

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Building a South Africa that
'belongs to all who live in it'

— PAGES 8, 9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 57 NO. 44 December 13, 1993

Palestinians protest Israeli army killings

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS
AND GREG ROSENBERG

Angered by a wave of Israeli army killings and arrests of Palestinian activists, tens of thousands took to the streets in the Gaza Strip November 30. Demonstrators set up roadblocks and threw rocks at soldiers, as occupying military units opened fire indiscriminately, killing at least 1 Palestinian teenager and wounding more than 65 others.

The clashes, the harshest since Tel Aviv and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) signed an accord September 13, show that little if anything has changed in the brutal reality of Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza.

On November 26 Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin warned he might not meet the December 13 deadline, stipulated in the agreement he signed in Washington, D.C., for Israeli troop withdrawal from Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho.

Young members of the Fatah Hawks, an armed group affiliated with Yasir Arafat's Fatah, the biggest group in the PLO, led the November 30 protests.

"We call on the PLO leadership to immediately stop the talks with Israel," said a wall slogan in Rafah, in the southern part of the Gaza Strip, signed by the Hawks.

Worried that their actions and the resulting storm of protests might jeopardize continuing negotiations over implementation of the September accord, Israeli army commanders met with leaders of Fatah in the Gaza Strip November 30. Officials of the Palestinian organization subsequently an-



Palestinians in Gaza throw rocks at Israeli troops. Israeli soldier (right) hurls concussion grenade at demonstrators. Occupying forces killed 1 Palestinian teenager and wounded more than 65 in Gaza November 30.

nounced the army had agreed to halt its hunt for PLO militants. Officials in Tel Aviv, however, said they will reduce the number of troops and ease restrictions in parts of Gaza but will not stop hunting down Palestinians they accuse of "terrorism."

Palestinian demonstrations erupted recently after Tel Aviv stepped up repression in Gaza and the West Bank.

On November 25 Israeli troops wounded

34 Palestinians during a march in Gaza against the killing of Imad Aqal, military commander of Hamas — a Palestinian group that opposes the September accord. Rabin called the slaying a "great achievement."

On November 28 an Israeli army hit squad murdered Ahmed Abu Rish, a member of the Fatah Hawks, who had laid down his arms and surrendered to Israeli forces a

Continued on Page 10

Washington prepares blow to Paris in GATT talks

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Washington is preparing blows against Paris as the December 15 deadline for concluding world trade talks approaches. The two imperialist powers are feuding over agricultural subsidies and other provisions of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The U.S. government is emboldened in its conflict with the governments of France and other members of the European Community (EC) from its recent victory in passing the North American Free Trade Agreement and forcing the Japanese rulers to begin opening their markets to rice imports.

"Does anyone suppose," asked the editors of London's *Financial Times*, "that cooperation between the US and Europe would survive a breakdown that could be plausibly blamed either on French intransigence or on stubborn US nit-picking over the trading rules?"

The Uruguay Round, named for the meeting that launched this stage of negotiations in Punta del Este, Uruguay, in 1986, involves 116 governments. While the talks go under the banner of liberalizing world trade, they are in reality an arena where rival powers fight it out over who will dominate markets and maximize profits at the expense of their competitors. GATT was established in 1948 by the strongest capitalist regimes, who continue to command dealings on in-

Continued on Page 12

British gov't admits secret negotiations with IRA

BY ROBERT HIGLEY

LONDON — Documents recently leaked to the public show that the British government has been conducting secret discussions with the Irish Republican Army (IRA). London has long sworn it would not negotiate with the IRA, which it accuses of terrorism.

The 40 pages of material — released by 10 Downing Street in the aftermath of the leak — cover verbal and written communications between London and the IRA beginning in February 1993. Patrick Mayhew, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, says that discussions between the government and Sinn Fein have been going on for several years. These talks, he says, have been of value. Sinn Fein opposes British rule in Northern Ireland and supports the IRA's armed campaign.

According to Mayhew, the latest contacts began after receiving a message "from the leadership of the IRA, which said 'the conflict is over but we need your advice on how to bring it to a close.'" British officials say the IRA offered to give private assurances they would end their armed campaign, but would not make a public statement.

Gerry Adams, the central leader of Sinn Fein, however, said that the IRA had never said the fight was over. "That's a blatant lie," he said, accusing the British government of producing counterfeit documents. Adams also said that as part of discussions during

Continued on Page 6

Miners dismantle pickets in coalfields after union, bosses agree to 'amnesty'

BY MARY ZINS

MARISSA, Illinois — The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) picket lines are down throughout the coalfields of Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and West Virginia. Picket

shacks still stand, boarded up, in front of mining operations owned by Peabody Holding Co., Consol Energy Inc., Arch Minerals Inc., