

# THE MILITANT

**INSIDE**  
ANC debates road ahead in  
fight for democratic revolution

Special supplement — PAGES 9-12

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## Clinton urges war in Bosnia as U.S. forces attack Somalis

U.S. aims to  
establish a  
protectorate  
in Somalia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Washington's invasion of Somalia, which will involve up to 28,000 U.S. troops, is one of the biggest military assaults ever undertaken against a country in Africa.

The Bush administration's goal, with the full support of President-elect Bill Clinton, is to set up a protectorate in Somalia with a government subservient to U.S. political and economic interests.

"We're in!" exclaimed both the *New York Post* and *Daily News* December 9 headlines; "Somalia D-Day" proclaimed *Newsday*, as the first of the 1,800-man expeditionary force of U.S. marines landed on the shores of the capital city of Mogadishu. Their arrival was well-staged, with much international media on hand, and timed for broad-

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French troops hold up vehicle in Mogadishu. At one such checkpoint, U.S. and French soldiers opened fire on unarmed van, killing two Somalis.

Oppose  
Washington's  
new military  
aggressions!

President-elect Bill Clinton's call for stepping up U.S. military intervention in the former Yugoslavia poses a danger to working people worldwide. The imperialist rulers in Washington have gained renewed confidence in their ability to intervene with U.S.

### EDITORIAL

military firepower in the Balkans because of what they have already been able to accomplish in placing thousands of ground troops in Somalia.

"Evil still stalks the planet," stated former U.S. president Ronald Reagan in a recent speech at Oxford University where he issued a strong call for U.S. military involvement in the Yugoslav war. "[We] must declare ethnic cleansing and the slaughter of civilians by military forces unacceptable. And we must be prepared to put weapons behind our words," he declared.

The U.S. military knows who is breaking cease-fires in Yugoslavia "and we should be ready to take them out," stated former U.S. secretary of state George Schultz.

The U.S. rulers present their moves toward military intervention in Yugoslavia in the same "humanitarian" cloak they are using to justify the Somalia military operation. This disguise is similar to the lofty goals Washington always claims for every instance of U.S. military aggression — from "restoring democracy" to Kuwait to bring-

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## U.S. and European political leaders openly call for air war on Yugoslavia

BY NAOMI CRAINE

United States president-elect Bill Clinton came out strongly in favor of stepping up military intervention in Yugoslavia this week. On December 11, Clinton said it was time to "turn up the heat," and pressure the governments of Britain and France to agree to enforce a ban on flights by Serbian planes over Bosnia and Herzegovina. His statement gives added weight to the growing layers in Washington, and in other European imperialist centers, who favor direct involvement in the war.

Adm. Jacques Lanxade, chief of staff of the French armed forces, told the *Washington Post* Bosnia should be "isolated and encircled so that the combatants are cut off from their supply sources," and that those violating the no-fly order "should be intercepted or shot down." The French government, along with London, has been reluctant to agree to further military action, because both have ground troops already in Bosnia and fear being drawn into a quagmire. A British official stated that there has been no change in his government's position.

Former U.S. secretary of state George Shultz also called for military force December 7, specifically to enforce the ban on flights, but in other contexts as well. He stated that military intelligence knows what forces are breaking cease-fires, "and we should be ready to take them out."

Shultz also argued against those, like chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, who have expressed misgivings about military intervention because of the scale of force that would be needed. "This is a definable, doable mission, and it doesn't involve you getting into a swamp," he said.

**Air strikes would kill civilians**

Lt. Gen. Satish Nambiar, commander of

UN troops already in Yugoslavia, however, voiced disagreement with this course. He pointed out that air strikes against the positions of Serbian fighters would cause civilian casualties and "could generate a very negative reaction" against UN forces and food convoys.

Many government officials pushing for increased military action in the former Yugoslavia, including U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, have cited deteriorating conditions in Bosnia as winter continues. Seeking to bolster his call for intervention, Eagleburger compared the situation in the Balkans to Somalia, saying it is a "man-made disaster too big to simply ignore and leave to the next administration."

Relief workers in Bosnia paint a somewhat different picture. Jose Maria Mendiluce, the UN relief agency's special envoy to the region, stated, "We are winning the battle against all the people who are trying to undermine our delivery capacity." Mendiluce and other officials are no longer predicting massive starvation and death from exposure this winter, as long as relief shipments continue.

**Troops sent to Macedonia**

As the debate among various imperialist powers on how far to go with military intervention continues, the United Nations Security Council voted unanimously December 11 to send 700 troops to Yugoslavia's border with Macedonia, and 35 "military observers" to Macedonia's border with Albania. The stated aim of these deployments is to prevent conflict in nearby Kosovo from spilling over into Macedonia.

There has also been intensified fighting around the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, which has been under siege by right-wing Serbian nationalist forces since the spring. The fighting included heavy shelling of

Otes, a suburb of Sarajevo that lies between the airport and the city center.

Meanwhile, working people inside Serbia are facing worsening conditions. The dinar has lost 85 percent of its value in the last six months, real unemployment could reach over 60 percent by the end of the year, and the Serbian government is printing more money in order to pay wages and pensions. The average salary for those still working has fallen to just \$60 per month, far below the cost of living.

### 'Militant' supporters organize smashing circulation success

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

With an all-out effort by *Militant* readers around the world in the last three weeks, the drive to increase the subscription base of the socialist newsweekly ended up a smashing success. The final tally — 2,770 new *Militant* subscribers — represents 118 percent of the international goal!

In addition, 531 people bought subscriptions to the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, also 118 percent of the goal. Supporters of the socialist publications scored their most sensational victory with the magazine *New International*, selling 399 copies — or 32 percent of the total — during the last week of the international effort, and surpassing the goal of 1,200.

Subscriptions came in from industrial workers, farmers, teachers, college and high school students, GIs, and others.

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Militant

Sales in Portland, Oregon.

**Massive protests against rightists in Germany — page 5**





## Mexico bans compliance with Torricelli bill

The Mexican government will impose severe sanctions against companies operating in Mexico that comply with the trade restrictions of the U.S. Torricelli bill, reported the Notimex news agency. Javier Barros Valero, the Mexican under secretary of foreign relations, said that Mexican firms have to comply with Mexican laws and not those of other countries.

The Torricelli bill, signed into law last October, prohibits subsidiaries of U.S. firms in other countries to trade with Cuba, and bars from U.S. ports for six months foreign ships that stop in Cuba.

## Three hundred dead in Venezuela

One week after the Venezuelan government put down a coup attempt, human rights workers report that the death toll is more than 300. Surveys of morgues in the town of La Guaira and in other towns near the capital city of Caracas have revealed about 200 bodies of men killed in a prison uprising that erupted simultaneously with the November 27 coup attempt.

Government officials say that 93 civilians were killed in Caracas and that 33 security personnel were killed. Most of the civilian deaths were caused by police action against looters or were among people demonstrating in favor of the coup, said Raúl Cubas head of Provea, Venezuela's main human rights organization.

The lag in reaching a death toll following the government crackdown is partly because police officers threw bodies of dead prisoners into the Guaire river. Many of these bodies ended up in the morgue of La Guaira about 15 miles downstream from Caracas. Americas Watch, the New York-based human rights group has announced plans to investigate the prison massacre.

## Tajiks stranded at border

Up to 140,000 refugees fleeing the fighting among rebel factions in Tajikistan are stranded near the Afghan border where they face death from cold and hunger.

Hundreds of people in the Central Asian republic have been killed in the fighting



Militant/Jean-Louis Salfati

Some 1,000 people turned out October 31 to support the struggle of 237 African families in Paris who have launched a fight to obtain decent housing. African workers and their families set up a tent city to protest discrimination in housing. Their action has been supported by unions and other organizations.

since former president Rakhmon Nabiyev was ousted in September.

Dieter Pfaff, head of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Tajikistan said up to 500,000 people, 10 percent of the population, have been displaced by the fighting.

## No relief for Russia's crisis

The sharp downturn in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has deepened this year and for most of the region will continue into 1993, according to the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE).

The ECE reports most people in the region "have had to endure further cuts in their standards of living." It expects national output in eastern Europe to fall on average by 10 percent this year, a drop of almost a third since 1988. By the first half of 1992 industrial production had fallen by

more than 40 percent since 1988.

Unemployment in eastern Europe has risen rapidly and will soon accelerate in the former Soviet Union, the ECE predicts.

## Du Pont stops compensations

After paying \$500 million to compensate farmers for crop failure linked to Benlate, one of its agricultural chemicals, E.I. Du Pont de Nemours & Company has rejected any blame for the damages and halted its payments. Company officials say the move is based on new research it has conducted.

Du Pont pulled the product from the market after farmers in Florida, Texas, and California, as well as in Puerto Rico said it was destroying their plants. Farm workers exposed to the chemical reported dizziness, rashes, sore joints, nausea, and nose bleeds.

## Nicaragua crackdown on strikers

Anti-riot cops, using clubs and tear gas, dispersed striking workers December 1. The strikers had occupied a northern highway in Managua, Nicaragua's capital.

The action took place amid a wave of strikes demanding jobs, wage increases, and concessions to workers when state enterprises are privatized. Unemployment in Nicaragua stands at 60 percent. Most of the country's state hospitals have been paralyzed due to an indefinite strike initiated by health workers demanding better wages.

On December 1, at least 40 workers were injured and 19 arrested when the police forcibly removed them from several factories in Managua and in nearby Masaya.

## Vieques used for testing napalm

The recent use of napalm in U.S. military exercises on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques was made public in a magazine arti-

cle published by the U.S. Navy. The Navy has been training its personnel in the use of napalm bombs on the island, which is inhabited by more than 5,000 people. A U.S. military base takes up 75 percent of the territory of Vieques and has been carrying out military maneuvers there for decades.

## Secret nuclear dumping in Alaska

This fall, people in northern Alaska town of Point Hope learned that the government had secretly buried radioactive isotopes in 1962 to examine how radioactivity spreads in an Arctic environment. The site was unmarked by warning signs; the people who live and hunt in the area were never told of its existence.

Government scientists who tested the soil claim that it no longer poses a health hazard. Many Eskimo leaders say they don't believe them and are considering hiring their own experts to test the site. Natives in the region have a cancer rate that far exceeds the national average.

## Israeli army seals off Gaza

The Israeli army announced it was sealing off the occupied Gaza Strip after three Israeli soldiers were killed there December 7. According to the Israeli military, 11 soldiers have been killed so far this year in occupied Gaza and the West Bank. The death toll among Palestinians killed by Israeli soldiers through November, according to the army, is 101.

## Court rules on public shaming

An Indiana court ruled that the judge of a lower court overstepped his bounds in ordering an unemployed man to stand on a courthouse lawn and hold a sign that said, "Need Job to Support Children." The man had been behind in his child support payments.

In overturning the order, the appeals court said it was "a throwback to the days of stockades and conjures up images of Puritans who fell from grace and were forced to wear scarlet letters upon their chests." It also subjected him to "public ridicule, embarrassment and humiliation."

## Racist thug gets 50 years

Bradley Mills, the first of seven young white men to go on trial in the beating death of a 19-year-old Vietnamese immigrant in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, has been convicted and sentenced to 50 years in prison.

Luyen Phan Nguyen, a student at the University of Miami, was attacked after he objected to the use of a racial slur at a party. Some 12 to 15 people punched and kicked Nguyen. He died from the blows that broke a cervical vertebra, severing an artery.

—SELVA NEBBIA

## Militant fax and modem numbers

Contributors to the *Militant* should take note of our fax number: (212) 924-6040, and modem number: (212) 924-6048. Through these phone lines articles and letters can be sent of the *Militant* anytime.

## THE MILITANT

## Food, not troops, to Somalia!

Over the coming weeks the 'Militant' will continue coverage of Washington's intervention in Somalia, including questions such as: why the goals of this intervention are not 'humanitarian,' and why working people and youth should oppose Washington's war moves in the region. 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.



# Riots rock India signaling political crisis

BY GREG ROSENBERG

NEW DELHI, India — This country is being rocked by a political and social crisis in the wake of the destruction of the Babri Masjid (Babar's mosque) in the northern town of Ayodhya December 6.

Mass rioting has not fully abated one week after thousands of supporters of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) razed the mosque. As of December 12, more than 1,100 people are reported dead and thousands more injured as a result of the riots and police and army shootings.

The Indian government, headed by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao of the Congress Party, deployed thousands of army troops throughout the country to back state military forces and police units in cities and towns from north to south. Some army and police units have received "shoot on sight" orders for anyone seen violating the numerous curfews imposed by local governments.

The violent riots have been widespread. In the northern state of Uttar Pradesh, India's most populous and the home of Ayodhya, 200 people have been killed. Reports of beatings, as well as rampages against mosques and Hindu temples fill the press. In several cities, mobs have attacked trains and destroyed villages, sometimes burning alive working people who found themselves in the way.

In Bombay, India's second-largest city, 150 people have been killed. The *Times of India* reported December 11 that of these, 90 percent were shot by police. Naseem Khan, a Bombay schoolteacher, told the paper, "They are firing at innocent people. This is not a Hindu-Muslim riot but a police-Muslim riot."

In this sprawling capital city of 8 million people, 10 were killed and 280 arrested December 11. Conflict in the largely Mus-

lim area of Seelampur in eastern Delhi was sparked when two people were detained and beaten by local police.

Seelampur and the Walled City of Old Delhi have been under curfew since December 7. Except for arbitrary hours set by the government, nobody is allowed on the street day or night. Working people in these areas face growing food shortages and the threat of epidemics.

The Indian government and press portray these conflicts as religious strife between Hindus, who account for 82 percent of the population, and Muslims, who make up 11 percent.

## Workers, farmers live side-by-side

A majority of working people, however, oppose the violence. Many point out that workers and farmers holding various religious beliefs live side-by-side.

In New Delhi, 400 students rallied December 9 at the headquarters of the BJP, protesting the "destruction of the Ayodhya shrine." Signs in English and Hindi exclaimed, "Sons of Hitler — Learn from History!" and "Whose Blood Was Shed?"

Several one-day general strikes have taken place in Delhi, Calcutta, and elsewhere to protest the destruction of the mosque and the riots.

The central government, widely blamed for allowing the Ayodhya incident to happen, responded by arresting some leaders of



Indian policeman aims gun at Muslim man in Seelampur, a suburb of New Delhi.

rightist groups that helped lead the campaign to destroy the mosque. Two Muslim organizations were also banned.

The backdrop to these events is the world economic depression, which is hitting India hard.

A former British colony that achieved independence in 1947, India is home to 880 million people, making it the second most populated country in the world. Three-quarters of the population live in the mostly impoverished countryside.

India's debt to banks in the United States, Britain, and other imperialist countries stands at \$77 billion. The debt has increased by 27 percent in the last five years. One third of India's export earnings go to pay the foreign debt.

The gross domestic product per capita in 1991 was only \$298. The infant mortality rate is 95 per thousand. Well more than half the population is illiterate.

In 1991, at the demand of India's capitalist rulers and the International Monetary Fund, the government launched a harsh austerity program.

The economic crisis and austerity drive have given fuel to rightist parties like the BJP. The BJP, which advocates Hindu fundamentalism and a "Hindu India," is the main opposition party to the government.

The BJP, RSS, and VHP have led a five-year campaign to destroy the sealed, 16th-century Babar mosque and build a Hindu temple in its place. They claim the mosque was built on the site of the birthplace some 5,000 years ago of Ram, a Hindu deity.

In the weeks before the mosque's destruction, tens of thousands of BJP supporters responded to the call to come to the small town of Ayodhya, where they heard highly charged political and religious speeches.

A group then led a charge across fences, where several thousand people destroyed the mosque with hammers, iron bars, and bare hands. Local police and soldiers, many openly sympathetic to the assault, vanished when it began.

## Scapegoats for crisis

The BJP is known as a party that attracts middle-class Hindus, especially traders. As the economic situation has deteriorated over the past 15 years, its attempt to scapegoat sections of working people for the crisis has grown.

Muslims are particular targets. The BJP and other rightist groups allege that Muslims are more loyal to Pakistan — whose population is majority Muslim — than India. They claim that Muslims clap for Pakistan instead of India during soccer matches, that they are "fanatical," and that they are a rapidly expanding section of the population whose growth threatens the Hindu majority.

## 'Militant' announces staff changes

With this issue the *Militant* announces several important staff changes.

Greg McCartan, editor of the paper since October 1990, has left the staff. McCartan, who made a number of reporting trips to South Africa, has been the paper's major writer on the revolutionary developments in that country. He will continue to write articles on South Africa and other topics from Washington, D.C., where he is moving.

Washington is a center for many political organizations and events of national and international importance; strengthening the *Militant's* coverage from there will be an important step forward for the paper. Since July, McCartan has been on leave from the staff, working as national director of the Socialist Workers 1992 election campaign.

George Fyson, formerly the managing editor of the paper, has been named editor. Fyson, who is from New Zealand, has contributed articles to the *Militant* and other socialist publications for more than two decades. In that country Fyson wrote for and edited the newspaper *Socialist Action*, which played an important part in the movement against the Vietnam War in the late 1960s and 1970s. He wrote on political developments among the indigenous Maori people of New Zealand, as well as on political developments in the French colony of New Caledonia and elsewhere in the South Pacific.

A new position of labor editor for the paper has been created, to be filled by Paul

Mailhot. Over recent months the paper has received dozens of reports on the resistance by working people against the bosses' attacks, such as the strike by the United Auto Workers against the giant earth-moving equipment manufacturer Caterpillar, by gold miners in Yellowknife, Canada, and the struggle being waged by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) at Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama.

Mailhot, who joined the *Militant* in March, will focus on organizing this news coverage, to get into the paper more timely and accurate stories on important developments, both large and small, in the labor movement. Before joining the *Militant* staff Mailhot was a member of the USWA at Kennecott Copper in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Two other staff members, John Cox and Seth Galinsky, have also moved on to build the socialist movement in other cities. Galinsky, who joined the *Militant* staff as a member of its bureau in Managua, Nicaragua, in September 1988, is now living in Miami. Cox, whose on-the-spot report on events in Germany appears in this issue, will be moving to Pittsburgh.

Staff member Frank Forrestal is on leave. Prior to coming on the staff Forrestal was director of the printshop where the *Militant* and Pathfinder books are produced. He has returned for a period of time to help lead the work of the printshop while it goes through a reorganization due to a major rebuilding and modernization program, the first phase of which is just being completed.

## Warren and DeBates take on assignments in Chicago, New York

The Socialist Workers presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 1992 elections, James Warren and Estelle DeBates, have taken up new assignments in the socialist movement since their campaign ended. During their campaign Warren and DeBates crisscrossed the United States and the world, speaking in dozens of cities.

Warren has been added to the committee that leads the work of Socialist Workers Party members who are active in the USWA. During his campaign Warren was on leave from his job at A.M. Castlemetals in Chicago. He has now returned to that job, where he is a USWA member.

DeBates returns to the *Militant* staff after being on leave to campaign since June. DeBates will remain as a staff member based in New York, writing and organizing *Militant* articles on political developments and the struggles of working people in this important city.



Greg McCartan

Militant/Dave Wulp



New Militant editor George Fyson

Militant/Paul Mailhot

## Socialist Educational Conferences January 1-3

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# Quebec garment bosses lock out workers

BY ANDRÉ LAPLANTE

MONTREAL — Seventeen of the biggest companies in the Quebec Men's Clothing Manufacturers' Association locked out some 3,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) December 7. Work continues at 19 other shops employing 900 ACTWU workers.

The garment bosses had threatened the lockout if union members rejected their demand for major concessions in contract negotiations. The previous three-year agreement, which covered 4,000 workers, expired November 30.

In an open letter widely distributed at shops throughout the city the bosses had warned, "Failing an acceptance, ratified by the members, on or before December 4, 1992, the Employers shall consider you have opted for a strike as of midnight on December 4 and shall consequently cease their operation."

Despite these threats workers overwhelmingly rejected the concessions demands. Most union members are women and immigrants.

Wages and seniority are the main targets of the employers' attack. In an industry where the average wage is \$7.95 an hour (U.S.\$6.20), workers are faced with a wage freeze the first year of the new contract, a 2 percent raise the second year and 2.5 percent the third.

The garment bosses also aim to drive out workers with higher wages and seniority by tying seniority to the machines. If the machine is eliminated, the operator's job will also be eliminated. Those laid off would be denied recall rights. The bosses are also pushing for the right to lower hourly wage rates, or to begin piece-rate wages, with the introduction of new machines.

Another demand would give the employers the right to fire any union member who doesn't work the previously agreed to voluntary overtime on the grounds that this would constitute an "illegal strike." Garment bosses are attempting to strengthen the right they already have to fire workers absent from the job "without a valid reason to the Employer" on the second day of his or her absence.

These demands were made public the same week that the federal government introduced a bill to exclude all workers from unemployment insurance who quit their job or are fired for "misconduct." Under Quebec's provincial law, such workers are already barred from receiving welfare.

## Workers reject demands

Union officials organized a series of local meetings to vote on the bosses' contract proposal.

ACTWU officials called for a no vote as a way to force the bosses back to the negotiating table. At the same time they reassured

union members that such a vote would not result in a strike or lock-out.

At Golden Brand, one of the biggest companies with some 700 workers, the result was 536 to some 50 against the bosses' offer. At Samuelsohn, a plant of 280 workers, the offer was rejected by 186 to 9. At Merit, a shop of about 200, it was rejected by more than 90 percent.

Most workers saw the bosses' offer as a major attack. "This is an insult," said a worker about the demand for a wage freeze. A worker at Samuelsohn explained, "I have worked here 29 years. If they change my machine, I will lose my job. I can't accept that."

A worker at Golden Brand summarized the mood of many by stating: "We have fought for 25 years to get where we are and now the bosses want to take everything away."

Although the 250 workers at the two Ballin plants in Montreal and St.-Césaire voted for the concession contract, they have also been locked out.

In 1986, 5,000 ACTWU members in Montreal held a successful five-week strike. This victory prevented the employers from implementing rollbacks to the same extent as those forced on garment workers elsewhere in North America, especially on wages and working conditions.

The first morning of the lockout, union officials told workers to consider themselves laid off, go home, and apply for

unemployment insurance — even if the federal government does not pay unemployment insurance in cases of strike or lockout.

They also said that negotiations would continue until a settlement was reached. The employers' council broke off negotiations later that day.

## 'We want to work'

The next day, in freezing cold, picket lines of dozens and in some cases hundreds of workers were established for a few hours at several plants. Union members held placards saying, "ACTWU locked out, we want to work." In the course of the week, shifts were established and small pickets are now maintained in front of the bigger locked out shops from 8:00 a.m. until 4:30 p.m.

A discussion has erupted among union members on why some factories are working while others are locked out. As the Montreal daily *La Presse* commented, "This is the first time in half a century that the [citywide] character of the [men's garment] contract and its negotiation are seriously put into question."

In the shops and on the picket lines, workers expressed the view that this situation was being used by the bosses to divide garment workers and weaken the union. Some raised the idea that all shops should be closed and the lockout transformed into a strike involving all ACTWU members.

Union officials have argued that the owners were divided and therefore in a weakened position. They strongly opposed any idea of a strike in the context of the deep crisis devastating the garment and other industries. The unemployment rate in Montreal is 14 percent.

Union members remain determined. "It is hard, but we have no choice. We have to do what we are doing," explained one older operator at Franco Maggio.

