing people up for subscriptions, for the mailing lists, and upcoming activities."

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Re-ups for the movement

In the late 1960s, after several decades of revolutionary activity and nearing the age of 50, Chertov made an important decision to step forward and take on more political responsibility for helping the Socialist Workers Party win to its ranks a new generation of fighters on the campuses. Gannon described her decision as "re-upping" for another stint of political activity and leadership responsibility in the revolutionary movement. Chertov knew that the experiences that her generation went through were needed in the party.

During the next 20 years Chertov took assignments to help build branches of the party in Chicago, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Oakland, Washington, D.C., and New York. She carried out many different assignments including SWP branch organizer in several cities.

Chertov was elected to the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in 1969 when she was 49 years old and served on that body until 1988.

'A vivid personality'

"Pearl was a vivid personality," Gannon stated. "She was someone you remembered. She always wanted to know what you thought and what you were going to do because she always had something that needed doing. She took you out into the world to talk politics — through *Militant* sales, at picket lines, and campaign petitioning drives — and she talked to everyone."

Elizabeth Stone, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles and a member of the International Association of Machinists, told the Los Angeles meeting about the central role played by Chertov in organizing the party's efforts to get its members into industry and the industrial trade unions.

When Chertov first moved to Los Angeles in the late 1970s, the SWP had made a major political decision to have the overwhelming majority of its members around the country become industrial workers. Many of the members had been recruited from campus and antiwar activity in the 1960s and 70s, and a big percentage held nonindustrial jobs.

Chertov was among the layer of older party leaders who helped this development along and encouraged the party's efforts to get more deeply involved in the unions and working-class struggles.

"Pearl was convinced," Stone explained, "that the deepening world economic crisis would lead to massive struggles by working people like those she witnessed during the 1930s depression and after World War II."

Chertov had a knack for becoming an active participant in important labor battles.

In 1989, for example, during her second stint in Los Angeles, members of the International Association of Machinists struck Eastern Airlines. Chertov jumped right into the thick of things.

'Keeper of my political education'

Don White, the Los Angeles organizer of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, developed a close working relationship with Chertov during her antiwar and other political activities.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky
Chertov in 1987

Recalling the challenge confronting Chertov as a nondriver in sprawling Los Angeles, White said he was one of those whom she frequently called on for rides to events and meetings.

"From the moment she got in the car until the end of the ride," White recalled, "it was a barrage of questions, analysis, updates, 'Have you read this? Have you read that?'"

"She was the keeper of my political education," White added, "and her concern and dynamic prodding got me to read things I might have otherwise missed."

In 1990 Chertov returned to Philadelphia, where she remained a political activist until her death. She played an important role in helping to organize the more than 20 buses that went from Philadelphia to Washington, D.C., in January 1991 to protest the U.S. government's war against Iraq.

"Pearl was confident in the capacity of ordinary working people to fight for our rights," said Deborah Liatos, the SWP branch organizer in Philadelphia. "As a longtime communist fighter, she trained and instilled confidence in many people who knew her."

Chertov was a regular participant in weekly sales of the *Militant* at the entrance of a local Philadelphia garment factory, Pincus Brothers and Maxwell, until the week she was admitted into the hospital.

"Watching the enthusiasm and pride with which Pearl sold the *Militant* made a deep impact," commented SWP member Wendy Lyons in a message sent to the meetings. "She approached people with the opportunity to read something valuable to them, something that could help them become participants in the fight to change things."

Chertov remained convinced of the communist political perspective throughout her entire life. "The death of capitalism is closer than ever," Chertov told the *Philadelphia Daily News* in an interview printed Oct. 23, 1991. "You've got to take the long view of history."

Articles about Chertov appeared in several newspapers after her death, including the *Philadelphia Daily News*; *San Francisco Chronicle*; *News Journal* from Wilmington, Delaware; *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer* from Columbus, Georgia; and *Birmingham News* from Birmingham, Alabama.

In a tribute to Chertov's life work, participants in the Philadelphia meeting raised \$1,290 toward the Pathfinder Building reconstruction project. In Los Angeles pledges for \$400 were made and close to \$1,500 was collected.



Militant/Dave Saperstan
Pearl Chertov selling 'Militant' at 1971 protest against the Vietnam War.

two daughters, and remained companions until his death in 1981. During the World War II years they lived in New York and Detroit.

Following the end of World War II, a powerful strike wave swept the country. In November 1945 some 225,000 members of the United Auto Workers began a prolonged strike against General Motors at 92 plants in 50 cities. In January 1946 strikes were also launched by 800,000 steelworkers, 200,000 members of the United Electrical Workers, and 215,000 meat cutters and packinghouse workers. In April, 400,000 bituminous coal miners also struck.

'Connecticut Trail Blazers'

Pearl and Morris responded to these new political openings by becoming part of what

Alaska Airlines workers ratify concession pact

BY MARK SEVERS

SEATTLE — Members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Alaska Airlines ratified a new contract November 24, which includes significant concessions demanded by the company. The IAM represents 3,000 cleaners, ramp workers, mechanics, and stock clerks at the airline's facilities in Alaska, California, Oregon, and Washington state.

No vote totals are yet available for the five-year agreement.

UNION TALK

The terms of the new pact are similar to the initial company offer that had been previously rejected by the IAM membership. The contract contains numerous concessions including reduction in starting pay for all classifications, a new lower "D" pay scale for ramp workers and aircraft cleaners, and the introduction of monthly payments for medical coverage.

In addition, in the state of Alaska new hires will no longer receive the \$2 to \$3 extra hourly wage differential stipulated for other workers because of the high cost of living there.

The company withdrew two major concessions it had originally proposed — a \$3 to \$4 per hour reduction in pay for ramp workers and aircraft cleaners at the termination of the contract, and a new classification of "junior mechanic."

Contract deepens divisions

The contract deepens divisions within the work force by granting raises and signing bonuses to some higher-paid workers with almost nothing for the lowest-paid.

There was little enthusiasm for the terms of the agreement but many workers saw it as the best offer possible short of

a strike. While some workers supported going on strike and had in fact been preparing for this with support rallies and meetings, others felt a strike could not be successful. Rick Seitz, a mechanic, explained, "The local union's support was good but not good enough to strike."

Union officials recommended acceptance of the contract and claimed a strike would result in union members losing their jobs to permanent replacements. Another factor that weighed on workers' decision to vote in favor of the concessions was the announcement by IAM international president George Kourpias on November 16 that all union officers of District Lodge 143, which represents Alaska Airlines workers, were suspended from their duties pending an investigation. The officials were charged with endangering the welfare of the membership.

Many workers saw this move and its timing, one day prior to the vote on the contract, as an attempt to undermine the confidence of the membership and raise doubts as to whether a strike would be supported by international union officials.

Nicky Johnson, a union activist and veteran of the 1985 strike against Alaska, stated, "My dad works for Northwest Airlines and they are facing the same thing. The suspensions of the district officials are timed to the contract negotiations."

Some workers pointed to the activities of the membership and the support that been won prior to a strike as a factor that put the union in a good position to fight. Guy Blue, a mechanic and member of Local Lodge 2202 in Seattle, described the picket lines in Juneau and Anchorage, Alaska; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle.

"We backed the company down from a couple of important concession demands by making noise," he said, "by being out in the street, reaching out for solidarity and involving the membership. These are the kinds of gains we would have built from in a strike situation. If we learned anything it's that fighting and sticking together is the only

way to face up to the company."

Some workers consider that the contract does not represent any major change; virtually no one expressed the view that it was a victory or a step forward. Many workers are proud of the solidarity that they won and the union's activities in support of other workers under attack. They view this as an accomplishment to build on.

