

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Ford concessions ratified;
GM to demand deeper cuts

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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'Militant' launches anniversary fund

Sixty-five years ago this November, the first issue of the *Militant* newspaper rolled off the presses. To celebrate this occasion, and to ensure many more years of publishing the facts and analysis that fighting workers and their allies need, the paper is launching a special anniversary fund to overlap with its international circulation campaign. Our goal: to raise \$75,000 by December 14.

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We are appealing for funds to all of our readers who value the work the paper has done and continues to do to advance the struggles of working people around the world. There is simply no other newspaper like it.

The *Militant* was born in the international struggle to defend the gains of the 1917 Russian revolution, which proved that the struggle for socialism, first laid out almost 70 years earlier by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*, was not utopian but was, in fact, the only road forward out of the hunger and despair that capitalism has imposed on the vast majority of humanity.

But by 1928, this victory had been betrayed by a gang of anti-working-class thugs, led by Joseph Stalin, who were prepared to sacrifice the revolution to advance their own self-interests. Just one week after being expelled from the U.S. Communist Party for opposing this murderous course, James Cannon, Martin Abern, and Max

Continued on Page 14

Israeli-PLO accord leaves many issues in dispute

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

JERICHO, West Bank — As you descend the mountain slope toward the Jordanian border, the lush farmlands around the city and the surrounding villages stand in stark contrast to the bare hills to the west and the desert around the Dead Sea to the south.

"All this land and its 28,000 people must be under Palestinian control, not just the city," said Jamal Safi, a Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) activist, pointing to the 146-square-mile area in the valley west of the Jordan River, which Jordanian law considered Jericho before 1967.

Israeli government officials do not agree. They insist that the accord they signed September 13 with the PLO will only grant limited self-rule to Palestinians inside the borders of the town of 15,000 people and the Gaza Strip.

The dispute points to the myriad of obstacles to be overcome before the agreement — which is supposed to lead to withdrawal of Israeli troops and an election of a Palestinian council with legislative authority in

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Mandela calls for lifting South Africa sanctions



Nelson Mandela speaking at United Nations September 24

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

UNITED NATIONS — In a monumental speech September 24, African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela called for lifting all economic sanctions imposed by countries around the world against South Africa.

The address, presented to the General Assembly delegates at a

white-minority regime has been determined, agreed, and set. Seven months from now, on April 27, 1994, all the people of South Africa, without discrimination on grounds of gender, race, color or belief, will join in the historic act of electing a government of their choice.

"Legislation has also been passed," he continued, "to create

Text of ANC leader's UN speech — pages 8, 9

meeting called by the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, registered the gains won so far in the fight for a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist South Africa, and the struggle still ahead to reach this goal.

Mandela's announcement on sanctions came one day after South Africa's white-minority parliament voted 107-36 to ratify the installation of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The council will oversee the governance of the country leading up to the first-ever nonracial election.

"The countdown to democracy in South Africa has begun," Mandela told the delegates. "The date for the demise of the

the institutions of state, the statutory organs that will ensure that these elections are held and that they are free and fair."

'Not yet out of the woods'

While calling for lifting economic sanctions, Mandela warned "that we are not yet out of the woods." He asked the United Nations to hold off on lifting a mandatory 1977 Security Council embargo on the sale of weapons and nuclear materials to South Africa until after a new government has been formed following next April's election. He left the question of whether to repeal the oil embargo up to the General Assembly.

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Unionists rally in Alabama to protest killing of two striking steelworkers

BY TIM MAILHOT

COLUMBIANA, Alabama — "We are strong, we are united, and we are not going to stop." That's how Kim Cain, cousin of slain striker Keith Cain, summed up her determination to keep on fighting as more than 2,000 unionists and their supporters rallied here September 26. They gathered in memory of two members of United Steel Workers of America (USWA) Local 15015 who were murdered September 7 on the picket line at National-Standard. Cain, 23, and Walter Fleming, 55, were killed when the driver of an 18-wheel truck intentionally ran over them as he left the plant.

The local has been on strike since June 1, after refusing to accept a final contract offer that amounted to a 40 percent reduction in wages and benefits.

The turn out was an important show of support for the strike. Steelworkers came from Alabama, Tennessee, and Virginia. Some 200 members of United Mine Workers of America District 20 were present, as were contingents from the United Paperworkers International Union, United Rubber Workers (URW), United Garment Workers of America, United Auto Workers, Communications Workers of America (CWA), as well as members of the International Association of Machinists, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, and the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

"I'm here in memory of two slain brothers who made the supreme sacrifice," said a member of URW Local 351. The local was recently forced to accept concessions from the Uniroyal Goodrich Tire Co. "It's real sim-

ple," he continued. "Union people are going to hurt before they get together. All we want is dignity and fairness in the work place."

The rally was held at the Shelby County High School football field. As the crowd gathered, miners led chants of "Who are we? Union!" and "What do we want? Justice!"

Among those addressing the rally was Larry Messina of the CWA. "We must recall the other deaths that have occurred while workers have tried to exercise their right to justice," he said. "Today, these deaths give new meaning to the words 'permanent replacement work.' We must make sure the

legislation that needs to be passed is passed, so that no scab can again kill a union member exercising their right to justice."

Jim Baker, assistant to AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, also spoke. "The history of the great labor movement is written in blood," he said. "It is the history of working people fighting for our rights: the right to organize, the right to bargain collectively, and the right to strike. We must commit ourselves to these brothers' memories to make sure this doesn't happen again."

The main address was given by Lynn
Continued on Page 12



Two thousand rally in Columbiana, Alabama, to support striking steelworkers.

Militant/Denise McInerney

Why 'Stop NAFTA' campaign won't save jobs — page 5



UN votes troops to Haiti

The United Nations Security Council voted unanimously September 23 to send more than 1,200 soldiers and cops to Haiti. In a September 16 communique to Washington, ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide denounced destabilization efforts by officials of the Haitian army and police. He said the names of government ministers appear on hit lists now circulating among leaders of the army and requested foreign support for the replacement of military chiefs. Aristide is scheduled to return to Haiti October 30 according to an agreement signed with Gen. Raoul Cédras, who led the 1991 coup against him.

Strike cripples Managua

The Nicaraguan government was forced to repeal new vehicle taxes on September 24. The government also promised to rebate part of an increase in the price of fuel to owners of taxis, buses, and trucks.

The strike of 30,000 paralyzed most of the capital, Managua, as the drivers and thousands of their supporters set up stone barricades across major highways and streets to protest the taxes.

Two people were killed at one barricade, more than 20 others were reported wounded, and at least 50 people were arrested as the government tried to put down the strike. In the face of a political and economic crisis, President Violeta Chamorro's National Opposition Union and leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front continue to push for sacrifice and labor stability from working people.

Cuba leads in health

A ranking of nations by UNICEF found that Cuba leads the world in immunizations for measles, providing them to 99 percent of the island's children. The United States lagged well behind with a 77 percent rate. Zimbabwe, India, Vietnam, and the Philippines were among the nations with higher immunization rates than the United States.

Hatch Act restrictions stay

The House of Representatives voted September 21 to lift some of the restrictions on political activity imposed on federal employees by the reactionary Hatch Act. The new bill will allow government employees to participate in some election campaign

activities, but would still forbid workers from running for office themselves.

No trial for Miami cop

Saying there was insufficient evidence, prosecutors have decided not to bring federal civil rights charges against a Miami cop who killed two Black men in 1989. Officer William Lozano's December 1989 conviction and seven-year prison sentence for the shooting of a motorcyclist and death of a passenger in the ensuing crash were overturned by an appeals court June 1991. He was acquitted in state court last May.

Jail delay for L.A. cops

Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell, the two Los Angeles cops convicted of violating the civil rights of Rodney King when they brutally beat him in March 1991, were given two more weeks to ask the United States Supreme Court to grant them bail. The two had been ordered to begin serving their 30-month sentences on September 27.

A prison spokeswoman said Koon and Powell were expected to serve their sentence at the Dublin camp where financier Michael Milken did time for violating federal security laws. Although the cops have remained free through two trials, the two men charged with the beating of truck driver Reginald Denny have been in jail since their May 1992 arrest, with bail set as high as \$580,000.

French law will jail immigrants

Stepping up its drive against the rights of immigrants, the French government approved a draft law September 22 that allows undocumented workers to be jailed without trial for up to three months. A similar measure was struck down by the Constitutional Council last spring after winning approval from parliament. The new plan, to be submitted to parliament again, was slightly modified to appease the council.

The government also modified a proposal allowing authorities to refuse marriage

licenses to French citizens planning to marry immigrants.

Italian workers protest

Tens of thousands of people marched through Rome September 25 to protest rising unemployment and plans to privatize the civil service industry. Workers throughout Italy are protesting and carrying out wildcat strikes against proposed layoffs. Striking workers in the south blocked rail stations by sitting on the tracks, while workers at an armaments factory in the north closed the plant entrances with tanks to protest job cuts.

Prime Minister Carlo Ciampi unveiled an austerity budget in mid-September that raised taxes and cut government spending on social services.

Farm subsidies dispute continues

The governments of the United States and European Community failed to settle a dispute over agricultural subsidies at a meeting in Washington, D.C., September 27. A U.S.-EC farm agreement is a key piece of the current Uruguay round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade talks that are scheduled to conclude December 15.

The United States is demanding that governments in the EC sharply curtail their subsidized exports. Farmers in France, the world's second largest agricultural exporter, have organized several large protests against the proposed agreement.

Chinese workers close plant

Workers at a former nuclear plant in northwest China shut down a neighboring chemical factory that was poisoning their water supply. The conflict that led to the August 14 incident began the previous year when the chemical factory began producing

sulfuric acid and carbon disulfide on land near the nuclear plant. Residents complained of dizziness, fatigue, and respiratory ailments. The plant also contaminated the Yellow River, the region's most important water supply and the only source of water for the nuclear plant and the adjoining households of its workers.

Some 200 factory workers presented a petition to the provincial government in mid-June, and on June 28 as many as 300 workers held a demonstration. As a result of these protests, the chemical factory was shut down in early July, but reopened a few weeks later. During several later protests, two people were killed and a dozen others injured.

More threats against N. Korea

Testing the waters for United Nations sanctions against North Korea, U.S., Japanese, and South Korean government officials are stepping up accusations that Pyongyang may be developing nuclear weapons. South Korean president Kim Young Sam told a Japanese newspaper that he thought the North Korean government had materials for three atomic bombs. "If the nuclear dispute remains unsettled, international sanctions against North Korea will be unavoidable," he said. Officials of the three nations are hinting at a confrontation with Pyongyang and have criticized a normal North Korean nonnuclear missile drill.

Sihanouk back on throne

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who ruled Cambodia as its monarch from 1941-55, was sworn in as king again on September 4. The Constituent Assembly, elected in May in UN-sponsored elections, formally adopted a constitution September 21 that restores a monarchy. — PAT SMITH



Somali protesters demonstrate in Mogadishu in front of mural opposing U.S. occupation. Faced with growing opposition to its brutal invasion, Washington claims it is backing down from its goal of capturing Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid and will instead seek to isolate him. Renewed calls for withdrawal of the 4,700 U.S. troops followed downing of helicopter that killed three U.S. soldiers there.

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Yeltsin's actions fail to stabilize Russia

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Less than a week after Russian president Boris Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet "annulled" one another, resistance to Yeltsin's moves to concentrate further power in the presidency has largely fizzled. According to Vyacheslav Volkov, the president's chief of staff, the number of deputies remaining in the Russian parliament building was down to between 170 and 180 from the 600 who had turned up at the beginning of the latest crisis.

Although Yeltsin's moves against the rival bureaucratic grouping in parliament met with cheers from Washington and other imperialist powers as a sign of hoped for "market reform," the triumph of one anti-working-class outfit over another will not resolve the mammoth instability and economic breakdown facing Russia.

The week's activities bore no resemblance to the August 1991 coup attempt, when hundreds of thousands of workers turned out in the streets to defend their political rights and speak out in their own interests.

The intrabureaucratic struggle brought no mass demonstrations. Rather, the crowds gathered in support of parliament were a collection of supporters of the former Stalinist ruling party, anti-Semites, monarchists, and fascists. At their height they numbered only several thousand. Few significant mobilizations have taken place in support of Yeltsin as well.

Yeltsin rebuffed an offer to hold elections for both parliament and president on December 12. He instead repeated his original call for parliamentary elections in December and a presidential contest in June.

"I am categorically against such a solution," said Yeltsin. "A dual rule is extremely dangerous today, but lack of any rule is twice as dangerous... I will not agree to any compromise with any bodies. Categorically not."

Social catastrophe

Yeltsin acted quickly to isolate the parliament building, cutting off electricity, hot water, and surrounding the area with troops loyal to him. Calls by Yeltsin rivals Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov for troops to defend parliament under threat of prosecution were ignored.

The conflict between Yeltsin and parliament is more than a year old. Its roots lie in the permanent crisis wracking the privileged social caste that draws its sustenance from the Russian workers state.



Russian Interior Ministry riot police, loyal to Boris Yeltsin, massed outside parliament in Moscow September 27. Yeltsin's moves to expand powers of presidency are aimed at paving the way for integration into capitalist world market system.

These layers seek integration into the capitalist market system. They admire the rulers

in the imperialist countries and try to ape their lifestyles. The clashes within the caste reflect differences over how quickly and what method to utilize in advancing along this course.

The majority of productive property in

Russia is nationalized, and while there are thousands of nascent capitalists, no capitalist class exists.

Yeltsin promises a more rapid course toward "market reform," including measures like raising energy prices and other budgetary measures that would further undercut the already tattered safety net of workers and farmers.

Meanwhile, working people face a horrible situation rooted in nearly 70 years of Stalinist misrule. Four out of five Russians are living below the official poverty line.

The class stratification of Russia, well in place for decades, is today sharpening even further. While working people face growing poverty, hunger, and disease, a tiny group of businessmen is purchasing \$30,000 Cartier watches and \$150,000 stretch limousines in Moscow.

Both parliament and Yeltsin have made moves toward opposing a woman's right to choose abortion. In Yeltsin's jargon, this anti-working-class move goes under the name of a "progressive demographic policy."

Instability and uncertainty has hampered imperialist investment in Russia.

Above all, Russia needs "a government strong enough to impose painful policies on an unwilling population," Britain's *Economist* said.

A *Financial Times* article in May said that "despite an abundance of possibilities," in the mining industry, "virtually no western company can yet claim to have struck a deal because of the state's slow progress in establishing a clear framework for foreign investment."

While thousands of small-scale companies have been "privatized," one Russian economist says that it will take decades to sell off nationalized industry in Russia. The big majority of land remains outside private hands.

Imperialist support

Echoing Yeltsin himself, the Clinton administration called the Russian president "the one president, the one government, the one power center," and backed him to the hilt.

Despite brave words about helping the transition to capitalism in Russia, most aid has come in the form of free advice to speed restructuring the economy and austerity against workers and peasants.

The *Wall Street Journal* called Yeltsin the "master of the great leap," and claimed that "part of the problem is that Russian civil society is so new it hasn't yet coalesced into constituency groups — entrepreneurs, private workers, factory directors, and so on — capable of legitimate political expression."

Instability and possible fracturing of the Russian army has also been on the minds of Washington and its allies. With 2.7 million in the armed forces, disintegration of military loyalties — and units — is a constant concern. The *Economist* said that in the modern Russian army, "the main task of commanding officers is not to train for future wars or necessarily to obey orders from above, but to feed and pay their men."

Small actions by rightist officers and units during the Yeltsin-parliament feud were watched with great concern in Washington.

Rulers use killings of tourists to attack workers' democratic rights in Florida

BY CLEM GILSON

MIAMI — Stories of two recent killings of tourists in Florida splashed across headlines nationwide. The cops and government officials here are using these murders as a pretext to undermine some basic constitutional rights, including the presumption of innocence and the right to freedom from unreasonable arrest.

Within one week German tourist Uwe-Wilhelm Rakebrand was shot and killed while driving a rental car from Miami International Airport and Gary Colley from Britain was shot to death at a highway rest stop near Monticello, in northern Florida.

Within hours of Colley's death September 14, police in Monticello began rounding up dozens of Black youths, many of whom were taken to the city jail for fingerprinting and several hours of interrogation.

Some students were hauled out of their high school classes. In many cases these young people were not allowed a lawyer, their parents were not informed of the detentions, nor were they told they did not have to agree to the interrogations.

Susie Mae Johnson, whose son was detained, told the *Miami Herald*, "I was mad about the way they went to get him. They treated him like a dog."

The American Civil Liberties Union protested the police sweeps. "You have a right not to be questioned by law enforcement at any location you are not free to leave, unless they have a reason to believe you have committed a crime," a flier passed out by the ACLU says. "Having a record and being a black male between 15 and 22 is not a good enough reason."

U.S. attorney general Janet Reno rushed to defend the cop actions. "Everybody is

trying to do the right thing," Reno claimed, "consistent with due process [and] public safety."

Some government officials proposed even further restrictions on democratic rights. Miami mayor Xavier Suárez, in an opinion column printed in the *Miami Herald*, called for placing youth who commit "violent crimes" in boot camps, a call backed by President Bill Clinton.

Suárez also argued for limiting the right to appeal convictions and eliminating Miranda rights — that is the requirement that police inform a person who is arrested of their right to remain silent and other safeguards.

The Miami mayor used the crime scare to launch a broader attack on the living standards of working people as well. "Welfare, unemployment compensation, and most disability benefits should be eliminated in favor of a jobs program that guarantees everyone a minimum wage."

Suárez wrote, "Only those too impaired to work should live in public housing."

Proposals like these have been used in the past to gut social programs while doing little to provide decent jobs to working people. More importantly, they contribute to the bosses' campaign to marginalize layers of the working class as "welfare cheats."

Laura Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Miami, answered the calls for "law and order."

"Their concern for human lives is hypocritical," Garza noted. "When the cops kill someone they are almost never brought to trial, much less punished."

"But when the alleged attackers are Black, they make it a crime to be Black, male, and young."

"What Suárez and other officials are trying to do is falsely portray a whole section of the working class as criminals and justify further restrictions on all of our democratic rights," Garza said.

"We need to vigorously protest these police sweeps and violations of due process," the socialist candidate added.

Clem Gilson is a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 6694 in Miami.