## PRISONER SUBSCRIPTION FUND

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Contributions make these special rates possible for those who cannot afford our regular rates. Please send your donation to: *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

# 'Friendshipment' opposes embargo of Cuba

BY NAOMI CRAINE

NEW YORK — "The Friendshipment to Cuba was a step in a long journey, a long effort to end the U.S. blockade against Cuba and achieve normalization of relations between the two countries," said Rev. Lucius Walker, describing the recent caravan that delivered material aid donated by people in the United States to Cuba. Walker, Executive Director of Pastors for Peace, which sponsored the convoy, was speaking at a New York celebration December 11 for those just returned from the trip.

Walker and others described the warm response they received in the United States, Mexico, and Cuba, and laid out plans for further actions against Washington's 30-year trade embargo on Cuba.

Participants in the Friendshipment, which involved 104 drivers and 44 vehicles carrying supplies such as powdered milk, medicines, and bicycles, traveled through 85 cities around the United States gathering support.

## Enthusiastic response in Mexico

Tom Hansen, a Pastors for Peace coordinator, reported that "thousands of people were there applauding for us when we crossed the border into Nuevo Laredo, Mexico." The Mexican government also exempted the supplies from all taxes, declaring the convoy a humanitarian aid mission.

"Taxi drivers and others offered to escort us in many of the towns we passed through," Walker added. Members of the dock workers union in Tampico volunteered to load the aid supplies for shipment to Cuba free of

charge.

Members of the convoy spent 10 days in Cuba, distributing the supplies and visiting hospitals, schools, and other facilities. They were officially welcomed as distinguished guests and met with trade union leaders and a number of Cuban officials, including President Fidel Castro.

Walker told the *Militant* that none of the participants in the caravan were detained or seriously harassed by U.S. authorities on their way back from Cuba. A letter from the U.S. government giving permission for the trip arrived at the Minneapolis office of the Friendshipment while the group was in Cuba.

At the celebration in New York, Rafael Martínez, the First Secretary of the Cuban Mission at the United Nations, explained how important this act of solidarity was to the people of Cuba. "With friends like you, that we have in this country, there is no enemy and no task that is too difficult," he declared.

The presence of the Friendshipment in Cuba coincided with the November 24 vote by the United Nations General Assembly to condemn the U.S.-organized embargo against the island. Many governments have condemned the Cuban Democracy Act, a law passed earlier this year in Washington aimed at tightening the embargo on Cuba by forbidding foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies from trading with Cuba.

The organizers of the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment are planning to continue organizing against the embargo. One of the immediate tasks, Walker explained, is de-

fending four participants in the convoy who face charges stemming from a confrontation with U.S. customs officials and local police at the border November 20. The police held up the caravan and confiscated some \$2,000 of medical supplies before the group was allowed to cross into Mexico.

Ajumoke Tokunbo is facing felony charges of assaulting a federal police officer, which could bring as much as 10 years in prison. She was charged after four cops grabbed her and tried to seize notebooks and pencils she was attempting to carry across the border. Three others face charges as well.

At the New York meeting, Hansen announced plans for future delegations to challenge the embargo against Cuba. Smaller groups will bring aid to Cuba in January and April, and another caravan is in the works for July. "We hope to have twice as many drivers and bring four times as much aid next time," Hansen declared.

# Abortion rights supporters defend clinic in Puerto Rico

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Antiabortion protesters blocked access to an abortion clinic here November 7. Supporters of abortion rights in Puerto Rico organized, for the first time, an active defense of the clinic.

At 5:00 a.m. a group of protesters arrived to block the front and rear entrances to the Ladies Medical Center in San Juan. They were led by a Catholic priest, Rev. Patricio Welch. The clinic has a protection order prohibiting Welch from blocking access. The administrator of the clinic, Ana González Dávila, called the police, who refused to make immediate arrests. Instead, she was told to go to the Judiciary Center and talk to a judge there.

While González went to court, members of the Grupo Pro Derechos Reproductivos (Reproductive Rights Group) organized the clinic defense. The first abortion rights activists arrived on the scene at around 7:30 a.m.

By 10:00 a.m. about 30 antiabortion protesters were in the parking lot in front of the clinic while an equal number of abortion rights supporters were on the grass median in the center of the road. The antiabortion forces had a banner on the door of the clinic that read in Spanish, "Operation Rescue saves lives." They had a sidewalk display of fetuses and graphic photos of mangled fetuses.

A prominent part of the group blockading the clinic was a black-clothed four-person

paramilitary force.

At 10:25 a.m. González returned from the Judiciary Center with a summons from San Juan municipal judge Evelisse Moyano Ares, ordering Welch to appear in her court. He ignored the summons and was bodily removed from the clinic grounds by the police and taken to the judge. The growing number of clinic defenders crossed the street and moved closer to the clinic. A line of police officers was unsuccessful in pushing the picket line of clinic defenders away from the facility.

At 11:20 a.m. Welch returned to the clinic. He had been told by the judge that he would be arrested if he returned. Finally, five hours later the police began to arrest the antiabortion activists. Eighteen people were removed from the clinic entrance, including Welch for the second time. At this point, none of the those who blocked the clinic face criminal charges.

November 7 was the first skirmish in what promises to be a long battle to defend abortion clinics in Puerto Rico. The general feeling among the defenders was that this was a good beginning but that they need much better organization in the future.

"I believe we were effective," said Esther Vicente. "If we had not been there, the police would not have arrested anyone."

In the days after the defense of the clinic a number of meetings were held to ensure that future efforts to defend the clinic would be even better organized.



Members of U.S. solidarity convoy celebrate arrival in Havana. Center: Fidel Castro; to his left is Rev. Lucius Walker of Pastors for Peace, which sponsored caravan.



# Germany: huge protests against rightists as government pushes to restrict asylum

BY JOHN COX

BERLIN — More than 300,000 people marched in Munich December 6 to express their opposition to the recent wave of racist violence and terrorism directed against foreign-born workers in Germany. The huge turnout, which was three times larger than organizers had anticipated, sent a powerful message to the racist gangs. The theme of the demonstration was, "A city says 'no'."

The rise in right-wing and fascist activity, and the opposition to it, are the most visible features of a deepening economic and social crisis in Germany. The response to the racist violence on the part of the government, led by Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Union (CDU), and the opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) has been to scapegoat workers from other countries seeking asylum in Germany — blaming them for creating instability.

The day after the Munich demonstration, leaders of Germany's major political parties agreed on a new law that will significantly restrict the right of workers from other countries seeking asylum or refuge to enter Germany. Under Article 16 of the post-World War II German constitution, people from other nations can seek asylum if they claim political persecution in their home country. Although this is usually presented as the "most liberal asylum law in Europe," only about 5 percent of these people will ever be granted asylum. One in five hundred Romanians requesting asylum is allowed to stay.

Meanwhile, foreign-born workers and their families are kept in overcrowded, squalid hostels and provided minimal sustenance while waiting for their case to be heard. This often takes several years. They are not legally allowed to work during this time.

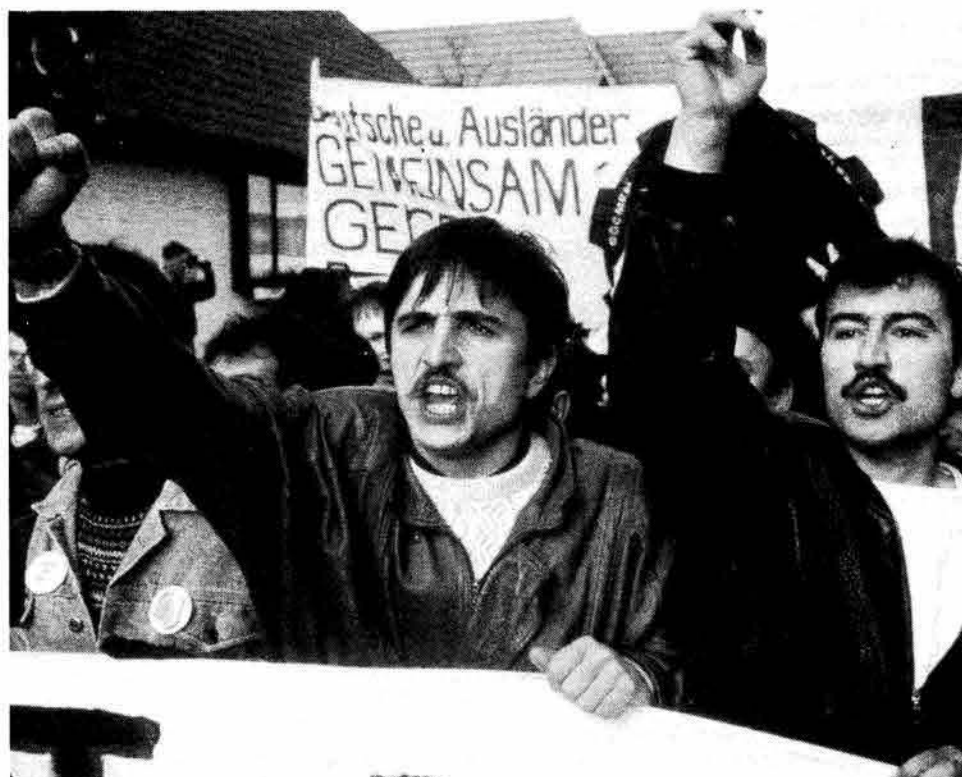
## Asylum-seekers increase dramatically

The number of people seeking asylum in Germany has increased dramatically in 1992. Five hundred thousand people are expected by the end of the year. Close to a third are fleeing the war in the former Yugoslavia, another 23 percent are from Romania.

The proposed new law, which parliament is expected to approve, would allow border guards and authorities at airports to turn away asylum-seekers from countries that the government deems are free of persecution. The government could also reject asylum-seekers arriving in Germany who traveled through a third country where Bonn declares persecution not to exist. Naturally, many people seeking asylum would have to travel through neighboring countries such as Poland, Switzerland, and Austria to arrive in Germany.

"There are practically no countries that are free of persecution," said Herbert Leuninger of the refugee support group Pro Asyl. He added, "I would say that even Germany doesn't qualify anymore."

The government is expected to claim that



Turkish residents and their supporters in Germany demonstrate against the November 23 firebombing attack in Mölln, which killed three Turkish women.

citizens of Bulgaria and Romania, as well as of other eastern European countries, do not have a right to claim political persecution. This will allow Bonn to prevent Roma (Gypsy) people from these two countries from entering Germany. Roma suffer harsh repression in eastern Europe; according to the human-rights group Helsinki Watch, their villages are routinely burned and their property confiscated.

## Rightist attacks

The announcement by the governing parties and the SPD on the new law comes in the wake of the brutal November 23 murder of three Turkish women. Fifty-one-year-old Bahide Aslan, her 10-year-old granddaughter, and her 14-year-old niece were the victims of a racist firebombing attack in the city of Mölln in western Germany. Aslan had lived in Germany for 30 years and her granddaughter had been born in Germany.

Two days earlier, a young left-wing activist, Silvio Maier, was stabbed to death in an assault by right-wing skinheads in Berlin. The same weekend, a gang of rightist thugs beat an elderly priest in Munich because they saw him walking down the street with an African.

On November 14, 53-year-old Karl-Heinz Rohn was murdered in a bar in the western town of Wuppertal by a gang of racists who thought he was a Jew. After beating Rohn, the racists doused him with alcohol and set him afire, then drove to the Netherlands, where they dumped his body.

These attacks are the latest in a series of violent assaults that have primarily targeted

immigrant workers and people seeking asylum. There have been nearly 2,000 attacks on foreign-born workers or their homes this year. This compares to 1,500 in 1991 and 130 in 1990. The assaults have heightened in number and intensity since the late August attacks led by neo-Nazis and other racists on hostels in the eastern German city of Rostock.

Initially, the reaction of the government to the Mölln firebombing was to ban the Nationalist Front, a fascist outfit, and to step up its offensive on the right of workers from other countries to seek asylum in Germany.

## Anti-racist mobilizations

Hundreds of thousands of young people and workers have taken to the streets in cities throughout Germany in the last three months to demonstrate against racist violence. Within a week of the attacks in Rostock this summer, 20,000 people demon-

strated to express their opposition to the racists.

The largest demonstrations have taken place in the last five weeks. On November 8, 350,000 people participated in a protest in Berlin. The following day, 100,000 attended a rock concert in Cologne and tens of thousands mobilized elsewhere to commemorate *Kristallnacht*, a day in 1938 when the Nazis organized massive attacks on the Jewish population. On November 14, a crowd of over 100,000 demonstrated in Bonn, denouncing the racists and calling for defense of the right to asylum.

Smaller demonstrations are held regularly in all parts of Germany. Several thousand German and Turkish citizens demonstrated in Mölln, Berlin, and elsewhere the night of the Mölln firebombing. Ten thousand people took part in a memorial service for the three victims on November 27.

I.G. Metall, the largest union in Germany, estimated that 200,000 members interrupted work throughout the northern part of the country that day to demonstrate their opposition to the murders. Another 30,000 workers in the southern state of Baden-Württemberg responded to a call by the Federation of German Unions (DGB) to stop work for twenty minutes.

## Groups defend hostels

Hubert Gollin of *Latin American News*, in an interview with the *Militant*, said that in addition to organizing demonstrations, anti-racist groups have increasingly taken on the work of physically defending the hostels. Gollin explained that "normally, the police don't defend the homes" of immigrant workers and people seeking asylum, so a number of groups in Germany now organize to defend the homes from racist attacks.

Another example of the growing sentiment against the ultra-rightists was a large anti-racist conference held in Berlin the weekend of November 13-15. Six hundred political activists from throughout Europe participated in the European Congress Against Racism, including student activists and anti-racist fighters. Participants came from 17 countries.

## Racist abuse in East Germany under Stalinist political rule

BERLIN — In an interview with the *Militant*, Ahmed Faray of Activities for Foreign Fellow Citizens, an immigrant-rights group in Berlin, described some of the conditions faced by immigrant workers in East Germany before reunification.

The Stalinist regime of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) held contracts with the governments of underdeveloped countries such as Mozambique and Vietnam for workers from these countries to work in the GDR for a given number of years. Faray said they would "be forced into jobs that Germans would not accept," and that up to 60 percent of their pay, in some cases, would be sent directly to the government of the country where they came from.

Foreign-born workers were paid less than their German coworkers to begin with, Faray pointed out, and were forced to live in overcrowded apartments, segregated from the rest of the population. The Stalinist authorities disguised this appalling treatment by claiming to be performing an act of solidarity with these countries, training their workers in valuable skills. Even this was untrue, Faray stressed, as they generally only performed the "dirtiest jobs."

David Zacharias came from Mozambique to work in the GDR in 1980 and left Germany in 1991 after the hostel where he lived was attacked by fascist skinheads. In an interview with *Visa*, an anti-racist magazine published in Berlin, Zacharias related a series of incidents of racist abuse he and fellow immigrant workers experienced while living in East Germany.

"When German youngsters beat us up and the police came and recognized us as Mozambicans they would switch on the si-

ren, so that the gang had the time to take off. They would say that we had beaten them up. We were thus arrested and the youngsters were set free," Zacharias said.

"[We] always had trouble with wage payment. Everything we were supposed to get, we had to fight for."

Ulla Jelpke, a member of the Bundestag (parliament) representing the Left List, which is in political solidarity with the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS), formerly the ruling Stalinist Socialist Unity Party, told the *Militant*, "in the east, the policy toward foreigners was even worse than in the west." She said that Vietnamese women who became pregnant while in the GDR would be compelled to choose between a forced abortion or deportation.

The widespread racism in East German society and state institutions during the period of Stalinist rule helps to explain the rapidity of the growth of fascist and racist organizations in eastern Germany. "We want to build a monument to Erich Honecker," the former head of state of the GDR, said Heinz Reisz, leader of a fascist group called New Front in the state of Hesse. Reisz explains his admiration for Honecker by saying that "his policies preserved an island of 17 million pure-race Germans with some vestige of Aryan consciousness."

Christian Ostrowski, a leader of the PDS, admitted that the many former Stalinist party officials who have joined the far-right Republican Party "hardly changed their ways of thinking or their personalities on the way to the Republicans." Former agents of the Stasi, the secret police of the GDR, have been involved in many of the attacks carried out against immigrant workers and asylum-seekers. —J.C.

For further reading on the question:

## Fascism: What It Is, How To Fight It

### What is American Fascism?

Writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Senator Joseph McCarthy

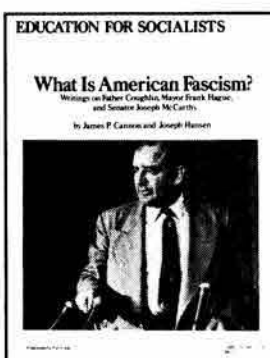
By James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. \$8

### The Fight Against Fascism in the U.S.A.

By James P. Cannon and others. \$9

### The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany

By Leon Trotsky. Examines the origin and nature of fascism and the working-class strategy to combat it. \$27.95



### Fascism and Big Business

By Daniel Guerin. A study of the relationship between fascism and the ruling capitalist families in Germany and Italy. \$18.95

### Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It

By Leon Trotsky, pamphlet. \$2

### Counter-mobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks

By Farrell Dobbs. \$6

\*Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 16 or from Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, include \$3 for shipping.



# Framed-up activist wins support in Atlanta

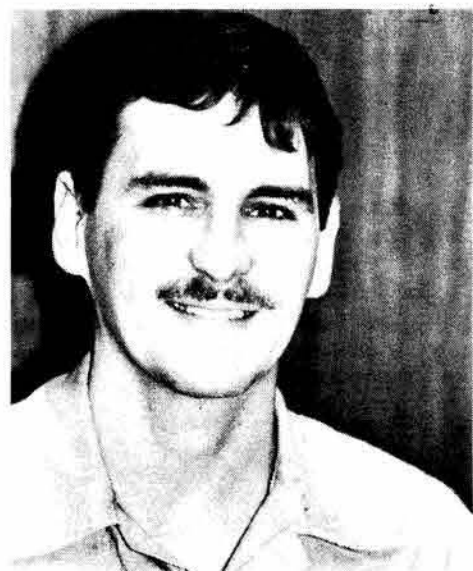
BY MARLA PUZISS

ATLANTA — Supporters of Mark Curtis here capped a campaign to win parole for the jailed union activist, who was framed up on charges of rape and burglary by Des Moines, Iowa, police in 1988, with a Militant Labor Forum held November 15 at the Pathfinder bookstore. The forum drew some 25 people and featured a panel of speakers including Rev. Joseph Fahy, a Catholic priest who works with Hispanic immigrants; Broeck Carlsten, president of the North Atlanta High School chapter of Amnesty International; Robin Singer, who helped organize support for the Pastors for Peace Caravan to Cuba; and Marla Puziss, an Atlanta supporter of Mark Curtis.

Rev. Fahy read aloud his letter to the parole board urging release of Mark Curtis at his November 17 parole hearing, and spoke of the daily racism and discrimination encountered by Hispanic immigrants. He thanked Curtis supporters for keeping him informed of developments in the struggle for justice for Curtis, who was involved in a fight to defend immigrant workers at the time of his frame-up.

## 'Prisoner of conscience'

Carlsten stated that her Amnesty International chapter had decided to adopt Mark



Mark Curtis

Militant/Luis Madrid

## Civil rights lawyer calls for parole

To: The Iowa State Parole Board:

I am writing in support of Mr. Curtis' application for parole which I understand will be heard on November 17, 1992.

I have been interested in his case since its inception because, from almost fifty years of experience in the unjustified prosecution of so many of my clients, past and present, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., leaders of the American Indian and Puerto Rican protest struggles, and the Freedom Riders throughout the deep South, to name but a few, I sensed that this was another example of such an unfortunate instance.

I realize that the Board will not look behind the verdict but I do urge it to consider Mr. Curtis' prison record, his background, and that fact that, for a Class C felony, he has served far more than the average time normally imposed on someone convicted of a similar offense.

We have reached the stage in this country where we have the highest per capita prisoner ratio by far of any country in the world. Only South Africa is comparable on a much lower basis. Part of the problem is the reluctance or refusal of parole boards to release worthy inmates, thus keeping the prison populations constant and giving inmates very little incentive to amass satisfactory incarceration records.

I urge the Board to consider Mr. Curtis' application most seriously. His thousands of supporters, among whom I include myself, are some indication of the esteem in which he is held and should count for something insofar as parole is considered.

William Kunstler

A Founder, Vice-President, and Volunteer Staff Attorney, Center for Constitutional Rights

Curtis as their "prisoner of conscience," and would hold future fundraising events to benefit the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. She read several letters to the parole board from students in the group, written after supporters of Mark Curtis met with the entire chapter. Last year the chapter held a benefit concert which raised \$400 and donated half the proceeds to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Other messages to the parole board were also read at the forum from State Rep. Tyrone Brooks; Maura Ubinger, Executive Director of the Catholic Committee of Appalachia; Gary Washington, a unionist and local radio talk show host; and from members of the United Food and Commercial Workers Local 442 at the Hormel plant here. Maura Ubinger's letter states, "I am very aware of Mark's case and indeed his previous background, as well as his excellent prison record... I am still unable to believe that he was sentenced to 25 years in prison. I believe that without a doubt, Mark is a victim of a system bent on obstructing true justice... I add my voice to, I'm sure, many others who urge his release, to allow him to resume a normal, decent life."

A fund collection raised \$233 for the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, and several forum participants invited Curtis supporters to address other meetings in the future.

In the weeks leading up to the parole hearing, Curtis supporters reached out broadly for support and involved some longtime endorses of the defense committee more deeply in this effort. Workers at Hormel, Arrow Shirt Co., and Grady Hospital wrote and circulated letters to the parole board. At Hormel 24 workers signed one letter.

Curtis supporters spoke to students at North Atlanta High School, and addressed the congregation of a local Haitian church. The church pastors and congregation members signed a collective letter to the parole board. After the talk, many stayed to discuss the case. One young man said, "I was nearly crying during your talk. I myself was almost deported, so I strongly support Mark Curtis." He asked to have the Nick Castle video *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis* shown at his home.

Curtis supporters also met with State Rep. Tyrone Brooks and spoke before the national executive board of Clergy and Laity Concerned. Some on the executive board had been contacted by proponents of a slander campaign against Mark Curtis and wanted to hear Curtis supporters respond to these charges.

On October 25, Curtis supporter's Miesa Zárate and Marla Puziss appeared on "Open Window," a local cable TV talk show. The show was hosted by Gary Washington, who also hosts a regular radio talk show entitled "Labor Forum." Portions of the Nick Castle video were screened and the two panelists answered questions from the moderator and from viewers who called in. One caller asked about the possibility for a mistrial or new trial before an appeals court, based on constitutional violations of Curtis' rights at the frame-up trial. Another wanted to know about sup-

port for Curtis in the labor movement. Zárate and Puziss also explained the parole fight and urged viewers to send letters to the parole board urging Mark's release.

In the weeks ahead Curtis supporters in Atlanta will be meeting to discuss ongoing efforts to get out the truth about the frame-up of Mark Curtis, and to win broader support for his fight for justice.

For more information, contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Telephone (515) 246-1695.

## What Mark Curtis did on March 4, 1988

*At the September 7-9, 1988 trial of Mark Curtis on charges of sexual abuse and burglary, the alleged victim, a Black high school student, testified that on the evening of March 4, 1988, when one of her favorite television shows had just begun, a man called on the telephone asking for Bonita, Denise, or Keith. The show began at 8:00 p.m. She told the caller that her parents, Denise and Keith, weren't home.*

*Five or ten minutes later, she testified, a man knocked on the door, asking for the same people; she opened the door, started talking to him, and he proceeded to sexually molest and beat her until the police arrived. She said the man who did this was Mark Curtis. Below is a chronology, constructed from eyewitness evidence presented at the trial, of what Mark Curtis did that day and where he was at the time the alleged rape took place.*

**7:00 a.m.** Curtis leaves home for work at Swift packinghouse in Des Moines.

**2:00 p.m.** Several Swift workers walk off production line to protest management decision to not allow them to go to 2:00 p.m. meeting to protest in-plant arrest three days earlier of seventeen Latino workers by immigration cops. Line stopped for ten minutes.