For example, Local 2202 passed a resolution November 16 to support the striking miners in the town of Yellowknife in Canada. IAM Local 2202 member John Wilson has recently returned from Yellowknife and has been showing a video he put together on the strike to coworkers during lunch breaks.

Unnecessary setback

The concession contract represents an unnecessary setback for the union. Workers in several cities began to demonstrate their willingness to organize themselves, reach out for support, and conduct a fight against Alaska management. This contract will encourage the airline's owners to press their concession demands against other unions at the company, in particular, against flight attendants, customer service employees, and reservation agents.

The mood among union members is not that of a defeated or demoralized work force. Guy Blue reflected the sentiment of many on the day of the contract vote. "We had a good fight going. We now need to use that to continue our struggle. We need to broaden the participation of the membership, use our union to support the fight of workers like the farm workers. We need to go on a union-organizing drive to bring the union membership up even further than we did."

Mark Severs is a member of IAM Local 2202 in Seattle.

Caterpillar workers resist management attacks

BY JOHN SARGE

DECATUR, Illinois — After working six months without a union contract, United Auto Workers (UAW) members at Caterpillar Inc. remain determined to resist company attacks and defend their union.

Caterpillar, the world's largest manufacturer of earth-moving equipment, has been on a drive to weaken and divide its unionized work force.

The company forced a strike by the UAW last November that lasted five and a half months. The strike ended when the national union leadership ordered workers back to work without an agreement.

Ken, a welder at the Caterpillar plant here, and an activist in UAW Local 751, explained, "The company claims everything is cool, we're one big family, and they are meeting all their production goals. But union people know that production is down by 20 to 25 percent here."

The company stepped up the pressure November 20 by announcing that it plans to fully implement its final concession contract offer by December 1. One of the new provisions is "flexible scheduling," in which workers' schedules may include weekend work, four 10-hour shifts, or 12-hour days.

Larry Solomon, president of UAW Local 751, said in a television interview that the new schedules were the "most objectionable" part of the package. "They want to work people weekends and disrupt their lives without paying overtime."

Since the end of the strike Caterpillar has been putting its concession contract in place piecemeal. New wage scales, including major reductions for some workers, reduced health-care coverage, and new seniority rules went into effect at the end of the strike.

The company announced October 30 that it would no longer pay the wages and benefits for 28 elected union grievance committee representatives. Previously the company paid grievance committee members to work full-time in the plants for the union.

Ken remarked, "The company wants to decide who represents us. They want to be able to remove any committeeman they don't like, but we won't let them." The union local in Decatur plans to continue paying for their one union grievance committee person.

Company moves increase tensions

On November 19 Caterpillar announced a cap on health-care benefits for workers

retiring after January 1.

A worker going into the Decatur plant explained that these latest announcements had "raised tensions inside but did not surprise me; we had expected something like this."

Another worker said, "Foremen are putting pressure on us, trying to get us to do something stupid. But we work by the rules and do things that get them mad. Last Tuesday 400 of us wore T-shirts that said 'Permanently Replace Don Fites.' They ordered us to either take them off or cover them up. One guy put tape over Don Fites and wrote 'censored' across it."

Fites is the chairman of Caterpillar and has led the company's anti-union drive.

A member of UAW Local 974 at the East Peoria, Illinois, complex explained that the company was keeping the pressure on union members there, too. "They've fired a few people for production mistakes. The last guy they fired was charged with telling people not to work overtime."

"They harass us for the buttons and T-shirts we wear, even after the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board] ruled in favor of our right to free speech," he added.

Union activists point to the number of

people paying union dues as an example of the sentiment in the plants. The company ended the automatic checkoff of union dues from paychecks when union members returned to work. Mike Lippert, financial secretary of Local 974, reported that "over 80 percent of the local members come in every month and pay their dues." Local 751 members report that more than 95 percent of the workers in the Decatur plant pay their union dues.

Caterpillar workers have taken part in several rallies and other union actions recently. Six hundred UAW members rallied November 7 in front of Caterpillar's plant in Aurora, Illinois to mark the anniversary of the strike. Participants in that action reported that the Aurora local has organized an activity every few weeks. A contingent of UAW Local 751 members from the Caterpillar plant in Decatur joined a rally to support workers at A.E. Staley Manufacturing Co. at the end of September. Members of the Allied Industrial Workers union at Staley were fighting against that company's drive to impose heavy concessions.

John Sarge is a member of UAW Local 900 in Wayne, Michigan.

Drywall workers win union contract after 5-month strike

BY CARLOS BELTRÁN AND CRAIG HONTS

LOS ANGELES — California drywall construction workers won a union contract November 13 after being on strike for five months. The agreement, signed by 49 contractors and the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, provides for union recognition, hiring to be done through the union hall on a rotating basis, medical insurance, and a pay scale. With an estimated 4,000 drywall hangers in southern California, the struggle was the largest union organizing drive occurring in the United States.

The victory was the result of daily mass picketing that involved thousands of drywall workers throughout southern California. Hundreds of workers mobilized in demonstrations against police attacks and several deportations of strikers carried out by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

Instead of growing smaller over time, the pickets and demonstrations grew and won the respect and admiration of many workers in California. Unions in the area donated \$3 million to the strike effort.

Forty percent of the striking drywallers

have returned to work. All new hiring is now being done through the carpenters' union hall.

Big gains in wages

Wages of drywallers were cut drastically over the last 10 years, from an average of \$15 an hour to barely \$5 an hour. The contract raises wages from four cents per square foot of drywall hung to seven-and-a-half cents per square foot. The contract guarantees time-and-a-half pay after 40 hours of work, something that was rarely paid before the strike.

Southern California's multibillion-dollar homebuilding industry invested plenty of money, lawyers, and political connections to break the strike. The police, antiriot SWAT police teams, the INS, and the courts were all used against the strikers.

But with determination, discipline, and solidarity the drywall workers were able to break through the obstacles they faced, win a victory for all workers, and set an example of how to organize.

While some contractors in Los Angeles and Orange County still have not signed the agreement and continue to be picketed, the



Daily mass picketing by thousands of drywall workers helped win a union contract

focus of the struggle has now shifted from Los Angeles and Orange counties to San Diego County, where most contractors have still not signed.

Beltrán Arellano, a member of the union strike committee in El Monte, explained, "Workers are different from before. There is

higher morale, more discipline, more enthusiasm. Through all that time they couldn't beat us. We started from the ground up and grew and grew." Another drywall worker added, "We're not going to stop here. We're going to continue organizing and broadening the fight."

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

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary. Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, member, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

IOWA

Des Moines

Why Trade Unionists Should Oppose Anti-immigrant Violence in Germany and the United States. Sat., Dec. 12, 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Malcolm X: Internationalist and Revolutionary Fighter. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 1726; Eugenio Baez, member, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 205; others. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Massachusetts Ave.) Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Stop Police Brutality! Justice for Malice Green! Speakers: Dudley Laws, Black Action Defense Committee of Toronto, Ontario; Rev. Horace Sheffield, Detroit Church Improvement Association; Allen Martin, Save Our Sons and Daughters; Ken Riley, Association of Students of African Descent, Henry Ford Community College; Arlene Rubinstein, member Socialist Workers Party, member United Food and Commercial Workers Local 26. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Report-Back from the Nov. 27-30 Continental Student Meeting on the North American Free Trade Agreement in Guadalajara, Mexico. Speakers: J. Berger, International Student, Trade, Environment, and Development Program; Gerardo Sánchez, Socialist Workers Party Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The Fight for Jobs: Eyewitness Report from Britain on the Miners' Struggle Against Mine Closings. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Malcolm X: International Working-Class Fighter. Showing of *El-Hajj Malik El Shabazz*, a video of Malcolm X's speeches, followed by speaker and discussion. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Malcolm X: His Relevance for Fighters Today. A panel discussion. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Pittsburgh

The Fight to Save the Environment — from the Rain Forest to Stopping WTL. Speakers: Eric Knaperstein, member, Youth for Environmental Sanity (YES!); Deborah Higdon, member United Steelworkers of America Local 6191, member, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Dec. 6, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

No U.S. Troops to Somalia! Massive Food and Medical Aid Now! Speaker: Chris Hoepfner, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists. Mon., Dec. 7, 6 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755. Translation to Spanish.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

South Africa: The ANC and the Fight for Power. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

Malcolm X: Internationalist Working-Class Fighter. Sat., Dec. 12, 7:30 p.m. 242 Walnut St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Bougainville Conflict: Made in Australia? Speakers: Moses Havini, Bougainville Support Group; Lee Walkington, Communist League; others. Sat., Dec. 12, 6 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

BRITAIN

London

Protest the Immigration Raid at Caterair GCC, Heathrow! Speaker: Joyce Fairchild, member of Transport and General Workers Union at Caterair GCC and of Communist League. Sat., Dec. 5, 8 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

CANADA

Montréal

Malcolm X. Video documentary, followed by presentation and discussion. Speaker: Paula Harrison, member, Communist League. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St.-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 273-2503. Translation to French.

Toronto

The Revolutionary Legacy of Malcolm X. Film excerpts of his speeches and interviews, followed by presentation and discussion. Speaker: Robert Simms, member, Communist League. Sat., Dec. 5, film at 6:30, presentation at 8 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver

The Effects of Today's Economic Depression: Crisis in the Caribbean. Speaker: John Munoru, member, Communist League who participated in the 1992 Caribbean trade union book fair and conference in Trinidad. Sat., Dec. 5, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

How the U.S. Elections Hid the Real Political Issues and Prepared New Aggression by Washington. Speaker: Mike Tucker, Communist League. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Wellington

Celebrate Achievements of Communist League Campaign for Wellington By-election. Speaker: Felicity Coggan, Communist League candidate. Sat., Dec. 12, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

UN vote condemns U.S. embargo of Cuba

Continued from front page

territorial application of U.S. jurisdiction" and called the U.S. law a "violation of a general principle of international law and the sovereignty of independent nations."

Both Britain and Canada have enacted laws that forbid U.S. subsidiaries operating on their territory to obey the provisions of the Cuban Democracy Act.

U.S. -led embargo weakens

The inability of Washington to rally even its closest allies to its side in this vote is an indication of the difficulty it is having in maintaining the economic embargo against Cuba under conditions where every capitalist nation is competing for shrinking world markets.

Capitalist countries today account for the majority of Cuba's trade. Canada, Spain, Sweden, Austria, Germany, Switzerland, Britain, Japan, Italy, and Belgium are all engaged in significant business with Cuba. U.S. subsidiaries abroad carried out \$718 million worth of trade with Cuba in 1991.

The increased trade with Cuba by other capitalist countries, and by U.S. subsidiaries abroad, has been a source of controversy within the U.S. ruling class. While there are those who want to prevent all trade with Cuba in order to destroy the revolution, a significant section of the ruling class argues that U.S. capitalists will be hurt by being denied access to a market courted by their rivals.

Earlier this year the U.S. Justice Department filed charges against Cargill, Inc., the giant Minneapolis-based grain merchant, claiming that the company, three of its Minnesota executives, and two executives from Cargill International — its Geneva, Switzerland, affiliate — were part of a scheme to sell Cuban sugar on the world market.

Bush gives last-minute support

This conflict was reflected in the discussions that led to the signing of the Cuban Democracy Act in late October. Up until a few weeks before he signed the Torricelli bill into law, Bush had long opposed it, arguing that such a bill would lead to otherwise unnecessary conflicts with U.S. allies.

His final decision to support the bill was based primarily on narrow electoral considerations, not the overall interests of the U.S. ruling class. President-elect William Clinton had seized on the Cuban Democracy Act in his presidential campaign and was making inroads among right-wing Cuban-American forces in Florida, long considered a Bush stronghold.

In a final effort to win the presidential election, Bush jumped on the bandwagon, acting to show his new support for the bill in as partisan a way as possible. He even refused to invite the bill's chief sponsors,

Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli and Senator Robert Graham, to the signing ceremony.

The fact that the U.S. rulers will pay for Bush's 11th-hour move was shown by the UN vote. Washington's position is particularly untenable at a time when the U.S. government is trying to push back the share of the market for agricultural products claimed by French and other European Community capitalists, by forcing them to decrease government protection of their exports. Washington is carrying out this campaign in the name of "free trade."

Embargo part of 30-year campaign

In presenting the resolution to the General Assembly, Cuba's permanent representative to the United Nations, Alcibiades Hidalgo Basulto, reminded delegates of the more than 30-year history of aggression by the United States against revolutionary Cuba, calling the embargo the most serious form of this aggression. He explained that "the net of anti-Cuban laws constructed during 30 years by eight U.S. administrations has had an ominous influence" on Cuba's economy.

Hidalgo explained that the U.S. embargo violated both international law and the

United Nations Charter. Its aim, he said, is clearly to overthrow a sovereign government and to "impose upon the Cuban people a political, social, and economic system to the liking of the United States and selected by it and, essentially, to re-establish the domination the U.S. exerted on Cuba during the darkest period of our history."

The Cuban statement explained that the U.S. legislation imposed severe restrictions on shipping "in violation of the principle of freedom of navigation."

These laws violate the sovereignty not only of Cuba, but of other nations and of the citizens of the United States itself. "The freedom of [U.S.] citizens to travel to my country is restricted," Hidalgo told the United Nations.

"Not even a single economic or social element of Cuban reality escapes the consequences of the blockade," the Cuban ambassador explained. The most recent studies estimate that the cost of the embargo to the Cuban people has been \$38 billion in 32 years.

Other representatives speaking in favor of the Cuban resolution included Ambassador Nugroho Wisnumurti of Indonesia, who spoke on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement, as well as the delegates from Venezuela, Iraq, and Zimbabwe.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: New York: 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 221-2691. **Cleveland:** 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

OREGON: Portland: 2310 NE 8th #1. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 288-0466.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8196. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 523 8th St. SE. Zip: 20003. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BARBADOS

Bridgetown: P.O. Box 891. Tel.: (809) 436-7723.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL.

Tel: 071-928-7993.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 1 Gower St., Spital Hill, Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Montreal: 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

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

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

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

MEXICO

Mexico City: Apdo. Postal 27-575, Col. Roma Sur. Mexico D.F.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

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

SWEDEN

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

Bunkers or bonkers? — To relieve cash flow difficulties, the British government will market some 20 bunkers built during the



Harry Ring

cold war to ensure the survival of the top military brass in an atomic war. An official suggested that if the roofs were ripped off, the bunkers would make good swimming pools.

And drink lots of water — For

the impoverished in Britain, the government has a recommended "low-cost healthy" diet. For £10 (\$15) a week it provides one egg every two weeks and relies heavily on canned vegetables, breakfast cereals and bread — eight slices a day. Of these, three would have a thin spread of margarine or butter, with the balance taken dry.

Sexist pig of the week — In a British court, a man said he did a holdup to get away from emotional problems with his girlfriend. Responded Judge John Lee: "If a woman upsets you, alright. It's part of their function in life. It's part of the fun they have." Queried on this by a woman reporter, the judge asked,

"What lesbian group are you from?"

See, it does work — "You can say we're fond of the democratic process." — An ABC exec on the \$24 million the network raked in on advertising from the three major presidential candidates, with half of it from Perot alone.

Don't make a habit of it? — The new edition of the Catechism, the official Vatican list of don'ts advises that it's not a sin for wedded couples to seek pleasure in sex, provided they do so with moderation.

Keeps the stockholders tranquil — In Pennsylvania's biggest state prisons, 16 percent of mental

patients — three time the national average — receive mind-altering and tranquilizing drugs — dispensed by half the professionally recommended number of staff workers. Prison health "care" is provided by private companies.

Blue Monday — In addition to being an antidote to unemployment, a shorter workweek with no loss of pay would add to longevity. The American Heart Assn. found that for employed workers, the risk of heart attack is 40 percent greater on Monday than the rest of the workweek, and 50 percent higher than Sunday.

Practical fellow — Much has been made about how David Paul

stripped the Miami-based Centrust of its assets to indulge his taste for luxuries — a mega-yacht, a mansion featuring gold toilet fixtures, etc. But one expenditure struck us as understandable, considering the game he was running. Bulletproof shower doors.

Common-sense type — Readers will forgive us for not knowing who Princess Gloria van Thurn und Taxis is. But we're impressed. She auctioned off some jewelry because she's \$300 million in the hole, and observed: "We still have plenty of jewelry left, including some very nice tiaras. . . . But let's face it, we don't wear tiaras so often, so why keep them?"

Korean 'comfort woman' describes WWII abuse

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — "When I was 19 years old," explained Keum-Ju Hwang, "I was sent away to a Japanese military camp in response to a decree by the Japanese government saying that every household that had a young woman above the age of 16 had to send her to work for the war effort. That was how my period of cruelty began."

For the next three years, Hwang, now 71,



Militant/Joo Peterson

Keum-Ju Hwang speaking in New York

was one of many thousands of young Korean women who were taken from their homes to serve as "Military Comfort Troops" for the Japanese forces during World War II. Korea at that time was under Japanese colonial rule. She was kept in a camp in Manchuria, China, then under Jap-

anese military occupation.

Living in barracks, they were forced to serve the sexual needs of the soldiers and their officers, sometimes several dozen men a day.

Hwang told her story to some 70 people, mainly young Korean women, at a forum held at the New York University Law school November 21. The event was sponsored by the Korea Working Group, the Korean YWCA of New York, the Organization of Asian Women, and the Chinese Alliance for Memorial and Justice.

Hwang had just returned from a speaking tour in Canada and was scheduled to speak in Washington, D.C. This is the first time a "comfort woman" has spoken publicly in the United States.

Speaking in Korean with Eunju Lee, an activist of the Korea Working Group as her translator, Hwang gave a moving portrait of the plight of those who were subjected to the Japanese troops.

"There were 20 of us assigned to the barracks where I was housed," she said. "By the time we left three years later, there were only eight of us left. I was the only one healthy enough to walk and leave the camp when the war ended." Many of the women died of venereal diseases and starvation.

To this day, Hwang does not know exactly at which Japanese military installation she was kept. When she left, it took her two months to make it to Seoul, Korea, on foot.

Describing the repressive conditions at the camp, Hwang explained that when the Japanese army surrendered after the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, it took her two days before she ventured out of the barracks to see what was going on. When Hwang finally came out to a deserted camp looking for food for herself and the other women, she

ran into a man who was clearing out of the camp and who informed her the war was over.

"Having no clothes of my own, I put on several layers of clothing the soldiers had left behind and a pair of sandals I found in the camp," Hwang told the audience. "The other women were too weak and ill to leave the camp and told me to let their families know where they had died."

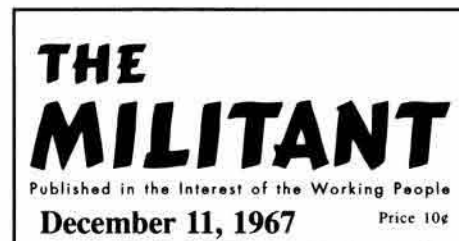
As moving as her story was, Hwang, spoke not as a victim but as a fighter. What kept her going all these years was the idea that one day she would have the chance to tell her story, she explained.

That chance came some 40 years after she left the camp. In 1987 a group of women began to address the issue of the comfort women.

Kyung Hee Kim, of the Korean Council for Women Drafted for Sexual Service for Japan, described the organization's efforts. "A group of women belonging to church organizations began working with Korean survivors of the atomic bomb in Japan."

When U.S. warplanes dropped the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, there were 20,000 to 30,000 Koreans living in those cities, Kim explained. They were there carrying out forced labor for the Japanese war effort.

- 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO -



NEW YORK, Dec. 6 — The first two days of Stop the Draft Week saw thousands of New Yorkers demand an end to conscription for Vietnam, in militant and spirited demonstrations. Mayor Lindsay mobilized his cops in unprecedented numbers to fragment the demonstrations and in this way curb mass antiwar protest.

This morning, in the face of an icy wind, some 5,000 young people gathered at 5:30 a.m. near the New York induction center at Whitehall Street. They were mobilized by the Stop the Draft Week Committee, a coalition of student, antiwar and political groups.

Yesterday another group of 5,000 turned out at the same hour in support of a group conducting civil disobedience at the center under the auspices of the War Resisters League. The actions were organized as part of the national antidraft effort.

Tightly organized police herded the demonstrators behind mazes of wooden barriers spread over a wide area, preventing a massive gathering at the induction center. Several hundred, including Dr. Benjamin Spock and other notables, were jailed for sitting down near the center.

Mounted police drove some sit-downers from the streets onto the sidewalk. At least one was brutally clubbed, and hospitalized with a brain concussion.

One inductee got swept up with a crowd being run out of the area. He tried, unsuccessfully, to get various cops to sign his induction notice so he could establish he had reported as required.

Another inductee, interviewed by newsmen, said his brother was already in Vietnam

and that he was "scared to death" of going.

Asked for his view on the demonstrators, he replied: "God bless them."



December 12, 1942

The fact that workers are living under obvious and recognized "sub-standard conditions" is no grounds for their receiving wage increases, according to a ruling handed down last week by the War Labor Board in the case of 800 workers employed in 28 San Francisco hotels.

The conditions of the San Francisco hotel workers have been unbearably poor for years. Twice they have been forced to strike in an attempt to improve their lot. Both strikes, although long and bitter, failed to change their conditions, which even the WLB had termed "sub-standard."

Yet, what small pay increases the Board did grant certain classifications of these workers were based only upon a "saving in bookkeeping."

Another step in the Board's current union-busting drive was its decision to "punish" those workers who attempt to defend themselves in the face of boss provocation.

When the workers of the East Alton Manufacturing Company walked out on strike over wage chiseling by the boss the WLB placed the local of the Chemical Workers Union, AFL, on "six months probation."

Thus the WLB is taking on itself police powers by which it can punish workers who resist chiseling, stalling, and other anti-union employer methods.

These decisions mean that workers can place no confidence in the War Labor Board. If they want to safeguard their conditions, the unions must depend only on their own organized strength and militant activities.

Europe's currencies in turmoil

Continued from front page

rency devaluations has now built up sufficient steam to become virtually self-perpetuating," warned David Marsh in the November 25 *Financial Times* of London. "The only predictable characteristic of the ERM now seems to be its instability."

Two-tier Europe?