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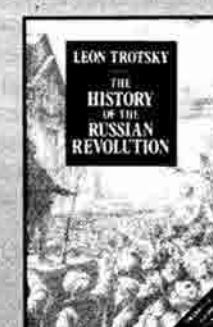


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Miami socialists speak to wide audience

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — "What are you going to do about crime?" "Why are you against Clinton's health-care plan?" "Won't your plan for cutting the workweek with no cut in pay push small business into bankruptcy?" "Why don't you stick to local issues?"

These are just some of the questions that socialist candidates were asked in the last few weeks while campaigning in Miami.

Laura Garza, a factory worker and member of the United Steelworkers of America is running for mayor of Miami; Maggie McCraw, an airline cleaner and member of the International Association of Machinists, for city commission group V; and Seth Galinsky, a sewing machine operator and member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, for city commission group IV.

Garza was interviewed twice on WCMQ, a Spanish-language radio station, by Tomás García Fusté. Fusté supports the U.S. em-

bargo against Cuba.

"Capitalism is in crisis," Garza said during the first interview, an hour-long call-in program. "The bosses and their government are trying to make workers pay for their crisis by forcing us to work longer hours for less pay, and accept fewer services and democratic rights." She stated that the socialist platform includes a call to shorten the work week with no cut in pay to spread the available work and give everyone a job.

The socialist mayoral candidate also defended the Cuban revolution, contrasting the policies of Havana to those of capitalist regimes in Latin America. Even in the face of the severe economic crisis on the island, Cuba's government takes steps to guarantee the basic human needs of all its citizens, and is fighting to maintain its universal free health-care system, Garza noted.

The socialist candidates have been invited to a number of forums along with their

opponents in the upcoming elections.

At a September 25 meeting at the Canaan Baptist Church in the Black community, Galinsky explained the socialists' proposals on raising the minimum wage, opposing police brutality, and condemning U.S. and UN intervention in Somalia and Haiti.

'No Miami solutions'

"Why don't you stick to local issues," one woman asked.

"All the problems we face, from homelessness to police brutality to racism and attacks on women's rights are the same problems that working people all over the world face," Galinsky said. "There is no Miami solution. We need to unite working people around the world so that we can stand up and fight for our rights together."

Galinsky was interviewed later in the day by eight board members of the New Miami Group, an organization of Black doctors,

lawyers, and business owners. The group has already endorsed Miriam Alonso, a right-wing Cuban, for mayor, but is still "screening" the city commission candidates to decide whom to endorse.

Galinsky criticized Clinton's health plan because it would "hurt small businesses and do nothing to solve the health crisis."

"We need free universal health care for everyone, with or without papers," Galinsky said.

"Wait a second," one board member said. "Are you saying that undocumented people should be included? What do you think about all those immigrants coming in here?"

"We are for an open border," Galinsky said. "Having workers from different experiences, who speak different languages, strengthens the working class in the United States."

"Health care should be a right, not a privilege," he said, "regardless of your country of origin."

Forty people attended a rally September 18 for the Socialist Workers campaign. The audience included high school students, Haitian activists, and Cuban-American opponents of the U.S. embargo.

In the discussion following the candidates' speeches, one participant asked, "What can we do to stop murders, like those of the tourists, and crime?"

"They are trying to criminalize a whole section of the working class — Black youth — to further weaken us," Garza noted, referring to the recent police sweeps in northern Florida of some Black neighborhoods.

"There is a crime problem," Garza explained. "But it is caused by the whole system of profits and the breakdown of solidarity, not by poverty. Those individuals who prey on working people are just imitating what they see around them."

"The U.S. government was willing to kill for oil in the war against Iraq," Garza said. "The so-called justice system is in reality an injustice system in this capitalist dog-eat-dog world."

"To reknit the human solidarity that breaks down," she continued, "we need to wage a common fight against this system, like the African National Congress is doing in South Africa."

Socialist candidates encouraged participants to march in upcoming demonstrations in support of the rights of Haitian refugees and the return of Aristide to Haiti and in the October 24 demonstration in Tampa for women's rights.

After the rally several participants volunteered to help out with the campaign.

Ernie Mailhot is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 368 in Miami.

Seattle mayoral candidate wins job back

BY SCOTT BREEN

SEATTLE — Five weeks after being fired by Kenworth Truck management, Chris Hoepfner, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle, returned to work on the assembly line here.

Kenworth had terminated Hoepfner for taking an "unauthorized leave" to participate in the U.S.-Cuba Friendship Caravan July 17 through August 14. The caravan, sponsored by Pastors for Peace, successfully challenged the U.S. embargo against Cuba by delivering some 100 tons of medicines, bicycles, paper supplies, and computers to Cuba. At the border in Laredo, Texas, however, U.S. Customs agents held a school bus. The 14 occupants of the bus, who included the socialist candidate, conducted a hunger strike protesting the seizure.

The government finally allowed the bus to cross the border.

"This is a victory for not just me and my campaign, but for my union brothers and sisters at Kenworth and for the Cuba solidarity movement," stated Hoepfner as he walked back into the plant Sept. 20. "It shows the political space we have when we fight and the broad support there exists for the right of workers to engage in political activity."

Hoepfner, who placed defense of the Cuban revolution at the center of his election campaign, had requested his vacation time plus three weeks unpaid leave to participate in the caravan. Kenworth has a leave of absence policy which allows employees to take time off for personal matters.

The company denied the leave request the day before Hoepfner was to depart with the caravan. They did, however, grant him his one week vacation. The machinist left anyway, explaining he would be back to work on August 16.

Coworkers support fight

During his trip, union members at Kenworth continued to press the company to grant him his leave. "They want to fire him because of his political views, because he's for working people and against big-business corporations," one young coworker said.

News of his political trip and campaign for mayor made its way through the plant, especially as the hunger strike in Laredo became national news. Several articles about the caravan quoting Hoepfner made the local newspapers and television. Coworkers would pass the articles around at lunch.

Letters, faxes, and phone calls began to arrive at Kenworth's human resources department, urging the company not to discipline Hoepfner. These included messages from Tom Hansen, director of Pastors for Peace; Rev. John Boonstra, executive director of the Washington State Conference of Churches; and Pamela Doan, an organizer with Service Employees International Union Local 6.

After returning from the caravan, Hoepfner, accompanied by his union steward, reported for work on August 16. The company didn't know what to do. After a two-hour conference, they decided to suspend him.

He was terminated two days later. Hoepfner's union, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 289, filed a grievance, charging the company with "unjust termination through the discriminatory application of the company's leave policy."

They demanded full reinstatement with full wages and benefits.

Over the next two weeks, pressure continued to mount on the company.

A *Seattle Times* reporter called Kenworth to ask why they fired him. The paper printed an article that appeared with his photo, noting "Hoepfner used to be an assembly line machinist at the Kenworth Truck Company, until he was dismissed in a dispute over unpaid leave from work for his campaign. 'Time off to run for office should be among

worker's rights," he says, adding "we have plenty of lawyers and professional politicians in office, but there are no workers."

Congressman Jim McDermott's office called Kenworth to inquire about the circumstances around Hoepfner's termination.

On September 15, the same day as the primary elections, the company relented and agreed to rehire him.

Scott Breen is an assembly line mechanic at Kenworth and member of IAM Local 289.



Chris Hoepfner, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Seattle, addressing send-off rally for Cuba Friendship caravan in July.

Nuclear weapons referendum sparks debate

BY GREG McCARTAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A referendum calling on the U.S. government to dismantle nuclear weapons and instead to fund pressing social needs passed by a 51 percent margin in the September 14 election for City Council chair here.

Initiative 37 would not take effect until the Commonwealth of Independent States ratifies a comparable amendment.

Young people from as far away as Oregon came to Washington to help campaign for the bill's passage, seeking to boost similar efforts across the country.

"Each of the candidates has said they are concerned about the problems people in this city face, such as lack of adequate housing, the crisis in medical care, and cuts in education," one supporter of the measure said at a recent forum for the candidates. "They have also said there are no funds available. This proposition has the answer on how to transfer funds from the military to these needs in Washington."

All but one of the Democratic Party candidates opposed the measure, following the lead of the delegate to Congress from Washington, D.C., Eleanor Holmes Norton, who said, "Issues of war and peace have never been constitutionalized and should not be."

David Clarke, who won the September 14 election, called Initiative 37 "a diversion from the real issues."

Emily Fitzsimmons, a member of the

International Association of Machinists who works for United Airlines at Dulles International Airport here, and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council chair, said she agrees that "massive funding for social programs is an important part of defending working people, young people, and others from the devastating consequences of the world capitalist economic crisis."

Washington, she added, "is the only government in the world to use nuclear weapons in wartime and has threatened other nuclear strikes since dropping the two bombs on Japan at the end of World War II."

She pointed out that both the Democratic and Republican parties "are parties of war. Just look at the past several years — the war against the Iraqi people, the invasion of Panama, the current occupation army carrying out atrocities against the people of Somalia." Holmes Norton, she said, "has not spoken out, but has supported these wars of aggression."

Fitzsimmons said, however, she had two disagreements with Initiative 37 that led her to urge abstention on the measure.

"The labor movement, women's and civil rights organizations, and young people must not fall into the 'limited pie' notions pushed by the government," she said. "Arguments that there is only so much money in the budget to be divided up are used to demand 'shared sacrifice' which

really means enforcing austerity measures against working people.

"We must build a movement that demands relief from the effects of the world economic crisis. We don't need to help the government of the superwealthy minority 'find the funds,'" the socialist candidate continued. "They find them easily enough to defend big business interests — whether it be the Savings and Loan bailout, wars abroad, or massive subsidies to large corporations."

While it is true that there was much the government of the former Soviet Union could and should have done to take political initiatives toward the elimination of nuclear weapons, moves that would have forced Washington to do so as well," Fitzsimmons said, "we can't lose sight of the fact that Washington and its allies are the aggressors. We stand for immediate and unilateral military disarmament by Washington."

In discussions with young people involved in supporting the referendum, Fitzsimmons encouraged them to "help organize protests against the wars and threats of war by Washington — from Somalia to the former Yugoslavia and North Korea. It is precisely these conflicts where the threat of use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. government arises."

Greg McCartan is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 106.

Alabama rally urges unionist be paroled

BY BETSY FARLEY

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — "Mark was a victim of big industry and the justice system. They framed and railroaded him because they wanted to stop this man. He was enlightening people, bringing them together, and that is power."

That's how Rev. Abraham Woods, president of the Birmingham chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), described the case against Mark Curtis at a rally here September 18. Curtis, a unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, was framed up on false charges of sexual assault and burglary in September 1988. He is currently serving a 25-year sentence at the John Bennett Correctional Center in Ft. Madison, Iowa.

Woods spoke along with other supporters of the defense effort at a fundraising meeting at St. Joseph's Baptist Church featuring Kate Kaku, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee and Curtis's wife. Rally participants contributed more than \$500 to the Parole Now! campaign.

"Certain groups are organized to take support away from the defense effort," Woods noted. He explained that he was visited by such a person the day before the rally. "I told him he had come to the right person, because knowing Mark as I do and what he stands for, he could never commit a rape." Woods pledged a \$100 donation to the Parole Now! campaign from the Birmingham chapter of the SCLC.

Grady King, a member of United Steel-

workers of America (USWA) Local 9226 at Trinity Industries who is one of the 57 workers fired during a recent eight-month strike, also spoke. King compared the Trinity workers' fight to get their jobs back to the fight for justice for Curtis. "I may have lost my job, but I haven't lost my pride," King said, "and I'll keep fighting for the union 'til the day I die."

Also speaking at the rally were Eula McGill, a retired official of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and Honey Gilmore, a leader of the Birmingham Clinic Defense Team.

"Those convicted [of rape] need also to be guilty," Gilmore told the audience. "It serves only to discredit the movement if we accept all convictions as accurate. There is no doubt that the young lady who accused Mark was raped. However, there is also no doubt that Mark Curtis was not her attacker. The description of her attacker was not only consistent, it consistently did not match the characteristics of Mark Curtis."

"I find it difficult to believe that a man who has escorted women at abortion clinics in Birmingham and supports reproductive freedom for women could harbor resentment towards women and a desire to do harm to them," Gilmore added.

"If we allow the ultrarightists to bring down one of us, they will continue in such a fashion until they have destroyed all of us."

During her two days in the area, Kaku spoke to a union meeting of USWA Local 9226. The 70 members present took up a



Militant/Georges Mehrabian
Mark Curtis supporter Bobbis Misailides, staffing Curtis support table at festival of Communist Youth of Greece (KNE) held in Athens, September 17-19. Festival participants donated nearly \$100 for the defense effort. Thirty people signed up for more information and to set up meetings with Curtis supporters.

collection of \$94 for the parole effort and signed a letter to the parole board urging Curtis's release.

Kaku also visited the picket line of steelworkers on strike against National Standard in Columbiana, Alabama, where two unionists were killed earlier this month. Workers there, who also face frame-up charges for strike activity, learned about the Curtis defense for the first time.

CORRECTION

Two previous articles on activities to support Mark Curtis incorrectly reported the number of workers in ACTWU Local 187 in Lawrence, Massachusetts, who signed a letter requesting parole for Mark Curtis. The correct number is 24.

Why 'Stop NAFTA' campaign won't save jobs

BY GREG ROSENBERG

"Well let me ask you this: are you willing to fight to keep your jobs?" said billionaire boss Ross Perot at a September 18 rally in Lansing, Michigan, where he spoke against the proposed North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA).

Both sides in the NAFTA debate argue that they are for jobs. Opponents of NAFTA, like Perot and the top officials of the AFL-CIO, claim that if Congress approves the trade agreement, many U.S. companies will move to Mexico, "stealing" jobs away from U.S. workers. Many working people in the United States accept this argument.

The Clinton administration, on the other hand, along with former presidents Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, and George Bush, and most of big business, argues in favor of NAFTA. If the accord doesn't pass, its supporters say, the U.S. economy will be in the "past generation." No one in

AS I SEE IT

Mexico will be able to buy U.S. goods, companies will go out of business, and workers will lose their jobs.

The U.S., Canadian, and Mexican governments signed the trade accord last year and agreed to supplementary provisions to NAFTA on labor and environmental standards in August.

The accord's main features are lifting customs duties on nearly 10,000 products over a period of up to 15 years; establishing protectionist conditions to prevent Japanese and European companies with plants in Mexico from shipping duty-free to the United States; and opening Mexican banking, insurance, securities, and state-owned companies to U.S. and Canadian investors.

Jobs crisis is real under capitalism

Working people have good reason to be concerned about jobs. Even during an economic recovery, official unemployment figures are barely budging. Meanwhile, real unemployment stands around 16 million people in the United States. The jobless rate is even higher in some other imperialist countries.

Take, for example, the one-month period between August 18 and September 18. Daimler-Benz, which owns Mercedes, announced it will eliminate 40,000 jobs, or 20 percent of the company's work force. Kodak will cut 10,000 jobs; U.S. West, 9,000; General Electric, 4,000; American Airlines, 5,000; Air France, 4,000; Du Pont, 4,500. Asea Brown Boveri, the world's largest power engineering company, announced it will slash 7,000 workers.

None of these companies is shifting production to Mexico to compensate. They intend to squeeze more out of workers on the payroll to improve their profits.

Pointing to the defeat — or approval — of a trade accord as a way to fight for jobs, however, is a deadly trap for the working class.

Perot, other capitalist politicians, and trade union officials who say NAFTA will be responsible for economic crises are misleading working people. It is not one or another trade policy of the rulers that causes high unemployment. It's capitalism itself.

The employers don't care about jobs — in the United

States, Mexico, Canada, Japan, or anywhere else. They care about profits.

In fact, if they could make profits without workers that would be fine with them. But they can't. And that's the rub.

Actually, the entire point of what the capitalist class has been carrying out — what they call "downsizing" — is to have fewer workers produce more for the boss. Since their profit rates are falling, the employers need to squeeze more out of workers' hides to be able to more effectively compete with the bosses in other countries. This means we work longer hours on faster machines to produce a larger quantity of goods for them in fewer hours — and get paid less for it! NAFTA, win or lose, won't change this.

Most union officials also push the line that workers in the United States need to be more "competitive" — against fellow workers living in different parts of the world.

The union tops, campaigning against NAFTA, shout, "Fair trade, not free trade." What's it all about?

What's 'fair trade'?

First off, there is no such thing as fair trade when it comes to the employers and their government. There is capitalist trade. If a boss doubles his exploitation of workers and makes a fat profit, it's "fair." If workers fight for higher wages and safe working conditions, they are making "unfair demands." Likewise, capitalist firms on the losing end of competition claim they are victims of unfair practices.

NAFTA, far from being a "free trade" agreement, is full of protectionist conditions, limitations, and restrictions, consistent with Washington's policy of maintaining 8,000 tariffs on different goods from around the world.

Instead of arguing against free trade, working people should support lifting any restrictions on commerce and the movement of workers across borders.

It is only by standing together with other workers around the world in the face of the employers' offensive against wages, working conditions, and attacks on social security that we can begin to defend ourselves from the rulers drive for profits.

Solidarity sounds good to most working people. But what about jobs? Isn't it still true that workers in the United States will lose jobs with NAFTA?

Maybe. But the trade pact isn't, and won't be, the cause of the unemployment, speedup, environmental destruction, and declining living standards that plague workers in the United States. NAFTA or not, the bosses will continue their offensive to maximize profits at our expense.

The employers are restructuring industry in all the imperialist countries. The source of unemployment lies in the stagnation of world trade, intensified competition, and the employers' drive to cut costs by laying off hundreds of thousands of workers.

Actually, the bosses have driven down the cost of U.S. labor to the point where it's cheaper for them to produce many goods in the United States than in other countries.

An article in the September 13 *Wall Street Journal* bragged about "stronger productivity gains in the U.S. than in most other nations," and noted with pride that "by no coincidence, the U.S. also excelled in holding down labor costs." That week, Honda Motor Co. said it will produce

all Accords and Civics for the U.S. market in Ohio plants.

It's not just working people in the United States who are suffering from unemployment and other attacks on our living standards. Workers in other countries are paying for this crisis too. This is especially true of working people in semicolonial countries such as Mexico, who are super-exploited by the wealthy U.S. rulers. This has been the case for decades. NAFTA will not change the fundamental relationship; it will simply open up increased profit-making opportunities for U.S. investment and trade in Mexico.

With or without NAFTA, some capitalists will choose to build plants in Mexico, as many have already done.

On the southern side of the U.S.-Mexico border there are now 500,000 workers employed in 2,100 assembly plants known in Spanish as *maquiladoras*.

The treaty establishing the *maquiladoras* was signed by U.S. and Mexican governments in the 1960s. Foreign-owned companies in this and other "free-trade zones" are allowed to bring in machinery and raw materials duty-free, exploit Mexican labor at a minimum wage of 68 cents an hour, and export products back to the United States or Canada with decreased customs duties.

Other capitalists will move to or build new plants in South Korea, Taiwan, or so-called right-to-work states in the southern United States.

It's true that the wealthy like to pay low wages, but it's not the only factor in determining where they invest. Last October, for example, the congressional Office of Technology Assessment found that cars produced in the United States were slightly cheaper to build than in Mexico.

Working class needs own program

To focus a jobs campaign on preventing factories in the United States from moving to Mexico won't work, since it fails to name the real source of unemployment — the employers' anti-working-class offensive.

The employing class likes it when workers are battling among ourselves, instead of fighting against them. By campaigning against NAFTA, the bosses' agents split workers on two sides of a river. They try to get workers to see each other as competitors, not fellow fighters.

The labor movement can't defend workers' livelihoods by trying to save the rulers' profits. What we need is a way to fight for jobs that helps unite us.

Instead of competing for limited openings, workers throughout North America should campaign to cut the work week to 30 hours with 40 hours pay and to press for much needed public works programs. Defending affirmative action would also help to unite all workers by breaking across divisions along lines of skin color and sex. And joining with workers in Latin America who demand that the massive debt imposed on their countries by the U.S. bankers be cancelled would strike still another blow for the unity of the toilers.

Instead of siding with U.S. protectionists by jumping on the "Stop NAFTA" bandwagon, or trying to prevent companies from opening more *maquiladoras* at the border, the labor movement in both countries should try to organize these workers in unions and fight for better living, working, and environmental conditions.

Coal miners win solidarity for their strike

Cincinnati: Miners speak to students and at 14 union meetings

BY VALERIE LIBBY

CINCINNATI, Ohio — "The labor movement should do this in cities everywhere . . . all around the world," said Babe Erdos, international staff representative of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), commenting on a recent tour of UMWA members here sponsored by United Auto Workers Local 647.

Miners spoke to some 550 people at 14 union meetings, two high school classes, one university, and a meeting of the Cincinnati National Organization for Women, raising thousands of dollars for the strike over a 15-day period.

"The whole labor movement won the Pittston strike, not just the coal miners," the strikers often remarked.

Prior to the speaking tour, two strikers, Hoya Clemons and Rick Altman from UMWA Local 1638 in Wheeling, West Virginia, staffed a solidarity booth at the Cincinnati Labor Day picnic. Dozens of unionists stopped by to talk about the Pittston victory and the current strike.

Many people in Cincinnati have roots in Appalachia. Often, workers approached strikers to give donations because they had family who had worked or are still working in the mines.

High school discussion

A 50-minute session with 26 freshmen at Woodward High School attracted a lot of interest as students listened and asked questions of Erdos.

There was disbelief as Erdos described growing up in a coal company town in eastern Ohio. "We lived in a company house. We went to school at a company school. We bought everything at the company store with script printed in Cincinnati. On Sunday we went to the company church to hear the company preacher. When I was four, the coal was mined out, and they tore down our house and made us move."

He passed around a picture from the turn of the century of eight- and nine-year-old boys covered with dust from their coal-mining jobs, and explained how unions fought against child labor.

Students asked many questions. How do you get coal out of the ground? Are there coal mines in Cincinnati? What did you think about the August 28 march on Washington? Do you know anything about mines in South Africa? How much money do coal miners make? Do you work underground? What's that like? The discussion went on right until the bell rang for the next class.

All told, seven UMWA members participated in the tour. They plan to continue in October as five additional invitations have already been extended.

Valerie Libby is a laid-off member of United Auto Workers Local 647.

Philadelphia: 'UMWA values solidarity from South African miners'

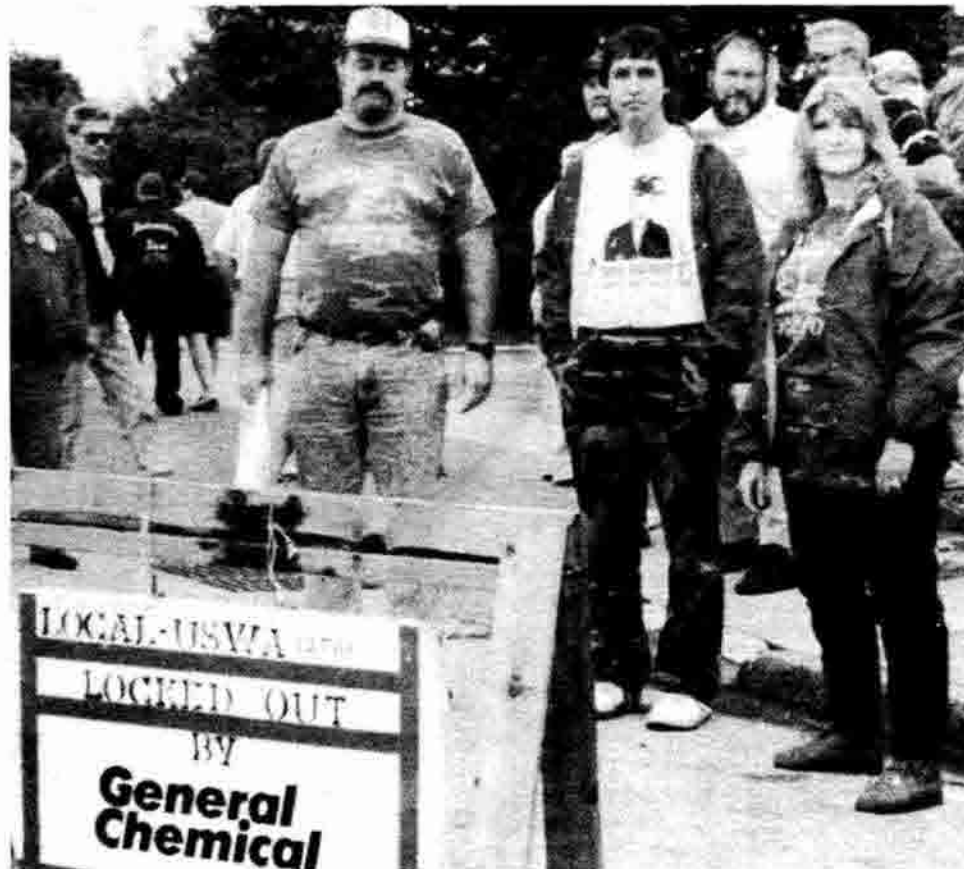
BY DEBORAH LIATOS

LINWOOD, Pennsylvania — Three representatives of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) completed an eight-day tour of the Philadelphia/Delaware Valley area September 21. The miners spoke to and participated in activities with thousands of workers. The tour was initiated by members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW).

Miners addressed OCAW locals, hospital workers, rail, electronics, auto, and postal workers.

A highlight of the tour was the miners' participation in picket lines, actions and discussions with workers involved in strikes and other struggles. Mushroom workers from Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, who recently won a union election to be represented by the newly formed Kaolin Workers Union, spoke with the miners. The discussions were translated from English to Spanish and back again.

"In the mine workers union in the early



Striking mine workers join picket line of steelworkers locked out for nearly five months by General Chemical in Claymont, Delaware. Miners are from left: George McLaughlin, Mike Oravetz and Bonnie Boyer.

1900s, the companies treated their mules better than their men," stated striker Bonnie Boyer. "Miners lived in company housing segregated by nationalities." The mushroom workers nodded in agreement expressing that they face a similar situation today.

The miners joined actions supporting striking gas workers, locked-out steelworkers, and garment workers fighting concessions.

Boyer told those attending a meeting of the Philadelphia Anti-Apartheid Committee that the UMWA highly valued the solidarity they received from members of the National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa, who went on a one-day solidarity strike in support of the current UMWA strike.

Godfrey Sithole, chairperson of the African National Congress and the Welcome Nelson Mandela Committee in Philadelphia,

stated that the struggle for democracy in South Africa and the miners' fight in the United States are one struggle.

Deborah Liatos is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-234

Minneapolis: Union activists plan Oct. 9 labor solidarity rally

BY KIP HEDGES

MINNEAPOLIS — "We must teach our children how to fight for the things which it has taken us 60 years to gain. The only way we gain anything as working-class people is when we are organized and determined," declared coal miner Ken Cochrum to the 1,000 plus crowd attending the Minnesota

State AFL-CIO convention held September 22 in St. Paul.

"The UMWA is committed to not taking any backward steps," he added. "We know that concessions don't save jobs. If you give them anything, the boss will only be back a week later for more." Cochrum's speech drew a standing ovation.

In the first three weeks of September, Cochrum, who is a member of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2250 from West Frankfort, Illinois, raised more than \$10,000 for the UMWA Relief Fund and spoke to more than two dozen union meetings.

Members of United Auto Workers Local 879 at the Ford truck plant in St. Paul, who are facing concession demands by the company, invited Cochrum to their union meetings, Labor Day picnic, and a tour of the plant. They are also planning a plant-gate collection on October 1.

Cochrum spoke to students at a Macalester University labor history class. "The multinational corporations have a very bleak future planned for you young people. Really you only have a future if the unions start to fight," he said. The miner also received a warm response at meetings of railroad workers, machinists at Northwest Airlines, family farmers, and Cuba solidarity activists.

Union activists here are planning an All Labor Solidarity Rally October 9 to build support for striking miners and for strikers at the Staley Corporation in Illinois. Cecil Roberts, vice-president of the UMWA, is scheduled to be the featured speaker. On September 18, Cochrum returned to southern Illinois for the weekend to report on his tour and encourage miners to make the 12-hour drive to Minnesota October 9. "The outpouring of support has been so great we really need to have a big group go to this rally to show our appreciation. We want a lot of camouflage in the audience," he said.

"We are committed to being up here in Minnesota for as long as we can set up meetings, raise money and support," Cochrum continued. "We already have meetings into October. I don't know if I can take the cold up here, though."

Kip Hedges is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1833.

Peabody subsidiary prepares to operate three West Virginia mines with scabs

BY BERNIE SENTER

FAIRMONT, West Virginia — Preparations are underway by Eastern Associated Coal Corp. to operate three struck mines with scabs. Eastern Associated is a subsidiary of Peabody Holding Co., the largest U.S. coal producer. Eighteen thousand members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) are on strike against Peabody and other members of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

At Motts Creek No. 7 and Big Mountain mines in southern West Virginia, as well as Tygart River mine in northern West Virginia, Peabody has constructed facilities to house up to 150 people each, and advertised in major coalfield newspapers for potential scabs.

Tents fortified by interlocked timber standing nearly 15 feet high have been erected in the parking lots at the mines. Kitchen facilities, a helicopter landing pad, heating units, and backup generators have been installed.

Terry Whitt, Eastern Associated Coal spokesman, said, "We do have a legal option to hire replacement workers. We will not hire replacement workers as long as there are constructive talks taking place."

Harvey Wilson, a striking miner from Peabody's Tygart River mine said about the tents, "At first I thought it was a diversion, that it was another tactic to get us stirred up, and to get us to do something stupid. But they may be preparing to use them because sooner or later they are going to try to use some replacement workers."

The *Coal Valley News* in southern West Virginia reported September 22, "The federal government has moved in additional law enforcement agents in anticipation of escalating violence in the coalfields."

Peabody recently admitted hiring Island Fork Construction to recruit replacement workers. Union officials report that laid-off Peabody workers are being called and asked to scab.

In recent months, hundreds of miners have mobilized to turn back truckloads of equipment Peabody has transported across the picket lines.

Most recently, dozens of camouflaged miners prevented a convoy of trucks from entering Peabody's Big Mountain mine September 21.

Operators get government help

Following each incident the coal operators, with help from the National Labor Relations Board, has gone to court and won injunctions limiting the number of miners on the picket lines.

Bob Phalen, president of UMWA District 17 in southern West Virginia said, "I believe the company's game plan is to make unsubstantiated allegations against our members, hoping to get injunctions limiting the number of pickets on the lines. Then they will bring their scabs in at that point."

A miner at the Tygart River mine stated, "These injunctions just tie your hands. But they can only go for so long and so far." He explained that no injunction would keep the miners from mobilizing if the coal operators attempt to run the mines with scabs.

Since the beginning of the strike, some companies have operated a few struck mines with management personnel. In addition, 30,000 UMWA miners continue to work for nonstruck coal companies.

"You can't starve out the coal companies," said another picketing miner. "They

have billions of dollars and we get only \$350 every two weeks. We'll do it through solidarity, by showing the companies we have the support from the people."

Union members are informally discussing the companies' latest offer. Among the concessions being demanded are cuts in medical coverage; 12-hour workdays; continuous seven-day production; job combinations that reduce bidding rights; and a seven-year contract with annual wage increases of 50 cents, 30 cents, 30 cents, and a four-year wage freeze. The companies are demanding that double-breasting be allowed. This is the practice by which coal companies open up non union mines under a different name and not hire union miners.

New organizing victory

In another development, miners at Cyprus Mountain Coal in eastern Kentucky voted 183-144 to be represented by the UMWA. This is the fourth successful organizing drive carried out by nonunion miners in southern West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. Since the beginning of the strike more than a thousand new miners have joined the union.

Miners from the newly organized Marrowbone, Wolf Creek, and Pontiki mines traveled to the Cyprus Mountain mine to help distribute leaflets for the campaign.

"I'm just tickled to death about it," said Sam Bradley, a leader of the miners organizing drive at Pontiki. "It helps us a lot." MAPCO, the owner of the Pontiki mine, is going to court to contest the election.

Bernie Senter is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-957 in Morgantown, West Virginia.

Cincinnati, Philadelphia raise goals, setting target week pace

BY GREG ROSENBERG

By the time most distributors read this column, supporters of the *Militant*, its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* (NI) will be in the thick of an international target sales week.

Supporters in Cincinnati and Philadelphia set the tone this week by raising their goals. This brings the overall target distributors have adopted to 2,998, just 2 short of the international drive goal of 3,000. We encourage all supporters to emulate Cincinnati and Philadelphia.

Val Libby and Bobbi Sack wrote from Cincinnati that they are planning an aggressive target week, with "sales teams both Saturdays; one or two daytime campus teams; three political events; two plant gate sales; organizing phone calling for renewals, new subscriptions, and NI's," and calling nearby supporters for a special regional effort.

Houston leaped to the top of the chart among distributors in the U.S. this week. "We sold 15 *Militant* subs, 3 *NIs* and 2 *PM* subs on a one-day team to the University of Texas Pan American campus in the Rio Grande Valley," wrote Robbie Scherr. Students visiting the table showed a lot of interest in the fight for women's rights.

A success in the October 2-9 special effort is needed to make up lost ground.

Special attention also needs to be given to selling *PM* subs and copies of *NI*. Those looking for a working-class analysis of politics in the Middle East will find *NI* no. 7, with "The Opening Guns of World War III — Washington's Assault on Iraq," as well as the *Militant's* on the scene coverage, particularly useful.

The *Militant* is the only weekly newspaper that consistently reports



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Palestinian youth check out *Militant* at celebration of Israeli-PLO accord at El Oja, a village near Jericho, West Bank, September 20. *Militant* reporters sold three subscriptions in the occupied territories and one in Israel.

on the struggles of workers, farmers, and youth, and analyzes the news from the standpoint of the working class. As the Clinton administration's war in Somalia unfolds; the coal miners' strike goes into its fifth month; struggles to defend abortion rights sharpen; and the crisis in Russia gets worse; only the *Militant* gives fighters the facts they need.

No matter what city you sell the socialist publications in, other readers and distributors will find your sales experiences helpful. So keep sending in those reports.

Reports of higher single-issues sales have begun to come in from around the world. Debbie Delange, a rail worker in Manchester, England, reports that "Rail workers from around Britain met at a Rail, Maritime, and Transport Union conference September 24-25 in north Wales. They learned from the *Militant* about attacks on rail workers at Amtrak in the United States. The Alabama train disaster during

the week had been well publicized here. Both safety and job demarcation were big concerns of the delegates." One worker remarked that the only job description workers were given in Britain was "be flexible and follow instructions."

Fourteen of the 64 delegates bought copies of the paper, and 5 took out subscriptions. One also bought a copy of *New International* no. 7.

This effort helped place *Militant* salespeople who belong to the rail union in Britain on the top of the union chart.

Elizabeth Lariscy in Morgantown, West Virginia, said that a team at Ravenswood Aluminum sold 40 papers to Steelworkers there in 45 minutes. The workers at Ravenswood won their jobs back last year after a 22-month fight, and were intensely interested in our coverage of the murder of two striking United Steelworkers of America members in Alabama.

Clinton health plan is 'no free lunch'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

U.S. president Bill Clinton's health-care proposals, announced in a speech to Congress September 22, raise many questions while offering few concrete answers to how the health-care crisis affecting millions of working people in this country could be solved.

The plan promises to phase in health insurance coverage by 1997 for all U.S. citizens through a formula in which employers pay 80 percent of the average cost of the plan and workers pay the rest of the premiums. Farmers and other self-employed individuals would have to pay for the package themselves, with the cost being tax deductible.

There is "no free lunch in this program," said Hillary Clinton, addressing members of the House of Representatives September 28. Repeating her favorite theme, the president's wife, who has been in charge of the White House health task force, said "everybody is going to pay."

Clinton has made it clear that under his plan health care will never be free, and that some working people and small business owners will actually have higher costs. Everyone would be enrolled in insurance-buying "health alliances," except for prisoners and the 3.2 million undocumented workers in the United States, who would be ineli-

gible for medical benefits.

Purchasing health insurance would be obligatory, providing a profits bonanza to the nation's largest insurance companies. Monetary penalties would be imposed on those who fail to comply. There are currently 37 million people in the United States without health coverage and another 22 million who are regarded as underinsured.

The limited standard health package proposed by the administration will assist corporations in their drive to further cut the more comprehensive health benefits won by workers in contract fights. The Clinton plan, for example, offers no dental coverage for adults, although 113 million individuals currently have access to this service. In fact, workers could be forced to pay federal taxes on benefits exceeding those provided in the government's basic package.

The program also projects sizeable cutbacks in Medicare and Medicaid, which aid the elderly, poor, and disabled. The Clinton administration is planning to reduce these programs by \$238 billion, while projecting the total cost for the new health scheme to be \$350 billion over the next five years.

Clinton claims that through these cuts and an estimated \$105 billion to be raised by imposing at least an additional 75 cents a pack on ciga-

rettes, enough funds will be raised to not only pay for this health program but also reduce the federal deficit by \$91 billion. Some economists dispute these figures.

"Clinton proposes to leave commercial medical charges at their currently unreasonably high level while creating further cuts in Medicare," writes Gregg Easterbrook in the September 26 *Washington Post*. "The United States already has the most competitive health care system in the world. Yet Clinton supposes that still more competition — in this case among insurance plans preselected by the new bureaucracies — will produce huge savings."

Medicaid cuts will have devastating effects on actual care provided by the state governments, which contribute up to 50 percent of the program's costs. "It looks like the impact will be negative and it looks like it will be fairly severe," stated Kenneth Raske, president of the Greater New York Hospital Association.

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Clinton's plan will increase the cost of medical coverage to young workers. "A minority," states the *Journal* "could see a sharp spike in prices at first." Hillary Clinton told the representatives September 28 that 10-12 percent of U.S. citizens will be paying more under the administration plan.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 30% 888

SHOULD BE: 40% 1,200

END OF WEEK FOUR

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
Houston	30	60	50%	5	15	5	15
Detroit	39	85	46%	3	10	2	30
Philadelphia*	44	100	44%	9	25	4	20
Pittsburgh	36	85	42%	2	8	2	20
Los Angeles*	79	190	42%	33	95	5	95
Miami*	47	120	39%	16	50	19	60
St. Louis	29	75	39%	1	8	0	30
Cleveland	26	75	35%	0	5	0	25
Greensboro, NC	23	75	31%	0	10	0	20
Cincinnati, OH*	4	14	29%	0	2	0	3
Salt Lake City, UT	25	85	29%	3	15	0	35
Morgantown, WV	19	65	29%	1	3	1	20
Seattle	20	70	29%	0	15	0	25
San Francisco	33	120	28%	11	35	0	70
New Haven, CT	4	15	27%	1	3	0	10
Newark, NJ	34	130	26%	9	40	10	70
Boston	27	115	23%	11	30	10	45
Baltimore	16	70	23%	3	10	0	20
Twin Cities, MN	25	110	23%	1	18	0	30
Atlanta	16	80	20%	4	10	0	20
Denver	2	10	20%	0	2	0	5
Des Moines, IA	18	90	20%	8	40	4	40
Portland, OR	3	15	20%	2	2	2	10
New York	26	135	19%	6	45	1	55
Washington, DC	14	75	19%	5	15	0	20
Brooklyn, NY	24	130	18%	4	40	0	50
Chicago	23	130	18%	6	30	0	35
Birmingham, AL	9	75	12%	0	10	0	20
Albany, NY	0	5	0%	0	2	0	—
Albuquerque, NM	0	2	0%	0	1	0	—
U.S. Total	695	2,392	29%	144	594	68	898
AUSTRALIA							
	10	35	29%	0	10	0	20
BELGIUM							
	0	5	0%	0	4	0	10
BRITAIN							
London	24	65	37%	1	5	8	25
Manchester	12	40	30%	0	1	0	20
Sheffield	8	35	23%	0	3	0	15
Britain Total	44	140	31%	1	9	8	60
CANADA							
Toronto	25	85	29%	4	15	10	45
Vancouver	16	70	23%	2	10	2	30
Montreal	14	70	20%	4	12	0	40
Canada Total	55	225	24%	10	37	12	115
FRANCE							
	4	6	67%	1	3	9	10
GERMANY							
	1	0	0%	0	—	0	—
GREECE							
	3	9	33%	1	—	4	5
ICELAND							
	4	10	40%	0	1	0	3
NEW ZEALAND							
Christchurch	19	35	54%	0	1	1	5
Auckland	40	65	62%	2	6	4	15
New Zealand Total	59	100	59%	2	7	5	20
PUERTO RICO							
	0	2	0%	2	5	0	10
SWEDEN							
	13	60	22%	8	20	15	50
TOTAL	888	2,998	30%	169	691	121	1,196

IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
ACTWU	10	32	31%	3	12	0	16
UTU	25	86	29%	2	2	0	27
OCAW	21	75	28%	0	—	0	20
UFCW	14	55	25%	4	38	0	22
ILGWU	5	20	25%	9	25	0	15
UMWA	14	60	23%	0	2	0	10
UAW*	34	150	23%	3	10	0	25
IAM	16	90	18%	2	—	0	20
USWA	15	85	18%	4	3	0	25
U.S. TOTAL	154	653	24%	27	92	0	180
AUSTRALIA							
AMEU	2	3	67%	0	—	0	1
FPU	1	3	33%	0	—	1	1
NUW	0	3	0%	0	—	0	0
Australia Total	3	9	33%	0	—	1	2
BRITAIN							
RMT	9	12	75%	0	—	0	6
TGWU	4	7	57%	0	—	0	3
AEU	1	3	33%	0	—	0	6
Britain Total	14	22	64%	0	—	0	15
CANADA							
IAM	3	6	50%	0	—	1	2
CAW	2	9	22%	0	1	0	4
USWA	1	13	8%	0	2	1	2
ACTWU	0	2	0%	0	—	0	1
Canada Total	6	30	20%	0	3	2	9
NEW ZEALAND							
EU	2	7	29%	0	—	0	2
UFBGWU	2	8	25%	0	—	1	1
MWU	0	2	0%	0	—	0	0
New Zealand Total	4	17	24%	0	—	1	3
SWEDEN							
Food workers	0	3	0%	0	—	0	5
Metal workers	0	5	0%	0	—	0	2
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	—	0	2
Sweden Total	0	10	0%	0	—	0	9

* indicates raised goal

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMEU — Automobile, Metal and Engineering Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; EU — Engineers Union; FPU — Food Preservers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; NUM — National Union of Mineworkers; NUW — National Union of Workers; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union

'Countdown to democracy has begun'

Mandela outlines final steps to end apartheid in speech to United Nations

Printed below is the speech presented by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela at the United Nations, Sept. 24, 1993. The meeting was hosted by the UN's Special Committee against Apartheid. Subheads are by the *Militant*.

Chairperson:

Your excellencies, ambassadors to the United Nations; ladies and gentlemen:

We are most grateful to the Special Committee against Apartheid and its distinguished chairman, his excellency Prof. Ibrahim Gambari, as well as the United Nations as a whole, for enabling us to address this gathering today.

We have, together, walked a very long road. We have traveled together to reach a common destination.

The common destination towards which we have been advancing defines the very reason for the existence of this world organization.

The goal we have sought to reach is the consummation of the yearning of all humankind for human dignity and human fulfillment. For that reason, we have been outraged and enraged that there could be imposed on any people the criminal system of apartheid.

Each and every one of us have felt our humanity denied by the mere existence of this system. Each and every one of us have felt branded as subhuman by the fact that some could treat of others as though they were no more than disposable garbage.

In the end, there was nobody of conscience who could stand by and do nothing in the search for an end to the apartheid crime against humanity.

We are here today to convey to you, who are the representatives of the peoples of the world, the profound gratitude of the people of South Africa for your engagement, over the decades, in the common struggle to end the system of apartheid.

We are deeply moved by the fact that, almost from its birth, this organization has kept on its agenda the vital question of the liquidation of the system of apartheid and white minority rule in our country.

Inspired by international solidarity

Throughout the many years of struggle, we as South Africans have been greatly inspired and strengthened as you took action, both severally and collectively, to escalate your offensive against apartheid rule, as the white minority regime itself took new steps in its own offensive further to entrench its illegitimate rule and draw tribute from those it had enslaved.

In particular, we are most grateful for the measures that the United Nations, the OAU [Organization of African Unity], the com-

monwealth, the Non-Aligned Movement, the European Community, and other inter-governmental organizations took to isolate apartheid South Africa.

We are deeply appreciative of similar initiatives that individual countries, nongovernmental organizations, local communities, and even single individuals took, as part of their contribution to the common effort to deny the apartheid system all international sustenance.

This global struggle, perhaps without precedent in the inestimable number of people it united around one common issue, has helped decisively to bring us to where we are today.

Finally, the apartheid regime was forced to concede that the system of white minority rule could no longer be sustained. It was forced to accept that it had to enter into negotiations with the genuine representatives of our people to arrive at a solution which, as agreed at the first sitting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, CODESA, would transform South Africa into a united, democratic, nonracial, and nonsexist country.

This and other agreements have now been translated into a specific program that will enable our country to take a leap forward from its dark, painful, and turbulent past to a glorious future, which our people will strive with all their strength to make a future of democracy, peace, stability, and prosperity.

The countdown to democracy in South Africa has begun. The date for the demise of the white minority regime has been determined, agreed, and set.

Seven months from [now], on April 27, 1994, all the people of South Africa, without discrimination on grounds of gender, race, color, or belief, will join in the historic act of electing a government of their choice.

The legislation has also been passed to create the institutions of state, the statutory organs that will ensure that these elections are held and that they are free and fair.

As a consequence of the creation of these statutory instruments, we have arrived at the point where our country will no longer be governed exclusively by a white minority regime.

The Transitional Executive Council, provided for in this legislation, will mark the first-ever participation by the majority of our people at governmental level in the process of

determining the destiny of our country.

It will be the historic precursor to the Interim Government of National Unity, which will be formed after the democratic elections of April 27.

'We are not yet out of the woods'

The other structures now provided for in law, the Independent Election Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, will themselves play their specified roles in ensuring a process of transition and a result which our people as a whole will

perceiving now.

What this means practically is millions [of] people who have no food, no jobs, and no homes.

The very fabric of society is threatened by a process of disintegration, characterized by high and increasing rates of violent crime, the growth in the numbers of people so brutalized that they will kill for a pittance, and the collapse of all social norms.

In addition, the absence of a legitimate state authority, enjoying the support of the majority of the people, immensely exacerbates this general crisis, emphasizing the critical importance of speedy movement forward to democratic change.

In sum, acting together, we must, at all costs, resist and rebuff any tendency of a slide towards another Somalia or a Bosnia, a development which would have disastrous repercussions extending far beyond the borders of South Africa.

What we have just said is not intended to alarm this august gathering. Rather, it is meant to say: now is the time to take new steps to move us forward to the common victory we have all fought for!

We believe the moment has come when the United Nations organization and the international community as a whole should take stock of the decisive advances that have been made to create the setting for the victory of the cause of democracy in our country.

We further believe that the moment has come when this same community should lay

the basis for halting the slide to a socioeconomic disaster in South Africa, as one of the imperatives in ensuring the very success of the democratic transformation itself.

'Historic advances to democracy'

In response to the historic advances towards democracy that have been achieved, further to give added impetus to this process, to strengthen the forces of democratic change, and to help create the necessary conditions for stability and social progress, we believe the time has come when the international community should lift all economic sanctions against South Africa.

We, therefore, extend an earnest appeal to you, the governments and peoples you represent, to take all necessary measures to end the economic sanctions you imposed and which have brought us to the point where the transition to democracy has now been enshrined in the law of our country.

We further urge that this historic step, marking a turning point in the history of the relations between South Africa and the rest of the world, should not be viewed as an act of abstention but one of engagement.

Let us all treat this new reality as an opportunity and a challenge to engage with the South Africa situation in a way that will advance the democratic cause and create the best possible social and economic conditions for the victory of that cause.

The Special Committee against Apartheid has itself led the process of preparing the United Nations and its specialized agencies for the new reality that is the fruit of our common struggle. We trust that the UN family will, therefore, not delay in engaging the people of South Africa in a new way.

We trust also that the governments across the globe, that have been so central in the effort to defeat the system of apartheid, will do what they can to help us ensure the upliftment of our people.

A similar appeal extends to the millions of people organized in the broad, nongovernmental antiapartheid movement themselves to remain involved in the continuing struggle for a democratic South Africa and to add to their programs the extension of all-round development assistance from peo-



South Africans celebrate 1990 unbanning of ANC. Demonstrations forced apartheid government to negotiate and grant concessions.

accept as having been legitimate and therefore acceptable.

We must, however, warn that we are not yet out of the woods.

Negotiations are continuing to agree on the interim constitution, according to which the country will be governed as the elected national assembly works on the final constitution.

There will, therefore, be continuing need that this organization, and the world movement for a democratic South Africa as a whole, sustain their focus on the transitional processes, so that everybody concerned in our country is left in no doubt about the continuing determination of the international community to help see us through to democracy.

The reality is that there are various forces within South Africa which do not accept the inevitability of the common outcome which all humanity seeks.

Within our country, these forces, which seek to deny us liberty by resort to brute force and which have already murdered and maimed people [in] their tens of thousands, represent a minority of the people.

They derive their strength not from the people but from the fear, insecurity, and destabilization, which they seek to impose through a campaign of terrorism conducted by unknown killers whose hallmark is brutality and total disregard for the value of human life.

'Millions have no food, job, or home'

There are other forces which, because of narrow, sectarian interest, are also opposed to genuine change. These are engaged in other actions which seek to create obstacles on the way to a smooth transition to democracy.

We believe that it is critically important that these forces too should understand that the international community has the will and determination to act in concert with the majority of the people of our country, to ensure that the democratic change, which is long overdue, is not delayed.

The apartheid system has left a swath of disaster in its trail. We have an economy that is tottering on the brink of an even deeper depression than the one we are ex-

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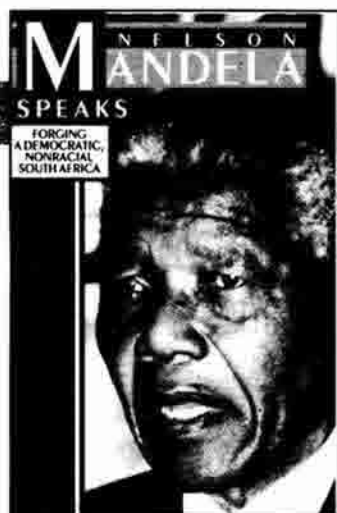


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BY JACK BARNES

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ple to people.

We hope that both the South African and the international investor communities will also take this opportunity themselves to help regenerate the South African economy, to the mutual benefit.

As you know, our people have not yet elected a democratic government. It is, therefore, important that the white minority government which remains in place in our country should not be granted recognition and treated as though it were representative of all the people of South Africa.

The Transitional Executive Council provides the appropriate mechanism for such interaction as should take place between ourselves and the international community in the period between now and the formation of the new government.

We should here mention that within the ambit of the diplomatic sanctions which many countries imposed, we also believe that such countries may now establish a diplomatic presence in South Africa to enhance their capacity to assist the people of our country to realize the common objectives.

This organization also imposed special sanctions relating to arms, nuclear matters, and oil.

In this regard, we would like to urge that the mandatory sanctions be maintained until the new government has been formed. We would leave the issue of the oil embargo to the discretion of the committee of the General Assembly responsible for the enforcement of this particular sanction.

We would further like to request the Security Council should begin consideration of the very important issue of what this organization should do to assist in the process of organizing for and ensuring that the forthcoming elections are indeed free and fair.

This, naturally, should be accompanied

by a review of the important contribution that has been made by the UN observer mission to South Africa, which is helping us to address the issue of political violence, to ensure that this contribution addresses adequately this continuing problem.

We cannot close without extending our congratulations to the PLO [Palestine Liberation Organization] and the government of Israel for the important step forward they have taken which, hopefully, will lead to a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East question.

To them and to the peoples and governments of the region as a whole, we extend the good wishes of all the people of our country and the assurance of our support for their noble effort to establish justice and peace.

We continue to hope that progress will be made towards the just resolution of the outstanding issue of Western Sahara.

Angola continues to bleed. We urged this organization and especially the Security Council to leave no stone unturned to ensure that the killing ends and the democratic process respected.

'Our common victory is in sight'

We are encouraged by the steps that have been taken to bring peace to Mozambique and trust that no new obstacles will emerge to deny the people of this sister country the peace, stability, and prosperity which they have been denied for so long.

Our common victory against the only system to be declared a crime against humanity since the defeat of Nazism is in sight.

The historic need to end this crime as speedily and peacefully as possible requires that we, the peoples of the world, should remain as united as we have been



Houston antiapartheid demonstration in 1985. Protests by workers, students, and others around the world demanded economic sanctions against South African regime, helping pave the way for victory of the democratic revolution there.

and as committed as we have been to the cause of democracy, peace, human dignity, and prosperity for all the people of South Africa.

Standing among you today, we continue to be moved by the selfless solidarity you have extended to our people. We are aware that by our common actions we have sought not only the liberation of the people of South Africa but also the extension of

the frontiers of democracy, nonracial[ism], nonsexism, and human solidarity throughout the world.

Understanding that, we undertake before you all that we will not rest until the noble cause which unites us all emerges triumphant and a new South Africa fully rejoins the rest of the international community as a country which we can all be proud of.

Thank you.

Mandela calls for lifting South Africa sanctions

Continued from front page

which had imposed this sanction in 1986.

A democratic government has not yet been elected in South Africa, the ANC leader explained. "It is therefore important that the white-minority government which remains in place in our country should not be granted recognition and treated as though it were representative of all the people of South Africa," Mandela said. "The Transitional

Executive Council provides the appropriate mechanism for such interaction."

The TEC, which should come into existence in about a month, includes representatives from the 26 political organizations that have participated in the multiparty talks. This body will be able, with the agreement of 75 or 80 percent of its participants, to override almost any government decision, including manage-

ment of the police and army.

It will also be responsible for organizing a new security force, combining existing police units with forces linked to the ANC and other antiapartheid organizations.

South Africa's minority parliament passed the TEC bill after four days of raucous debate. The proapartheid Conservative Party and white members of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party voted

against it. Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and his followers walked out of parliament after the vote, shouting "traitor" to National Party chief negotiator Roelf Meyer.

Pan Africanist Congress leaders have also said the PAC would boycott the TEC, claiming the council would not have enough power to control security forces.

Parliament 'rubber-stamps' decision

Dominated by F. W. de Klerk's National Party, parliament "functions these days as a glamorized notary public, rubber-stamping decisions made in the multiparty negotiating forum," commented an article in the *New York Times* September 24. This body will meet one final time in November to adopt an interim constitution being written by multiparty negotiators.

In response to Mandela's appeal, the U.S. Senate voted unanimously within hours of his UN address to lift all remaining economic sanctions against South Africa. It removed the requirement that Washington vote against granting International Monetary Fund loans

Continued on Page 12

Pathfinder promotes forthcoming Mandela book

BY MAGGIE PUCCI

Pathfinder supporters around the world are on a high-gear advance publicity campaign for the publisher's forthcoming title *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. The book will hit stores November 1.

Nelson Mandela Speaks contains speeches, letters, and interviews by Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress (ANC). The book opens with Mandela's February 1990 speech in Cape Town immediately following his release after 27 years in prison. It closes with his address to the NAACP convention in July 1993 in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Nelson Mandela Speaks is a timely contribution to the campaign leading up to South Africa's first-ever one-person, one-vote elections set for April 27, 1994. The book will deepen the understanding of people around the world of the revolutionary course charted by Mandela and the ANC. The recent announcement of a Transitional Executive Council to administer the country leading up to the vote and Mandela's call for the lifting of economic sanctions are milestones on the road to a democratic, nonracial South Africa.

The promotion of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* began several months ago at the American Booksellers Association convention in Miami, where Pathfinder made this title one of the centerpieces of its exhibit. Pathfinder representatives have publicized the collection of speeches at book fairs from Tehran, Iran, to New Orleans, from Gothenburg, Sweden, to

Austin, Texas, and from Ottawa, Ontario, to Oakland, California. The promotion effort has featured a beautiful, full-color poster of the ANC president, that appears on the book's cover. Thousands of posters have been distributed to bookstores, libraries, and other institutions. Sales representatives around the world are working with bookstore managers to place advance orders and plan displays featuring the book in time for its release.

Over the past month, Pathfinder and its supporters around the world have contacted major newspapers and magazines, book review journals, prominent authors, professors, antiapartheid activists, and others about the new release.

As a small publisher with limited resources for paid advertisements, Pathfinder is relying on reviews of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* to spur sales of the book. To get the title into reviewers' hands early in the promotion effort, more than 100 uncorrected proofs of the book were sent to them.

Comments about the book have begun to come in from those who received the proof copies. Dennis Brutus, the exiled South African poet currently teaching at the University of Colorado at Boulder, described *Nelson Mandela Speaks* as "an exceedingly important work both for its record of the struggle waged by the ANC and its indications of the road charted for South Africa's political and economic future." Neil Kinnock, member of Parliament in the British House of Commons said, "The collection of Nelson's words in *Nelson Mandela Speaks*

shows why he and his values deserve to overcome — and why they will."

Pathfinder supporters in Auckland, New Zealand; Boston; Chicago; Sydney, Australia; London; Washington, D.C.; and other cities have begun the systematic outreach work necessary to secure book reviews. Supporters are mapping out ambitious promotional campaigns to contact African-American and campus newspapers and radio stations, civil rights and women's rights organizations, church groups, and trade unions.

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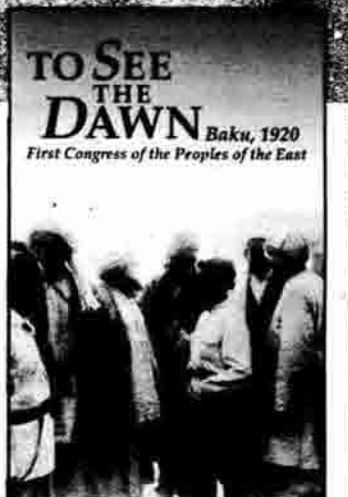
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Baku, 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East

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Palestinians demand: free political prisoners

BY ALAN HARRIS
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

JERUSALEM — In the wake of the Israeli-PLO accord, the Union of Prisoners' Families, a Palestinian prisoners support organization, launched a campaign at a press conference here to demand the immediate and unconditional release of all Palestinian political prisoners.

"These are heroes of our revolution, the *intifada*," said Kontar Kifah speaking for the Union. She was referring to the Palestinian rebellion against Israeli military occupation, which began in the West Bank and Gaza in 1987. "These fighters are prisoners of war," Kifah said, "and the Geneva conventions on prisoners should apply in their cases." About 100 people, including many wives and mothers of prisoners, attended the press conference.

Some 14,000 Palestinian activists are currently incarcerated in Israeli jails. They have been charged and given harsh sentences for their participation in the *intifada* or for violating one or another of the dozens of bureaucratic laws, curfews, or other restrictions constantly issued by Israeli military authorities.

Hundreds of prisoners are held under "administrative detention," sometimes for years, without any charges being brought against them.

In response to rumors in the press that only those prisoners supportive of the accords will be released, Issa Hamed, head of the Union, said "We cannot allow the Israeli government to divide us in this way." He demanded that all the prisoners, regardless of their views, be treated equally and fairly.

Release inmates with life sentences

Civil rights lawyer Saleh Mohammed stressed that even the 300 Palestinians serving life sentences should be released.

Hashem Mahamid, a member of the Knesset, the Israeli parliament, and spokesperson for the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, said that as a first step the Israeli authorities should immediately release all female prisoners and the 150 youth under 18 years of age, along with the elderly and prisoners who are ill. He stressed, however, that Palestinian political leaders should insist that all prisoners be released. "You cannot recognize the PLO as legitimate but still regard its sons and daughters in jail as terrorists," Mahamid said. "Palestinian people have a right to face Israeli occupation and resist."

The campaign, launched at the National Palace Hotel September 20, will include demonstrations, sit-ins, and press conferences. Kifah said that messages demanding the release of prisoners should be addressed to Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin with copies to the Union of Prisoners' Families at P.O. Box 17279 in Jerusalem.

Despite the signing of the Israeli-PLO agreement, Kifah said, Israeli authorities continued to arrest Palestinians for political reasons, while military courts go on disregarding even Israeli law.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Union of Prisoners' Families holds press conference in Jerusalem to demand release of Palestinian political prisoners. From left, civil rights lawyer Saleh Mohammed, mother of prisoner, and Union spokesperson Kontar Kifah.

The closure of the occupied territories, in effect since March 31, has prevented many family members from visiting relatives in jail, reaching the courts, or even meeting with lawyers. Families must wait hours, sometimes days, at military centers just to receive travel permits.

At times, even when permission is granted, passes are confiscated at the whim of soldiers at checkpoints. On June 4, for example, a bus load of people from Gaza, en route to visit relatives in Ansar 3 prison, was stopped by soldiers at Erez checkpoint. Despite possession of valid permits by all passengers, the men on the bus were forced to turn back.

When a Palestinian is arrested and imprisoned, it is usually a very brutal and

violent experience.

Amnesty International reports that torture is systematically used by the Israeli authorities while interrogating Palestinians, resulting in many deaths.

The Human Rights Update, published by the Palestinian Human Rights Information Centre, gives information about the Rony Nitzan detention center, where in July some 30 prisoners were put into solitary confinement. According to lawyer Ahmad Roweidi, the prisoners are handcuffed whenever they go out for their daily exercise period, and are prevented from praying together.

Many Israeli citizens are opposed to such inhuman practices.

The Israeli Medical Association (IMA)

called on doctors not to cooperate with the prison authorities when asked whether detainees are fit to withstand brutal interrogation sessions.

When doctors at Tulkarm detention center answered "yes" to such questions in regard to 26-year-old prisoner Ribhi Shuker, he was hooded, beaten, and had his hands and feet tied together behind his back while being interrogated.

Despite the harsh conditions prisoners have continued to organize resistance and demand improvements in jail conditions.

Inmates at the Ansar 3, Jenin, and Jneid prisons, have recently participated in hunger strikes to protest humiliating conditions and win the implementation of demands agreed to by prison authorities as a result of a wave of hunger strikes last September. Those demands include right to a legal counsel of their choice, more visitation rights, granting parole to those who have served two-thirds of their sentence, and ending the transfer of prisoners from the West Bank and Gaza to jails in Israel.

According to the Palestinian daily *Al-Quds* PLO supporters in Israeli prisons have recently called on the group's leadership to step up pressure on Tel Aviv to immediately release all Palestinian political prisoners.

The Israeli *Jerusalem Report* magazine and the newspaper *Hadashot* reported that Tel Aviv is preparing a partial release of prisoners. According to the *New York Times*, the Israeli government was discussing freeing some 9,000 people, while some 2,000 would be transferred from jails in the occupied territories to prisons inside Israel.

"Nothing has been decided yet," however, said Oded Ben-Ami, Rabin's spokesperson. "The prisoners and the prisons and everything is subject for negotiations."

Lebanese army massacres protesters

BY MELHEM MASHRIKI

BEIRUT, Lebanon — The army here opened fire on thousands of demonstrators September 13, killing 8 people and wounding 40.

Hezbollah, a party with a strong base among the Shiite middle class and the Islamic clergy in the southern part of the country, organized the demonstration to protest the accord signed by the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that day. The protest was held despite an ongoing government ban on all demonstrations.

Tens of thousands turned out the next day for the funeral of the victims, which became a protest against the massacre. Many marched chanting, "Death to Hariri" and "Death to Hrawi," referring to Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri and president

Elias Hrawi. Some also shouted, "Arafat, Mubarak, and Sadat, traitors to the cause," referring to PLO chairman Yasir Arafat, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and his predecessor Anwar Sadat.

In a speech at the funeral, Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah expressed his support to the Syrian government, which maintains 30,000 troops in the country. "If it was not for the wise attitude of certain leaders and our Syrian brothers we would have faced a tragedy," he said.

Reflecting the pressure from the widespread horror at the killings among the population, Interior Minister Béchara Merhej suspended his participation in the cabinet, stating his opposition to the order that the demonstration disperse and to the shootings.

Sharp differences on accord

A big discussion has opened up on the Israeli-PLO accord and its ramifications for the liberation of Israeli-occupied southern Lebanon, as well as for the 400,000 Palestinian refugees living in the country in the wake of these events. The refugees face extreme financial hardships. In July 1991 the PLO leadership, based in Tunis, decided to reduce and later cut off its subsidies to thousands of Palestinians in Lebanon, after funds from many Arab governments dried up following the Persian Gulf War.

The signing of the agreement came after the biggest Israeli bombing campaign in Southern Lebanon since Tel Aviv's invasion of the country in 1982. The Shiite peasant population in the south suffered the brunt of the assault. Occasional bombing raids by Israeli planes and artillery have continued since the cease-fire.

The Lebanese government gave the September 13 accord a cool reception. "We blame [the Palestinians] because the lack of coordination with us and with Syria weakens the Palestinian cause," said Prime Minister Hariri. "We have paid a high price for our support to the Palestinian cause and there will be no peace without Lebanon and Syria." This position has mirrored the one adopted by the Syrian regime.

These governments, while paying lip service to the Palestinian struggle, have in fact dealt blows to the PLO forces in Lebanon over the past decade. In 1982, Lebanese government forces allowed the massacre of thousands of Palestinians in the Sabra and

Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. The following year, 12,000 Syrian troops and 350 tanks and artillery pieces backed a siege of PLO camps near Tripoli.

Many PLO officials in Lebanon oppose the accord as well. PLO ambassador to Lebanon Shafik el-Hout announced his resignation from the organization's executive committee after the signing of the agreement. "Autonomy in Gaza and Jericho can in no way be a prelude to the creation of an independent Palestinian state on any portion of liberated Palestinian territory, as the Palestine National Council had decided in 1988," he said.

Colonel Mounir Maqdash, military commander in Lebanon for Fatah, the largest group within the PLO, added his voice to the denunciations. "The 'Gaza-Jericho first' accord will turn the Palestinian people into human shields," he said. "The Israelis hope ... civil war will break out with the Islamists and the Palestinian opposition inside the occupied territories, and thus will be able to perpetuate its occupation."

In the context of almost universal official condemnation within Lebanon, opinions remain mixed in the Palestinian refugee camps.

"We must have confidence in our leadership, which is leading the political battle," a 28-year-old PLO fighter from the Ain El Helweh refugee camp in Sidon told the daily *L'Orient-Le Jour*, supporting the steps outlined by Arafat.

"Maybe in a few months we will serve in Palestine," a local Fatah commander told the same newspaper.

"My husband died a martyr so his sons could one day hope to live in Palestine," said Oum Khaled, a resident of the Ain El Helweh camp. "Now we will be dispersed as cattle. All our sacrifices have led to nothing." She has not received her pension in six months.

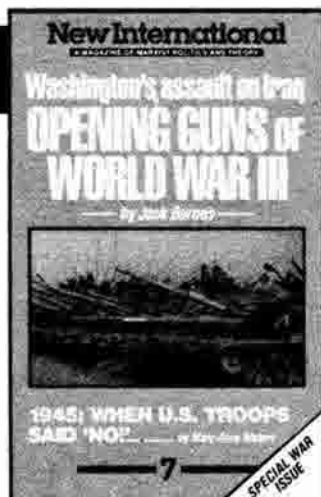
This and other similar statements reflect fears that Palestinian refugees will not be able to return to the West Bank and Gaza, an issue still under negotiation between the PLO and the Israeli government. The Lebanese government refuses to grant citizenship rights, work permits, and social security to the refugees, arguing it will not allow them to be "implanted" in Lebanon and change the "religious balance" in the country.

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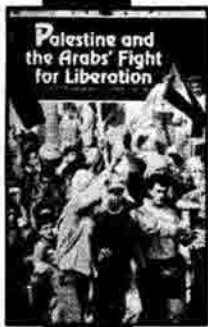
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Accord leaves many issues in dispute

Continued from front page

these areas — is implemented. Control of the surrounding mountains and the Allenby Bridge leading to Jordan, as well as how many, if any, Palestinian refugees from other countries can return to the area are among the many issues in dispute.

For the moment, Israeli troops still patrol the streets in and out of town. But even before entering city limits, Palestinian flags now fly on every single building. Most downtown stores have changed their displays to feature posters and T-shirts with pictures of Yasser Arafat, the PLO chairman. A few blocks from downtown, "Arafat house" is being renovated, a building where the PLO will most likely move its Tunis headquarters if Israeli troops withdraw.

"In our opinion [the accord] is a first step toward a Palestinian state," said Saeb Erekat in an interview. "But it's not a peace treaty, just a declaration of principles. It sets issues to be negotiated." Those include release of political prisoners, the right of refugees forced out of the area since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war to return to the occupied territories, and the extent of the Israeli withdrawal. Erekat, who lives in Jericho, is one of the Palestinians who has participated in the negotiating team since talks began with Tel Aviv 18 months ago.

Nothing has changed yet

Erekat said that nothing has changed yet in terms of the Israeli occupation. "We don't expect any substantial changes before December 13 either," he added. That is the deadline for Israeli and Palestinian negotiators to iron out the issues in dispute. "Those who recognized the PLO know we stand for self-determination in the entirety of the occupied territories," said Erekat. "If Israel steps back from its promises Palestinian resistance will again explode."

Safi, a spokesperson in Jericho for Fatah, the main group in the PLO, was more optimistic. "We expect a new economic future for the region and very kind relations with our neighbors," he said in an interview September 20. "You can make everything work with money and many Palestinians abroad have plenty of money. We want to build a state like Singapore," he said. Safi, who had begun organizing the recruitment drive for a Palestinian police force in town, said he expected that many wealthy Palestinians and capitalists from the Arab countries will

invest in the new autonomous areas.

Mamdou Abu Shusha, a Palestinian journalist, expressed a sharply different point of view. "The Arab governments in the Middle East do not stand with the Palestinian people. Whatever we accomplished we've done through our own struggle, like the intifada," he said, referring to the five-and-a-half-year-old rebellion against the Israeli occupation in the occupied territories. Shusha said the accord gave too many concessions to the Israeli government by not addressing Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, the annexation of East Jerusalem, and the right of refugees forced out of the region since the 1948 partition of Palestine to return to the occupied territories.

Not everybody in Jericho, however, was pushing for the return of tens of thousands of refugees to the area. "If all the refugees come we will lose part, a big part of the land," said Mohammed Awad, a wealthy Palestinian farmer. "There's not enough land for everybody." Awad farms 1,000 dunums (about 250 acres) of bananas and vegetables. He also rents small plots to 14 Palestinian families who turn over half their profit to him in exchange for use of the land and water rights. Awad said that most small farmers had lost thousands of dollars this year because they couldn't export fruit and vegetables to Israel or Jordan. "I expect the new Palestinian authorities to find new markets for our products," he said. Awad said that even if Tel Aviv lifted the closure of the West Bank and Gaza, there would be unfair competition with Israeli farmers and settlers with far superior technology in the nearby kibbutzim.

Several thousand Israeli settlers live around the town of Jericho. Most work in kibbutzim, Israeli farms where all residents are obligated to work on the land. A dozen of the settlers have been waging a hunger strike since September 13 to protest the accord. But many have declared their willingness to leave if they are ordered to by the Israeli government. "I realize we might lose Almo, but I am all for the agreement if it means peace for Israel," said settler Yoav Zimron from the Almo kibbutz. Tel Aviv insists that all 115,000 settlers in the West Bank and Gaza will stay and be protected by the Israeli army.

"All settlers must go. The agreement is a step for collaborators with Israel," said Mohammed Rizek, a Palestinian carpenter



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Palestinian farmers at the El Oja village, near Jericho, West Bank. Nearly 2,000 people assembled there September 20 to celebrate Israeli-PLO accord.

who is a supporter of Hamas. "There won't be peace between Jews and Palestinians," he said. "Jews have no historical or political rights to any parts of Palestine." Hamas advocates the expulsion of Jews from the occupied territories as well as Israel.

Role of Palestinian police debated

Shusha and Rizek, however, acknowledged that a big majority of people in Jericho support the Israeli-PLO accord.

Their point was brought home later in the evening of September 20 at the nearby village of El Oja. Nearly 2,000 people, mostly subsistence farmers with their families and youth from the area, turned out for a celebration of the signing of the agreement. Most people in the Jericho region are farmers or agricultural workers.

A lively discussion broke out among several youth, before the dancing began, on the role of the future Palestinian police. "If the opposition wants to do something in the

future against Israeli soldiers our police will stop them," said Burhan Ahmed Awad, a 19-year-old who had been in jail three times for throwing stones at Israeli troops. His friend, Naji Ahmed Said, a farmworker like Awad, objected. "I love peace," he said, "but we won't have it until the Israelis leave. We can't go after our own people."

Some of the youth said that other questions will have to be addressed as a Palestinian authority is being set up in the area. "We'll have to talk about racism," said Sulaiman Zetun, a Palestinian who is of African origin. There are about 1,500 Palestinians who are Black in villages in the Jericho area. A big percentage of participants at the rally were Black. "There are no Black leaders in the PLO here," he said, pointing to the platform of speakers. Most of his friends disagreed, however. "There is no discrimination among Palestinians," said Said, who is also Black. "We have to focus on fighting the Israelis."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

TONI GORTON

As part of a tour to celebrate the publication of Pathfinder's *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East*, Ma'mud Shirvani, co-author of the book's introduction, spoke in Toronto September 17. Among the more than 35 people who attended were members of Armenian, Kurdish and Iranian organizations. Thirteen people bought copies of the new book there.

A miner and leader of the victorious organizing drive at Pontiki Coal Co. in Martin County, Kentucky, was one of the first people to buy the newly reissued *Notebook of an Agitator* by James P. Cannon. He bought the book and joined the Pathfinder Readers Club at a rally and picnic in Mingo County to swear in the new United Mine Workers of America local at Wolf Creek Collieries and prepare for the upcoming union vote at the Pontiki mine.

Pathfinder bookstores are opening up new storefront locations in several cities. Supporters in Houston and Montreal have recently opened new stores, and volunteers are busy plastering, painting, and decorating in Brooklyn and Manhattan, making plans for their grand openings at the end of October. Newark, New Jersey, Pathfinder supporters plan to open a new storefront bookstore early next year.

In the first seven months of 1993, the Pathfinder bookstore in Manchester, England, increased its sales by 50 percent compared to the same period last year. In the first month it was available, 55 people snapped up *The Truth about Yugoslavia* in Manchester. Ten copies were sold at work by Pathfinder supporters in rail depots and engineering factories. Another 16 were sold at a local fund-raising event sponsored by International Artists Against Racism as part of the UNICEF Emergency Appeal

for the Children of Former Yugoslavia.

At the Second Hostos Conference of the Puerto Rican independence movement, held in Cayey, Puerto Rico, Pathfinder marked up impressive sales. According to Pathfinder representative Ron Richards, books on the Cuban revolution and by Malcolm X accounted for much of the \$187 in sales, his highest ever in one day.

A review of *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X Speaks) appeared in the September issue of *Bandera Roja*, published in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. The reviewer wrote "This anthology allows you to appreciate the evolution of Malcolm X's thinking from a radical Black nationalist to a revolutionary who understands that racism and social injustice are rooted in capitalism and that imperialism also exploits and oppresses the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America."

One of Pathfinder's many correspondents in Tennessee Colony prison in Texas writes, "My interest in your books is serious and strong. I have been reading your books through other brothers. I would like to start ordering my own, so please send me at least two order forms. I will be sending one to my family."

Peru's Shining Path: Anatomy of a Radically Reactionary Sect, a new Pathfinder pamphlet, will come out at the end of October. Shining Path presents itself as a leader of the oppressed, directing its appeal to the most impoverished and desperate layers in a region devastated by the world economic crisis. Author Martin Koppel explains how its use of terrorist methods to impose reactionary, anti-working-class policies makes the group an enemy of all working people. The pamphlet will sell for \$3.50 and can be ordered now.

Workers approve concessions at Ford; GM to push for more

BY PETER THIERJUNG

CLEVELAND — Ford Motor Co. employees organized by the United Auto Workers (UAW) accepted a three-year concession contract proposed by the company and union officials. The agreement passed by a 2-1 majority.

Meanwhile, the owners of General Motors are proceeding with plans for colossal layoffs and preparing to wrest even bigger concessions from UAW members.

The proposed Ford agreement would cover 96,000 auto workers. It contains serious cuts, including provisions to start new hires at 70 percent of full pay, requiring three years to reach 100 percent, a 3 percent pay raise in the first year and lump-sum payments in the next two years of the contract, and a back-door copayment on health-care benefits that takes 22 cents away from a cost-of-living allowance payment. Retirees will only receive small pension increases in the first year of the agreement.

Despite the ratification of the national pact, many local unions at Ford plants across the country have yet to arrive at agreements covering issues specific to their factories. Outsourcing, the company's practice of contracting out work to nonunion shops, is apparently a major sticking point.

Discussions and opinions on the national agreement varied across the country.

'What choice do we have?'

Expressing a widespread sentiment, Jim Bivens said he thought the contract was a good one "considering the economic times.

We got good benefits and the retirees got a jump in pension." Bivens is an electrician with 21 years seniority at the Ford stamping plant in Walton Hills, Ohio. The contract was approved there by more than 70 percent.

"What choice do we have?" said machine repairman Norman Herbert, who has worked at the Walton Hills plant for 23 years. "What we gave up is about equal to what we got."

Herbert, satisfied that basic health-care benefits remained intact despite the back-door copayment, expressed concern about the security of medical care benefits in future contracts. We have to start thinking about a national health-care policy because the company is not going to be able to handle all the retirees over the next three years."

At the Ford plant in Edison, New Jersey, only 179 of 1,500 workers participated in the ratification vote. Assembly workers accepted the contract proposal by a vote of 153-3. Nidia Talavera agreed with the lower new hire wage. "Why should new hires make as much as someone working 20 years?" she asked.

"I like the contract," said Jerry Casteel, a 25-year employee at the Ford assembly plant in Hazelwood, Missouri. "Why? Because we don't have to go on strike!"

Charlie White, a skilled trades worker with 30 years at the plant, disagreed. "I'm no hero and I like money as much as anybody," he said. "But I can't see voting for

Continued on Page 14

MARYLAND

Baltimore

U.S. Out of Somalia. Speaker: Ken Morgan, antiapartheid activist and political science instructor. Sat., Oct. 9, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Stop the Death Penalty: Activists Speak Out. Speakers: Bob Williams, Coalition for Justice; David Sandor, Socialist Workers Party; and others. Sat., Oct. 9, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Palestinian-Israeli Accord: Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Argritis Malapanis, managing editor of the *Militant*, recently returned from reporting trip to the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel.

Sat., Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3, students and unemployed \$1. Translation into French and Spanish. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Cuba Confronts Economic Crisis and U.S. Blockade. Speakers: Lisa Valanti, Pittsburgh Cuba Coalition; John Cox, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh. Sun., Oct. 10, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

The Fiji Miners' Strike — An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Brendan Gleeson, recently returned from Fiji. Sat., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Iran, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian Republics

Celebrate publication of
TO SEE THE DAWN

SATURDAY

Presentation, slideshow on political developments in Iran, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian republics by Ma'mud Shirvani, who returned from the region. Shirvani is a coauthor of the introduction to the Pathfinder book *To See the Dawn*, the documentary record of the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku, Azerbaijan, in September 1920.

SUNDAY

Two classes:

The Baku Congress: Historic Step in Forging International Unity
Politics Today in Iran, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian Republics: The Lessons of Baku

OCTOBER 2-3 —
MONTREAL, QUEBEC

OCTOBER 9-10 —
DETROIT, MICHIGAN

OCTOBER 16-17 —
TWIN CITIES, MINNESOTA

OCTOBER 23-24 —
SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

For information on time and location of presentations and classes in each city, call Pathfinder bookstores listed below.

Mandela: lift sanctions

Continued from Page 9

to South Africa and ended restrictions on U.S. Export-Import Bank activities there. The bill also urged more than 160 local and state governments to repeal their respective sanctions against South Africa.

The UN Security Council passed a resolution in 1985 calling for worldwide sanctions against South Africa. The U.S. Congress passed a sanctions bill in 1986, overriding a veto by then-president Ronald Reagan. In 1991, President George Bush, against the wishes of the ANC at the time, issued an executive order lifting most of the restrictions on doing business with South Africa. Despite this action, most U.S. companies delayed investing in South Africa because of the many state and local sanction laws still in place.

Canada and the Commonwealth, a group of countries that were formerly colonies of Britain, announced September 24 that they were also lifting their trade, investment, and financial embargo of South Africa.

'Sanctions have been powerful weapon'

At a news conference held after his UN speech, Mandela elaborated further on the crucial role played by sanctions in aiding the antiapartheid fight in South Africa. "The lesson of history is that oppressors never change their heart," said Mandela. "The ad-

vances that have been made in the struggle for democracy in this country are the result of the cumulative effects of the actions of the people of South Africa" complemented by supporters throughout the world. "And the most powerful weapon" in this fight "has been sanctions."

"There can be no doubt," Mandela continued, "that without sanctions our struggle would have been far more difficult."

In response to a question about whether he thinks South Africans will have expectations too great to be met after the elections, the ANC leader stated, "Our people are entitled to have hopes that their social-economic problems will be solved as soon as possible."

"Those expectations are understandable. But it is the task of a democratic government, in fact it is the task of a democratic movement now, to explain to our people that the question of mobilizing resources in order to address their needs is a process and not something that can be achieved overnight."

Pointing to a recent opinion poll indicating that only one out of every five whites is planning to vote for the National Party, Mandela said, "It is clear to many people in South Africa that the end to the National Party is in sight."

ANC talks with rightists

Over the past few weeks the ANC has been holding secret talks with the right-wing Afrikaner People's Front (APF) to discuss their concerns about a post-apartheid South Africa.

The talks — between ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki and APF leader Gen. Constand Viljoen, former head of the South African army — had "already served the purpose of better mutual understanding and the building of greater trust and confidence on both sides," said a statement issued by the two groups.

Commenting on this development, Mandela pointed out, "One of the observations we can make is that in the right wing there are men and women who realized that violence is not in the interests of the country." Their fears "may be baseless, but nevertheless are genuine. It is therefore the task of the ANC... to address these fears realistically and seriously," he explained.

"We cannot accommodate their demand in the way that they have put it, but room

for negotiations and for a compromise is there," Mandela said.

"What we are definitely not going to do is to have any ethnic solution," he stated in reference to the APF's demand for a white homeland. "But we can reject an ethnic solution without rejecting the basic demands of people wanting a particular region in which to run their own affairs."

Following a week in the United States, Mandela will visit Portugal, Belgium, and Britain.

Unionists rally in Alabama

Continued from front page

Williams, international president of the USWA, who pointed out that Cain and Fleming's only crime was having the audacity to stand up, the courage to fight, and the desire for solidarity with all workers. Williams also noted that the source of the violence was the company, with its hiring of scabs and security goons. He called on the labor movement to "reach out to the unorganized, and support other unions like the Mine Workers, who are fighting."

Richard Davis, director of USWA District 36, presented a resolution unanimously endorsed by the rally pledging to continue fighting for peace, dignity, and security in honor of Cain and Fleming.

A spirited two-mile march was held to the site of the murders at the National-Standard plant. In spite of a sudden rain storm, the march was punctuated with more chants and calls for justice. A short service was held at the factory entrance.

Company officials kept scabs and supervisors in the plant overnight, saying they wanted to avoid any incident at the picket line following the rally.

In the time since the murders, arrest warrants have been issued for some members of the local for their alleged actions at the picket line in response to the killing of their union brothers. As police were escorting company officials and scabs out of the plant September 7, they were pelted with rocks and other debris. Charges include second-degree assault, disorderly conduct, reckless endangerment, rioting, and third-degree assault.

Larry Gray, the truck driver charged with killing the unionists, is currently free after a \$75,000 bond was posted. It was reduced from an initial bond of \$250,000. He is facing two counts of reckless murder and one count of leaving the scene of an accident.

A mood of optimism and determination was expressed by many at the rally. A retired member of the UFCW stated, "you have to get to one before you get to 100. We'll be back and we'll be bigger." A young woman from Mobile, Alabama who has worked as a union organizer said "If we want to memorialize these guys, we need to get out and organize."

Tim Mailhot is a member of USWA Local 1057.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Defending Choice: A Conference for Activism. Speakers: David Gunn, Jr., Pro-Choice activist; Dr. Thomas Tucker, abortion provider; Betty Gartman, president, Mobile NOW; Diane Derzis, executive director, Summit Medical Centers; Dr. Virginia Volker, professor of anatomy, UAB; and Teresa Hunter, Clinic Defense, Pensacola, Florida. Fri., Nov. 5 through Sun., Nov. 7, on the campus of the University of Alabama, Birmingham. Sponsored by: Birmingham Clinic Defense, Alabamians for Choice, and Alabama NOW. Registration fee: \$15. For more information call (205) 930-9663.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

All Labor Solidarity Rally! Speakers: Cecil Roberts, vice-president, United Mine Workers of America; Dave Watts, president, Allied Industrial Workers Local 837, Decatur, Illinois. Sponsors: Twin Cities Staley Workers Solidarity Committee, St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, and Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council. Sat., Oct. 9, 7 p.m., CWA Local 7200 Hall, 3521 East Lake St. Donation: \$5. For more information call Joe Burns, AFSCME Local 1164, (612) 379-3825.

NEW YORK

New York City

Benefit Concert to Aid Dubrovnik War Victims. Five popular New York City bands will come together to stage a concert for Dubrovnik, a city that has been ravaged by the war in the former Yugoslavia. The bands performing will be Slackers, Skinnerbox, Special Request, Funk Face, and Cactus Jay joined by Croatian singer Mario Vuksan. Sun., Oct. 10, Doors open at 4 p.m., show begins at 5 p.m. and runs until 11 p.m. Wetlands, 161 Hudson St., three blocks south of Canal St. Cover charge: \$8. For further information, call the Coalition for the Prosperity of Dubrovnik, Anna Milat Meyer: (212) 932-3957; Vinka Ljubimir: (718) 636-3162.

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NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Mail-

ing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217 Tel: (718) 399-7257; New York: 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 388-9346; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

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

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

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

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. Pittsburgh: 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 250. Zip: 77087. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

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

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

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

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

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297.

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

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

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Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

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

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

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GREECE

Athens: P.O. Box 67225, 15102 Melissia, Attiki. Tel: 01-64 03 160.

ICELAND

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

NEW ZEALAND

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

Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

SWEDEN

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

The march of civilization — "STOCKHOLM — The body of an elderly woman who died in 1990



Harry Ring

lay undiscovered in her apartment for more than three years while computers received her pension and automatically paid her bills, Swedish police said." — News item.

Like divide it in three? — That elderly woman's body was found after the landlord called the cops to

break in. He said he had made repeated efforts to gain her permission to renovate her apartment.

Truly heartless — You may have read about Richard Miller of Topeka, Kansas, who missed out on a heart transplant because his phone was shut off and the hospital simply skipped to the next name. Folks contributed to pay Miller's back phone bill, buy him a pager, and more. The publicity even led officials to stop his pending eviction. We did wonder, isn't it a really great social system that has left Miller to exist on \$434 a month disability since his heart attack four years ago?

Pays the phone bill — According to the magazine *Medical*

Economics[], the three top-dollar medical specialties are cardiovascular surgery, neurosurgery, and orthopedic surgery. In 1991, specialists in these fields netted respectively, \$296,880, \$289,750, and \$248,220.

Leave it to Uncle — Toxic pollution on public land administered by the U.S. Dept. of the Interior is so massive that it may cost "hundreds of billions" to clean it up, a study found. Most of the deadly concentrations are in abandoned mines the government had leased to companies for nominal sums. There are an estimated 550,000 abandoned hard rock mines leaching cyanide, arsenic, lead, and other toxins into nearby water sites.

P.S. — So pervasive is the pollution of federal land that Interior Dept. workers suffer a higher rate of health damage than those at any other federal agency — four times higher than that experienced by production and contract workers at federal nuclear production and waste sites.

And then it will get worse again? — "It's sort of hard to imagine, but things are going to get worse before they get better." — Business forecaster Larry Kimball on the state of the California economy.

Education, Inc. — University of California tuition fees have doubled over the past couple of

years. Meanwhile, it was disclosed that 91 UC execs are taking home more than \$100,000 a year. A spokesman noted that they haven't received any raises recently. He explained that what appeared to be an increase merely reflected disclosure of previously concealed compensation.

Service with a smile — The Los Angeles transportation department wants \$150,000 to improve the image of its parking cops. The tax money would be used to enhance their communication skills and to print ticket procedure brochures. Apparently no schooling is needed to increase their productivity. Last year, the 520 parking cops wrote some 3.7 million tickets.

From magic and religion to scientific thought

The Origins of Materialism by George Novack. 300 pp. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1965. \$19.95 paper.

BY JEFF JONES

"The basic proposition of materialism... states that matter is the primordial substance, the essence of reality... Nature is the ultimate source of everything in the universe from the galactic systems to the most intimate feelings and boldest thoughts of homo sapiens."

This straightforward statement from the first chapter of *The Origins of Materialism* explains the fundamental opposition of materialism, the outlook of the modern working class, to the philosophy of idealism, promoted by the ruling rich. The book, by George Novack, has just been reprinted by

IN REVIEW

Pathfinder Press.

The Ionian Greek philosophers who first gave matter primacy over thought and ideas developed a revolutionary way to see the world. To even try to explain the world in scientific terms was totally new, reflecting the historically new and dynamic forces at work in classical Greece.

The Greeks inherited from earlier societies a great deal of accumulated knowledge.

From the earliest days, humans needed facts and skills learned from practice in gathering plants and hunting animals.

Later agricultural societies in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Phoenicia developed writing, geometry, and sophisticated methods of measuring time through astronomical observations.

From the Bronze Age 5,000 years ago to the full development of the Iron Age at the beginning of Greek civilization in the eighth century B.C., handicraft techniques increased.

But actual science and philosophy were possible for the first time only in the specific conditions of sixth century B.C. Greece.

Why is this?

"The effectiveness and extent of man's activities, including his mental activities, hinge upon the level of his powers of material production," Novack explains.

People who subsist on gathering and hunting have little control over the powerful external forces of nature and consequently

personify these forces, giving them motives similar to theirs. This is the basis for magical thought.

The domestication of plants and animals gave humanity control of its food supply. This allowed the rise of persons controlling the food surplus — chieftains and priests.