**4:45 p.m.** Curtis gets off work for the day.

**5:00 p.m.** Meeting at United Mexican-American Community Center to protest arrest of Swift 17. Curtis speaks at meeting, in Spanish, about need to involve the union at Swift, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431, in fight to defend these workers. The meeting approved a call for a demonstration March 12 to protest arrests.

**7:00 p.m.** Curtis arrives at Los Compadres bar and restaurant after Swift 17 protest meeting. Talks to two friends from Swift plant about the meeting and plans for the following week's protest.

**8:30 p.m.** Curtis leaves Los Compadres and drives home.

**8:40-8:45 p.m.** Curtis calls friend Ellen Whitt and leaves message on her answering machine that he's going out for a few minutes and could she please

let two friends of his who are coming over to visit him into her house if they show up before he gets back. Tells her that he is going to the store to buy food to cook dinner for people attending Militant Labor Forum the next night. Since Whitt isn't home, he calls neighbor Jackie Floyd and tells her same thing.

**8:45-8:50 p.m.** Curtis leaves house to go to Hy-Vee grocery store. Woman stops Curtis at traffic light on corner of Clark and Harding, five blocks from his house, and asks for a ride home because a man is chasing her. This was not the woman who later accused him of raping her. Curtis gives her lift to what turns out to be the house of the Morris family. She asks him to wait on porch while she goes inside.

**8:51 p.m.** Police say they receive a 911 emergency call from someone whispering that his sister is being raped on the porch.

**8:52 p.m.** Police testify that they dispatch car to house.

**8:53 p.m.** Police officer Joseph Gonzalez testifies cops arrive within thirty seconds. According to Curtis, a minute or two after he walks up to porch, cops arrive, burst on to porch, and Gonzalez grabs him. He handcuffs Curtis, pulls down his pants, and arrests him.

## Ned Ryerson: fighter for democratic rights

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BOSTON — Ned Ryerson, teacher, writer, and political activist, died at his home in Cambridge, Massachusetts, November 18 after a five-year struggle with cancer. He was 73 years old.

Ryerson devoted much of his life to education and the arts. He was the founder of the Palfrey Street School and for many years taught there while serving as its director. Through his connection to the school, Ryerson became involved in the historic battle to desegregate the Boston school system in the mid-1970s.

James Warren, the Socialist Workers Party 1992 presidential candidate, recalls meeting Ryerson in 1975 when Warren was a leader of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). NSCAR was working closely with the Boston chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in organizing the May 17 national march for school desegregation and against the violent racist attacks aimed at school busing.

The Palfrey Street School was "one of the few genuinely integrated schools in the area," Warren remembers. "We were invited there to speak about the march. Ned ended up being as excited as his students."

Ryerson volunteered to be one of the marshals who were trained to help guarantee the security of the demonstration. Maceo Dixon, a leader of the SWP in Boston, was also a leader of NSCAR at the time. He remembers how much Ryerson looked forward to his responsibilities that day. "He

took his assignment seriously and he stuck with it all day," said Dixon. "From that moment on Ned was cemented to the struggle for school desegregation."

Ryerson also developed a long association with the SWP. He worked with the party in a number of areas, particularly the defense of democratic rights. He was one of the original members of the executive board of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) in 1977. PRDF was established to raise support for the lawsuit waged by the SWP against the FBI, CIA, and other government police agencies for illegal spying and attempted disruption of legal political activity. This effort resulted in a landmark legal victory in 1988.

Ryerson also lent his support to two cases involving SWP members who were victimized by the cops — Héctor Marroquín and Mark Curtis.

Ryerson was involved in other political activity as well. He was a committed supporter of the labor movement dating from his employment in 1940 by the Wheelwright Coal Company in Kentucky. He was also an ardent opponent of Washington's wars, joining most recently in local demonstrations here against the U.S. slaughter of the people of Iraq in 1991.

Only weeks before his death, while suffering from a broken leg and seriously weakened by cancer, Ryerson came to the Pathfinder bookstore here to hear SWP presidential candidate Warren speak. Warren saw it as "a reflection of his support and respect for the party."

Cathy Perkus, Ryerson's wife, explained that it was also important to him to bring his 10-year-old son Sam that night. In the car on the way home, Perkus said, Ryerson was moved by "the seriousness and internationalism of the campaign meeting." In particular, she said, he was struck by Warren and the SWP's "respect for the audience they were speaking to."

A memorial meeting held here December 6 at the Cambridge Friends School was attended by several hundred people and testified to the many people Ryerson touched and influenced during his life.



Ned Ryerson



# Over the top on all goals!

Continued from front page

New subscribers live in many corners of the world — India, South Africa, Sweden, and Australia, to name a few.

The eight-week drive officially ended December 5. Supporters, however, continued to sell subscriptions until the last minute before the December 13 deadline for the final scoreboard printed in this issue.

*Militant* supporters in Los Angeles, for example, sold a dozen subscriptions and several copies of *New Internationalist* the evening of December 12, during the grand opening of the new Pathfinder bookstore. One hundred people packed the new store for the inauguration, which was covered by Channel 11 Fox television news. The bookstore had been burned down during the riots sparked by the acquittal of four cops who beat Rodney King.

## 'Food, not troops, to Somalia!'

The *Militant's* news coverage of the U.S. invasion of Somalia and its editorial stance of unequivocal opposition to U.S. military intervention sparked a lot of interest in the last two weeks.

"A bright yellow poster announcing 'Food, Not Troops, to Somalia — Get the Facts, Subscribe to the *Militant*,' attracted rail workers and passengers to a table in New York City's Penn Station all day December 12," reported Ruth Robinett, a rail worker and member of the United Transportation Union. The team at the train station sold 3 subscriptions, 26 copies of the *Militant*, and \$80 worth of Pathfinder books.

Supporters found a similar response to the paper among college students on campuses in New York and most cities around the world.

Encouraged with this response to the *Militant*, supporters in New York produced a two-color button with the slogan: "Food, not troops to Somalia. Socialist Workers Party."

"We found a lack of information about what was going on in Somalia and the U.S. relationship to it, and personal doubts about being sent there," reported Al Duncan and John Naubert. They visited Fort Drum in upstate New York, one of the bases of U.S. infantry units being deployed to Somalia. Six GIs purchased copies of the *Militant* in the parking lot of the base PX store in less than an hour before Duncan and Naubert were told to leave by military police.

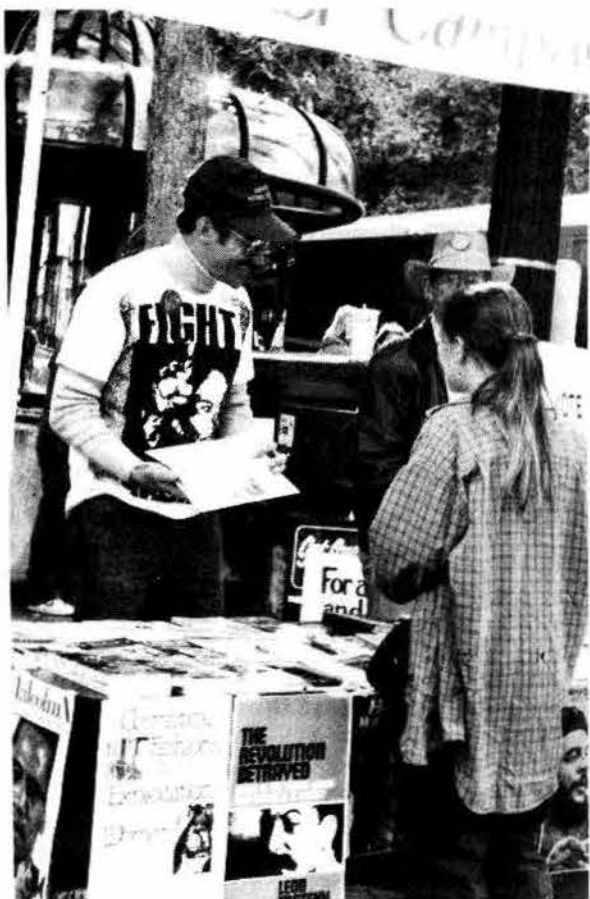
## 'Militant' reporter to interview Haitians held in U.S. Guantanamo base in Cuba

As a result of a successful lawsuit, journalists will be allowed access to the 300 Haitian refugees still detained by the U.S. government at the Guantánamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba. The *Militant* will soon be sending Harvey McArthur to interview the refugees, many of whom have been denied entry to the United States because they have allegedly tested positive for the AIDS virus.

A *Militant* reporting team of

New York was more than 30 percent behind schedule November 15 — three weeks before the end of the sales drive. "There was a temptation to throw in the towel and lower our goal," reported Marty Anderson, who helped organize the New York sales effort. "We recognized, however, that this would have left untapped the great potential for expanding the readership of the socialist press and reduced our effectiveness in addressing the worldwide crisis of capitalism and the working-class response to it," he said.

In less than four weeks New York supporters sold 131 *Militant* and 43 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, as well as 42 copies of *New Internationalist*, surpassing all their goals. Sales of single copies of the *Militant* also shot up, with more than 350 sold last week.



Supporters of the *Militant* got out to actions like protests against antigay "Measure 9" in Oregon

New York was not unique. The entire international campaign was 16 percent behind schedule November 15. Readers around the world, however, decided to fight to make the goals.

## An international effort

Beginning the weekend of November 14, supporters in cities who were on or ahead of schedule started to raise their goals. By the end of the campaign 14 cities had raised their goals, with Miami, Stockholm, and Minneapolis-St. Paul leading the charge.

Several *Militant* readers who could take time off school or work went to other cities to help supporters who were behind schedule catch up. Some from Miami helped boost

sales teams in Atlanta. Matt Herreshoff from Houston spent a week in St. Louis. Supporters from St. Louis then helped Des Moines. Gale Shangold from Los Angeles, who was on a regional team in the Midwest selling the *Militant* to packinghouse workers, went on to join sales teams in Des Moines. Cleveland supporters helped Cincinnati, while those in Seattle helped Portland, and some from Washington, D.C., went to Baltimore.

Reporting and sales teams have visited many countries, winning subscribers from around of the world. Greg Rosenberg from St. Paul, Minnesota, and Felicity Coggan from Wellington, New Zealand, are currently attending a conference sponsored by the Asian Students Association in New Delhi, India. They reported that two conference participants bought subscriptions to the *Militant* and nine purchased copies of the *New Internationalist* the first two days of the event. These sales were reported too late to be included in the final scoreboard.

Similar teams joined protests and participated in conferences in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Mexico, Germany, Barbados, Curaçao, Grenada, and Trinidad during the course of the drive. Subscriptions and copies of *New Internationalist* were also sold by Pathfinder sales representatives at book fairs in Tokyo, Trinidad, and Guadalajara, Mexico.

## Sales to industrial workers

Industrial workers in unions purchased more than 21 percent of all subscriptions sold around the world (see "In The Unions" chart). The final scoreboard includes reports of sales to unionists from the United States,

Canada, New Zealand, and Sweden only — so the actual figure is undoubtedly higher.

Big progress was also registered in the sale of *New Internationalist* to industrial workers during the last week of the drive. This was one area, however, where supporters in most cities fell short of their goals.

Reports from 12 cities show that *New Internationalist* no. 7, with the article "The Opening Guns of World War III" by Jack Barnes, was the top seller. It accounted for 35 percent of the total number of copies of the Marxist magazine sold. The U.S. military intervention in Somalia has definitely increased interest in this book.

We urge our readers to keep sending reports on circulation plans, and successful sales efforts. We will find ways to report them on a regular basis.

Supporters in Greensboro, North Carolina, are setting a good example. They informed us December 14 that they are organizing a regional team to the Norton, Virginia area to continue coverage of the recent mine disaster there and sell the *Militant* to miners and other workers.

In the next two weeks the *Militant* will make proposals to its readers for a campaign to follow up the success of this circulation effort. We hope to win as many new readers as possible to become long-term subscribers.

# FINAL SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

## AROUND THE WORLD

	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		New Internationalist Single Issues	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
<b>UNITED STATES</b>							
Los Angeles	163	125	130%	80	75	92	70
Twin Cities, MN *	121	100	121%	16	13	31	30
Philadelphia	90	75	120%	15	13	37	35
Chicago *	101	85	119%	19	19	34	35
St. Louis	94	80	118%	3	3	37	35
Seattle	86	75	115%	24	23	35	35
Detroit	84	75	112%	8	6	41	35
Cleveland	67	60	112%	6	6	46	40
San Francisco	106	95	112%	24	35	67	60
Miami *	106	95	112%	32	30	69	60
Des Moines, IA *	89	80	111%	30	25	43	40
Greensboro, NC	72	65	111%	6	5	32	30
Houston *	83	75	111%	16	13	30	30
Boston *	99	90	110%	30	30	45	45
Atlanta	71	65	109%	6	5	22	30
New York	189	175	108%	51	50	93	90
Morgantown, WV	54	50	108%	4	2	30	30
Birmingham, AL	70	65	108%	2	3	7	35
Pittsburgh	74	70	106%	2	3	8	35
Washington DC	74	70	106%	13	20	39	35
Salt Lake City, UT *	79	75	105%	14	13	36	20
Cincinnati	26	25	104%	6	5	7	5
Baltimore	77	75	103%	6	6	28	25
Newark, NJ	127	125	102%	36	35	70	65
Ft. Madison, IA	2	2	100%	0	0	0	0
Portland, OR	12	12	100%	1	1	9	10
New Haven, CT	7	15	47%	1	1	1	6
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>2,223</b>	<b>1,999</b>	<b>111%</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>440</b>	<b>989</b>	<b>966</b>
<b>AUSTRALIA *</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>112%</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>BARBADOS</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>67%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>BRITAIN</b>							
London	57	45	127%	5	5	23	40
Sheffield	29	35	83%	2	3	6	20
Manchester	29	35	83%	1	2	15	30
<b>BRITAIN TOTAL</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>CANADA</b>							
Toronto *	77	65	118%	15	15	45	40
Montreal *	62	55	113%	8	20	58	50
Vancouver *	66	60	110%	11	10	31	30
Quebec City	3	3	100%	0	0	0	2
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>208</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>114%</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>134</b>	<b>122</b>
<b>FRANCE *</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>160%</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>ICELAND</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>87%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>MEXICO</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>							
Wellington	37	35	106%	1	1	8	10
Auckland *	47	45	104%	0	3	8	8
Christchurch	21	25	84%	0	1	12	8
<b>N.Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>PUERTO RICO</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0%</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>SWEDEN *</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>124%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,770</b>	<b>2,500</b>	<b>111%</b>	<b>531</b>	<b>543</b>	<b>1,265</b>	<b>1,276</b>
<b>DRIVE GOALS</b>		<b>2,350</b>			<b>450</b>		<b>1,200</b>

## IN THE UNIONS

Union	Militant/PM			NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL
<b>UNITED STATES</b>					
UFCW *	83	50	166%	13	15
UTU *	77	50	154%	12	15
OCAW	73	50	146%	12	20
UMWA	25	18	139%	7	6
ILGWU	39	32	122%	13	9
UAW	87	80	109%	24	35
IAM	117	110	106%	27	42
USWA	92	90	102%	16	30
ACTWU	41	48	85%	11	26
<b>U.S. TOTAL</b>	<b>634</b>	<b>528</b>	<b>120%</b>	<b>135</b>	<b>198</b>
<b>CANADA</b>					
USWA	8	12	67%	3	5
CAW	10	15	67%	2	8
ACTWU	4	10	40%	0	4
IAM	3	10	30%	2	4
<b>CANADA TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>53%</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>NEW ZEALAND</b>					
MWU	4	2	200%	0	1
UFCW	5	5	100%	0	1
EU	4	5	80%	0	1
<b>N.Z. TOTAL</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>108%</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>SWEDEN</b>					
Metal Workers	8	7	114%	3	2
Food Workers *	3	4	75%	1	1
<b>SWEDEN TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>

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



# 'We are working for the benefit of society'

## Cuba's only industrial contingent helps meet need for construction materials

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

HAVANA, Cuba — A visitor will immediately notice there is something different about the Juan Roberto Milián industrial complex. Every work area in this building materials factory is impeccably clean, from the department where workers are cutting and neatly stacking hundreds of cement blocks, to the kitchen and bakery.

The factory, located in the heavily industrial southeastern district of San Miguel del Padrón, is run by a contingent of 220 volunteer workers. The overwhelming majority are 30 years old or younger. They produce cement blocks, floor tile, and other construction materials.

"Workers on the contingent commit themselves to a two-year stint," said Francis Ramos, 29. "But most people end up staying longer. I've been working here now for four years."

"We work 14 hours a day, six days a week, or longer if necessary," she added. Last year they produced 14 million units for the construction of about 1,000 new homes, as well as for several hotels being built or renovated.

### Attitude toward work

The Juan Roberto Milián Industrial Contingent, officially launched three years ago, is the only contingent in a Cuban factory today. Other volunteer contingents are concentrated in agriculture and construction.

The main form of voluntary labor in the country today is the work brigades in which hundreds of thousands of Cubans mobilize to work on state farms for periods of two weeks, playing a vital role in expanding food production in the country.

What distinguishes the volunteer labor carried out by the contingent, Ramos explained with pride, "is the attitude toward work. We work for the benefit of society."

Contingent members themselves set and enforce the work rules, based on collaboration and collective discipline. "We don't allow any offensive behavior toward other workers," Ramos said.

Before the contingent was organized in November 1989, the plant had 345 employees. "Now," says plant manager Humberto Rodríguez, "there are 220 workers and we produce a lot more."

Contingent member José Real del Sol explained that workers learn and carry out a variety of tasks beyond their specific job category. "I'm the head of maintenance but I also perform whatever job is needed; for example, I'll work in the fields," he said, referring to the nearby farm that is also worked by the contingent. "That way we save labor power."

"At first this concept was hard," he added. "A person would say, 'No, I only do this job.' Now this attitude has changed and many people will ask, 'So, what needs to be done?'"

### No cleaning personnel

Rodríguez noted that the management has been reduced to nine people — less than 5 percent of the work force, compared to many other plants in the country that have up to 20 percent administrative personnel. Workers themselves maintain discipline, care for the equipment, and take on certain administrative responsibilities.



Left: Mary-Alice Waters second from left, as part of the *Militant* reporting team, talks with members of the Juan Roberto Milián Industrial Contingent at factory's farm. Right: Worker machining a part at the Bariay bicycle factory in Holguín, Cuba.



Militant photos by Martín Koppel

There are no cleaning personnel. All workers and technicians organize themselves to clean their areas every day. This is why the bathrooms in the factory are spotless.

"We put up signs over the cleanest bathrooms" as an incentive to keep them that way, says Ramos.

This is in dramatic contrast to the first years of the factory, which started up in 1986. "In the beginning," says Rodríguez, "there was disorganization, indiscipline, theft, and a lot of other problems. So at first I thought: 'this isn't going to work.'"

"But that was the biggest change," Rodríguez stressed. "Now the youth are disciplined, they are serious." Absenteeism went down from 25 percent to 2 percent or less.

The experience of learning to collectively discuss, organize, and work in order to contribute to the progress of society has had a big impact on workers' social consciousness. Ramos pointed to one measure of this process. When the contingent began, only two workers were members of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) and two were members of the Communist Party, the political organizations in Cuba that organize the most politically conscious, self-sacrificing, and respected vanguard workers and youth.

"Now, 49 workers are UJC members and 46 have joined the party," Ramos said. "I myself wasn't in the UJC when I started here." Today she is secretary of the UJC unit in the contingent.

Rodríguez explained that with the virtual collapse of trade with the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, which used to supply Cuba with 85 percent of its imports, Cuba has launched a major undertaking to become self-sufficient in food — a campaign known as the food program — as well as other basic goods. Workers in the Roberto Milián Industrial Contingent are especially proud of the contribution they have made and the example they have set in this effort.

"We have been making all our spare parts for the last three years," Real del Sol explained. The plant was built with technology from Spain and parts would have to be purchased with very scarce hard currency.

At the same time that productivity has increased, the contingent has found ways to reduce fuel consumption, which last year was about one-tenth the amount consumed in 1988. Workers in the kitchen pointed out that by switching to firewood their ovens had not used a drop of fuel oil in the last three years.

Workers have used their creativity to save and recycle raw materials. "We discovered we could make clothing out of flour sacks from the kitchen," Rodríguez said, pointing to some professionally crafted dresses.

### Food self-sufficiency

The biggest progress in self-sufficiency has been in food production. Workers at the

Roberto Milián complex grow all the food necessary to supply three meals a day in their cafeteria. This is part of a national effort for all factories and work places in Cuba to achieve the same goal.

They have turned a nearby plot of land into a 116-acre farm. "We grow tomatoes, yucca, plantains, corn, beans, sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans, garlic, and other vegetables," Ramos said. They even grow wheat — "tropical wheat," as they call it jokingly — that is ground into flour for bread, which is baked in a small bakery that contingent members built right next to the kitchen.

Next to the farm is an artificial pond for fish production. The contingent has set up a small factory to produce animal feed, an important achievement since Cuba's shortage of fodder — previously imported from Eastern Europe — has limited the country's overall ability to raise cattle, fowl, and other sources of animal protein. The contingent's farm now has a sizable number of chickens, turkeys, rabbits, and even a few cows.

The workers produce more than enough food for themselves, so they also supply a nearby high school, child-care center, and children's hospital. Next to the farm, the workers are now putting the final touches on an outdoor recreation center, including a dance floor and modest sound system, to provide entertainment for local youth as well as for themselves and their families.

In addition, workers here built a theater, dormitories for workers who stay late, and a doctor's office.

### 'Capitalism couldn't achieve this'

Working in a yucca field on the farm, contingent member Enérgido Marrero Garrido explained, "We work 14 hours a day or whatever it takes to do the job. I came here because the revolution needs hard-working people." He had previously volunteered to work in Nicaragua for two years as an advisor at a sugar mill that Cuba donated to that country.

His coworker, Jorge Reyes López, added with a smile, "To do this, you have to have a real love for work."

Workers at the plant pointed out that Cuban president Fidel Castro had officially inaugurated their contingent in November 1989. "I'd like to see some capitalist factory do what this collective is doing in this plant," Castro said at that time, addressing the contingent members. "I'd like to see if it has the productivity, organization, discipline, and the increasing quality in this plant."

He added, "Our revolutionary process is demonstrating what can be done under socialism, something that could never be done in any way under capitalism."

As Real del Sol put it, "we have developed a 'contingent spirit.'"

## Contingent spirit exists in other Cuban factories

The revolutionary and socially conscious spirit evident in the Juan Roberto Milián Industrial Contingent is not limited to such contingents. In addition to the participation of many Cubans in two-week volunteer work brigades to advance the food program, the potential for transforming the attitude toward work can be seen in other work places throughout Cuba.

In the Bariay bicycle factory in the eastern city of Holguín, for example, workers are organizing to try to meet one of the economic priorities in Cuba today — the effort to produce enough bicycles to compensate for the cuts in public transportation caused by the fuel shortage. The plant started up less than two years ago. Three-quarters of the workers are under 30 years old.

The 450 workers there, including 90 women, are fighting to make a daily goal of 300 bikes. Many put in considerable overtime — 12 hours a day through most of November — to reach monthly goals they set themselves. At the same time they are growing plantains, yucca, and beans on a nearby plot to become self-sufficient in food.