The renewed upheaval affecting monetary relations within Europe has shattered hopes of a European Community currency union. Instead, according to a November 23 article in the *Financial Times*, "the latest realignment underlines the division of Europe into two tiers, with the prosperous upper half built around a D-Mark [German mark] zone to which France is clinging doggedly with its 'franc fort' [strong franc] policy."

Europe increasingly finds itself divided into the "hard core" — countries still able to maintain strong currencies — composed of Germany, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Denmark, and the "soft seven," — weaker capitalist countries all of whom recently devalued or had to float their currencies, composed of Britain, Finland, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden.

The continuing currency devaluations have created big problems for Germany and France in their trade relations with other

countries throughout Europe. German and French goods are now proportionately more expensive, while those of their European rivals have become relatively cheaper. In fact, the European "soft seven" now account for 26 percent and 30 percent of the total exports of Germany and France, respectively.

The latest round of currency fluctuations reflects the accelerating economic conflict among capitalist rivals within Europe, which in turn increases the pressure for further devaluations. Ireland, which sends 30 percent of its exports to Britain and whose currency, the punt, has gained 10.9 percent against the pound since September, is likely to be devalued soon.

The Norwegian currency, which also seems headed toward devaluation, continues to weaken against the mark despite moves to raise overnight money-lending rates to 600 percent.

"Then it's a question of whether the Danish krone and the French franc are next," economist Ian Amstad of London's Bankers Trust told the *New York Times*. "If that happens, then the ERM as we know it is finished."

Devaluations, which make imported food and other goods more expensive, will lower the already declining standards of living of the working class throughout Europe.

A blow to U.S. embargo of Cuba

The decision by the United Nations General Assembly to condemn the U.S.-organized embargo of Cuba is a blow to the 33-year campaign of the U.S. government to strangle the Cuban revolution. Only Israel and Romania voted with the United States.

Washington in effect uses the strength of its massive economy as a weapon to threaten other governments if they fail to participate in the blockade against Cuba. The "Cuban Democracy Act," recently signed into law by President Bush, explicitly forbids foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from trading with Cuba. This measure also bans any foreign ship that has entered a Cuban port from visiting the United States for the following six months. Such measures can place a substantial burden on other countries trading with Cuba.

But Washington's failure to rally the support of even its closest allies to its side in the General Assembly vote shows the limitations the United States now faces in this effort. The extensive trade that Cuba is able to carry out with many capitalist countries is proof that the embargo is weaker today than at any point in the last three decades.

The deepening economic crisis has every capitalist country scrambling to increase its share of shrinking world markets. Under these conditions, the ruling classes of fewer nations are willing to ignore their own economic self-interests to follow the political dictates of the U.S. rulers. The employers and their governments in countries from New Zealand to Mexico and France to Indonesia simply had to take a stand to defend their trading rights.

There are many capitalists, including within the United States, who are pushing for freedom to trade with Cuba.

The vote in the United Nations was another indication of the deepening tensions and rivalries between the different imperialist nations. At the same moment that the United States is demanding that France and the rest of the European Community eliminate, in the name of free trade, measures designed to protect domestic capitalists in agriculture and industry, U.S. officials will enforce rules sharply restricting free trade with Cuba.

As the Cuban ambassador explained to the United Nations, the embargo has always had as its purpose the overthrow of the Cuban government and the establishment of a government more to Washington's liking. The U.S. rulers will never be able to forgive the Cuban people for taking their destiny into their own hands by overthrowing the U.S.-supported dictatorship in 1959 and expropriating the U.S. corporations that sucked wealth from the Cuban economy. In the three decades since, Cuba has refused to subordinate the interests of working people around the world to the demands of the U.S. government.

Nor can Washington forgive Cuba for the example it continues to represent, for oppressed and exploited people throughout Latin America and the Caribbean, and indeed throughout the world.

For more than 30 years, the response of the U.S. rulers to the Cuban revolution, from the illegal occupation of the Guantánamo naval base on Cuban territory, to the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1962, to the embargo, has been to try to bully the Cuban people into submission. The inability of the U.S. to win support in the United Nations shows that this policy is failing.

Food, not troops, to Somalia

Working people around the world should oppose Washington's plans for military intervention in Somalia. The proposal to send tens of thousands of U.S. troops into Somalia, under the banner of the United Nations, aims at legitimizing the ability of the rulers of the United States to take military action at will, in any part of the world.

It follows in the steps of other U.S. war moves in recent years, in Iraq, Panama, Grenada, Libya, and elsewhere. Through these wars and invasions, Washington has overthrown governments, sought to force the rulers of other countries into line, and attempted to set back popular movements. In this period of increasing tension and instability around the world, imperialist governments from Washington and London, to Bonn and Tokyo will more and more seek to use military might to get their way.

The latest moves in Somalia come in the context of increasing conflicts between these imperialist powers, illustrated by the recent threat of a trade war between the rulers of the United States and various European countries. As such economic conflicts sharpen, the likelihood also grows of shooting wars developing.

U.S. and UN officials claim that troops are needed to put an end to the famine and war that are taking hundreds of thousands of lives in Somalia, pointing to the fact that much of the food aid sent there has been stolen by armed bandits. This overlooks the fact that the supplies of food brought into the country have been totally inadequate,

intensifying the pressure for fighting over the relief that has come in. The situation has gotten so bad that the International Red Cross cut rations at its 300 kitchens in Mogadishu, the capital, to just 523 calories' worth of rice, oil, and beans per day.

What is desperately needed in Somalia today is massive amounts of food, medicines, and other supplies. Thousands of armed troops are not required to do this; resources exist in the United States and other developed countries to airlift supplies on the scale necessary.

The obstacle to such a relief effort is neither a lack of food nor of logistical capacity. The problem is rooted in the workings of the market system, which is in a crisis of "overproduction." While millions around the world face starvation and deprivation, Washington is actually putting pressure on European countries to cut back production of food and other agricultural products, as part of upholding the profits of giant agricultural trading monopolies. The reason that the necessary massive effort to get supplies to places where people go hungry is not made, is that this would be contrary to the requirements of the profit system.

The working people of Somalia are paying a grim price in lives for the inhumanity of this system.

No U.S. troops to Somalia!

Massive food aid now!

All-out push to make sub drive!

The successful completion of the international campaign to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* is within reach. What is needed now — as we head into the final week of the drive — is an all-out effort on the part of every single supporter, worldwide, to make each component of the international drive.

Every single reader of the *Militant* can make a difference. Introduce the paper to friends and coworkers, or recontact people that you've talked to before. Supporters of the *Militant* can also join in teams organized out of Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12. These efforts will pay off and put us over the top.

Considerable progress has been made over the past two weeks in fighting to make the goal. *Militant* supporters sent in 358 new subscriptions last week, 15 percent of the goal. We are now really on a drive. Sales experiences reported from local areas, and the totals posted on page 7, show that supporters in many cities that until recently were lagging are now fighting to make their goals.

The key to driving through to victory is in the daily, detailed organization of the drive. This includes regular work meetings in each city to set up daily teams that take full advantage of the time and energy of every volunteer. The experiences of cities like Miami, Houston, and St. Louis, where supporters have been able to turn the drive around with this kind of attention, are not unique.

Once the drive is organized along these lines, we begin to meet many students and working people — both young and old — whose eyes light up when we show them the

Militant, *Perspectiva Mundial*, or a *New International*. Supporters are inspired to stay out on teams longer, and to go out more often. The level of activity in Miami, where many supporters volunteered for at least five teams last week, should set an example for the final week of the drive.

Supporters in Boston report that an "all day" sale there often means just that. They have been setting up campus tables for 7-8 hours at a time. Wherever possible, teams of this duration, on weekends and days off, give the best opportunity to introduce the broadest number of people to the socialist press.

The moves towards war in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia by the United States rulers and their imperialist competitors; the deepening of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa; the struggle of the Cuban people to advance and defend their revolution; and the growing resistance of workers and farmers in the imperialist countries to the effects of the worldwide economic and social crisis all point to the increasing importance of the socialist publications.

The successful completion of the international circulation drive will mean that these important tools will be placed in the hands of thousands of working people around the world.

The final scoreboard for the drive will be printed in issue #47. All subscriptions that arrive at the *Militant* business office by 3:00 p.m. E.S.T. on Sunday, December 13 will be included in the final tally.

Malcolm X

Continued from Page 9

● Malcolm's views on self-defense, and the proposals he made at that time to leaders of civil rights organizations (including Martin Luther King), went beyond the sharp limits imposed by the character of the Fruit of Islam defense squads while he was still in the Nation. The fundamental purpose of the Fruit of Islam is to guard the interests of Nation leaders and keep the ranks of the organization in line; it is an obstacle, not a model, to forging the kind of disciplined self-defense that can, in a nonsectarian and nonexclusive way, draw in and organize oppressed working people themselves to act in their own interests.

● Malcolm, as he put it in the January 1965 *Young Socialist* interview, began "to do a lot of thinking and reappraising" of the view he had frequently presented during the first half of 1964 that "we [can] sum up the solution to the problems confronting our people as black nationalism." "And if you notice," he added, "I haven't been using the expression for several months." Malcolm acknowledged in that interview that his political views were evolving rapidly. "I still would be hard-pressed," he said, "to give a specific definition of the overall philosophy which I think is necessary for the liberation of the Black people in this country."

Revolutionary leader and thinker

Through all of these speeches and interviews, from first to last, Malcolm X takes his place as one of the twentieth century's outstanding revolutionary thinkers and leaders of the oppressed and exploited who toil the world over. Opponents of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation discover they need to study and absorb what Malcolm said, just as they do the speeches and writings of Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, Che Guevara, Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and other revolutionary leaders.

Seventy years before Malcolm spoke the words in these pages, another of the great revolutionary leaders of this century, V.I. Lenin, wrote a tribute to Frederick Engels, who had died in 1895. Along with Karl Marx, Engels was a founding leader of the modern communist workers' movement. Lenin pointed out that Engels, while still a young man of only twenty-four years of age, had been among the first to explain that the working class is "not only a suffering class" but above all a fighting class that will organize itself and its oppressed and exploited allies to achieve their own emancipation.

Malcolm made a similar point in an interview that was published by the New York weekly *Village Voice* just a few days after his assassination in February 1965. "The greatest mistake of the movement," Malcolm said, "has been trying to organize a sleeping people around specific goals. You have to wake the people up first, then you'll get action."

"Wake them up to their exploitation?" the interviewer interjected.

"No," Malcolm replied, "to their humanity, to their own worth."

That's why Malcolm can be called, without qualification, a revolutionary leader of world stature. Others at that time — from leaders of the Cuban revolution, to those in Algeria and throughout the African continent and the Middle East — recognized him as an equal.

"All thinking people today who have been oppressed are revolutionary," he told the OAAU meeting organized in November 1964 to hear his initial report back from the trip to Africa. "Any time you find somebody today who's afraid of the word 'revolution,' get him on out of your way. He's living in the wrong era. He's behind the times. He hasn't awakened yet. This is the era of revolution."

The 'young generations'

The following week, speaking before the Oxford University debating society in Britain, Malcolm expanded on the same theme. Despite the formal, ritual character of the setting, and the socially privileged composition of the student audience he was addressing, Malcolm did not change a word of what he explained everywhere else he had the opportunity to speak.

The "young generation of whites, blacks, browns, whatever else there is," Malcolm said, "you're living at a time of extremism, a time of revolution, a time when there's got to be a change. People in power have misused it, and now there has to be a change and a better world has to be built. . . . I for one will join in with anyone, I don't care what color you are, as long as you want to change this miserable condition that exists on this earth."

In the 1990s, more than a quarter century after Malcolm's assassination, larger numbers of youth and working people than ever before, not only in the United States but among revolutionary-minded fighters the world over, want to read what Malcolm X had to say.

In Malcolm's speeches, interviews, and statements, they find incorruptible honesty and revolutionary integrity; they find pride and identification with all those who cast off self-images imposed on them by racists and bigots of every stripe; they find a powerful assertion of their own self-worth, dignity, equality, and capacities as human beings to think for themselves and act politically in a collective and disciplined way; and they find straightforward truths about an economic and social system that promises only more wars, cop brutality, racist violence, national oppression, economic devastation, degradation of women, and destruction of the means of human life and culture we share on this planet.

November 1992

Yellowknife mine strikers tour British Columbia

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your work place or in your union.

Gold miners on strike at Royal Oak Mines in Yellowknife, North-

dian Mounted Police. "Our families and members are threatened and harassed by Pinkertons [private security cops] and the RCMP. On the basis of Pinkerton hearsay the RCMP lays criminal charges on our members. While awaiting trial our members face injunctions barring them from going to the picket line."

Roberts told the meeting, "We're not going to come crawling back. With your help we can hold out." She added, "There is no justice for working people in Yellowknife. We need people in Canada to stand up for us."

The delegates and observers to

ATU Support Committee, Vancouver Co-op Radio, and Vancouver Folk Music Festival.

On November 27 Roberts and Seeton will visit Elkford, British Columbia, where 900 members of the United Steelworkers of America union have been waging a determined strike since May against concession demands by Fording Coal. □

Nova Scotia ends mine explosion inquiry

The Nova Scotia Supreme Court ordered an end to the public inquiry into the underground explosion at the Westray mine that killed 26 miners May 9. It is the first public inquiry in Canada to be struck down by a court before it heard a witness.

In rendering its November 13 decision, Chief Justice Constance Glube ruled that the inquiry focused on criminal responsibility rather than policy concerns such as mine safety. The fact that mine managers would be compelled to testify before the investigation commission, could compromise their right to a fair trial if ever they face charges under federal criminal law, she said.

Four of the mine managers are facing 52 charges under the provincial Occupational Health and Safety Act. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police claims it is conducting a criminal investigation that could lead to charges under the federal criminal code. The judge used this excuse to rule that the provincial inquiry could compromise mine manager's rights.

Families of the victims of the 26 miners reacted to the decision by calling on the provincial government to relaunch the inquiry. They want to know about the role of the federal and provincial governments in supporting the Westray mine project and want an examination of how occupational health and safety laws are enforced in the province.

The Westray mine began production in 1991 with tens of millions of dollars of federal government loan guarantees and \$10 million of provincial money. □

New Zealand engineering workers protest takebacks

Seventy engineering workers (machinists) conducted a one-day strike and picket November 17 at Ajax Spurway Fasteners in Sea-view, Lower Hutt. Workers voted by a 4-1 margin to go on strike. Drivers passing the busy intersec-

tion tooted their support.

Last year, under the threat of closure, the company forced through a takeback contract. Penal rates — premium pay for overtime weekend, and holiday work — were paid only outside the hours of 6:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. and then only at the rate of time and a tenth. Only five days were allowed for sick days and domestic and bereavement leave combined. Compulsory overtime became the norm. Pay rates were low.

"Anger is running so high now that there are workers who only want to see the place fold," said Kevin Neve, one of a team of six working in high temperatures all day with molten zinc.