"These divisions in society had their reflections in a new type of social consciousness that endowed everything and everyone with a double constitution and a divided existence," Novack says.

"The great world religions... took over the crude magical ideas born of primitive impotence and ignorance and refined them into the familiar opposition of God and man, soul and body, spirit and matter."

With the spread of agriculture came many historical changes, including the development of cheap and durable iron tools, alphabetic writing, metallic money, and a system of weights and measures. Each of these were demanded by the higher modes of manufacturing and commerce, which in turn created new classes of people engaged in them.

It was in the Greek-speaking urban centers of the Aegean Sea, where people were engaged in economic interactions over a wide scale, beyond the luxury trade of the Bronze Age pyramid builders, where this process reached a critical stage.

The actual social conditions of the merchants, manufacturers, artisans, miners, and maritime workers demanded a different outlook than that of the ruling, slave-owning aristocracy. As these forces fought each other for political control of the city-states, their struggles were reflected by the materialist philosophers, who sought to explain the nature of heaven and earth without the interventions of myth.

This is why Novack correctly explains the origins of science and philosophy in this historical context. He points out:

"All the conditions of social practice which could render magic and religion obsolete and give rise to a superior mode of reasoning and theoretical outlook were not gathered together at one time and in one place until the 6th Century B.C."

"Philosophy, materialism and the method of science associated with them are original creations of the Greeks. Their culture appears to us as the dawn of our modern era, the ancient source of our own civilization. Retrospectively, it was the continuation and culmination of the Agricultural, Urban and Metallic revolutions which lifted mankind out of the Stone Age, dispelled the mists of magic from nature, and the mystifications of mythology from generalized thought."

The importance of reading and studying this book lies in its invaluable aid to developing for oneself the fundamental historical framework needed by class-conscious workers.

From the choking of Greek society by slavery, which led to the triumph of idealist philosophy so brilliantly developed by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, to the eclipse of materialism entirely after the Romans and its subsequent rebirth under the influence of the emerging bourgeois order, all history is the history of the class struggle.

Fighters for social change need to understand the historical progress in the science of thinking that enabled Marx and Engels to explain the revolutionary potential of the modern working class, created by the rise of capitalism.



Vase from around 600 B.C. portrays Arcesilas II, ruler of the Greek city Cyrene on the African coast. The king, who had a monopoly on the sale of the now-extinct medicinal herb silphion, is shown watching the herb being weighed and packed. Sixth century B.C. saw development of productive capacity that paved the way for scientific thought.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
October 4, 1968 Price 10¢

This autumn marks the 40th anniversary of our paper, which is published, as the masthead proclaims, "in the interests of the working people," and which is dedicated to the goal of a socialist America.

The founding and subsequent history of *The Militant* is inseparably linked with a key historic chapter in the fight to build a mass revolutionary socialist party in the U.S. and in the world. Forty years ago, on Oct. 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Martin Abern and Max Shachtman were declared expelled from the Communist Party for their opposition to Stalinism and for their continuing adherence to revolutionary Marxism and workers' democracy as defended by the international Communist Left Opposition initiated by Leon Trotsky.

Nineteen days after their expulsion, these three men launched *The Militant*. We propose to celebrate this occasion by initiating plans for an improved, expanded paper and by a financial drive to make such an improved paper possible.

A national campaign is being undertaken under the auspices of The Militant 40th Anniversary Fund Committee to raise \$40,000 from readers and supporters of the paper — \$1,000 for every year of *The Militant*. The campaign will extend for 11 weeks from Oct. 1 to Dec. 15.

The Militant has just increased its regular size to 12 pages in order to give more effective coverage to the current election campaign, the campus revolts, the black liberation movement, the labor movement and the rising international struggles.

The sturdier financial base provided by the projected \$40,000 fund will enable the editors to make greater improvements in its photographic, art and field coverage and to augment the paper's staff for the next planned phase of expansion of its size and circulation.

This is the largest single fund goal that friends of *The Militant* have ever set for themselves. No smaller sum would measure up to the importance of the event. It is indispensable to keep the paper moving ahead as the clearest and most uncompromising journalistic voice of socialism and black liberation in this country.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

October 9, 1943

The capture of Smolensk — "gateway to the West," as the Red Army organ correctly terms it — on Sept. 25, followed by still further Soviet gains, has raised as an immediate possibility the victorious advance of the Red Army in pursuit of the Nazis into territories beyond its 1940 borders.

To the Soviet masses and to the class-conscious workers of the world, who want to see the workers' state emerge victorious over the fascist foe, this prospect is a happy one.

But to the capitalist rulers the further advance of the Red Army is a frightening specter. There is panic in the ruling classes of the countries the Red Army is nearing — and that is true equally of the Axis satellite, Rumania and, the satellite of the "democracies," the Polish government-in-exile. For in both war camps the capitalists remember what happened when the Red Army advanced into Poland in 1939 and into Bessarabia in 1940, and in the Baltic provinces — the nationalization of private property.

FROM PATHFINDER

The Origins of Materialism

BY GEORGE NOVACK

Explains the rise of a scientific world outlook in ancient Greece, concurrent with the development of agriculture, manufacturing, and trade that prepared the way for it. \$19.95

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 for postage and handling.

S. Africa sanctions fulfilled goal

The call by African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela in his UN speech to lift economic sanctions against South Africa registers the tremendous progress the democratic movement has made in the fight for a democratic, nonracial, and nonsexist republic.

Mandela and other ANC leaders clearly explain that the victory registered by the ending of sanctions is fundamentally the result of the struggle waged by the people of South Africa through mass actions and other forms of protest, which forced the white-minority regime first into negotiations and then to grant substantial concessions.

Sanctions were a "most powerful weapon," Mandela explained, in the hands of supporters of the anti-apartheid fight throughout the world. The fight to impose sanctions helped bring the day closer when a democratic South Africa will become a reality. It took a considerable effort and mobilizations to force corporations and governments in the 1980s to impose sanctions in the first place. It will now be a challenge for the democratic movement and the new government that is elected next April to rebuild the South African economy, which the apartheid regime over the course of decades has led into its current disastrous shape. The priority, Mandela

emphasizes, will be to provide food, jobs, and housing to the country's most oppressed and exploited.

It's also true, as the ANC leader made clear in his UN speech, "that we are not yet out of the woods." The white-minority regime still remains at the head of the South African government for the next seven months, but its decisions can be overturned by the TEC. Rightist forces both within and without the country's security apparatus have been stepping up their campaign of terrorism through violent attacks on South African workers, particularly in a few targeted Black townships. They hope in vain to halt this irreversible march toward democracy.

Working people and all democratic-minded fighters throughout the world should do all they can to support the ANC's election campaign, which continues to reach out to every section of South Africa's population — from the Black townships to white Afrikaner strongholds.

A resounding victory for the democratic forces in South Africa's elections, as Mandela so correctly points out, will mean "the extension of the frontiers of democracy, nonracial, nonsexist, and human solidarity throughout the world."

The sham of the 'war on crime'

Dozens of teenagers are snatched from their school or home. Many are fingerprinted, interrogated, denied access to lawyers, and not informed of their right to refuse to answer questions. This is what U.S. attorney general Janet Reno termed "trying to do the right thing" in Monticello, Florida. The roundup of Black youth there hours after a British tourist was murdered is one small piece of the assault on the democratic rights of working people and the oppressed carried out under the guise of a "war on crime."

Capitalist politicians claim these measures are needed to "protect society." They use this anticrime demagoguery to get a hearing among many middle-class and working-class people, who do want to see an end to violence, drug abuse, and other social problems. But allowing democratic rights to be hacked away only strengthens the real source of violence and crime in this society — capitalism.

What exactly is crime? The bosses call striking workers criminals because they break laws and injunctions against picketing and shutting down production. Workers who are beaten by the police are often charged with the crime of assaulting the cop's club with their head.

The biggest criminals today are the rulers and their governments, especially in the imperialist countries. Some 100

million people have been killed in imperialist wars in this century, from Hiroshima and Nagasaki to Iraq and Somalia.

A lot of the so-called crime wave is basically media hype. The senseless violence and preying on others seen in the killings in Florida is not the main problem facing working people, but rather a symptom of the alienation and the collapse of human solidarity that this dog-eat-dog society generates. Poverty is not the root of crime either.

It is the capitalist class and its system that breeds antisocial attitudes, including among working people. Assaults and violence within the working class tend to decrease in times of growing politicization, organization, and class-struggle action, accompanied by a growing self-confidence of working people. Periods like the rise of the industrial unions in the 1930s, the civil rights movement, and revolutions in many countries illustrate this fact.

The working class needs to reject calls for "law and order," which strengthen the bosses' hand by taking away hard-won democratic rights. Human solidarity, which in this epoch means working-class solidarity, building a movement of fighting workers and their allies to defend themselves from the social devastation brought on by capitalism, is the only answer to the so-called crime problem.

An appeal to our readers

Continued from front page

Shachtman published the first issue of the *Militant* under the headline "For the Russian Opposition!"

From the great labor battles of the 1930s and '40s to the civil rights movement and women's movement, from Vietnam to the U.S. war against Iraq, the *Militant* has lived up to its pledge as a "socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people." In the coming weeks, a special column on the fund will highlight these and other important episodes in the paper's history.

Today, the *Militant* remains an indispensable tool for working people and youth trying to figure out how to fight the bosses' offensive against their democratic rights and standard of living. Just by thumbing through the paper, readers will appreciate the important coverage the *Militant* gives to defense of the Cuban revolution, the democratic revolution unfolding in South Africa, the struggle for self-determination of the Palestinian people, and the fight against police brutality and cop frame-ups from Des Moines, Iowa, to Belfast, Ireland. The *Militant* is the best source around for accurate news and analysis of labor battles, such as the coal miners' strike in the United States.

Back in the early days of the *Militant*, getting the cash for the paper to come out each week was a constant battle. The paper was always short of funds. When things got really desperate, Cannon explains in his book *The History of American Trotskyism*, the paper would rely on a "revolving rent fund." A supporter of the *Militant* whose rent was due on the 15th, for example, would loan it to the paper on the 10th. That way the paper could pay the electric or gas bill. On the 15th, another reader would stall their landlord long enough to pay the first supporter back. In this way, the *Militant* managed to come out on schedule.

While we don't face quite the same situation today, the fact remains that a working-class newspaper like the *Militant* can still only get the money it needs to publish each week from the efforts and contributions of people who value its revolutionary perspective. And producing the *Militant* costs a lot of money.

Printing costs for 1993 for the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, for ex-

ample, will be almost \$140,000; postage and shipping, another \$100,000. Tens of thousands of dollars have been spent to provide on-the-scene reporting from Cuba, South Africa, the Middle East, and other places. After adding in salaries for staff writers, the cost of developing film, and subscription costs to the more than 100 publications the *Militant* staff uses as sources, our expenses for the year will top \$400,000.

There are only two ways we can raise this money and both of them require your help. First is for every supporter to join in the campaign to win 3,000 new readers to the *Militant* and 700 to *Perspectiva Mundial*. The sales of subscriptions and single copies are the lifeblood of the socialist publications. But they don't cover all our expenses. And unlike the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, we can't rely on big-business advertisers for the rest of our income.

And so, in the time-honored tradition of the workers' movement, the *Militant* is appealing to its readers to help celebrate its birthday in the most fitting way possible — by contributing to, and urging others to contribute to, the 1993 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Fund. Everyone — from the newest subscriber to the veteran reader — is encouraged to participate.

During the course of the 10-week fund, which begins October 9, supporters of the two socialist periodicals will be holding special anniversary meetings. Argiris Malapanis, managing editor of the paper who recently returned from a reporting trip to Israel, the West Bank, and Gaza, will be one of the available speakers.

Supporters in many cities will be taking goals for the drive. A chart, which will appear for the first time in two weeks, will report on these targets and our progress in meeting them. Contributions received in the *Militant* business office by Tuesday at 12:00 noon EDT will be included in that week's totals.

We count on every reader to help make this fund a success.

Argiris Malapanis
Argiris Malapanis
Managing Editor

Sincerely,

Sara Lobman
Sara Lobman
Fund Director

Ford workers approve concession contract

Continued from Page 11

new hires to make 70 percent of what we make. What if people before us had done us that way? We have an obligation to oppose this contract."

Union members at three large Ford facilities in northern Ohio, however, voted the proposed contract down by large margins. Auto workers at Local 2000 in Avon Lake rejected the contract 576 to 304. Local 2000 has 3,290 members. Local 425 in Lorain opposed the contract by a 3-1 majority. And Local 1250 in Brook Park voted it down by 76 percent among production workers and 63 percent among skilled trades workers.

"I found arguments for the new contract unconvincing," Ted Wilson, a five-year assembly line worker in Avon Lake, said. "They justify bringing in new hires at 70 percent and then they tell us the union is strong and we have a good contract. I don't agree."

Wayne Harmon, a Ford employee for 17 years, explained wages were not the issue. "I don't like the tier system," he said. "We should be one united union."

"This settlement makes no sense," said Steve Vincent. Another Local 2000 member said, "Next contract the company will try to bring wages down even more, to 50 percent. The union would be weak to just accept what the company offered."

Jerry Younce, a former vice-president of Local 2000, helped lead an effort by a group of union members to convince the membership to vote against the contract.

"Ford is making a lot of profits," Younce said. "We shouldn't have to take concessions. The tier system violates basic union principles, like equal pay for equal work. We fought for equal pay for Blacks and for women. What about the younger workers?"

GM assault on work force

GM has already begun to massively restructure its North American operations.

Spokespeople for the corporate giant say GM desperately needs to recapture lost markets and to reverse profit losses through cost cuts, layoffs, and demands for concessions in current negotiations.

The proposed Ford-UAW agreement sparked a spate of articles in the big-business press.

"You can look for war," Edward Sullivan, a Wexford Management Consultants spokesperson, told *USA Today*. "There is no way GM can swallow this contract," he said, even with the concessions wrung from the union by Ford.

The depth of the "downsizing" being considered was reported in a September 24 *Detroit News* article which claimed that GM plans to cut an additional 50,000 union jobs by 1996 on top of the 54,000 already slated to be eliminated by 1995. Some 20,000 salaried workers are also currently slated for layoff.

GM is already casting off some of its UAW-organized parts operations in a bid to become more profitable. The company is the world's largest automotive parts producer but its share of the U.S. market has dropped from 51 percent in 1962 to 30 percent this year.

GM's decline forced previous cutbacks and job losses despite concessions from the UAW. Union employees numbered 468,000 in 1978 and 329,000 in 1990, compared to 265,000 today.

The cutbacks have resulted in brutal line speedup, job combinations, and massive overtime.

Ford, like Chrysler Corp., stands to gain a great deal from the lower wage for new hires, since it will likely be hiring in the next three years. But with no hiring of its own in the foreseeable future, GM wants big concessions in other areas.

According to the September 17 *Wall Street Journal*, GM has been hamstrung by contract protections for workers negotiated in 1987, which provide income security for workers given pink slips and requires automakers to rehire one laid-off worker for every two that quit or retire. With about 14,000 workers on long-term layoff drawing all or part of their full-time pay, "GM is shedding jobs and market share faster than it is shedding paid workers," the *Journal* said.

The level of company funding for jobless benefit programs is likely to become a major issue in negotiations. Two GM funds totaling some \$3.35 billion allocated for layoff benefits during the last contract are nearly depleted. In light of projected job cuts, GM may seek to undermine or gut these protections.

The *Detroit News* reported in September that GM is considering proposing a two-tier jobs bank that would give less pay and benefits to workers from closed plants than those on temporary layoff.

The GM bosses are also out to cut pension and health care benefits.

"According to the *Journal*, 'there are those at GM, starting with the company's outside directors, who argue that the automaker must buck the pattern-bargaining tradition, even though that risks a disruptive confrontation with the UAW.'"

UAW international officials have set a deadline of September 30 to reach an agreement with Chrysler Corp. Press reports indicate that an agreement at that company will follow the pattern set at Ford. The UAW represents some 54,000 Chrysler workers.

Peter Thierjung is a member of UAW Local 538 in Cleveland. Don Mackle of Cleveland; Amy Husk Sanchez, a member of UAW Local 2000 in Avon Lake, Ohio; Susan Anmuth of UAW Local 980 in Edison, New Jersey; and Charlene Adamson of UAW Local 325 in Hazelwood, Missouri, contributed to this article.

Wyoming workers rally at struck soda ash mine

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 about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Two hundred fifty unionists and supporters rallied September 18 in front of General Chemical's soda ash mine located outside Green

vania, September 21, demanding negotiations toward a fair contract and a pledge to keep the Greif Companies plant there open.

Two hundred fifty members of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 402C work at the Shippensburg plant. There are another 1,350 unionists at Greif's plants in Allentown, Pennsylvania, and Verona, Virginia. Greif has threatened to shut down the Shippensburg and Verona plants unless the workers grant major concessions.

Greif has pulled out of the Clothing Manufacturers' Association negotiations on ACTWU's national wool contract, scheduled to expire at the end of September. The Genesco-owned mens' suit manu-

wants to bring us down to their level — we have to bring them up to our level."

Organizing efforts at Lamar and pickets urging a boycott of Greif products around the country are scheduled to continue. □

Steelworkers end strike with some concessions

Members of United Steelworkers of America Local 6546 at Hankison Corp. in Washington, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburgh, approved a new contract by a 55-31 vote September 14. The workers had gone on strike July 8. The agreement includes raises totaling \$1.50 over the life of the six-year contract and improvements on the pension. The workers were able to push the company back on its demand for copayments on health insurance. The union did agree to an expansion of the two-tier pay scale. Previously the two-tier system applied only to the position of entry laborer; now it will apply to all entry-level jobs.