A similar spirit of intense collective effort can be seen in a very different kind of work place, the Immunoassay Center in Havana. The work of this center is part of another priority campaign in Cuba: to develop pharmaceutical and medical products that can also bring in much-needed hard currency for the country's development.

The 200 scientists and technicians there have perfected a technique for medical diagnostic tests using tiny amounts of reagents — only 5 percent of the quantities used in laboratories elsewhere in the world — and thus saving valuable resources. They have developed diagnostic tests for hepatitis B, herpes simplex, HIV-1 and HIV-2 viruses, Down's syndrome and other congenital diseases, as well as dengue and other illnesses prevalent in many Third World countries.

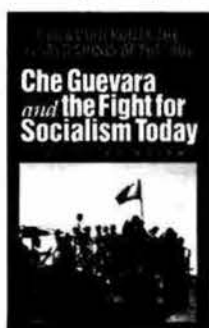
These achievements are the result of collective work by an interdisciplinary group of biochemists, physicists, immunologists, engineers, chemists, and computer scientists that has broken down the barriers often separating specialists who work in different fields.

The research center has the character of a factory. It not only does the research, but manufactures and packages the biomedical products. It even has a machine shop that makes much of the center's laboratory equipment and the molds for plastic components of the diagnostic kits. — M.K.

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by Mary-Alice Waters

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# African National Congress debates road ahead for overthrowing apartheid regime

The following pages feature three articles from a debate within the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa on the road ahead in the struggle to overturn the apartheid regime. The discussion has taken place within the organization and through public news media over the past several weeks.

This round of debate was set off by an article, reproduced in this special supplement, by Joe Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and a member of the ANC National Executive Committee. The article, titled "Negotiations: What room for compromise?" was printed in the *African Communist*, 3rd Quarter, 1992.

At the end of October the ANC's negotiations commission produced a paper incorporating many of Slovo's points, for the organization's National Working Committee. The National Working Committee is the body that oversees the work of the ANC on a day-to-day basis. It rejected the paper, titled "Negotiation — A Strategic Perspective," and adopted another version November 18. Prior to this, Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity and a member of the Working Committee, wrote a paper critical of the negotiations commission's draft. This article, under the heading "Political suicide on the agenda," was printed in the *New Nation's* November 13-19 issue, and is also reproduced here.

The ANC's National Executive Committee, which is elected by the delegated conference of the ANC and is the highest body between conferences, approved the Working Committee's document, with some further changes, November 25. This final version is the first item printed below.

## ANC strategic perspective: 'transfer of power to the people as a whole'

The following document, entitled "Negotiations: A Strategic Perspective," was adopted by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, November 25, 1992. The text is taken from the U.S. government Foreign Broadcast Information Service bulletin, November 27.

The strategic perspective of the ANC [African National Congress] is the transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people as a whole. This will usher in a new era characterised by the complete eradication of the system of apartheid, fundamental socio-economic transformation, peace and stability for all our people. The basic principle underpinning this new order is democratic majority rule.

### 1. Balance of Forces

By the end of the eighties, the strategic balance of forces was characterised by:

1.1 The liberation movement enjoyed many advantages over the regime, both internally and internationally. All the pillars of the struggle had grown from strength to strength:

—a very high level of mass mobilisation and mass defiance had rendered apartheid unworkable;

—the building of the underground had laid a basis for exercising political leadership and was laying a basis for the intensification of the armed struggle.

—the world was united against apartheid.

1.2 At the same time the liberation movement faced certain objective weaknesses:

—changes in southern Africa were making it increasingly difficult for the ANC in the

conduct of struggle.

—there was no longer a visible intensification of the armed struggle,

—the international community was making renewed attempts to impose a settlement plan.

1.3 The crisis in Eastern Europe, and the resultant change in the relations between world powers brought the issue of a negotiated resolution of regional conflicts to the fore. In this context, South Africa was not going to be treated as an exception. Importantly, these changes also exerted new pressures on the regime to fall in line with the emerging international "culture" of multi-party democracy.

1.4 The apartheid power bloc was no longer able to rule in the old way. Its policies of repression and reform had failed dismally; and it faced an ever-deepening socio-economic crisis. At the same time the liberation movement did not have the immediate capacity to overthrow the regime.

1.5 All these factors set the stage for a negotiated resolution of the South African conflict. The regime was forced to unban the ANC and other organisations, release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, acknowledge the defeat of the apartheid ideology and seek negotiations with the liberation movement. This constituted a major strategic retreat for the regime and a victory for the democratic forces.

### 2. Shifts in the Balance of Forces

2.1 The balance of forces is not static. In this phase of the negotiations:

—The regime strives to undermine and weaken the liberation movement through its strategy of low intensity conflict and the beginnings of counterrevolutionary war;

—The liberation movement seeks to weaken the capacity of the regime to act against the people and broaden the space for free political activity through a combination of mass mobilisation, international pressure and self-defence.

2.2 In the recent period:

—The De Klerk regime has suffered a renewed crisis of legitimacy. It continues to fail to win the allegiance of the majority;

—The regime's camp stands more divided than it ever has since the unbanning of the ANC: its unpatriotic front with some bantustans has collapsed; it is increasingly losing the loyalty of the civil service and important elements in the security forces, many of whom are drifting to the extreme right-wing camp; in the October special session of the tricameral Parliament, it failed to secure the support of a single other party outside itself; leading members of the party and government continue to jump ship for reasons of "fatigue," "depression" and "disillusionment";

—The regime has lost all ability to arrest the unprecedented socioeconomic decline, growing unemployment among both black and white, the general social disintegration and spiraling crime.

However:

—The regime still commands vast state and other military resources;

—It continues to enjoy the support of powerful economic forces;

—Objectively, counter-revolutionary violence and the growing potential of long-term counter-revolutionary instability acts as a resource for the regime.

2.3 Also in the recent period:

—The ANC has established itself as a legal national political organisation;

—It commands the support of the majority of South Africans;

—The liberation movement enjoys the capacity to mobilise large-scale mass action;

—It is able to influence and mobilise the international community.

However:

—The liberation movement suffers many organisational weaknesses;

—It does not command significant military and financial resources;

—It is unable to militarily defeat the counterrevolutionary movement or adequately defend the people.

2.4 As a result of mass action and negotiations, some progress has been made in the recent period. Some examples of these are:



Militant/Greg McCartan  
Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) march in Pretoria, July 1992. ANC National Executive Committee document stresses that "immediate objectives we pursue" should not block progress towards the "fundamental goal . . . the establishment of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society."

the Codesa Declaration of Intent (which establishes national consensus on the broad direction in which the political process should unfold); the Record of Understanding; and broad consensus on the need for an interim government and constituent assembly. Though the regime has succeeded in delaying the transition, there remains a groundswell of support within society as a whole for a speedy resolution of the political and socio-economic problems.

2.5 In this context, the liberation movement is faced with various options:

a) Resumption of the armed struggle and the perspective of revolutionary seizure of power;

b) Mass action and international pressure,

2.7 Taking into account:

—The capacity of the liberation movement;

—The capacity of the regime to endlessly delay while consolidating its hold onto power and restructuring in order to undermine future democratic transformation;

—The cost to the people and the country of a protracted negotiations process;

—The need to as urgently as possible address the dire socio-economic needs of the people;

—The need to prevent a further consolidation of the counter-revolutionary forces;

—The third option, (c), is the most viable and preferable.

2.8 The liberation movement, however, should guard against being captive to a given approach. A combination of factors, including the conduct of the regime may dictate a need to revisit our approach. Apart from the first two options, this may also include a much more enhanced role for the international community in the negotiations process.

### 3. Negotiations: The Preferred Option of the Liberation Movement

3.1 A peaceful political settlement has always been the first option of the liberation movement. It was only when the prospect of any peaceful settlement vanished that we adopted the perspective of an armed revolutionary seizure of power. On the other hand, for the regime, it was a failure of arms that imposed the obligation to concede the need for a political settlement.

3.2 Negotiations therefore represent a victory for the democratic movement and a defeat for the forces of apartheid.

3.3 Consequently, it must remain one of our strategic tasks to continue to draw the regime onto the terrain of free political activity, peaceful democratic action and genuine negotiations.

3.4 Delays in the process of peaceful transformation are not in the interests of the masses, who seek liberation now, and do not enhance our possibilities to effect the transformation to genuine democracy as effectively and as speedily as we should.

### 4. Phases of the Democratic Revolution

4.1 Our strategic perspective should take into account that the democratic revolution — for the attainment of majority rule — will proceed in various phases. Our pos-

“It must remain one of our strategic tasks to . . . draw regime onto the terrain of free political activity . . .”

within the broad context of negotiations, until the balance of forces is shifted to such an extent that we secure a negotiated surrender from regime;

c) A negotiations process combined with mass action and international pressure which takes into account the need to combat counter-revolutionary forces and at the same time uses phases in the transition to qualitatively change the balance of forces in order to secure a thorough-going democratic transformation.

2.6 These options should be weighed against the following background:

2.6.1 The ANC's National Conference resolved, after weighing various factors — including the possibility of a negotiated resolution of the South African conflict and the objective situation outlined in section 1 above — that the option of armed seizure of power was neither preferable nor viable at that juncture. The current situation does not warrant a review of this decision of national conference.

2.6.2 An approach that aims to secure a negotiated surrender from the regime will entail a protracted process with tremendous cost to the people and the country.

Continued on Page 10



# ANC goal: 'transfer of power to people'

Continued from Page 9

sibilities relevant to each phase should not be pursued in a manner that produces defeats later because of a failure to recognise the dialectical interconnection between various phases.

4.2 This strategic perspective should recognise the following phases, each one of which has its regularities and objective and subjective demands:

Phase 1: The period prior to the establishment of the transitional executive council. (In this phase we should aim to: secure an agreement on free and fair election, interim government and constituent assembly; stop unilateral restructuring; broaden the space for free political activity; and address the issue of violence).

Phase 2: The period from the establishment of the transitional executive council leading up to the election of the constituent assembly and the establishment of an interim government of national unity. (In this phase we should aim to: consolidate peace through joint control over all armed forces; ensure free and fair elections; and mobilise for a decisive victory in the elections).

Phase 3: The period of the drafting and adoption of the new constitution by the constituent assembly. (In this phase we should aim to: establish an interim government in which the ANC would be a major player; adopt a new democratic constitution and start addressing the socio-economic problems facing the country).

Phase 4: The period of the phasing in of the new constitution, which will include the restructuring of the state machinery and the general dismantling of the system of apartheid.

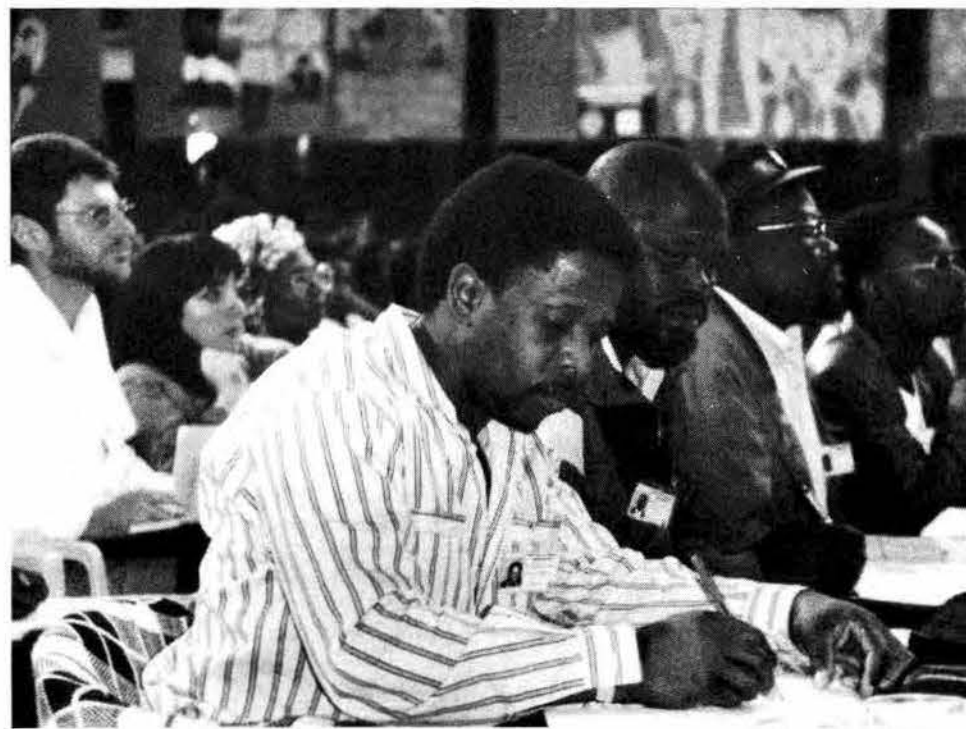
Phase 5: The period of the consolidation of the process of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

4.3 At all stages, we should consider carefully the balance of forces, how to change that balance, and therefore place ourselves in a position in which we can determine the correct path to follow to further the process of democratic change. In this context, the broad masses should play a decisive role. The process must be mass-driven.

4.4 The balance of forces, our specific objectives and our long-term goals would at each stage dictate the need to: enter into specific, and perhaps changing, alliances; and, make certain compromises in order to protect and advance this process.

## 5. Goals of the National Liberation Struggle and Our Immediate Objectives:

5.1 The fundamental goal of the national liberation struggle is the transfer of power to the people as a whole and the establishment of a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society. This should not be confused with the immediate objectives we set for ourselves in each phase of the transition. At the same time, we should ensure that the immediate objectives we pursue do not have the effect of blocking our longer-term goals.



Delegates at ANC conference, July 1991. Debate over next steps forward has taken place both within elected bodies of ANC and in public news media.

5.2 The objectives we set, and can attain in each phase, will depend on the balance of forces.

5.3 We must ensure that in entering a new phase (e.g. the establishment of an interim government) the balance of forces is transformed qualitatively in favour of the democratic movement. Negotiation's can therefore result in the possibility of bringing about a radically transformed political framework (i.e. changing the conjuncture)

“The broad masses should play a decisive role. The process must be mass-driven...”

in which the struggle for the achievement of the strategic perspectives of the national democratic revolution will be advanced in more favourable conditions.

5.4 In setting objectives for the present round of negotiations, we must bear in mind that in the main one would not achieve at the table that which one cannot achieve on the ground. Depending on the balance of forces, we might not gain everything we set out to achieve. However, positions we adopt should be informed by our longer-term objectives. Our correct assessment of the balance of forces, the support of the masses and good negotiating tactics should ensure that our gains constitute a decisive leap forward.

5.5 In setting objectives today, our strategy should not focus narrowly on only the initial establishment of democracy, but also (and perhaps more importantly) on how to nurture, develop and consolidate that democracy. Our strategy must at once also focus on ensuring that the new democracy is not undermined.

5.6 Our broad objectives for the first two phases (as distinct from longer term goals) should therefore be:

5.6.1 The establishment of a democratic constitutionmaking process;

5.6.2 ending the National Party's [NP] monopoly of political power;

5.6.3 ensuring a continuing link between democracy and socio-economic empowerment; and,

5.6.4 minimising the threat to stability and the democratic process.

## 6. Engaging the National Party Regime

6.1 The objective reality imposes a central role for the ANC and the NP in the transition. The ANC is the custodian of the peace process — while the NP is the party in power. Using various forms of struggle, we must ensure that the regime accepts movement forward in the process.

6.2 This means that the balance of forces has forced onto the South African political situation a relationship between the ANC and the NP characterised by:

—In the first place conflict, in so far as the regime attempts to block the transition; and

—Secondly, constructive interaction in pursuit of agreements the regime has been forced to enter into.

6.3 How to manage this contradiction is one of our challenges of leadership.

## 7. The Need for a Government of National Unity:

7.1 We have already won the demand for an interim government of national unity.

7.2 However, 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 it does not delay or obstruct the process of orderly transition to majority rule and that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government. This is fundamentally different from an approach to power-sharing which entrenches veto powers for minority parties.

7.3 Some objectives of a government of national unity:

7.3.1 Stability during the period of transition to full democracy: the enemies of democracy will try to destabilise the new government and make democracy unworkable.

7.3.2 Commitment to and responsibility for the process: we should seek, especially in the early stages, to commit all parties to actively take part in the process of dismantling apartheid, building democracy and promoting development in the interest of all.

## 8. Laying the Basis to Minimise the Threat to Stability and Democracy:

8.1 The new democratic government would need to adopt a wide range of measures in order to minimise the potential threat to the new democracy. However, some of these measures may have to be part and parcel of a negotiated settlement. The new government will also need to take into account the need to employ the talents and capacities of all South Africans, as well as the time it will take to implement an urgent programme of advancing the skills of those who have all along been deprived.

8.2 Strategic forces we need to consider right now are the SADF [South African Defense Force], SAP [South African Police], all other armed formations and the civil service in general. If the transition to democracy affects all the individuals in these institutions wholly and purely negatively, then they would serve as fertile ground from which the destabilisers would recruit.

8.3 Not only do these forces have vast potential to destabilise a fledgling democracy in the future, but as importantly, they have the potential to delay the transition for a lengthy period of time or even make serious attempts to subvert the transition.

8.4 A democratic government will need to restructure the civil service and the security forces in order to ensure that:

—They are professional, competent and accountable;

—They are representative of society as whole (including through the application of the principle of affirmative action);

—They serve the interests of democracy; and

—The size of these institutions is determined by the objective needs of the country.

In this process it may be necessary to address the question of job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty based on disclosure and justice, at some stage, as part of a negotiated settlement. These measures will need to apply to all armed formations and sections of the civil service. However, the availability of resources and experiences of other countries need to be taken into account.

8.5 It is also necessary to consider other potential counter-revolutionary forces and find ways of engaging them and their mass base in the national effort to build a democratic society.

“The new government must adopt a wide range of measures to minimise the potential threat to the new democracy...”

cratic society.

8.6 One of the basic guarantees to stability will be the implementation of development programmes to meet the legitimate needs and aspirations of the majority of South Africans. This places a serious responsibility on the ANC to determine priorities and possibilities for democratic socio-economic transformation.

## 9. Reaching the Negotiated Settlement

9.1 Some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of multi-lateral (Codesa-type) agreements. Other elements of the settlement package would take the form of bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP — such agreements would bind the two parties.

9.2 The thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa may be an issue on which we would enter into bilateral discussion with the NP and other parties, and seek to reach an understanding which the parties would pursue in the constituent assembly.

9.3 The question of a government of national unity after the adoption of a new constitution, and the future of members of the security forces and the civil service could be dealt with through direct engagement with these forces, as part of a bilateral agreement or in multi-lateral agreements.

25 November 1992

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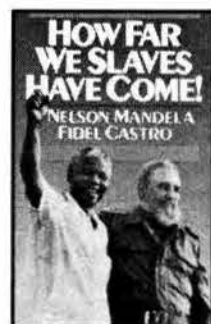
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# 'Negotiations: what room for compromise?' — Slovo

The following article, entitled "Negotiations: What room for compromise?" appeared in the *African Communist*, 3rd Quarter, 1992.

Sooner or later we will be back at the negotiating table. I believe that it is urgent to arm ourselves with a more adequate theoretical framework within which to determine our approaches. Some of our responses have been too ad hoc and have sometimes been influenced by a passing mood and a passion generated by an event or a particularly outrageous pronouncement by the other side.

The starting point for developing a framework within which to approach some larger questions in the negotiating process, is to answer the question: why are we negotiating? We are negotiating because towards the end of the 80s we concluded that, as a result of its escalating crisis, the apartheid power bloc was no longer able to continue ruling in the old way and was genuinely seeking some break with the past. At the same time, we were clearly not dealing with a defeated enemy and an early revolutionary seizure of power by the liberation movement could not be realistically posed.

This conjuncture of the balance of forces (which continues to reflect current reality) provided a classical scenario which placed the possibility of negotiations on the agenda.

“  
**A 'sunset' clause in the constitution providing for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years...**  
”

And we correctly initiated the whole process in which the ANC was accepted as the major negotiating adversary.

But what could we expect to achieve in the light of the balance of forces and the historical truism that no ruling class ever gives up all its power voluntarily? There was certainly never a prospect of forcing the regime's unconditional surrender across the table. It follows that the negotiating table is neither the sole terrain of the struggle for power nor the place where it will reach its culminating point. In other words, negotiations is only a part, and not the whole, of the struggle for real people's power.

It should also be clear that the possibility for and the relative success of negotiations have little to do with mutual trust, or good faith, or some special chemistry between leaders. We are negotiating with the regime because an objective balance of forces makes this a feasible political strategy. Negotiations that are based on vague psychological criteria are bound to mislead and falter. Of course, where there is some reciprocal trust, then that is a bonus.

What then is the more precise place of negotiations in the liberation contest? It is clearly a key element or a stage in the struggle process towards full and genuine liberation. It is a key element because it holds out the possibility of bringing about a radically transformed political framework in which the struggle for the achievement of the main objectives of the national democratic revolution will be contested in conditions far more favourable to the liberation forces than they are now.

In other words, we can realistically project the possibility of an outcome for the negotiating process which will result in the liberation movement occupying significantly more favourable heights from which to advance. This will clearly be the case if, among other things, the tri-cameral parliament is replaced by a democratically elected sovereign body and executive power is led by elected representatives of the majority. If this comes about, the balance of forces will obviously have been qualitatively trans-

formed in our favour.

Four considerations flow from the above analysis:

- Firstly, the immediate outcome of the negotiating process will inevitably be less than perfect when measured against our long-term liberation objectives. If such an outcome is unacceptable then we should cease raising false expectations by persisting with negotiations. On the other hand, if it is strategically acceptable then a degree of compromise will be unavoidable. And we must not fear to be up-front about this reality with our mass political constituency.

- Secondly, we should not underestimate the danger of the counter-revolution in the period following a major transformation. The extreme right will target sections of the white community, in particular the incumbents (hundreds of thousands) in the civil service, army and police who fear for their jobs and for their economic future. Precisely because racism gave them a monopoly of skills and experience, their potential for destabilising a newly born democracy is enormous. Hence, in addressing areas of compromise, we should also consider measures which will help pre-empt the objectives of the counter-revolution and reduce its base.

- Thirdly, the key test for the acceptability of a compromise is that it does not permanently block a future advance to non-racial democratic rule in its full connotation. Therefore, to avoid such a compromise we must have bottom-lines from which there can be no retreat even if it means abandoning the negotiating table and adopting other options. Here too we must be up-front about where we stand.

- Fourthly, to test the acceptability of a negotiated agreement, we need to weigh up the package as a whole and not get bogged down in its individual elements. For example, the passion generated towards the lead-up to CODESA 2 by our 70 percent concession on the special majority required in the Constituent Assembly was totally misplaced. Had our package as a whole been accepted we would have scored a most positive advance in the negotiating process. Its rejection by the regime indisputably left us in occupation of the moral high ground.

In regard to the above considerations, it is necessary to emphasize that we should not allow the necessary bargaining postures within the negotiating process to inhibit us from taking our membership (and therefore inevitably, the whole public) into our confidence in relation to seminal strategic perspectives.

The argument that we should keep the other side in the dark, especially when it comes to possible compromises, has a valid place in the art of negotiations. But it becomes both harmful and counter-productive when it also keeps our support base in the dark in really vital areas; it will eventually attract charges of "sell-out" and departures from accountability.

## Bottom-lines

Our negotiating team should be given the following mandate:

- a. The future constitution must be adopted by a democratically elected sovereign constitution making body (CMB), representing all inhabitants of our 1910 borders and arriving at decisions democratically without a veto by any other body.