Unless the company goes some way to meeting union claims for a five percent wage rise and penal rates at time and a quarter, more action is likely, Neve explained. □

New Zealand meat plant closes to break union contract

At a small slaughterhouse in Morrinsville, in the rich North Island dairy farming area of Waikato in New Zealand, workers were told November 6 to pack up their gear and go. They were told their employer, South Pacific Meats, had ceased trading and they were to reapply for their jobs to a new company, Waikato Beef Packers. The plant kills dairy cows for the U.S. hamburger trade.

The 53 workers, members of the Auckland-Tomoana Freezing Workers Union, had been back at work only three weeks after successfully concluding a thirteen-week strike (see September 18 *Militant*). They had initially been locked out after refusing to sign a new contract. When the company called them back, they decided to strike.

Following the strike workers approved a new three-year contract that represented an improvement on the company's original demands.

On November 9, two-thirds of the workers set up a picket in front of the plant. The remaining workers had already reapplied for their jobs.

Following discussions with the union secretary, however, the picket was taken down, and the 33 picketers signed application forms on his recommendation. Of these, only 10 have been rehired. Half those now working are new hires.

The contract they are now working under contains the same concessions as the one they had struck against in August. It includes a wage cut and no seniority provisions.

Workers have suffered severe attacks on their wages and working conditions ever since this plant opened four years ago. With the introduction of a second shift, which included a 14-day roster instead of the usual 5-day week, workers each lost around \$9,000 a year.

From killing 27 head of cattle per worker in an 8-hour day, the workload increased to 40 head of cattle in a 10-hour day. No penal rates or production bonuses were paid on overtime.

The speed-up has meant a sharp increase in accidents. At the end of one four-day week, for example, seven of the 15 workers on a shift were off work because of injuries. □

New York garment workers aid strikers

Workers at Mademoiselle Knitting in Brooklyn, New York, participated in a November 17 fund collection for strikers at STC Knitting/Maxion Corp. Both plants are organized by International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 155.

Workers decided to organize the collection at a meeting of the union at Mademoiselle. A leaflet was distributed in the plant explaining the issues in the strike. A number of workers at Mademoiselle expressed outrage at the fact that the boss at STC/Maxion had instituted a 49-hour workweek with no overtime pay.

About half of the workers made a contribution at the collection. During the collection half a dozen STC/Maxion strikers showed up and participated in it. At this point the response from the Mademoiselle workers picked up quite a bit. About \$80 was collected.

The collection sparked a lot of discussion at Mademoiselle, since nothing like this had happened before at the plant. It gave some of the workers a broader idea of what the union is.

The collection was also a new experience for the STC/Maxion strikers, and has led to further discussions about how to reach out to win more support for their strike. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Ned Dmytryshyn in Vancouver, Canada; Roger Annis, member of Canadian Autoworkers Local 1990 in Montreal; Malcolm Stuart in Wellington, New Zealand; Katherine Rodda, member of the New Zealand Meat Workers Union in Wellington; and Tony Prince, member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 155 in New York.

ON THE PICKET LINE

west Territories, in Canada have been touring British Columbia to win support for their six-month-long battle. The miners belong to Local 4 of the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW).

Local 4 president Harry Seeton and June Roberts, president of the CASAW Ladies Association Support System (CLASS), addressed the Vancouver and District Labor Council November 17.

The main owner of Royal Oak, "has been out to break the union since she first bought the company 18 months before the strike began," Seeton stated. "Royal Oak has violated safety regulations, disciplined our members for defending safety conditions, and is now using replacement workers to break us."

"We are up against two levels of government — the RCMP, the courts and Royal Oak," Seeton said, referring to the Royal Cana-

the Vancouver and District Labor Council meeting collected more than \$700 for the strikers and voted to direct affiliated locals to adopt a striking family or make a financial contribution. The council represents 107 local unions with a total membership of 45,000.

Earlier that day Roberts spoke to the Vancouver General Hospital local of the Hospital Employees Union. The local voted to donate \$500 to the striking gold miners and to continue donating \$50 a month until the strike is over.

Seeton and Roberts also plan to address the Victoria Labor Council, the Nanaimo Labor Council, as well as local meetings of the Pulp, Paper, and Woodworkers of Canada (PPWC) on Vancouver Island.

They will also attend a benefit organized for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the Yellowknife miners. The event is organized by the COS-



Yellowknife strike leaders Harry Seeton (left) and Rick Cassidy (right), and June Roberts, head of women's support group.

LETTERS

Gays in the military

Sara Lobman's excellent "As I See It" column in the *Militant* dated November 20, in which she explained why giving women the "right" to fight alongside men in U.S. wars would be a setback for women's equality, got me thinking about a parallel question getting a lot of media attention today — the removal of the ban on homosexuality in the U.S. armed forces.

Like the subject of women in combat roles, the discussion surrounding the anti-gay ban focuses on the "right" of a heretofore excluded sector of society to participate fully in U.S. wars. Media commentators, bourgeois politicians, and many gay rights leaders stress the patriotism, good conduct, and obedience of gays and lesbians in the U.S. military, and much attention is given to the "exemplary" records of gays in uniform who have spoken out against the ban.

And for many of the same reasons Lobman so clearly laid out on the question of women's equality, this perspective only weakens the

fight for homosexual rights. Linking this fight to defense of U.S. ruling class interests worldwide, which is the sole purpose of the U.S. military, only strengthens the government's war drive as the world economic crisis deepens. And it is precisely this war drive that creates the atmosphere for increased attacks on democratic rights generally, including those of gay people, which dominates U.S. politics today.

Making this issue the center of the gay rights struggle also cuts across the broad unity of working-class and progressive forces needed to oppose such wars once they are launched. If on one day President Clinton signs an executive order lifting the military ban on homosexuality and orders a renewal of the war against the Iraqi people on the next, which side will gays and lesbians be on?

The anti-gay ban in the military is an instrument of state terror that should be removed, and all victims of this arbitrary and vicious practice defended by supporters of democratic rights. But it must always be

stressed that the fight for gay rights, as with the fight for the rights of all oppressed people, advances as the U.S. capitalist class, including its government, is weakened, and will be finally won only when it is disarmed completely.

Peter Anastos
Washington, D.C.

Big-business media

I think it would behoove the *Militant* to write an article which explains the role of the big-business media in politics. Many youth today believe, not without good reason, that the mass media is a virtually omnipotent force that molds public opinion in favor of the status quo and reaction.

From this, many draw the conclusion that outrageous and provocative stunts are needed to force the media to hear and cover our point of view, or that we must focus our energies on building some sort of "counterculture information network" that supposedly has the potential to combat the tainted messages of the media with its own

progressive ones. As a result, independent working-class political action is seen only as a secondary and complimentary form of struggle — if that.

John Evenhuis
Los Angeles, California

Abortion rights victory

About 150 antiabortion demonstrators launched a pre-dawn assault on the Albany Medical Surgical Center in Chicago November 7. The right-wing forces, organized by Operation Rescue and "Collegians Activated to Liberate Life," occupied the clinic parking lot and blocked all building entrances and exits.

The action was preceded by a threat to close some or all of the eight clinics in the Chicago area that day. Pro-choice organizations responded to the announcement by organizing clinic defense lines at all eight locations beginning at 6:00 a.m. However, the right-wingers arrived at the center well before that hour.

As clinic defenders arrived on the scene, a brief shoving match

erupted at the front door, with the pro-choice forces clearing the blockaders away and gaining control of the main entrance.

Gradually, most of the pro-choice activists were dispatched from the other clinics around the city to swell the defense at the Albany Clinic. About 300 massed outside the clinic, chanting "This clinic is open!" and other spirited slogans. The clinic defenders were mainly young, including students from colleges around Chicago and many other places in the Midwest.

The day was a clear victory for the pro-choice forces, who out-mobilized their opponents by more than 2-to-1.