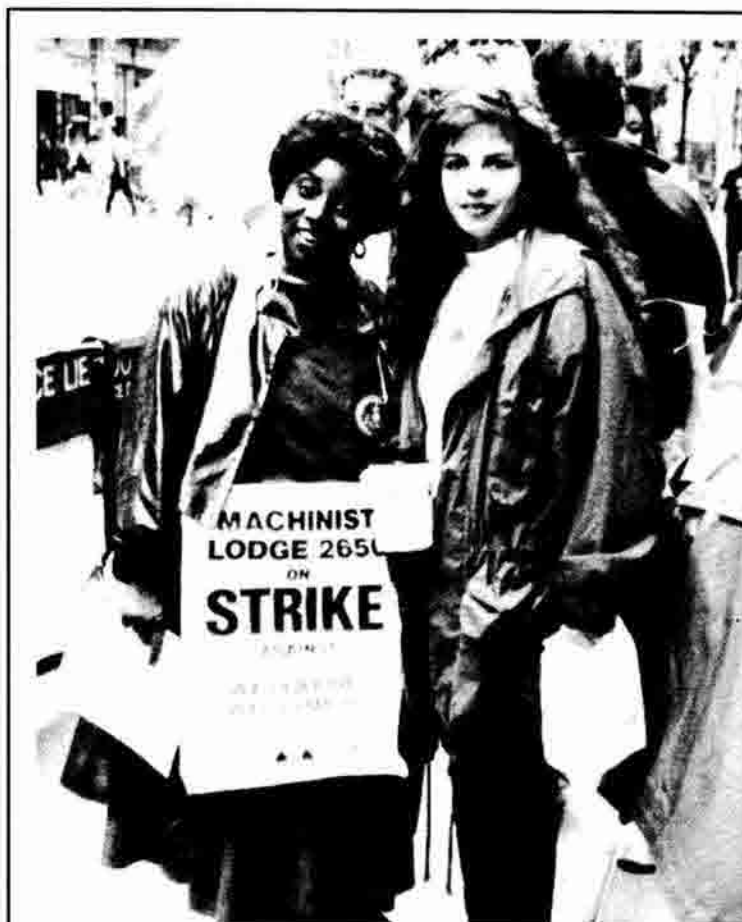
Union member Thomas Gould said, "It looks about as good as we're going to get. We could have stayed out longer, but we could never make back the money we'd be losing." The local "stuck together better than I expected," he said. "The company thought it could orchestrate the strike like it did the last one, but we were solid. There was very little grumbling."

Thomas Patton, another local member, said, "It has its good points and bad points."

Steelworkers from other locals attended a picnic the day before the vote. The event took place across the street from one of Hankison's plants. The company claimed this was their property, and tried to get the union kicked off. After union members produced documents showing the company didn't pay taxes on the property, the bosses were forced to back down and the picnic continued. □

Detroit area unionists support workers' fights

Seventy-five unionists gathered at the United Auto Workers (UAW)



Militant/Eva Braiman
Members of International Association of Machinists, on strike against Alitalia Airlines, rally with supporters outside sales office in New York September 22 to win backing for their fight.

Local 600 hall September 12 in Dearborn, Michigan, in support of striking and locked-out workers.

The forum, entitled "Stop Union-Busting," heard from striking United Mine Workers of America members and locked-out members of the Allied Industrial Workers (AIW). Phil Keeling, president of United Auto Workers Local 3000, also spoke.

Dave Watts, president of AIW Local 837 and local member Dave Hayes updated the gathering on their union's fight against A.E. Staley, a corn sweetener plant in Decatur, Illinois, that locked out 760 workers June 27. Staley has hired 150 replacement workers and is trying to run the plant.

Keeling reported that Miralight Corp. had just locked out 25 work-

ers at its auto parts plant near Detroit after 20 of them decided to join the UAW. The workers were earning \$5-6 an hour.

More than \$700 was raised from unionists attending the forum, and it was reported that \$2,715 had been collected at a meeting of UAW Local 599 earlier that day in Flint, Michigan. The money was divided between the miners, Staley workers, and Miralight workers. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Dave Salner, member USWA Local 8319 and Ilona Gersh in Salt Lake City, Utah; Mitchel Rosenberg in Philadelphia; Lereroy Watson, member USWA Local 6546 and Sheila Ostrow, member USWA Local 7542 in Pittsburgh; and John Sarge, member UAW Local 900 in Detroit.

ON THE PICKETLINE

River, Wyoming. The demonstration supported the strike by 480 members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 15320, who walked out August 1.

The strike is primarily over health and retirement benefits which the company wants to reduce substantially. There is already a \$350 annual deductible for medical care for each family member. Retirees, if the company had its way, would also pay more.

General Chemical has brought in scabs from out of state, who live in the plant with management.

Strikers and their families were joined by at least 50 members of USWA Local 13214 from the nearby FMC mine and plant and a carload from United Mine Workers of America Local 2386 in Kemmerer, Wyoming.

The strike has won broad support in the nearby communities, including that of United Food and Commercial Workers members who had been on strike against a grocery store. □

Apparel workers continue fight against Greif Co.

Some 150 clothing workers marched and rallied with 50 supporters in Shippensburg, Pennsyl-

facturer is demanding five paid holidays back, a three-year wage freeze, the surrender of a fourth vacation week, and a \$13.50 medical copayment.

"In our last contract three years ago, the company offered us junk and we took it. We gave up a wage increase then to keep our medical benefits and now they want us to pay for them," stated Carol Macke at the rally. Macke, with nearly 25 years at Greif, said that while she makes about \$8 an hour, workers never get a full week's work.

In response to the union's actions, Greif temporarily backed off from the threat to close the two plants, contingent on ACTWU's agreement to extend the contract one month. The union refused. Greif workers say they intend to keep up the fight.

Some members of Local 402C have participated in organizing efforts at the gates of Lamar shops in Boden, Georgia. Lamar was purchased by Genesco recently and is a nonunion operation.

Melinda Neal, one of the Shippensburg unionists who traveled to Georgia, sees this activity as key to beating back Greif's attacks.

Lamar workers make \$4.25 an hour, Cindy Shoemaker told co-workers and supporters at the September 21 rally. "The company

LETTERS

Jericho and the '67 war

Jericho was essentially depopulated by the Israeli army in the 1967 Blitz Kreig War. Roughly 700,000 Palestinians, already refugees from Israel's expulsions of Arabs in 1948, were terrorized into leaving the West Bank in 1967, and had to move into UN refugee camps on the east side of the Jordan River. This was documented by a Quaker commission of nuns and priests. Israel continued to shell the tent city stretching along the East side of the Jordan river until eventually the PLO and soldiers from the Jordanian army joined forces together for a few brief days and resisted at the battle of Karameh. They blew up some Israeli tanks by firing from Karameh, on the Jordanian side, thus giving cover to the refugees to get out of the way of Israeli fire and move higher into the Jordanian mountains. Clinton knows all this. Jericho was left practically a ghost city.

And Rabin knows very well the way his government worked in collusion with Israeli orange juice companies on the coast to let the Jericho orange groves rot on the trees. Jericho used to grow some of the best naval oranges in the Middle East.

Denis Hoppe
Dearborn, Michigan

Pornography or erotica?

Among the many fine articles in your September 13 issue were two

that struck me as taking an incorrect position.

One article on page 2 made an issue of the fact that the father of a Clinton nominee for a high army post was an Nazi officer. Since when are children guilty of the crimes of their parents?

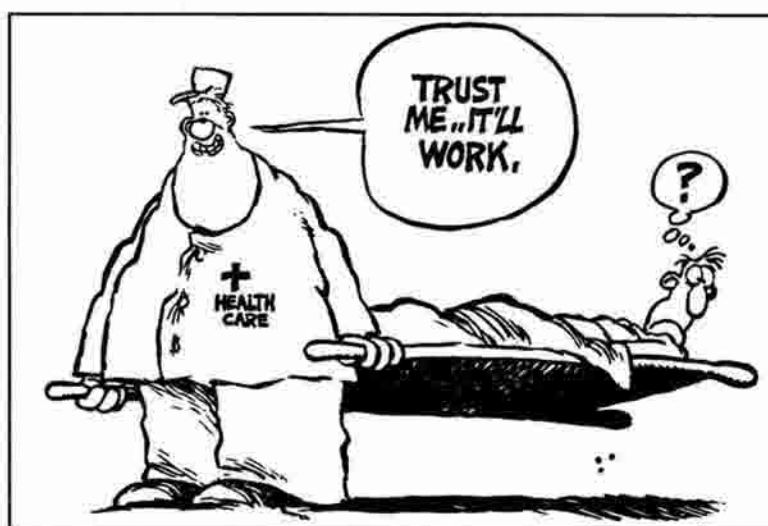
The second article that caught my attention was the opinion piece attacking antipornography laws. I agree with the general line taken, that these laws are designed to increase capitalist control of media and ultimately to place restrictions on what workers can say, hear and see.

However, the articles concedes: pornography *does* demean women. To which I challenge the writer: define pornography so that everyone can agree with your definition. The task is nearly impossible.

One person's pornography is another person's erotica. What government can, or should define the crossing over point? None. Further, much that is called pornography consists of only of scenes of people making love, or undressed. Which is not to say that all of it is wonderful.

But is this objectionable? If so, then the history of the human race must surely include a million years of pornography, since no doubt primitive humanity, living in the tropics, lived, slept, and mated in the nude or seminude... probably in full view of others.

Erotica or pornography — place the dividing line wherever you will



— is the result of the unnatural bourgeois separation of sex and sensuality from everyday life. When society changes, depictions of sexuality will be more even-handed and less crass. Meanwhile, let's not give ammunition to the censors by conceding even a single piece of intellectual ammunition. Albert Fried-Cassorla
Melrose Park, Pennsylvania

Primates and evolution

Two secondary errors appeared in the editorial "No to religion in schools" in the September 6 *Militant*. The editorial describes biological evolution as the view which holds, among other things, "that human beings evolved from primates." In fact, human beings are

primates. Biological evolution holds that human and nonhuman primates such as gorillas and chimpanzees evolved from a common primate ancestor.

The editorial also states "Almost all scientists regard biological evolution as an established fact." Actually, all scientists, not "almost all" regard evolution as a fact. The fact of evolution is as firmly established as gravity, the existence of the atom, or the earth revolving around the sun. (Even many Jewish and Christian religious scholars accept biological evolution, viewing Genesis as "allegory" rather than literal fact.) The proponents of "creation science", whom the *Militant* accurately refers to as pseudoscientists, received so-called "Masters" and

"Doctorates" from Christian fundamentalist Bible colleges and cannot by any stretch of the imagination be viewed as scientists. S.K.B.

Oakland, California

Distributing 'Militant'

First of all I would like to say I enjoy your paper very much and have subscribed to it off and on over the past four years. Through these years I have been a dedicated socialist and eager to learn whatever I can on the working-class movement.

I attend Florida State University and I am a political science major. Every Wednesday the campus has a flea market where people set up tables and sell things on the union square. This would be a great opportunity to distribute the *Militant* and other materials on the working class. Please let me know if you are interested so we can start to make it happen!

Mark Allen
Tallahassee, Florida

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.

Cops in Ireland frame seven youths

BY SHELLIA KENNEDY

WEST BELFAST, Northern Ireland — The trial of seven young men facing frame-up terrorism charges here has been postponed until November. The youths, who were arrested in August 1991, appeared in court August 31. They remain in Crumlin Road prison where they have already spent the last two years.

Tony Garland, Hugh McLaughlin, James Morgan, Michael Beck, Stephen McMullan, Danny Pettigrew and Claran McAllister, from the Ballymurphy area in West Belfast, were arrested by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and taken to the infamous Castlereagh Interrogation Center. They were tortured, held for up to six days, and forced to sign written confessions in connection with two Irish Republican Army (IRA) attacks on the RUC.

The RUC is a paramilitary force that serves as the regular police of Northern Ireland. Unlike the cops in Britain, its members are always armed and they train with rifles, sub-machine guns, machine-guns and armored cars.

"The seven were charged with attempted murder and are facing 20-year sentences by a nonjury court," Kevin Nolan, a spokesperson for the Voice of the Innocent explained in an interview at the Springhill Community Center. "They will stand trial in a Diplock Court, where the judge is just part of the system."

The youths, who ranged in age from 17 to 21 at the time of the arrest, were denied access to lawyers for 72 hours. Damien Austin, arrested alongside the seven at the



Royal Ulster Constabulary beating youth in Northern Ireland

time, received an Urgent Action notice by Amnesty International. This is only issued when Amnesty believes that there is imminent danger of torture or assassination. It was the first time that such a notice has been issued for someone in Ireland.

Amnesty International's summary of Austin's ordeal was published in an edition of *Just News*, the monthly newsletter of the Committee on the Administration of Justice. "Damien Austin's own doctor was allowed to see him on the third evening of his detention, recording both bruising and the two opened stitches in his right ear," the news-

letter states. "I can confirm that Damien Austin is being subjected to severe ill-treatment and the police doctor agreed with me on this," Austin's doctor said.

Following the examination, Austin was threatened by the RUC with assassination by a loyalist paramilitary group. He was released on August 20 without charge.

"The parents established this [defense] campaign and we've gotten support from North America, Canada, Scotland, trade unions and human rights groups," Nolan explained. "Most of these people have come and stayed in Ballymurphy and formed their

own opinions. It's very important to keep up international pressure." Prominent among the sponsors are Amnesty International, Helsinki Watch, Liberty, Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, Johnny Walker and Billy Power of the Birmingham Six, and Paul Hill of the Guildford Four.

Long history of brutal laws

One hundred years before the creation of Northern Ireland in 1921, the British government passed the Coercion Acts for Ireland. Ireland has had special legislation since the 17th century that includes martial law, legislation for the "defence of the realm," and special courts. After the establishment of Northern Ireland, the Special Powers Act was used to give the government more excessive powers of arrest and detention.

In 1972 this act was replaced by the Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Despite their names these laws have nothing to do with terrorism. Of the 30,444 persons detained between 1975 and 1986 under the Emergency Provisions Act, fewer than 13 percent were charged with any offense. In the same period nearly 14,000 people were detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Britain and Northern Ireland; less than 3,000 were charged.

The newest law in this arsenal is the Emergency Provisions Act, which reduces the protection of the accused during an interrogation. Special nonjury Diplock courts are used, which allow confessions and place the burden on the accused to challenge the admissibility of a confession.

Research done in 1981 showed that 89 percent of trials involving confessional evidence were successful for the prosecution in front of Diplock courts. Access to a lawyer can be delayed up to 48 hours. In 1989, out of 1,152 requests for legal visits only 380 were immediately allowed. Arrest powers give the RUC and the British soldiers the right to arrest without warrant and on "reasonable suspicion." Detention can be for up to seven days.

Northern Ireland's Criminal Evidence Order of 1988 places the burden of proof on the accused, whose silence can be used to indicate guilt.

The organizers of the defense campaign are asking people to write to Prime Minister John Major, 10 Downing Street, London SW1 2AA in protest.

For further information contact Kevin Nolan, 27 Ballymurphy Road, Belfast BT12 7JL or Jean Forest, 132 Madison Street, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030.

Shellia Kennedy is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport Union at Longsight, Manchester. Ian Grant, a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union in London, contributed to this article.

Abortion rights activists in Minnesota discuss charges under 'stalking' law

BY SARAH RYAN

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Three abortion rights activists, who have been charged with violating Minnesota's new anti-stalking law, joined a panel discussion and speak-out here September 18. The law, which states that anyone who "stalks, follows, or pursues another," causing a "reasonable person under the circumstances to feel oppressed, persecuted, or intimidated," can be charged with committing a crime. The law was passed with the support of many abortion rights organizations, which viewed it as a weapon to prevent harassment of clinic staff members and patients by Operation Rescue and other groups that oppose a woman's right to choose.

The program was sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

Andrea Jachman, Jennifer Leazer, and Lisa Strong laid out the facts of their case, their views on the anti-stalking law, and an outline of their defense strategy. Kathleen Winters, a fourth defendant in the case, was unable to attend the meeting. Marea Himelgrin, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and United Steelworkers of America Local 9198, also spoke on the panel.

The four defendants are scheduled to appear for a court hearing in St. Louis Park, a Minneapolis suburb, October 20. They intend to plead "not guilty."

The four women were arrested July 11 after joining an Operation Rescue car caravan from Calvary Temple Church in St. Louis Park to a demonstration in front of the home of a local doctor who performs abortions. The caravan and demonstration had been publicly announced by Operation Rescue.

As a member of the Network to Ensure Access (NEA), Jachman explained, she and other activists had been trained as "legal observers" to monitor Operation Rescue activities for any legal infringements, such as violating injunctions or "stalking" activities. Suspecting this might happen at the doctor's home, the abortion rights supporters joined the caravan.

Operation Rescue members notified the St. Louis Park police that they were being "stalked."

"After the cops pulled us over," said Jachman, "it took them 30-40 minutes to decide to arrest us. Then they brought us to the station and booked us on stalking. We were there for a couple of hours until the NEA bailed us out."

The Network to Ensure Access, an umbrella organization of pro-choice groups, has since disbanded. The four activists are attempting to win support from the member organizations. However, most of these groups vigorously campaigned for the anti-stalking law and aren't willing to back a case they feel challenges it.

Charges politically motivated

"These charges were politically motivated," stated Leazer. She explained that "the part of the law we're charged under says, 'anyone who stalks, follows, or pursues another' is guilty. We feel that some parts of this law are not unconstitutional and can help women," but on grounds of vagueness, "we would be for overturning the clause we're charged with." She added that "because this is such a political case, we feel that a political defense would work."

Strong urged a campaign of letters and phone calls to St. Louis Park mayor Lyle Hanks and city council members calling for the stalking charges to be dropped. She also urged supporters to attend upcoming city council meetings to press the same demand.

Himelgrin pointed out that any of the thousands of pro-choice activists who have mobilized to defeat attempts by Operation Rescue to shut down abortion clinics could have been charged under the same anti-stalking law, and that "the four sisters recently charged in St. Louis Park will be far from the last fighters for social justice to be victimized under this new law unless it is overturned."

Himelgrin argued that although pro-choice organizations in the state, including the Na-

tional Organization for Women and Planned Parenthood, had lobbied for the anti-stalking legislation, the law is, in fact, a threat to fighters for democratic rights because "it gives the cops and the courts more power to intervene in our personal lives and political activity."

The speakers also addressed the case of Brian Oates, an Operation Rescue member who was arrested this summer in the Twin Cities, Minnesota, on stalking charges.

Leazer argued that Oates's situation is different from the case of the pro-choice activists. She supports his conviction under the new law.

Himelgrin disagreed. "The charges against Oates, like the charges against the four pro-choice activists, do nothing to advance the struggle to defend the right of women to choose abortion, or the fight for women to be able to live without fearing violence against them," she said. "In fact, they are an obstacle to those fights. The charges against Oates should be dropped."

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