- b. The only limitation on the sovereignty of the CMB will be a required adherence to the principles of CODESA's Declaration of Intent and such other general constitutional principles which the key actors agree should be binding. This does not include the powers and functions of future regions which must be determined by the CMB.

- c. Effective structures must be put in place which will ensure a free and fair election.

- d. Acceptable time-frames must be provided for the whole process as well as acceptable dead-lock breaking mechanisms in constitution making.

- e. The tri-cameral parliament and its executive arm must be automatically dissolved



ANC president Nelson Mandela explained points in National Executive Committee statement at a township rally in Pretoria, November 29.

upon the election of the CMB which shall also have ordinary legislative functions during the interim.

- f. The legislative instrument which makes provision for constitutional continuity and which empowers the CMB must not have the effect of substituting CODESA for the CMB in the adoption of the constitution.

## Quantitative Compromises

We must distinguish between what I choose to call qualitative compromises which imply a surrender of the whole or part

of a substantive demand and quantitative compromises which allow for a degree of elasticity within otherwise fixed parameters.

Quantitative compromises should not be problematic although, even here, we have experienced tendencies to confuse detail with substance and to demand mechanical adherence to a mandate through thick and thin. Our negotiators should, for example, have flexible space to decide in the hurly-burly of negotiations whether (as part of a bargaining package) to concede 9 months

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# Jordan: 'No objective basis for cooperation with regime'

The following article by ANC National Working Committee member Pallo Jordan, was published in the *New Nation*, November 13-19, 1992. The newspaper notes that it is an edited version.

BY PALLO JORDAN

## 1. Introduction

Since the adoption of the document "ANC Strategy and Tactics" by the Morogoro Conference of 1969 the ANC has held the view that the contradiction between the

“  
**Negotiations are aimed at the liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics...**  
”

colonised Black majority and the White oppressor state is the most visible and dominant within South Africa. It has further argued that this contradiction cannot be solved by the colonial state "reforming itself out of existence", and consequently, only struggle to overthrow the system of colonial domination could lead to the resolution of this contradiction. Moreover, it has been the ANC view that since the colonial state and the colonised people cannot be spatially separated, there is no possibility of the two co-existing. This necessarily means that the struggle must result in the destruction of the colonial state. This thesis, generally described as the theory of Colonialism of a Special Type (CST), has been the core of the ANC-led alliance's strategic approach to the liberation struggle.

There is now a perceptible shift in thinking on these basic strategic questions amongst some of us. This is in fact not a thought-out process, let alone the outcome of agreement within the leading bodies of the movement. It is better described as a change of gear among some of the leadership. They have canvassed their view of the current situation, without benefit of any discussion in the fora of the movement, in public sources. While their right to do this is not in question, the wisdom of such an undertaking at a time when unity is essential for contesting power with the De Klerk regime can be questioned.

This gear change became evident during an NWC [ANC National Working Committee] meeting during the last week of Octo-

ber, when we were called upon to discuss a document titled "Strategic Perspective".

"Strategic Perspective", in its rhetoric, does not depart from the strategic objectives of the movement, once read it becomes clear that the logic of the paper is a fundamental departure from those objectives. Because there is no explicit statement denoting such a departure, it shall be my task in this paper to demonstrate the departure by dissecting the internal logic of the "Strategic Perspective" document.

## 1.0. The Stated Premise of the Paper

The central flaw in the paper is to be found in its fifth section. Here the authors suggest that there is an objective basis for cooperation between the De Klerk regime and the ANC-led alliance.

The basis of such cooperation is the mutual need for each other "to move the peace process forward". They assert that a relationship of cooperation and competition has been imposed on the ANC alliance and the De Klerk government by the "balance of forces".

The authors invoke the movement's acceptance of the need for an Interim Government of National Unity (IG) to give credence to a point suggesting that the IG is premised on the assessment of the objective character of the "balance of forces" they have previously presented.

Firstly, the notion of an IG was never premised on a balance of forces that made it a political necessity. The IG derives from our Harare Declaration.

I strongly contest the assertion of an objective basis for cooperation between the regime and the ANC alliance.

The dominant aspect of our relationship with the De Klerk regime is that of opposition.

The reality is that the regime's objective — however defined — is to retain the essentials of White power — i.e. the accumulated, palpable privileges that the Whites, as a dominant racial group, enjoy in terms of ownership and control of the decisive sectors of productive property; domination of the professions and higher levels of skill; the control of the commercial and financial sectors of the economy; access to the best facilities in terms of education; access to and domination of the civil service; control over the decisive organs of the state. While quite prepared to make room for Blacks to enter the political domain, the regime is determined to so condition what power the majority acquire that it will frustrate any attempts to tamper

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# Jordan: No objective basis for cooperation

Continued from Page 11

with these essentials of White power.

The ANC alliance, on the other hand, has the national liberation of the most oppressed and exploited as its central objective. This necessarily includes the dismemberment of the racist state as a priority. In other words, to directly tamper precisely with one of the core institutions sustaining White power.

Objectively, the relationship between the ANC alliance and the regime is conflictual. The conflictual nature of the relationship is structured by the diametrically opposed interests the two represent.

## 1.1 The Elevation of Negotiations

Negotiations, cannot and will never be a strategy in any political conflict — whether the conflict be between states, classes, nations or oppressor and oppressed. Negotiation is an aspect of a strategy.

The attempt to elevate negotiations to the level of strategy is fundamentally flawed and betrays a misunderstanding of negotiations.

Since a transfer of power to the oppressed cannot co-exist with the retention of power by the oppressor, it is a final showdown. Historically the ANC's strategy was to harness every conceivable instrument of struggle into a multi-pronged offensive which would draw the broadest front of opposition to the apartheid regime into active struggle. In these terms the ANC always posed its objectives as the seizure of power.

At no time, since 1969, did the ANC ever elevate any one of the prongs above the others, though it was understood that there would be moments when one or other prong might acquire a higher profile than the others. (For example, during the 1984–86 mass uprisings, when mass struggle acquired a profile over and above the others). It was understood that the thrust of ANC strategy was to knit these prongs together through mutual reinforcement, so as to merge them into one huge current, culminating in the overthrow of the racist regime.

Even while we pursued the four pillars of our strategy, the ANC never excluded negotiations as an aspect of its strategy. When they seriously came on to the agenda the ANC said negotiations are a terrain of struggle, no different from the others. Implicit in this was the understanding that negotiations is neither a tactic nor a strategy but an aspect of strategy. As such, its relative weight is far lower than that of the four major prongs of strategy. They feature as a subsidiary means for the realisation of the objectives pursued through strategy. Hence, the ANC never saw any contradiction between negotiations and waging the armed struggle. Which is what "Strategic Perspective" implies! Equally, we say no contradiction between continuing either underground work or mass political mobilisation and negotiations.

In the case of the national liberation struggle, one or other party to the dispute must go under. Negotiations, in such a situation, are aimed at the liquidation of one of the antagonists as a factor in politics.

1.2 In section 2 (the document's authors) confuse non-violent struggle with negotiations. The ANC alliance resorted to arms when all avenues of non-violent struggle vanished, not when the possibility for negotiations vanished.

The unstated premise (that non-violent struggle and negotiations are synonymous) not only raises negotiations to the strategy, but by so doing suggests that everything else, all other prongs and aspects of strategy, must merge into this dominant thrust, negotiations, to which they are all subordinated.

This has far-reaching consequences for the ANC's entire approach to the liberation struggle. We are encountering a fundamental revision of the ANC's conception of struggle as consisting of mutually supportive prongs.

The danger is that by elevating one aspect of strategy above the others, the ANC would in fact be stripped of crucial instruments of policy.

The unwarranted elevation of negotiations to the ANC's primary strategy has the unfortunate outcome of re-orienting the movement away from confrontation with the enemy to a search for common ground. "Strategic Perspective" exudes a desperation to discover such common ground at all

costs, rather than discovering ways of enhancing the growing confidence of the mass of the oppressed as the agency of their own liberation. It advises the ANC to discover new ways of facilitating communication between its leadership and the regime. Amazingly, this is seen as a "breakthrough". The harm this can inflict on the movement is already evidenced by the confused signals which have emanated from the NEC — its oscillation between militancy and complacency.

## 1.3. Trapping Our Victories in the Jaws of Defeat

It would seem we all agree that it was the combined impact of the many prongs of ANC strategy that compelled the enemy to seek negotiations. Quite correctly, we claim that as a victory. We proceeded from there and said the challenge facing the ANC was to skillfully employ negotiations to expedite the transfer of power from the enemy. This has been a process characterised by an ebb and flow, forwards and backwards. We have however been able to marshal both internal pressure, through mass mobilisation, which has in turn generated international pressures, plus the pressure arising from this indecisive inter-regnum (e.g. a continuing investors' strike) to force the regime to yield. Thus we characterised our unprecedented mass action as a victory!

Its immediate outcome was the Record of Understanding, which objectively regarded was the ANC compelling the De Klerk regime to accept our terms. Once again we said this was a victory!

There is consensus in the NWC that the ANC alliance can win at the negotiations table only that which it has secured through struggle. In other words, the struggle, which continues with negotiations as one of its aspects, is the factor in determining the balance of forces.

Continued from Page 11

in place of 6 months as a time-scale for the holding of elections to the CMB.

It is not conducive to effective negotiations to demand a reference back to the whole organization on every such concession. As long as the concession does not, in substance, conflict with a key bottom-line mandate, some immediate flexibility is permissible. Indeed, without such flexibility our negotiators would be seriously disadvantaged.

## Qualitative Compromises

Qualitative compromises do not arise in the course of the give and take of day to day negotiations. They constitute a clear departure from major policy positions. After obtaining a mandate we made concessions on a number of such positions including the following:

We conceded special majorities for constitution making and the Bill of Rights, and special regional involvement in the determination of the final boundaries, powers, and functions of future regions. We also agreed to a process whereby the illegal and illegitimate tri-cameral parliament will "empower" the CMB through a legislative instrument. We also offered a power-sharing executive during the period between elections to the CMB and the adoption of the constitution.

In determining whether it is permissible to make any further qualitative compromises we need to focus on some of the issues which have loomed large in the regime's positions. Among the positions on which a retreat on our part would be impermissible are the following:

a. a minority veto of any sort in the constitution making process as a whole, either through a minority-loaded second chamber or some other device.

b. the entrenchment of compulsory power-sharing as a permanent feature of a future constitution.

c. the determination by the negotiating forum and not the CMB of the permanent boundaries, powers and functions of regions and (linked with this) whether the future South Africa should be a unitary or federal

state. It is this movement that stands at the head of a series of victories, which every NWC member claims to recognise, which is now being advised to act in the following manner:

1.3.1. The regime has put forward a Constitutional Plan that seeks to make power-sharing mandatory and coalition governments, in which it has a decisive voice, constitutionally compulsory. The "Strategic Perspective" document advises that we comply by accommodating the regime for a while — three years, five years? seven years? 10 years?

1.3.2. The regime wishes to retain its security services, shield them against possible prosecution now or in the future, integrate the members of MK (and possibly Apla) as subordinates in the security services. The "Strategic Perspective" advises us to comply.

1.3.3. The regime wants to retain the essentials of the colonial administration it has run since 1910, to provide sheltered employment for incompetent and badly trained Afrikaners and other Whites from the lower middle strata, continue with feather-bedding and grossly inflated, wasteful bureaucracies, permit them to waste, squander and embezzle taxpayers' monies. Such strategically placed persons would also have the capacity to thwart every democratic reform the democratic state wishes to implement. The "Strategic Perspective" advises us to comply.

1.3.4. The regime would like the boundaries, powers and the configuration of future regions to be determined outside the Constituent Assembly. Its purpose, to try to ensure that it can gerrymander boundaries that will advantage it and its allies. The "Strategic Perspective" says we should accommodate them.

1.4. There appears to be a deep-seated pessimism that runs through the entire doc-

ument. True, as the document says, we have not defeated the regime. But neither has the regime defeated us!

1.5. These measures, which would amount to capitulation to some of the core objectives pursued by the regime, we are advised to adopt as a hedge against the destabilisation of democracy by the SADF and SAP and the racist civil service.

If, as the authors seem to fear, the officer corps and ranks of the SADF and SAP are likely to be opponents of a democratic order, I would have thought that underlined the need to have them vacate these strategically important posts as soon as possible.

The gravest danger to a transition and the democratic order is precisely such potential fifth columnists. Every repressive military formation that has been coddled by the democratic forces has not had its teeth drawn, instead it has taken courage from such leniency.

I find it alarming that the authors seem to think that the motivating factor in the action of potentially subversive civil servants is their individual pensions, job security and perks. If they act, they will act as a corporate body, on behalf of their perceived interest as a group and appeals to individual benefits accruing from loyalty will be seen for what they are — attempts at bribery to desert their side.

The dictates of austerity alone — leave aside politics — would compel a democratic state to take a very sharp axe to the bloated bureaucracy.

## 2.0. The Issue of Violence

I have often questioned the realistic prospect of the regime embarking on serious negotiations, in the full realisation that their inevitable result must be the loss of power. I have consequently insisted that the alliance must take seriously De Klerk's words

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# Slovo: What room for compromise?

Continued from Page 11

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c. the determination by the negotiating forum and not the CMB of the permanent boundaries, powers and functions of regions and (linked with this) whether the future South Africa should be a unitary or federal

state.

d. binding the CMB in such a way that a future democratic state would be constitutionally prevented permanently from effectively intervening to advance the process of redressing the racially accumulated imbalances in all spheres of life.

Compromises of the above sort are unacceptable because they would permanently block a future advance to nonracial democratic rule in its full connotation.

There are, however, certain retreats from previously held positions which would create the possibility of a major positive breakthrough in the negotiating process without permanently hampering real democratic advance. Let me at once grasp the nettle and specify some areas in which compromise may be considered as part of an acceptable settlement package.

a. a "sunset" clause in the new constitution which would provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years in the period immediately following the adoption of the constitution. This would be subject to proportional representation in the executive combined with decision-making procedures which would not paralyse its functioning.

b. as already emphasised, the constitutionally entrenched boundaries, powers and functions of regions is the exclusive province of the CMB. It is, however, imperative that we immediately elaborate our own policy positions on future regions in all essential detail. Without, therefore, in any way impinging on the sovereignty of the CMB, is it unprincipled to attempt to reach a bilateral understanding between the two main parties to the negotiations on positions in relation to regional powers, etc., that both main parties commit themselves to support in the CMB?

c. There are two other categories which lend themselves to publicly committed agreements which do not have the status of constitutional principles binding on the CMB. These are:

i. General Amnesty. We must continue to insist that there is no link between this issue and the release of political prisoners and

that, in any case, the decision must be left to an interim government of national unity. But this should not prevent us from indicating now that, as part of such a government, we will support a general amnesty in which those seeking to benefit will disclose in full those activities for which they require an amnesty. The proclamation of such a future general amnesty could be the subject of a bilateral agreement which would spell out all the conditions under which we would give our support (cut-off dates, establishing who did what, etc.).

ii. An approach to the restructuring of the Civil Service (including the SAP and the SADF) which takes into account existing contracts and/or provides for retirement compensation.

This area too could be the subject of negotiated bilateral commitments, perhaps excluding those categories of unilateral appointments and promotions carried out with an eye to the post-apartheid structure.

I am of the view that, subject to a package which would include the "bottom-lines" set out above, and subject to proper consultation with our constituency, the compromises touched upon here are both permissible and conducive to a speedier democratic transformation.

They are permissible because they will not permanently block the advance to real democracy. They are conducive to a positive break-through in the negotiation process because they address, in a principled way, some of the basic and more immediate fears and insecurities of our adversary and its constituency.

In particular, the prospect of a period of power-sharing, a shared vision of the future regional dispensation, some security for existing incumbents in the civil service, and undertakings which will promote reconciliation, will make it exceedingly difficult for the other side to continue blocking the transformation.

As a bonus, these concessions would situate us indisputably in the moral high ground and weaken the capacity of the more extreme hard-liners within the regime's camp to block an early agreement.



# Student conference discusses new North American trade pact

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

GUADALAJARA, Mexico — About 150 students and other young people gathered here November 27–30 for a Continental Student Meeting to organize opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Participants came from Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

The conference called for coordinated actions in the three countries this winter and spring to pressure legislators to reject the agreement. A continental student network was formed to advance this goal.

"Students, like all citizens, will be affected by the NAFTA in significant ways," said J. Burger, one of the main organizers of the U.S. delegation. "Educational access will be eroded; the universities will undergo further privatization; environmental devastation will worsen; jobs will be lost; wages will decrease; and human rights will be attacked."

While most conference participants agreed with the view that organizing to oppose the approval of NAFTA should be the focus of activity, an important discussion and debate took place on whether taking sides in the trade disputes between capitalists in North America will advance the interests of youth and working people.

NAFTA, signed August 12 by negotiators for the U.S., Canadian, and Mexican governments would create the largest trading bloc in the world. U.S. president George Bush, Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and Canadian president Brian Mulroney have announced they will sign the pact December 17. If approved by the

legislatures of the three countries, the accord will take effect Jan. 1, 1994.

## NAFTA includes protectionism

The main elements of the proposed agreement include elimination of custom duties on nearly 10,000 products from tomatoes to car windshields; protectionist measures to block Japanese and European companies with plants in Mexico from shipping duty-free to the United States; and opening up Mexican banking, insurance, and state-owned companies to U.S. and Canadian investment.

The owners of most large U.S. businesses — from Caterpillar to the Bank of America — have greeted the agreement enthusiastically. The majority of the capitalist classes in Canada and Mexico have strongly backed NAFTA as well.

U.S. president-elect Bill Clinton announced his support for the trade agreement in a campaign speech in Raleigh, North Carolina, October 4. To appease those in the Democratic Party, especially the trade union officialdom, who oppose NAFTA and support more protectionist legislation, Clinton called for a new and sharper version of the Super 301 provision of the U.S. trade law. That provision allows a president to retaliate against what he deems "unfair" trading practices by other countries.

On November 30, the last day of the conference, the U.S. commerce department imposed temporary import taxes on steel from 12 countries, including Mexico, which was slapped with a 90 percent tax for corrosion-resistant carbon steel. Half of these



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Youth at conference against NAFTA check out *Militant* and Pathfinder books

countries are European Community members, including Germany, France, and Britain.

Most of the participants at the Guadalajara meeting were university students. The event was hosted by the Guadalajara-based Federation of University Students (FEU), one of the main student organizations in Mexico. Members of the Mexico City-based Council of University Students, the other main student federation, and BUSCA, another student organization, participated as well.

The International Student Trade Environment and Development Program organized the U.S. delegation, consisting of more than 70 people. Participants from the United States belonged to a variety of student and other youth groups. These included the Student Environmental Action Coalition, Overseas Development Network, the Chicano student organization MECHA, Progressive Student Network, La Raza, the AFL-CIO youth group Frontlash, Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section, Young Socialist Alliance, and members of several student governments.

About 15 people came from Canada, organized by the Canadian Federation of Students and the National Association of Students of Quebec.

The conference called for coordinated ac-

tions to organize student opposition to the trade agreement in the three countries in January and April of 1993.

## Many questions discussed

Numerous questions were discussed and debated at the conference. Is NAFTA, a treaty with more than 2,000 pages and many protectionist provisions, really about free trade? Should young people and workers take sides in trade disputes between capitalist conglomerates in different countries? Should the labor movement attempt to stop U.S. and other corporations from opening more assembly plants, known as *maquiladoras*, in "free trade zones" along the U.S.-Mexico border? Are these trade agreements responsible for cutbacks in public funding for education and slashing of the social wage in Canada and the United States? Should students and working people support demands to open the borders to unrestricted immigration? Do Mexican or other immigrants take away "American" or "Canadian" jobs?

These questions are of interest not just to students but to all working people. An article in next week's issue of the *Militant* will cover the substance of the issues discussed and debated at the Guadalajara conference.

## Socialists find interest in 'Militant,' Pathfinder books at student meeting

Supporters of the *Militant* who participated in the Guadalajara student conference on the North American Free Trade Agreement found big interest among young people at the meeting for the socialist newspaper and Pathfinder books.

Eighteen conference participants subscribed to the *Militant* and to its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*. Half of the new subscribers came from the United States, seven from Mexico, and two from Canada.

A Pathfinder literature table set up outside the main conference hall frequently became a center of political discussion. A number of student and other newspapers were available free of charge at adjacent tables at the Information Center. Among these publications were *Education for the People*, a quarterly published in Washington, D.C.; *The Daily Aztec*, published by San Diego State University students; and *The Activist*, the magazine of the Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section.

The best-seller off the Pathfinder table was the new pamphlet *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today*, with eight copies sold in Pathfinder's English- and Spanish-language editions. Authored by Mary-Alice Waters, the pamphlet examines the course advanced by Ernesto Che Guevara during the opening years of the Cuban revolution. Of the approximately 70 books sold off the table, 28 were Cuba-related titles.

The Marxist magazine *New International* was also popular with 16 copies sold. This included six copies of *New International* No. 7 with the article "The Opening Guns of World War III." Darim, a student at the University of Colorado in Boulder, bought nearly \$100 worth of books, including four issues of *New International*. He visited the table several

times after discussions and debates at workshops and other conference events. "I didn't know I could find answers to so many questions," he said.

The entire stock of the few Malcolm X titles in English sold out the second day of the conference. Four students purchased copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s*. Author Doug Jeness discusses free trade and protectionism, among other topics, in this pamphlet.

Conference participants purchased a range of other titles as well, including *Cosmetics, Fashions and the Exploitation of Women*, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, *The Eastern Airlines Strike*, *Art and Revolution*, and *Understanding History*. Altogether, students and others at the meeting bought more than \$400 worth of Pathfinder books. —A.M.



## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

MIKE TABER

Alaska Airlines workers have bought 25 copies of the Pathfinder book *The Eastern Airlines Strike: Accomplishments of the Rank and File* over the last two months. The books are being passed around, studied, and discussed by many workers in the maintenance hangars and rampways at airports in Portland, Oregon; Seattle, Washington; and Anchorage and Juneau, Alaska.

The Pathfinder bookstore in London reports that the *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels reached its top-ten best-sellers' list in October. According to bookstore manager Doreen Weppner, this "is evidence that the shop is having some success in reaching out to people who are seeking out the causes of the economic depression we are living through and who are looking for solutions to end it."

One special event sponsored by the bookstore was an open house organized to win members to the Pathfinder Readers Club. A 25 percent discount was offered on books by George Novack, who died in July. Novack, a leading member of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party for six decades, is the author of a number of Marxist works on politics and history published by Pathfinder.

Connie Harris, an organizer of the day's activities, reported that more than £260 (\$400) of literature was sold that day, one of the store's highest sales of Pathfinder literature in a single day.

During the month, more than 40 percent of the store's sales were from literature tables on the streets, at campuses, and at political events. Of these, tables were set up at a Third World debt conference, an abortion-rights rally, a meeting for U.S. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate James Warren, and two demonstrations

by miners and their supporters protesting a government plan to close a large number of coal mines.

A team of three Pathfinder supporters from Canada and the United States recently completed a 26-day sales trip to eight cities of western Canada. A total of 205 books and pamphlets were sold in direct orders to bookstores and libraries. An additional 97 titles were sold at literature tables set up on university campuses. The most popular titles sold on campus were *Genocide against the Indians* by George Novack, the *Communist Manifesto*, and works by Malcolm X.

Eight new members of the Pathfinder Readers Club were signed up.