Carol Burke
Chicago, Illinois

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.

Irish vote advances abortion rights

BY MARCELLA FITZGERALD

DUBLIN, Ireland — The result of the referendum on abortion held here November 25 marked an important development in Irish politics. Much of the press coverage has tried to trivialize the importance of the votes in favor of the right to travel to seek an abortion and the right to information on abortion facilities. These changes to the constitution, however, mean that the 5,000 Irish women a year who travel to Britain to have abortions are no longer considered criminals.

The third referendum question on the right to have an abortion where the life of the woman is endangered was defeated. Pro-choice forces campaigned for a 'no' vote on this amendment because it would have specifically outlawed abortion in cases where a woman was threatening suicide. Anti-choice campaigners also called for a 'no' vote on the grounds that it would make abortion legal in some circumstances in Ireland and deal another blow to the 1983 ban. The confusing way this refer-

endum question was worded meant that many who favored abortion rights voted on both sides.

Reverse of 1983 referendum

A 1983 referendum, which established strict antiabortion measures, provoked such a deepgoing political battle that the *Irish Times* dubbed it "the second partition of Ireland." After that referendum anti-choice forces spearheaded the closure of abortion referral clinics. They took student groups to

court for having information on abortion in a student handbook; *Our Bodies Ourselves*, a book on women's health, was removed from the shelves of public libraries; and women's magazines appeared with blank pages to censor abortion clinic ads. This past May, a major British daily newspaper, the *Guardian*, was impounded at the Dublin docks because it contained an ad for an abortion clinic.

In the years since the ban several women have been denied abortions and medical treatment on the grounds that it would damage the fetus. The most well known case was that of Sheila Rodgers who was removed from cancer treatment and denied painkilling drugs when it was discovered that she was pregnant. After an agonizing pregnancy, she died two days after giving birth.

Anti-choice forces were on the offensive right up to the point when the case of a 14-year-old rape victim, who planned to travel to Britain for an abortion, broke in the news. It was the widespread opposition to the government moves to prevent her from having an abortion in Britain that sparked street mobilizations in many towns in Ireland and in Britain. More than 10,000 marched in Dublin.

In face of this response the Irish Supreme Court ruled that the young woman had the right to an abortion in Ireland if her life was endangered, stating this was the case since she was threatening to commit suicide. This remains the law of the country, since the constitutional amendment relating to this question did not pass.

Changes in social attitudes

The latest referendum votes break the 1983 ban on abortion under any circumstances, establishing the democratic right to travel to seek an abortion, and the right to information on abortion facilities. It has pushed the anti-choice forces further onto the defensive.

There have been deepgoing changes in social attitudes in Ireland, particularly among young people, since 1983. The economic and social crisis is accelerating, with unemployment at 21 percent, one unstable government after another, and a political stalemate situation in the North.

The Irish Countrywomen's Association took a survey of 6,400 members and found 75 percent in favor of abortion if a woman's life is in danger; 73 percent where a woman's health is at risk, and 63 percent where a woman has been raped. At the same time 77 percent said they were opposed to "abortion on demand."

At a rally of 250 people November 21 Aine de Paor of the Dublin Abortion Information Campaign explained that a pro-choice result in the referendum would mark "the first step in making Ireland face up to its social problems." The platform at the rally was defended by young people against 50 members of "Youth Defence," which is increasingly coming to the fore as the militant anti-choice organization.



A pro-choice demonstration in Dublin, Ireland. Latest referendum has pushed antiabortion forces further onto defensive.

British police, management team up to arrest immigrant workers at Caterair

BY JOYCE FAIRCHILD

LONDON — More than 50 immigration police staged an early morning raid at Caterair near Heathrow Airport November 26. Caterair employs some 500 workers who prepare airline food. Most workers employed by Caterair are members of the Transport and General Workers Union.

The government agents arrested one Egyptian and eight Algerian workers and took them off in handcuffs. They were picked up for allegedly being undocumented immigrants and now face deportation.

The immigration police and management toured departments with a list of workers they were looking for. At the same time they used the opportunity to demand papers of other Algerian workers they came across.

Most workers at Caterair are foreign-born and come from many countries. African workers recently received letters from the personnel department requesting copies of their work permits and passports.

'They treat us like thieves'

The raid created an atmosphere of panic and intimidation, but it also made workers angry. One worker expressed this when he said, "They treat us like thieves, chasing us as if we'd stolen something when all we're trying to do is put bread in our children's mouths." Another argued that "the police shouldn't be allowed on company premises."

Many workers said the immigration raid was an attempt to put the blame on the wrong people for the economic problems of the country. Some workers said it was "good the illegals have been caught."

The real aim of the raid — to sow divisions among the work force — was reflected when one Indian worker reported that

another worker had asked her, "How come they didn't take you too?"

Suresh Grover of the Southall Monitoring Project, an organization in the Heathrow area that campaigns against police harassment and deportations, pointed out that such "raids are becoming more widespread." Some 20 immigrant contract cleaners have recently been arrested at the Ford car plant at Dagenham in London, Britain's largest factory.

New anti-immigration bill

The raid at Caterair takes place as the asylum bill is about to be voted on in parliament. This bill will make it harder for workers from other countries to receive asylum in Britain. It reduces to two days the time that those detained by immigration

have to seek representation for an appeal. It gives immigration authorities the right to fingerprint refugees and their children.

Just as in Germany, however, the attacks on immigrant workers and asylum-seekers have been met by anti-racist mobilizations. More than 2,000 people marched against the asylum bill in London November 21. Mike Rahman, the chair of RAHCAR, the refugee organization that organized the march explained, "It's not refugees who are responsible for the closure of the mines in this country, or for the closure of hospitals in this country. The government is using refugees as a scapegoat for their policies."

Joyce Fairchild is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union at Caterair.

Thousands protest racist murder in Spain

BY MINDY BRUDNO

MADRID, Spain — Twenty thousand people marched in the cities of Madrid and Córdoba November 21 to protest the murder of an immigrant worker from the Dominican Republic by right-wing assassins. Lucrecia Pérez, 33, was murdered in cold blood one week earlier in a poor Madrid neighborhood populated mainly by Latin American immigrants. To date, no charges have been filed, though neither the police nor the politicians express any doubt that it was the work of ultrarightists.

This is the first such murder of an immigrant worker in Spain in the recent period, and marks the spreading to Spain of the type of racist violence that has rocked other European countries in recent months, most notably Germany and France.

Spanish workers, who lived under a fascist dictatorship for 40 years until 1975, are most conscious of the danger to the labor movement represented by the right-wing, anti-immigrant forces. This was reflected in the slogans at the marches, which included "if there is racism, tomorrow there will be fascism" and "Spanish or foreign, it's the same working class."

The demonstration in Madrid was called by the major political parties and trade union federations, but the presence of many prominent politicians at the march was a point of controversy among the march participants. The governing Socialist Party has recently enacted a new immigration law that will make it much tougher for immigrant workers who are unemployed to remain in Spain. Many marchers expressed their rejection of

the new law by chanting "the immigration law is crap," though other marchers defended the government's policy.

The Caamañista Revolutionary Unity (URC), a grouping of left political parties and organizations in the Dominican Republic, sent a letter to Spanish President Felipe González denouncing the racist murder of Lucrecia Pérez and requesting that his government take measures to protect the rights of immigrants there. "As the economic crisis deepens in Latin America," the letter states, "there will be an increase in the immigration from there to North America and Europe." The letter was signed by Iván Rodríguez, Juan Manuel Rosario, José Contreras, Miguel Mejía, and Narciso Isa Conde.