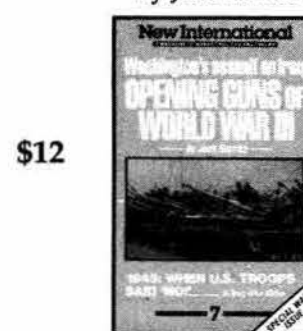
Pathfinder has extended to January 31 the special Pathfinder Readers Club offer for the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, the *Collected Works of V.I. Lenin*, and the *Writings of Leon Trotsky*.

The 41 Marx-Engels volumes, normally \$615, are specially priced at \$450; the 47 Lenin volumes, normally \$500, are being offered at \$350; and the 14 volumes of Trotsky writings, normally \$350, are available at the special price of \$250.

Also extended to January 31 are special 25 percent Readers Club discounts for *To Speak the Truth* by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara; *February 1965: The Final Speeches* and *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X; and *Selected Speeches of Fidel Castro*.

For a \$10 annual fee to join the Pathfinder Readers Club, you can take advantage of special offers like this and get a 15 percent discount on all other Pathfinder titles.

### New International no. 7 Opening Guns of World War III Washington's Assault on Iraq by Jack Barnes



\$12

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 16, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 handling, \$.50 for each additional book.



# Somalia's history shows U.S. prizes its strategic value

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

Washington would have us believe that its invasion of Somalia "is a humanitarian operation, not a military operation," as U.S. envoy Robert Oakley declared in Mogadishu, the country's capital, the day before the first 1,800 Marines arrived there.

In announcing his decision to send U.S. troops, President George Bush stated, "To the people of Somalia, I promise this. We do not plan to dictate political outcomes. We respect your sovereignty and independence."

The big-business media has faithfully parroted this theme. "U.S. intervention in Somalia," wrote *Washington Post* columnist Jim Hoagland, is "an invasion for selfless purposes only."

Is it true that Washington has no political interests and goals driving its military intervention in Somalia, only humanitarian concern for starving people?

The history of the region, known as the Horn of Africa, shows the opposite is true. The wealthy U.S. rulers have long viewed Somalia as a strategic asset and acted accordingly. Repeated U.S. military involvement and hundreds of millions of dollars have been devoted to assert Washington's political and military influence in Somalia and neighboring countries.

Washington's goal has always been the same — to prop up or impose a stable regime that will loyally serve the interests of Wall Street. It wants to dominate Somalia because of the country's location as a choke point for shipping lanes in the Red Sea, through which oil and other lucrative commodities pass. Military bases in the region have helped project U.S. military power in the Middle East, East Africa, and the Indian Ocean.

## Colonial rule

Coveting its ports and strategic location, imperialist powers first carved up most of the Horn of Africa in the 19th century. Of the area inhabited by the Somali people, France seized the northeastern tip, now Djibouti; Britain took over the north; and Italy grabbed the south. The British and Italian imperialists ran Somalia as a protectorate until the people of that country won formal independence in 1960.

During a century of colonial rule, the British and Italians built virtually no industry and developed little agriculture. In fact

Somalia, which is about the size of Texas, still has no railroads — just one example of the legacy of colonial underdevelopment.

Until the mid-1970s, the most reliable bulwark for imperialism in the Horn of Africa was the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie in Ethiopia. The other main imperialist props in the region were the Shah of Iran, and Israel. The first of these pillars to crumble was the Ethiopian monarchy, which was overthrown in a popular revolution in 1974.

The Ethiopian revolution was a tremendous blow to imperialist domination. From the early 1950s, Washington — by then the dominant imperialist power in the region — had poured hundreds of millions of dollars in military and economic aid into Ethiopia to strengthen the regime. Selassie was granted more than half of the total U.S. military aid in sub-Saharan Africa.

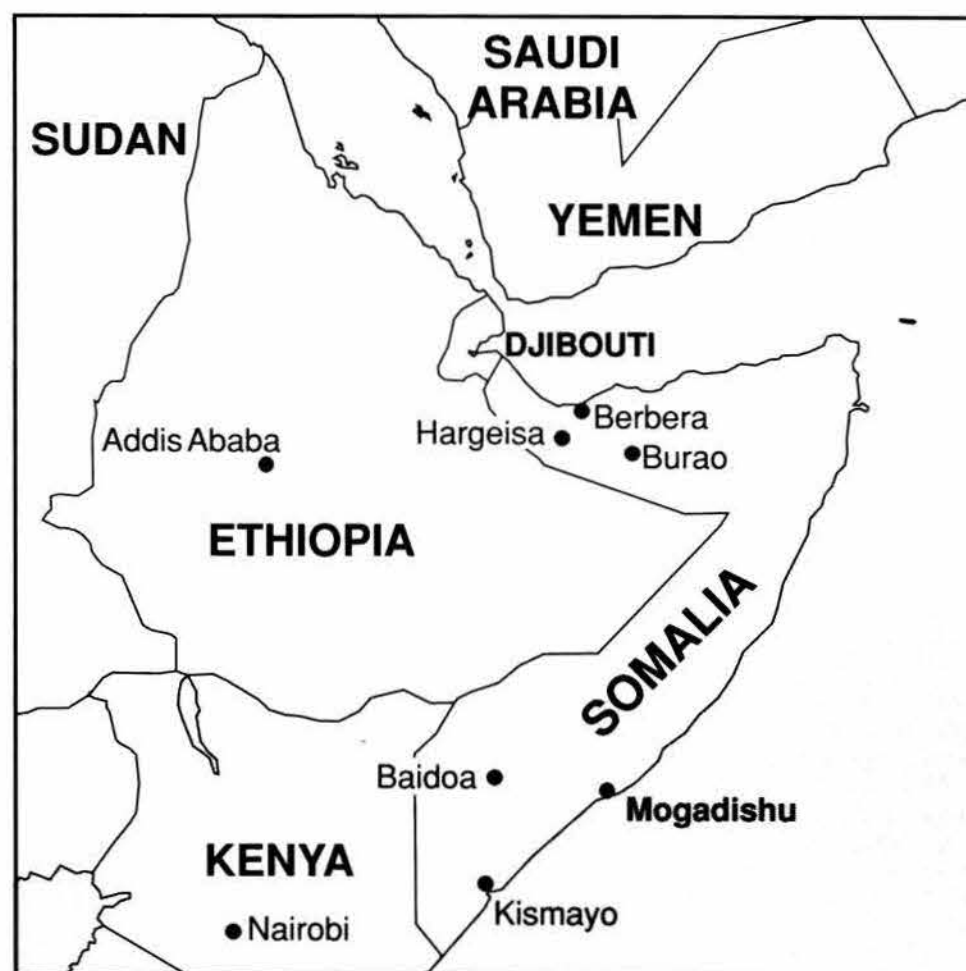
Under the Ethiopian monarchy, the aristocratic landlord class owned more than 70 percent of the arable land; most of the rest was owned by the Coptic church. Selassie, who ruled as an absolute monarch, was also the number one landlord. Meanwhile the 9 out of 10 Ethiopians who lived on the land barely scraped out an existence. Peasants were forced to provide labor and hand over some 50 percent of their produce to the landlords, as well as pay tithes to the church.

## Ethiopian revolution

In 1973 a famine swept Ethiopia, killing at least 100,000 people. The U.S.-backed Selassie regime denied there even was a famine. Meanwhile, food exports from Ethiopia doubled and landlords further profited through speculation.

The famine, together with the Ethiopian regime's ongoing colonial war against the oppressed people of Eritrea in the north, led to a revolutionary upsurge. On the crest of a wave of strikes, demonstrations, and peasant revolts, a group of junior army officers deposed Selassie in September 1974.

Responding to mass pressure the new regime, known as the Dergue, took a number of deep-going measures that destroyed the feudal system dominating much of the country. The most important step was a land reform program that went deeper than any other in Africa. The government nationalized all rural land, canceled the debts of tenant farmers and sharecroppers, and



brought big capitalist farms like the coffee plantations under direct state control.

The Dergue also nationalized all banks and insurance companies, many of which involved U.S., British, and Italian interests. Gold and silver mining, major utilities, transport, and basic industries such as iron, steel, cement, and oil refining were also taken over. A literacy program and other progressive measures were initiated.

The U.S. rulers reacted with hostility to these social advances by working people.

## U.S. backs invasion of Ethiopia

In early 1977 Washington cut back its aid program to Ethiopia. The Dergue responded by shutting down U.S. offices and military facilities in the country and turning to Moscow for aid.

In July 1977 the Somali regime of dictator Mohammed Siad Barre launched an invasion of Ethiopia, deploying thousands of troops together with tanks, armored cars, and MIG fighter jets. Siad Barre hypocritically claimed he was fighting for the rights of the oppressed Somali population in the Ogaden region of eastern Ethiopia.

Washington fully backed the Somali invasion of Ethiopia, hoping it would strike a blow at the revolutionary upsurge of the Ethiopian workers and farmers.

The Siad Barre regime had previously obtained arms and other aid from the Soviet

Union while Ethiopia was backed by Washington. But Moscow, when courted by the Ethiopian Dergue, dumped Somalia and switched its diplomatic support and military aid to Ethiopia. The bureaucratic rulers in the Kremlin were acting simply to gain additional political influence in the region in order to strengthen their hand in diplomatic dealings with Washington.

Washington moved in on Somalia with promises of aid and political backing. In April 1977 U.S. president Jimmy Carter ordered his top aides to "get Somalia to be our friend." The State Department sent a message to Siad Barre assuring him that the United States was "not averse to further guerrilla pressure in the Ogaden," referring to the Somalia-backed rebels in Ethiopia.

This was followed up with a U.S. offer to sell arms to the Somali regime. Shortly afterward Siad Barre launched the invasion in force.

With this imperialist backing Somali forces made rapid gains, grabbing most of the Ogaden territory within the first three months and posing a serious threat to the Ethiopian revolution.

Ethiopia, however, turned to revolutionary Cuba for help in December 1977. Thousands of Cuban volunteer troops arrived and, together with Ethiopian forces, launched a counteroffensive.

Washington stepped up its military threats against Ethiopia by sending two warships to the coast of Eritrea in the Red Sea. In addition, France sent 60 tanks to the Siad Barre regime, while West Germany gave Somalia \$25 million. The Egyptian and Saudi regimes provided several more millions of dollars in weapons. And the CIA kicked in a covert \$7 million arms shipment.

Nonetheless, within weeks the Ethiopian and Cuban forces had routed the Somali invaders.

## Massive U.S. aid to Siad Barre

Following the defeat of Siad Barre's forces in the Ogaden, the Carter administration began a massive effort to arm and prop up the Somali dictator. In exchange, the Somali regime signed a major agreement in August 1980 granting U.S. military forces the use of the strategic Berbera base at the mouth of the Red Sea in northern Somalia. Washington reached similar base treaties with the governments of Kenya, Oman, and Djibouti.

The Berbera treaty and the other military arrangements were designed to provide staging and supply bases for Carter's Rapid Deployment Force, set up in response to the beginning of the Iranian revolution that toppled the shah in early 1979. Washington wanted to improve its ability to intervene quickly with its own troops against revolutionary struggles in the Middle East and East Africa.

Over the next decade the Carter and Reagan administrations poured almost \$900 million into Somalia, making it one of Africa's biggest recipients of U.S. aid.

The growing internal opposition to Siad Barre's dictatorship and his widely documented record of brutal repression made open support to his regime an increasing

Continued on Page 16

## How imperialism has ravaged the Horn of Africa

**1860-1900:** European powers partition the Horn of Africa. France colonizes northeast Somalia (now Djibouti); Italy takes over southern Somalia and Eritrea; Britain seizes northern Somalia.

**1900:** Somalis launch armed resistance to colonial powers under the leadership of Mohammed Abdille Hassan, called the "mad mullah" by British colonialists. For 20 years the French, British, and Italians cannot defeat his forces.

**1920:** Britain imposes colonial protectorate (British Somaliland) in northern Somalia. Italy sets up protectorate (Italian Somaliland) in the south.

Over next four decades of colonial rule almost no schools, roads, mines, or industries are built in Somalia.

**1935:** Italian imperialism, under Benito Mussolini, invades and occupies Ethiopia.

**1950:** United Nations gives southern Somalia to Italy as a colonial "trusteeship" until Somalia deemed to be "self-sufficient;" Britain keeps northern protectorate.

**1950-60:** Somali independence struggle intensifies. Somali Youth League gains support, stressing unity between clans and territory reunification.

**July 1, 1960:** Somalia wins its independence from Britain and Italy and is reunified.

**1969:** Maj.-Gen. Mohammed Siad Barre leads army coup against President Rashid Ali Shermarke, who is assassinated.

ed. Siad Barre suspends constitution and dissolves legislature.

USSR gives Siad Barre regime arms, economic and political backing. East Germany helps train his secret police and paramilitary forces.

**1974:** Popular revolution overthrows Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. New government, the Dergue, abolishes monarchy, implements sweeping land reform and other progressive social measures.

Soviet government switches its support from Somali to Ethiopian regime. Siad Barre turns to Washington, which promises him arms and economic aid.

**1975:** Thousands of Somalis die during severe drought.

**June 1977:** Djibouti wins independence from France.

**July 1977:** With U.S. backing, Siad Barre launches invasion of Ogaden region of Ethiopia in attempt to grab land and deal blow to Ethiopian revolution.

**December 1977:** Ethiopia requests Cuba's aid to beat back invasion; thousands of Cuban volunteer troops arrive.

**March 1978:** Ethiopian and Cuban forces push out Somali invaders. Hundreds of thousands of refugees enter Somalia.

**1980:** Siad Barre regime grants United States military the use of Berbera naval base at mouth of Red Sea.

**1980s:** U.S. government funnels almost \$900 million in military and economic aid

to prop up Siad Barre dictatorship.

**1984:** Famine in Ethiopia. Meanwhile, Ethiopia exports food to pay U.S. and other imperialist banks on its huge foreign debt.

**1987-90:** Protests and armed rebellion against Siad Barre dictatorship grow. Regime unleashes fierce repression, which creates hundreds of thousands of refugees. Washington reduces aid to government.

**May 1988:** Siad Barre forces begin bombing city of Hargeisa and other northern towns, 50,000 civilians killed.

**January 1991:** United Somali Congress forces overthrow Siad Barre and name Ali Mahdi Mohammed interim president. Somali National Movement declares separate republic of Somaliland in north.

**May 1991:** Opposition forces in Ethiopia overthrow Dergue. Pro-independence guerrillas take control of Eritrea.

**1991-92:** Conflict escalates between factions of ruling United Somali Congress, headed by Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohammed. Famine conditions grow in rural areas; tens of thousands die. United States sends no food until September 1992.

**December 1992:** With backing from UN Security Council, Washington sends 28,000 troops to invade Somalia. Imperialist governments of France, Britain, Belgium, and Canada are also involved.



# U.S. aims to establish Somali protectorate

Continued from front page

cast back to the United States for prime-time evening TV coverage.

The marines proceeded to shout orders in English at Somali workers at the airport, forcing them to lie face down with their hands spread out on the tarmac. Some Somali drivers and those employed as guards were arrested and had their hands tied behind their backs with plastic handcuffs.

Defending these strong-arm tactics, marine colonel Fred Peck stated, "We did it to make a point. We are here and we are here for serious business."

The marines promptly proceeded to occupy the city of Mogadishu, setting up checkpoints and roadblocks to confiscate weapons found in any car attempting to pass. Under their "rules of engagement" U.S. troops have orders to shoot anyone carrying a weapon. U.S. special envoy to Somalia Robert Oakley has explained that he does not rule out house-to-house searches to confiscate weapons.

"If an individual or a vehicle shows hostile intent, we'll take away its ability to do that," explained Colonel Greg Newbold. "We can disarm it or we can vaporize it."

## U.S. obliterates Somali vehicles

On December 12 two U.S. Cobra helicopters opened fire with their 20-millimeter guns and TOW missiles, obliterating what the U.S. military claimed were three armed Somali vehicles. According to U.S. officials it was unknown how many Somalis were killed in this attack because when TOW missiles hit targets they completely destroy them.

Two days earlier, U.S. marines and French Foreign Legion troops fired on an unarmed van of Somali civilians that didn't stop at one of the numerous military checkpoints set up throughout the city. Two Somalis were killed and several others wounded.

At first the Pentagon claimed this was an armed truck of Somalis deliberately trying to run the roadblock. They later acknowledged that the van's brakes probably failed, while continuing to defend the troops' action as proper.

Ever since the U.S. forces landed they have been waging a war of intimidation from the skies above Mogadishu. Cobra and UH-1 Huey helicopter gunships regularly "buzz" streets and rooftops supposedly searching for armed Somalis.

The marines' moves to confiscate guns from Somalis is provoking a response. The *New York Times* reported December 11 that "an angry crowd formed" after a marine confiscated a gun from a Somali security official. Brig. Gen. Frank Libutti then ordered the weapon returned.

After marines reported locating a huge arms stockpile belonging to Osman Ato, the

wealthy arms merchant backing Gen. Mohammed Farrah Aidid who is the leader of one of the factions fighting for control of Mogadishu, they were ordered by their commanders not to touch this ammunition and to leave immediately.

"The marines, briefed on the ships to expect a destroyed city," states the December 13 *New York Times*, "were surprised to discover throngs of people, food markets, and a thriving underground economy [in Mogadishu]."



U.S. marines in helicopter gunships take control of airfield at Beli Dogle, Somalia. United States and other nations will send more than 34,000 troops in coming weeks.

Upon coming ashore, the marines proceeded to retake the remnants of the U.S. embassy, which during its heyday in the 1980s was an opulent \$35 million center for U.S. operations in the region. Diplomats had abandoned the embassy almost two years ago when Siad Barre, the U.S.-backed dictator, was overthrown. The Pentagon plans to make this building the headquarters for the U.S. military operation.

## Relief workers ordered indoors

Upon their arrival in Mogadishu, the U.S. military advised all relief workers in that city to stay indoors for at least 48 hours. "Many relief officials are concerned that the interruption will last longer," states the *New York Times*, "gravely affecting hundreds of thousands of hungry people."

The deployment of the marines is taking place "based on a gross misrepresentation

of realities in Somalia," states Alex de Waal, a former associate director of Africa Watch who resigned in protest over the troop deployment. "All these delicate webs of agreements and contracts that have been established" by relief agencies with Somali clans will "go up in a puff of smoke" when the Marines arrive, he explains.

Rakiya Omaar, a Somali who was recently fired as director of Africa Watch for publicly speaking out against the U.S. troop

force" before withdrawing.

## Longer-term invasion

While some U.S. officials such as Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney continue to describe the U.S. intervention as being limited to just two or three months, others have made it clear it will go on longer.

At a news conference in Nairobi, Kenya, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, stated that some U.S. forces would be there a year to help establish a new government.

"I think it's impossible to put a fixed timetable on it," stated President-elect Clinton. "There's a mission there to be accomplished, but I still think it's a manageable one."

Prior to the launching of the invasion, the U.S. ambassador to Kenya, Smith Hempstone, cabled Washington December 2 to express strong doubts about undertaking this operation. He wrote that the U.S. military moves might "reunite the Somalia nation against the invaders." Hempstone "doesn't know the area," retorted Cheney when asked about this cable.

On the second day of the U.S. military operation, special envoy Oakley set up joint talks with both Ali Mahdi Mohammed and Gen. Mohammed Farrah Aidid — the two arch political rivals commanding armed groups in Mogadishu. With U.S. prodding, each promptly agreed to a cease-fire and "peace plan."

Mahdi, who describes himself as the interim president of Somalia, and Aidid, chairman of the United Somali Congress (USC), are both vying for U.S. backing in their quest to become head of Somalia. Mahdi, for example, asked the U.S. to disarm all Somalis and to bring the UN deeper into the intervention.

A third military grouping, the Somali National Front, which is led by Gen. Sayeed Hersi Morgan — the son-in-law of ousted president Siad Barre — is strong in the southern coastal town of Kismayo. Morgan's main backer is the government of Kenya. "Kenya is a major player in all this," said a staff member of the U.S. Central Command.

## Recolonize Africa?

In their efforts to promote the right of the U.S. to intervene and set up a protectorate in Somalia or a trusteeship under UN auspices, several commentators have argued for what amounts to recolonizing "failed nation-states."

"There is an even worse fate for a nation than the most dictatorial regime imaginable, and that is the absence of any regime at all," argues Strobe Talbott in the December 14 issue of *Time* magazine. "Somalia is not just a humanitarian disaster but a threat to peace in the region."

While calling for setting up a UN trusteeship in Somalia, Talbott admits this "smacks of the white man's burden" — the argument used to justify European colonization in the 19th century. The UN trusteeship set up in southern Somalia after World War II was in reality just a continuation of European colonization until independence was won in 1960.

A December 7 *Wall Street Journal* editorial titled "Bring Back Lord Kitchener" argues along a similar line. Kitchener was the British colonial ruler in the Sudan and Egypt prior to their political independence. While arguing that they are not for the return of "unfettered 19th century colonialism," the *Journal's* editors point to Kitchener's reign as creating "a sense of purpose" for those over whom he ruled.

Spelling out this line of argument most clearly is an article by Paul Johnson titled "Wanted: A new imperialism," which appeared in the December 14 conservative magazine *National Review*.

Pointing to Somaliland (the colonial name for Somalia), Haiti, and Liberia, Johnson writes, "[the] belief, that all people are ready for independence, has been proved illusory, at an incalculable cost in human misery."

In calling for reinstituting the UN form of trusteeship rule, Johnson argues that "the Security Council and its agents will become the last, most altruistic and positive of the imperial powers, restoring to the word colonialism the good name it once enjoyed."

# Wide support for stated goals of Somalia action, but debate begins

BY DEREK BRACEY

The stated goal of the United States to provide humanitarian aid to a starving people has led many to initially support the invasion of Somalia, while opening up a debate about the meaning of this military assault.

"The U.S. invasion of Somalia began as a cruel and unusual act of charity," states the December 28 *Nation*. "Somalis are in dire need of aid and America could have provided packages without the terrifying military wrapping. It is offensive and, ultimately, unwise for the world's super-duper power to blaze into one of the planet's poorest places just to make a point."

The December 12 *New York Amsterdam News* points out that the invasion of Somalia "has been almost overwhelmingly endorsed by Black leaders and elected officials, from the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Mayor David Dinkins to Cong. Ed Towns, chair of the Congressional Black Caucus."

"Normally I am opposed to military solutions," said representative Charles Rangel, who opposed the U.S. invasions of Grenada, Panama, and Iraq. "But because this military response is of a humanitarian nature, I welcome it."

Towns said that "the unanimous vote of

the Security Council and the widespread support of African governments removes the specter of unwarranted intervention... we are talking about halting a situation which is in danger of reaching genocidal proportions."

Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, expressed his support for the invasion. "Considering the fact that the lives of millions of Somalis are at stake, we must advocate this drastic action" stated Robinson. However, he warned that these steps should "stop well short of advocating a traditional UN trusteeship arrangement in Somalia, until further review."

An editorial in the December 5 *People's Weekly World*, the newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, said, "United Nations support for aid to the Somali people is long overdue. To get the aid through, military force may be necessary. This cannot be twisted by Washington to give it a green light for intervening in civil conflicts all over the world."

"There should be no U.S. troops anywhere outside U.S. boundaries, except for temporary duties authorized, first by Congress and the people, then by the U.N." continues the editorial. "Yes to U.N. aid. No to U.S. military intervention."

deployment, said, "If armed enclaves are set up, which hungry Somalis are obliged to come to in order to be fed, more Somalis will be killed than will be saved."

## Somali contribution crucial

"It cannot be overstressed," continues Omaar, "that the contribution of Somalis to relieving the famine, healing the sick, and resolving the conflict is greater than the entire international relief effort."

During the next few weeks Washington will be deploying 28,000 U.S. troops into this country of approximately 4.5 to 6 million people. They will be joined by up to 2,300 French troops and 2,500 Italian soldiers. Saudi Arabia has announced plans to send 1,000 troops. In addition Britain, Belgium, Canada, Pakistan, and Jordan have all vowed to contribute troops and supplies.

The Japanese are considering making a financial contribution to the operation. The German rulers, while anxious to get some of their armed forces involved in this action, point to a constitutional ban that prevents them from sending troops abroad. However, they have agreed to send up to eight military transport planes to Somalia.

While formally a UN mission, the United States military will have overall command of troops from all countries participating in what some commentators have described as a "humanitarian assault."

The *Financial Times* reports speculation that France, eager for a separate operation with a military objective of its own, has struck a deal with Washington to allow French troops to be in charge of taking control of the Somali city of Kismayo.

The U.S. troops' next major military move is to seize control of Baidoa, 150 miles northwest of Mogadishu. Described by the *New York Times* as "the epicenter of the Somali famine," Baidoa, a town of 21,000 people, recorded some of the highest daily death tolls in August and September. Yet conditions have clearly begun to improve there. "The surrounding countryside is now green after heavy rains and, in some places, sprouting maize," writes the *Times* reporter on the scene.

In a meeting December 9 with U.S. administration officials, UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali asked the U.S. forces to remain in Somalia to shape a new political setup. According to the *Washington Post*, the secretary-general wants U.S. forces to "collect the weapons of Somali irregulars, remove land mines and train a police



# Pallo Jordan: No basis for cooperation

Continued from Page 12

that he seeks to reach an accommodation about sharing power, and not to surrender power.

In other words, the regime would like to arrive at a formula that would make possible the co-existence of CST and democracy. I am, consistent with ANC strategic thinking up till now, convinced that such co-existence is impossible, that democracy requires the uprooting of CST.

De Klerk's strategy — a mix of reformism, coupled with the systematic destabilization of the ANC alliance — has as its immediate objective rendering the ANC too weak to resist such a compromise.

Contrary to what some, including the authors of "Strategic Perspective" appear to think, there is no contradiction between reformism and the "informal repression" that the De Klerk regime is employing.

It is clear that its broad parameters are the outcome of collective decision. De Klerk's demonstrated unwillingness to do anything to stop the violence can have no other explanation.

The authors inexplicably treat the SADF and the SAP as if these are autonomous players and not part of the state machinery De Klerk uses against us.

The De Klerk regime obviously has not come to terms with the inevitable outcome of serious negotiations. It has not arrived at the seminal political decision that it must give up power. The violence betrays that; its negotiations position betrays that; its clinging to its alliance with the IFP betrays that.

## 3.0. Happy Trails to You or Riding into the Sunset Together?

The ANC alliance and the regime both decided to explore negotiations, but with diametrically opposed immediate and long-term objectives. This opposition is rooted in the fundamental contradiction of our society.

The national liberation project includes not only the creation of a democratic state, but crucially, the dismemberment of the racist state, its coercive arms — the army, police the law courts, the prisons and its persuasive arm — the civil administration, civil service, the state ideological apparatus (like SABC, schools, etc.). These organs of White minority state power, we are now being told, should not be tampered with.

Such an option, I submit, will permanently block the path to any meaningful change in this country. We would by choosing such a course to do two things. We would keep in place a civil service that has no interest in serving the mass of the oppressed who are the ANC's constituency; keeping in place a civil service that will do everything to undermine the democratic government; and at the same time keeping under arms the agency that can ensure that the democratic state dare not touch that civil service when its disloyalty is uncovered. A national liberation movement that did that would not be riding into the sunset, it would be building its own funeral pyre! Not only does that option lead to a dead-end, it is suicidal!

Negotiations is a key aspect of ANC strategy at this time. No one in the ANC wants to see them fail. While we will not get at the table what we have not won on other fronts, we should be equally careful not to give away what we have won on those fronts at the negotiating table. I fear "Strategic Perspective" is a prescription to do that. This attempt to revise the ANC's strategic perspective forms a composite whole, linked by a radically misguided conception of what is possible in the present. It must resolve itself in a perspective that projects or accommodates the piecemeal eradication of the substantive elements of CST — a reformist perspective!

Unfortunately, it does not work! Look at the history of social democracy!

### Labor news in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss them if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2.

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**Malcolm X—His Revolutionary Legacy and Relevance for Today.** Speaker: Pat Hunt, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Transportation Union Local 1405. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

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**North American Free Trade Agreement and World Trade Wars: A working-class perspective.** Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

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**Justice for Leonard Peltier!** Speaker: Judy Hagerman, member, Utah Leonard Peltier Support Group. Sat., Dec. 19, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

## U.S. prizes Somalia's strategic value

continued from Page 14

political liability for Washington. In 1987 the U.S. Congress decided to cut aid to Somalia from \$47 million to about \$9 million.

Even as late as 1990, however, then lieutenant-general Norman Schwarzkopf of the U.S. Central Command argued before Congress in favor of maintaining U.S. military support to Somalia.

In August 1990 when Saddam Hussein sent Iraqi troops into Kuwait, Washington saw a golden opportunity to further its interests in the Middle East.

By mobilizing an armed force of half a million to the Persian Gulf, under the "humanitarian" pretext of liberating the people of Kuwait, the U.S. imperialist rulers sought to overthrow the government of Iraq and establish a protectorate there. Their goal was to set up a reliable pro-imperialist regime in Iraq, trying to recoup some of what they lost in the region with the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979.

In a world of growing economic crisis and intensifying competition between imperialist powers, the U.S. billionaire families also

### WASHINGTON

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**The Struggle in South Africa Moves Forward.** Speakers: Grace Taylor, Student Anti-Apartheid Network; representative of the South Africa Program, American Friends Service Committee; Ken Kawakubo, Socialist Workers Party, member of the International Association of Machinists. Sat., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

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**Food, Not Troops to Somalia!** Speaker: Dechour Hien, Communist League. Sat., Dec. 19, 4 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

sought to use their military might to edge out their rivals in Germany, Britain, France, Japan, and elsewhere.

The outcome of the Gulf war, however, was a fiasco for Washington. It did not accomplish any of its political objectives. What's more, the war aggravated all the existing political and economic conflicts and instability in the region.

Washington's goal in Somalia, far from a humanitarian one, is to impose a stable and servile regime that will advance U.S. corporate interests. The intervention is also being used to win acceptance for imperialist intervention in other parts of the world such as the former Yugoslavia.

Arguing for the sending of troops to Somalia, Edward Perkins, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, called it "an important step in developing a strategy for dealing with the potential disorder and conflicts of the post-cold war world." He added, "The post-cold war world is likely to hold other Somalias in store for us."

In other words the U.S. invasion of Somalia, rather than leading to peace and resolving major social problems like famine, is only the road to more imperialist war and devastation.

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**No billing dep't?** — Check out Medical Monopoly: "Four hospitals race each other to fill their beds with patients. Game comes with



Harry Ring

symptoms, diagnoses, body parts, transplant cards, patients, and instructions."

**It's called "due process"** — Faced with a two-count misdemeanor charge in an Atlanta, Georgia,

traffic court, Steve Fehn had the temerity to plead not guilty and request a jury trial. He was held in the slammer eight hours and had to post \$1,000 bond. The chief traffic judge said Fehn could get a year, but probably would only get a small fine, "unless he does something to aggravate the judge."

**You'd hardly notice** — One of our favorites among the 1992 Doublespeak Awards was, "Monitored retrievable storage site" — nuclear fuel dump.

**Sound advice** — Builders are selling housing plots on the Puerto Rican island of Culebra which neighbors the island of Vieques. Occupied by the U.S. Navy, Vieques is

used for heavy bombing practice. One Culebra contractor recommends building wooden houses, "because the Vieques bombs echo more off concrete walls."

**We all have problems** — We were touched when the Queen of England appealed for "a touch of gentleness, good humor and understanding" from critics of her wealth, privileges and apparently spoiled-rotten children. Labor Party leader John Smith apparently was touched too. He felt she defended herself "rather wittily and rather charmingly."

**Free-market model** — With cigarettes suspected of killing some 400,000 people a year from ailments

linked to smoking, the number of U.S. smokers declines steadily. Yet industry profits are described as "fantastic." How come? 1) They increased productivity. 2) They hiked prices. 3) They doubled their share of the global market. In nine months, Philip Morris grossed \$19.15 billion. Sales were up 6.3 percent, but profits jumped 12.8 percent.

**Favors decency** — Charles Keating, Jr., charged with looting the Lincoln Savings thrift he headed, lost his Arizona home for nonpayments on his \$2.2 million mortgage. We weren't surprised to learn that the mansion featured gold-plated bathroom fixtures and gold-inlaid molding around the doors and along the floors. Nor were we surprised

to learn he was an "anti-pornography crusader."

**What to give the pooch?** — How about a pet portrait, etched in crystal. \$2,500. (An unspecified portion of the fee goes to a shelter for homeless dogs and cats.) Available from the DOGalogue.

**Childcare** — James Spradley does nicely as president of the charitable Children's Home Society of California. Last year, he pocketed \$183,000 in wages and fringes, plus the customary expenses — plush hotels and restaurants, etc. He also put in tabs for eighty-nine-cent lip balm sticks and had employees take out his laundry. Billed, of course, to the agency.

## New movie sparks interest in Malcolm X's ideas

BY DEREK BRACEY

The new Malcolm X movie is out. And thousands of working people and youth — Black and white — have flocked to movie theaters to see it. The film closely parallels *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Alex Haley. This book has moved to the top of the *New York Times* paperback best sellers list since the film opened.

The movie gives an interesting picture of Malcolm X, portrayed by Denzel Washington. It shows significant parts of Malcolm X's life growing up in Nebraska and Michigan, and his early adulthood in Boston and New York. At the age of 20, Malcolm X was sentenced to 10 years in prison, after becoming wrapped up in the destructive and dehumanizing life of small-time crime.

In prison, Malcolm X first comes into contact with the Nation of Islam (NOI). He

undergoes a personal transformation, deciding to clean himself up, quit drugs, alcoholism, and other abuses. He decides to take himself seriously as a human being.

In prison Malcolm began to discipline himself and to study, including reading an entire dictionary to expand his knowledge and understanding. The film effectively captures this.

Director Spike Lee shows Malcolm spearheading the rise of the NOI as he leads the organization towards some of the more disenfranchised sections of the Black nationality, winning growing numbers with its promise to shift social and economic relations in their favor.

### Develops as a political person

As Malcolm X continued to turn toward a more political outlook he came into increasing conflict with the NOI leadership. His speeches and actions tended to redefine the organization and place a political stamp on it. Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation, flatly rejected this trajectory.

This political transformation of Malcolm X is left out of the movie. While small pieces of his political development are evident through his speeches, no effort is made to show his growing differences with Muhammad and the NOI leadership.

In April 1963 Malcolm discovered that the discipline and honesty preached by the NOI's leaders were not practiced. This included the discovery that it was Elijah Muhammad himself who was sexually involved with several young secretaries. After the women became pregnant, they were subjected to humiliating trials for fornication and sentenced to isolation within the group. Malcolm began to speak inside the organization against this and the increasingly blatant flaunting of wealth — obtained from

the members — by NOI leaders. NOI leaders moved to force Malcolm X out of the group. They succeeded in 1964.

Malcolm understood that an organization was needed to lead a political fight for the transformation of society. He also recognized that discipline and honesty in the appearance and functioning of an organization's representatives were absolutely necessary to fight effectively; and to have people take the organization seriously enough to be open to joining.

While the movie shows Malcolm's rejection of the racialism of the NOI, most of his activities after leaving the Nation of Islam are not included.

### The last year

During his last year, Malcolm X sought to build an organization that could participate in the fights for social justice that were taking place throughout the world. He traveled widely throughout the United States, including to Selma, Alabama, where Martin Luther King Jr. was in jail leading a campaign for voting rights for Blacks.

Malcolm X came to an understanding that the fight for the rights of Black people in this country was a part of a worldwide revolutionary struggle. He visited many countries in Africa and Europe to make links with other fighters. Malcolm also sought to work with the revolutionaries who were leading the fight for a new society in Cuba. He arranged for Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution, to address a meeting of

the group he founded, the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). He was not able to make it but sent greetings, which Malcolm read to those attending.

This is the trajectory that Malcolm X was on when he was shot on February 21, 1965 at a meeting of the OAAU. Since none of this is in the movie, it isn't clear what he was doing that would make some people want him dead.

The movie is well done and has an interesting 20 minute ending with documentary clips of the real Malcolm X and his impact on young people today.

Lee's film does have a theme, which is that young people should develop self discipline and morality. The movie sets Malcolm X as the example that many conservatives and reactionaries wail is missing for young people today, particularly those who are Black. This complaint is echoed by those who call themselves leaders of the fight for Black rights, such as Jesse Jackson, New York mayor David Dinkins, Al Sharpton, and others. They use this to shift the blame for society's ills onto its victims and as an excuse for not organizing an effective fight to create better conditions for working people.

Although viewers will leave *Malcolm X* with little understanding of his rapid political evolution during the last year of his life, many will want to read more on what Malcolm X had to say about the world and how to change it. Many will begin trying to find speeches by Malcolm X so they can read them and understand his outlook.



Robert Parent

Malcolm X in May 1964

## Malcolm X's views on women

BY PAUL MAILHOT

Were Malcolm X's views anti-woman? In the myriad of articles written about Malcolm X recently, some commentators have sought to use remarks he made before his break with the Nation of Islam to argue that he believed in the "inferiority of women."

In fact, Malcolm's outlook on the role of women in economic and social life, and in political struggle, underwent considerable change in the last year of his life. This was especially true after returning from his second trip to Africa in 1964. His views were expressed before an active movement for women's rights developed in the late 1960s.

"I frankly am proud of the contributions that our women have made in the struggle for freedom and I'm one person who's for giving them all the leeway possible because they've made a greater contribution than many of us men," he explained in a Paris interview in November 1964. One month later, speaking on a platform with Fannie Lou Hamer, a leader of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, Malcolm said, "I hope that our brothers, especially our brothers here in Harlem, listened very well, very closely, to what I call one of this country's foremost freedom fighters."

Malcolm's recognition of the important role of women occurred under the combined

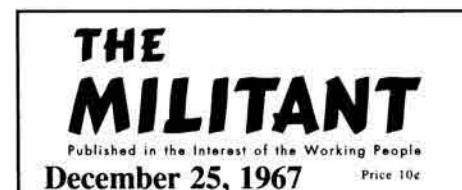
impact of his contempt for Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad's degradation of women and his own observations and experiences in the United States, Africa, and elsewhere.

Shortly before his assassination Malcolm prepared some written answers for an Arabic-language monthly entitled *Al-Muslimoon*, where he was asked his impressions of the Muslim world. His answer to this question shows how he had begun to look at the question of women from the standpoint of mobilizing the forces needed to move society forward.

"In every Middle East or African country I have visited, I noticed the country is as 'advanced' as its women are, or as backward as its women," he said. "By this I mean, in areas where the women have been pushed into the background and kept without education, the whole area or country is just as backward, uneducated, and 'underdeveloped.' Where the women are encouraged to get education and play a more active role in the all-around affairs of the community and the country, the entire people are more active, more enlightened, and more progressive."

"Thus, in my opinion, the Muslim religious leaders of today must reevaluate and spell out with clarity the Muslim position on education in general and education for women in particular."

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



C.L. Sulzberger, a member of the *New York Times* editorial staff, has recently written a few columns on South Africa, "explaining" its apartheid policies and speaking against any U.S. sanctions against the white supremacist government there.

On Dec. 15, Sulzberger said, "It is time for the United States to pipe down on South Africa. This country has a race policy which I personally find both abhorrent and absurd. It is also exceedingly arbitrary in applying justice to white opponents, but that is South Africa's affair, not ours."

"South Africa is becoming stronger, not weaker. Its ports are filled with ships that cannot pass Suez. There is firm confidence that some day gold, like other metals, must be revalued; and this is the world's largest producer. Two hundred sixty-one American corporations here continue expanding. Confronted with these facts it would be wiser for Washington, while continuing to frown on this country's race policy, to regard that as South Africa's affair and to further our cultural intrusion."



December 26, 1942

American troops who were recently land-

ed in the small country of Liberia may have found it strange and unfamiliar territory, but to American capitalists it is neither strange nor unfamiliar. This little semi-colonial country of 2 million natives, located on the west coast of Africa between the British colony of Sierra Leone and the French Ivory Coast, has long been a favorite "ward" of American imperialism.

In 1924 an expedition was financed by Harvey Firestone, head of the Firestone rubber interests and sent to Liberia to investigate the possibilities [for investment]. As soon as favorable reports were sent back, the Firestone Company floated a loan of \$5,000,000 which the Liberian government had been requesting from the State Department since 1918. In return for this, the Firestone Company exacted a "planting agreement," whereby it would occupy one million acres of land at an annual rental of 6 cents an acre.

This "loan," which was to be repaid within 20 years, gave the rubber corporation a complete financial monopoly in Liberia. So great is this control that when the Firestone Company discovered that Liberia lacked railroads and decent roads it ordered the government to spend one-half of the \$5,000,000 loan on public works — highways and harbors to facilitate transportation of the company's produce from the plantations to the ocean for shipment to America.

The Liberian government is also required by American capitalism to "secure and maintain an adequate supply of labor," which led to abuses so grave that the League of Nations sent a commission to investigate conditions in 1931.



# Oppose new U.S. aggressions

Continued from front page  
ing "freedom" to Vietnam.

However, a look at what the so-called "humanitarian assault" has already meant for the Somali people puts the lie to this claim. Under the guise of feeding starving Somalis, Washington is waging a war of intimidation and terror: occupying the city of Mogadishu and ordering all relief workers indoors for at least 48 hours; buzzing streets and rooftops with helicopter gunships; riddling with bullets a van of unarmed Somalis, killing two of them; and "vaporizing" three Somali vehicles and their passengers with TOW missiles from the air.

This military intrusion will destroy the important steps forward that have been taken by Somalis themselves to solve the problem of feeding starving people. That is what veterans of the Somali relief effort, such as former Africa Watch director Rakiya Omaar, explain. "If armed enclaves are set up," she states, "more Somalis will be killed than will be saved."

"The problem is not food," says Yusuf Ali Yusuf, a government agronomist who now works with a relief agency to distribute seeds. "It's a question of law and order." The rich merchants and big Somali landowners, who today stand behind the various so-called "warlords," would be quite happy with U.S. military-style law and order.

## Precedent for military invasions

Washington hopes the Somalia operation will set a precedent for future military invasions in Africa and elsewhere.

Writing in a recent issue of *Foreign Policy*, Gerald Helman and Steven Ratner point to what they describe as a growing list of "failed nation states." Besides Somalia, their list includes Bosnia, Liberia, and Cambodia, with Ethiopia, the former Soviet republic of Georgia, and Zaire next in line. The solution the authors point to is what Washington is attempting to implement in Somalia — a U.S. protectorate or trusteeship under UN auspices.

The *Wall Street Journal* expressed its high hopes for what the Somalia invasion can mean for the success of future U.S. military interventions. "What Desert Storm did for America's military credibility, Somalia may do for its moral credibility," state the *Journal's* editors.

They look to this operation as helping to pave the way for deepening attacks on democratic rights in the United States as well. "We assume the U.S. security forces won't have to read the teenaged thugs their Miranda rights, as they must for the Crips and Bloods in south-central Los Angeles," snipes the *Journal* thereby clearly indicating its hostility to the most elementary democratic rights of working people when confronted by the state forces — from

Los Angeles to Mogadishu

This intervention goes hand-in-hand with the U.S. rulers continuing war against the rights and livelihoods of workers and farmers at home. More and more takeback contracts, cuts in health care, farm foreclosures, and other such attacks are what the rulers have in store for us.

The rulers in Washington bear much of the responsibility for the deep social crisis facing working people in Somalia. While they now define it as a "failed nation state" the fact is that throughout the 1980s, Washington financed and helped keep Siad Barre in power as he ravaged and destroyed the country while enriching himself.

What U.S. imperialism is seeking in Somalia today is a new version of Siad Barre in power. Despite the hoopla about the need to disarm people in the streets of Somalia, Washington is not in a rush to confiscate weapons belonging to the leaders of the current warring factions. In fact, they hope that one of these leaders of local landlord and capitalist forces will emerge as a reliable force for maintaining imperialist domination and "stability" in Somalia. For exactly the same reasons, Washington armed and funded Saddam Hussein for years, encouraged his bloody war against Iran, and eventually drew back from overthrowing him after driving his army from Kuwait.

The workers and peasants of Somalia are the only force that can resolve Somalia's problems, including getting rid of local dictatorial rulers. The current U.S. military occupation of their country is just one more obstacle in their path.

## Proud history of struggle

The Somali people have a proud history of fighting against imperialist invaders as the chronology on page 14 outlines. This background led Smith Hempstone, the U.S. ambassador to Kenya, to cable Washington that the U.S. military occupation of Somalia could "reunite the Somalia nation against the invaders."

Working people in Somalia face the same enemy as workers in the United States and worldwide — the capitalist rulers bent on maintaining their political power and sufficient "stability" to continue extracting profits from the labor of workers and peasants around the world.

What the Somali people need most in their fight is not a new conqueror but massive aid and solidarity from working people worldwide.

We should demand:

U.S. troops out of Somalia! Send large-scale food aid.

No U.S. military intervention in Yugoslavia! End the economic embargo!

Open U.S. borders to Somali and Yugoslav refugees!

# Welcome to our new readers

To all those who took out a subscription to the *Militant* in recent weeks, welcome.

And to all those *Militant* supporters who participated in the international drive to win new readers: congratulations! The effort you put in took us over the top in every area of the drive.

The *Militant* is unique. It is the only weekly newspaper in the world to tell the truth about political events from the viewpoint of the international working class.

It explains that the invasion of Somalia by the United States and other imperialist powers is not a "humanitarian" action but the continuation of decades of imperialist efforts to control this strategic region, and that this invasion is being used to prepare the way for aggressive interventions elsewhere, from Yugoslavia to Cambodia.

The *Militant* covers the revolution that is being waged by the people of South Africa, led by the African National Congress.

It tells the story of the Cuban people fighting to defend and advance their revolution in the face of the 30-year embargo imposed by Washington.

And from the battle of the Steelworkers at Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama, to the lockout of 3,000 garment workers in Montreal, Quebec, it covers the fights by working people in the United States and elsewhere against the sharpening attacks of the employers, driven by the crisis of the capitalist market system.

New readers are invited to make the most of this paper: write to the "letters to the editor" page; if you have a question that we may be able to take up in an article or in the "Discussion with our readers" column, let us know about it.

You can supplement what you learn from the *Militant*

by checking out the range of Pathfinder literature that we advertise, often in conjunction with articles on a particular topic or region of the world. A free Pathfinder catalogue is available from the addresses advertised. It is worthwhile, too, to join the Pathfinder Readers Club, which gives a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder titles and additional discounts on new books and other special offers.

You are also welcome to attend and participate in the *Militant* Labor Forums, held in dozens of cities around the United States and in other countries. The *Militant* Labor Forum, advertised in every issue, is a weekly public forum on questions of interest to working people and fighters for social justice. Other important activities, from picket lines and protests to discussions and study classes, are regularly advertised in these pages as well.

As several new readers did in the course of the past drive, you may also want to help circulate the paper yourself. It is only through the actions of its supporters that the *Militant* gets around.

You can take a small bundle of papers and subscription cards, to offer to friends, workmates, or fellow students, by writing to the business office (address on page 2) or joining in regular sales efforts organized from local Pathfinder bookstores. With the invasion of Somalia and looming intervention in Yugoslavia, getting out the paper as widely as possible will help arm more and more people to answer the propaganda war being waged to justify these actions, and help put together the kind of protest actions that are needed against them.

So make the most of your paper, and when the time comes, we hope you will consider renewing your subscription, to become a regular long term reader of the *Militant*.

# Combat role for women?

In this week's issue, we print letters from two readers that raise questions concerning the November 20 *Militant* article on whether a struggle to allow women to assume combat positions in the U.S. armed forces advances the fight for women's rights. Helen Mulrennan of New Zealand points to the demands for equality for Blacks in the military put forward by the Socialist Workers Party in a

## DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

1940 resolution titled "Military Policy and the Negroes," and asks why these demands don't apply to women in the military today.

In her article "Washington's Third Militarization Drive," published in *New Internationalist* no. 7, Mary-Alice Waters explains that a proletarian military policy begins not with military questions, but with the proletariat and its struggle to take power out of the hands of the warmakers.

"It presents a line of action to defend the class interests of workers and farmers in face of the militarization drives and imperialist wars that continued capitalist rule will inevitably bring," Waters says. "It begins with the concrete conditions in the class struggle, the level of consciousness and organization of the working class, and the relationship of forces between the exploited and exploiting classes."

The situation that Blacks faced in 1940, both in and out of the military, is not comparable to that faced by women today. The mass social struggles that would overturn the system of legal segregation — called Jim Crow — that existed in much of the United States were still in the future. The U.S. armed forces were completely segregated.

## Blacks given most dangerous jobs

Blacks were forced into the dirtiest and most dangerous jobs. For example, Black soldiers were allowed into the infantry, where the greatest number of casualties occur, but were not allowed to learn to be mechanics or other useful trades. Within the infantry, Blacks were assigned two kinds of work: that of laborers, digging trenches and latrines; or as part of suicide squads at the front. The 1940 resolution points out that "success in the struggle for mixed regiments can protect the Negroes from special selection as a group for dirty or dangerous work, can unite the soldiers and build up a solidarity of Negro and white, and can help to undermine the system of Jim Crowism everywhere."

In motivating the demands that Mulrennan points to, the 1940 resolution explains, "The Socialist Workers Party must so concretize its general slogans as to express the special needs of the Negro in the struggle for union control of military training."

Today, rather than helping to oppose the reactionary policies of the U.S. ruling class, the demand to allow women to serve in combat positions in the imperialist army is part of the discussion on how best to advance the rulers' drive toward war. One of the primary arguments put forward is that women are a necessary component of an effective war machine.

Unlike Blacks in 1940, women in the army are not segregated into separate units; they are not asked to be cannon fodder for the imperialists in disproportionate numbers. The demand to allow women into combat is not aimed at forcing the capitalists to treat women equally. Its goal is rather to force women to sacrifice "equally" for the bosses.

## Defend all victims of discrimination

Mulrennan also asks how working people can defend women who face discrimination in the military without supporting the demand that women be allowed into combat. It is wrong to associate equality with the "right" to strengthen the imperialist army. Working people should oppose the sexual harassment of women wherever it occurs, including in the army.

Most importantly, all defenders of democratic rights should defend the rights of all working people in uniform, women and men, to participate freely in politics. This includes the right to join the fight against imperialist war.

\* \* \*

Ed Meredith of Caneyville, Kentucky, argues that opening up combat to women is part of the effort to "advocate equality in every facet of everyday life." He maintains that explaining the fact that imperialist wars are fought against the interests of the working class, and that it is not in the interests of working people, male or female, to fight in them, is "too complex a position" for most workers and youth to understand. But in fact, *Militant* supporters found a tremendous openness to exactly this discussion during the U.S.-led war against Iraq, and early reports indicate this openness has if anything increased as the U.S. government sends thousands of troops to Somalia and makes plans to go to war in Yugoslavia.

Allowing women into combat will not help to advance the fight for women's rights today, any more than Blacks dying in disproportionate numbers during the Vietnam War advanced Black rights.

— SARA LOBMAN



# Marchers support striking Nevada hotel workers

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. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

Twenty thousand unionists converged on Las Vegas, Nevada December 5 in support of five Frontier Hotel Casino unions, which have been on strike since September 1991. Striking unions include the International Culinary

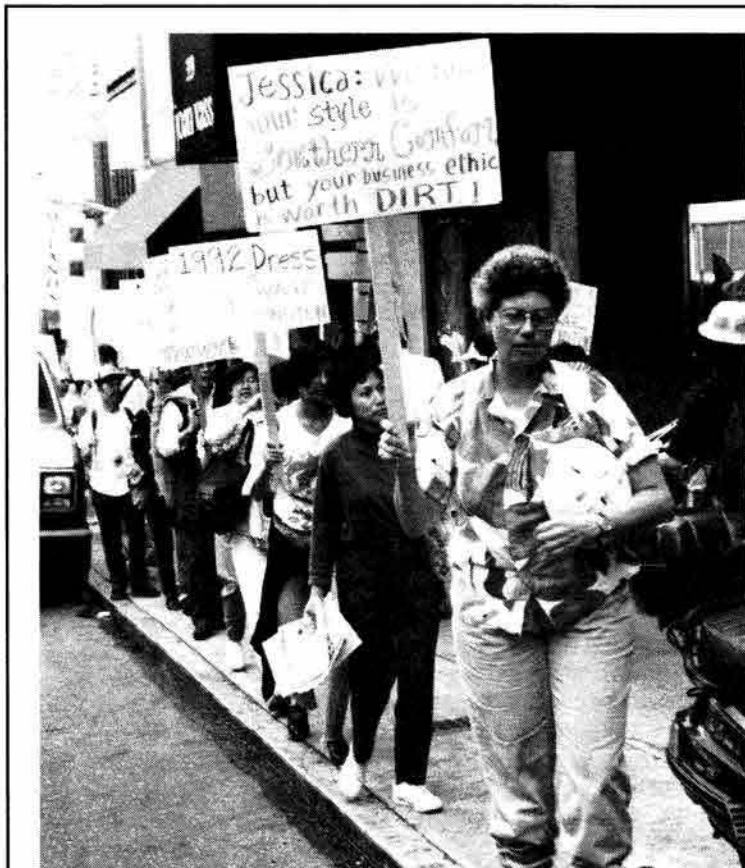
out of the casinos applauded, cheered, and joined in the chants, while others simply looked on with curiosity at a not-too-familiar sight on "the strip."

The Frontier is one of a handful of hotels that have not signed union contracts since the expiration of a five-year pact in 1989. □

## New Zealand workers battle company lockout

Twenty-one workers at the Alliance Textile mill in Milton, a small town in the South Island of New Zealand, have been locked out since last Christmas. The lockout occurred after 51 textile workers employed at the plant conducted an eight-day strike in October 1991.

In April of that year, the company presented a contract they said was not negotiable. Under this contract older workers, and



Militant/Ved Dookhun  
Garment workers in San Francisco picket Jessica McClintock Inc. to demand some \$15,000 in back wages. Lucky Co., a subsidiary of McClintock, went bankrupt, owing 12 workers thousands of dollars.

UCB's Association of Graduate Student Employees (AGSE), and UCSC's Graduate Student Employees Association (GSEA), both part of District 65 of the United Auto Workers (UAW), which represents a federally certified majority of graduate students at each campus, called their strikes in response to university administrators' refusal to grant graduate students collective bargaining rights.

At present, though they are responsible for nearly 80 percent of instruction on the campuses, teaching assistants (TAs) and graduate research assistants (GRAs) are the only classification of UC employees that do not have collective representation and are without a negotiated contract.

In September a California State Supreme Court decision let stand a lower court's ruling that graduate students hired as TAs and GRAs were not employees under the terms of the Higher Education Employee Relations Act and that while the university could voluntarily grant AGSE and GSEA union recognition at any time, it was not legally obligated to do so.

Faced with administrative intransigence and with all recourse to the courts closed off, AGSE and GSEA called on their memberships to strike. AGSE members and supporters have stayed off the job since November 19; those of GSEA since November 23.

Support for the strikers has come from other unions. At Santa Cruz, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 7 have stopped all deliveries to UCSC. United Parcel Service has stopped delivering to administrative buildings on campuses, and municipal bus drivers, affiliated with the United Transportation Union, have refused to drive onto campus. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Barry Fatland, Ranjel Asis, and Daniel Vargas in Los Angeles; Dave Salner and John Langford, members of United Steelworkers of America Local 8319 in Salt Lake City; Carolyn Allen and Suzanna Coad in Christchurch, New Zealand; Ned Dmytryshyn in Vancouver, British Columbia; and Juan Fajardo, Member of GSEA, District 65 United Auto Workers in Santa Cruz, California.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

Union, Bartenders Union, Teamsters Union, Operating Engineers, and Carpenters Union.

"They wiped out health insurance, pension, holidays, seniority and job classifications," stated Geoconda Kline, picket line organizer for the culinary union. "You could be a waitress one day and floor washer the next." Several strikers explained that workers were fired for being strong unionists.

As part of the AFL-CIO strike support campaign, members of hundreds of different union locals from throughout the country marched down the Las Vegas "strip" in unusually cold weather chanting "hey, hey, ho, ho, union busting has got to go!" March participants came from as far away as Washington, D.C. and Hawaii.

Among the unions participating were the National Association of Letter Carriers, Communication Workers of America, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), United Steelworkers of America, and United Mine Workers of America.

Drivers of big rigs and passenger vehicles showed their support for the march by honking horns and raising clenched fists. Many people of different nationalities walking

those on shifts, would be required to give up seniority rights, a shift allowance, and other allowances amounting to as much as NZ\$130 (\$65 U.S.) a week. They were also asked to surrender up to two weeks vacation a year. The company would be allowed to alter the contract with no warning.

On December 19, 1991 the company issued 49 lockout notices. Their intention was to pressure individual workers to sign the contract. In the following two months, 23 people signed the contract and returned to work.

The twenty-one workers who refused to sign, have remained locked out for nearly a year.

"We never held out for money; it was the principle involved," stated one of the locked-out workers. Lynn Smart, the wife of one of the workers, said, "If people see that we are surviving and we are locked out then they won't be as scared to fight."

The workers proudly point to the support they gave to workers at a nearby flour mill who waged a successful strike earlier this year. Their employer also attempted to impose a concession contract. The Milton workers have also traveled to visit other strikes in the South Island and petitioned Parliament to repeal the Employment Contracts Act. This

legislation, passed in 1991, strengthened the ability of employers to attack workers' wages and working conditions. □

## Yellowknife miners gain solidarity; strikers accept mediators report

The president of the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW) Local 4, Harry Seeton, and the president of the CASAW Ladies Association Support System (CLASS), June Roberts, wound up a successful British Columbia solidarity tour November 30. The tour netted more than \$30,000 for the striking Yellowknife gold miners in Northwest Territories, Canada. It raised awareness amongst thousands of unionists of the stakes for the entire labor movement in the fight against Royal Oak.

The key issues in the Yellowknife dispute involve health and safety and seniority rights which Royal Oak wants to seriously gut.

Striking CASAW members recently voted unanimously to accept

in principle the recommendations of a special federal mediators report on the dispute at the Royal Oak Mines.

The report recommends acceptance of expedited investigation and arbitration of the 45 firings of union members and acceptance of binding arbitration to resolve the outstanding matters in the contract dispute.

"Now the onus is on Royal Oak to accept the procedures and get back to the negotiating table," stated Seeton. "Our members unanimously accept arbitration on the firings on condition that a collective agreement is in place and a back-to-work protocol is established." □

## Teacher assistants strike at California campuses

Most of the academic activities of the University of California campuses at Santa Cruz (UCSC) and Berkeley (UCB) have been shut down as a result of strikes by graduate student teaching assistants and research assistants.

## LETTERS

### In for a long struggle

Please send 12 weeks of the *Militant* to my address. As an employee of Northwest Airlines, I am going to need all the information and union solidarity I can get. We are in for a long hard struggle.

D.F.  
Playa Del Rey, California

### Women in the army

I was interested to see in the November 20 issue of the *Militant* an article on women in the armed forces. The discussion going on in the U.S. army on whether women should go into combat has been reported in the newspapers and on T.V. here in New Zealand.

However I found the article confusing and contradictory.

The article points out that there are no physical barriers to women participating in combat. That has been proven by millions of women around the world. It also points out that women suffer discrimination in the military, and uses the example of a major sexual harassment scandal in 1991 at a navy convention. And the article finishes "it is true women in the military face discrim-

ination and working people should defend our sisters who face this, just as we fight for the democratic rights of all working people in and out of uniform."

What the article doesn't tell us is how to do this. It tells us not to support the demands for equality coming from women in the military i.e. to be able to go into combat. After reading the article I had a look at the book *Fighting Racism in WW II*, a book which contains a collection of articles, pamphlets, letters and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party during WW II. Reprinted in the book is a resolution adopted by the SWP in October 1940 called "Military Policy and the Negro."

The resolution runs through the discrimination faced by Blacks in a segregated army. It concludes with a number of demands. Some of these are: End segregation, stop shoving Negroes into separate regiments where they can be most easily discriminated against. Open the doors for Negroes in all branches of the service, in mixed regiments led by officers and generals of whom a proportionate share shall be Negroes. For the full right

of Negroes to rise to any position in the armed forces.

I would be interested to hear why these demands don't apply to women in the military today.

Helen Mulrennan  
Christchurch, New Zealand.

### Women in the army II

It is true that from a Socialist perspective women should not view serving in the United States military as an honor or a privilege; but we must also take into consideration that we are not dealing with a population in this country that is Socialist or informed. Under these circumstances we must advocate the proposition that women must have equal rights in every aspect of culture and economics. In my opinion this is the immediate goal. To jump over the right of equality for all people regardless of sex or gender and instead advocate an anti-imperialist socialist agenda that seems to contradict equality is simply too complex a position to advocate. It puts the cart before the horse.

Instead, we should, first and foremost, advocate equality in ev-

ery facet of everyday life. By taking this position it places the reactionaries in an obviously untenable position. It is our task to make a clear distinction between the reactionary position and those of the Socialist alternative on every issue.

After we have achieved legal equality then we can pursue the task of convincing these newly enlightened individuals to educate themselves and push for the next position on the agenda: that of recognizing their friends from their enemies from a working-class perspective.

Ed Meredith  
Caneyville, Kentucky

### 'You have no country'

Readers of the *Militant* may be interested in a small book titled, *You Have No Country*. Written by Mary E. Marcy, the book is a collection of short essays that appeared in the *International Socialist Review* between 1914 and 1918.

Marcy, who worked as a stenographer for a meat-packing firm, joined the Socialist Party in 1903, at the age of 26. She became a

leader and publicist of the Party's left-wing. Under Marcy's guidance the *ISR*'s subscription base grew quickly from 3,000, soaring to 45,000 by 1911. Recognized as a "fighting magazine," it was totally independent of the SP leadership.

In this collection, Marcy's essays focus on the profit system as the cause of imperialist war and the need for international working-class solidarity. Her ideas and remarks have great relevance today as working-class fighters closely watch the trade wars among our employers that threaten to grow into shooting wars.

The book is available through Charles H. Kerr Publishing, 1740 W. Greenleaf Ave., Chicago, IL., 60626.

Craig McKissic  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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.



## Virginia miners killed in explosion as mine safety standards fall short

BY KAREN CRAWFORD  
AND CHRIS RAYSON

NORTON, Virginia — Just before 6:15 a.m. on Monday, December 7, an explosion rocked South Mountain Coal Co.'s No. 3 mine here killing seven miners and the section foreman. They were working 6,000 feet from the mine entrance.

Norton is a small town of 5,000 in the heart of the area where, in 1991, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) won a victory against Pittston Coal Company's union-busting attack.

Twenty-one-year-old Robert Fleming, who was working 400 feet from the No. 3 portal shoveling coal onto the beltline, managed to crawl out of the mine with second degree burns to his face and hands. He had been picked up and smashed against a coal rib by a blast of dust, air, and searing heat.

The force and heat of the explosion charred trees 2,000 feet away. It flattened the mine office, a small plywood building on the surface, and pushed a mine entrance fan, as big as two pickup trucks, several feet off its mounting.

### No overpaid coal miners

"An accident like this reminds everybody that there's no such thing as an overpaid coal miner," said Jerry Gray, a local resident.

South Mountain No. 3 was a small, non-union mine opened in August 1990, employing 35 workers on three shifts. It put out about 1,000 tons of coal daily.

Rescue attempts were blocked for three days by dangerous methane gas and carbon monoxide levels. It was not until December 9 that seven bodies were located. Most were found near the scoop and continuous miner, indicating the workers did not survive the explosion but were killed at their work stations. The body of the section foreman has not yet been located.

The circumstances of the explosion in-

dicated that methane gas and coal dust had exploded.

Methane gas occurs naturally in coal seams, and is highly explosive at 5-15 percent of the atmosphere. Readings of methane levels are to be taken at the beginning of every shift and periodically throughout the shift. At 1 percent work is supposed to halt and the area ventilated with air. By the time methane gas reaches 2 percent the area is to be evacuated.

The mine is also supposed to be "rock-dusted" continuously, to control levels of dangerously explosive coal dust in the air.

According to press reports Norman Vanover, the section foreman killed in the explosion, had been fired from a foreman's job at Pittston's McClure No. 2 mine after an incident six months ago when methane ignited.

Ronnie Robbins, chairman of the union safety committee at McClure No. 2, said Vanover admitted to federal and state investigators that he had not taken the preshift reading that day. The next day Vanover was fired. He had been working at South Mountain as a foreman for the last three months.

The Virginia Division of Mines, Minerals and Energy classified South Mountain Mine No. 3 as a "non-gassy" mine, requiring inspections every 15 days rather than the five days required for "gassy" mines.

### High accident rate

According to Tom Brown, a spokesman for the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration, the mine's accident rate was nearly triple the national average for the first half of this year.

Jackie Counts, an activist in the UMWA women's auxiliary, and her husband, James, a Pittston miner, visited the South Mountain mine site December 9. Hundreds gathered that evening to await word of the final rescue efforts.

"I feel it probably could have been prevented with proper testing," Counts told the



Militant/Steve Watson

Miners and their union have fought for decades to force coal companies and the government to enforce safety laws. Above: 1974 UMWA demonstration.

Militant later. "We need the union to stay on top of these companies to get them to enforce the laws and safety regulations so that, whether it's union or not, the miners work in safe conditions."

At least three of the dead miners and the section foreman had worked in UMWA-organized mines in the past. James Mullins was a member of UMWA Local 8939, a Pittston lease mine that never reopened following the strike.

In a statement issued December 8, Joe Main, who heads the UMWA Department of Occupational Safety and Health, noted that 64 percent of underground mine fatali-

ties in 1991 occurred at mines with fewer than 50 workers.

"Enforcement of mine safety standards at small mines often falls far short of legal compliance," Main said.

Recent changes in federal ventilation regulations may have played a role in this mine accident. On November 16, the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration implemented revised regulations on mine ventilation.

The UMWA unsuccessfully filed suit to halt implementation of these revised regulations. One of the new rules that most concerned miners was one that eliminated mandatory daily inspection and MSHA approval of the main mine fans, which are vital to forcing a continuous flow of fresh air through coal mines.

The new regulations would allow the mine fan to be completely shut off for periods of time in smaller mines, increasing the chances of explosion.

Chris Rayson is a member of Amalgamated Clothing & Textile Workers Union Local 622 in Waynesburg, PA.

## Australia rally condemns E. Timor occupation

BY DOUG COOPER

MELBOURNE, Australia — "Since 1975, Australian politicians have expressed regret" at the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, "but actions speak louder than words," Jamie Chancellor told 500 demonstrators who marched here November 14 to commemorate the first anniversary of the Dili massacre. Hundreds also rallied in Sydney and other cities in Australia.

Indonesian troops slaughtered more than 100 peaceful protesters at a funeral at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, capital of East Timor, on Nov. 12, 1991.

Speakers from the East Timorese resistance group Fretilin, as well as from the Australia - East Timor Association, the Campaign Against Militarism, and federal Liberal Party Member of Parliament Kevin Andrews condemned the 17-year Indonesian occupation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

The demonstrators' anger was fueled by comments from Indonesia's newly appointed governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio Soares, about last year's massacre in Dili. On October 29 Osorio Soares told *Forum Keadilan*, an Indonesian legal journal, "As far as I'm concerned, I think even more should have died." The exact number killed has never been determined since no independent inquiry has been permitted.

Speakers at the rally also denounced the jail terms meted out to East Timorese convicted of organizing last year's funeral march. The sentences ranged from six months to life, while the maximum sentence imposed on Indonesian soldiers convicted

for the massacre was 18 months.

The Australian government maintains economic and political links to the Indonesian dictatorship, and recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor as its 27th province in 1978. Relations have been especially close since the 1989 Timor Gap Treaty, which allows Australian companies to exploit oil deposits beneath the Timor Sea.

Five Australian cabinet ministers met with their Indonesian counterparts November 16-17 to sign trade, customs, and training agreements, but postponed signing a nuclear cooperation pact.

Xanana Gusmao, the central leader of Fretilin since the late 1970s, was arrested November 20 by Indonesian forces in Lahane, a suburb of Dili, after 17 years of clandestine resistance.

Fears that Gusmao would be tortured spurred protests at Indonesian consulates around Australia during the November 21-22 weekend. Demonstrators that demanded that the International Committee of the Red Cross be given immediate access to Gusmao and that he be released to the country of his choice.

Within hours of the announcement of Gusmao's capture, a protest also took place in Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. It was organized by East Timorese refugees and the Young Socialists, affiliated to the governing social-democratic party.

Alfredo Ferreira, the Fretilin spokesperson in Australia, told the media, "We still regard Xanana in captivity as the leader of the whole resistance." Ferreira also announced the names of Fretilin's new political and military

leaders, saying, "We want the Indonesians to know this, so they know [the resistance] will not end with his capture."

Doug Cooper is a member of the National Union of Workers in Sydney. Manuele Lasalo also contributed to this article.

## New protectionist measure sparks protests in Mexican border town

BY MATT HERRESHOFF

NUEVO LAREDO, Mexico — Six thousand people, organized by the Mexican Workers Federation (CTM), rallied here to protest a new protectionist trade policy being enforced by the Mexican government. The policy limited duty-free purchases by Mexican citizens in the United States to \$50. The previous limit was \$300.

Following the rally, 1,500 people stormed the bridge linking Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, and Laredo, Texas; sacked the Mexican customs office, and chased Mexican customs officials across the bridge into the United States.

Staples such as flour, beans, and rice are in constant short supply in Nuevo Laredo stores, and most residents buy groceries in the United States.

The response to the protectionist measure, just weeks before the December 19 signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement, underscores growing instability in Mexican politics.

Leaders of the CTM, who have traditionally worked closely with the government, have been targeted as the "intellectual authors" of the riot. Pedro Pérez Ibarra, the head of the CTM in Nuevo Laredo, is in hiding.

The new trade policy was welcomed by Mexican businessmen. Sales by local businesses have risen 20 percent, according to Gerardo González Juaristi, president of the Nuevo Laredo Chamber of Commerce.

The governor-elect of the Mexican state of Tamaulipas, Manuel Cavazos Lerma, sparked further outrage when he claimed the protectionist measure was justified because most people simply used the duty-free exemption to buy beer. "It's not right for him to accuse us of being drunks," said one person. "This is how Cavazos Lerma thanks us, after we of Nuevo Laredo voted for him," said another.

Since the protests, the Mexican government has announced that it will relax the protectionist measures.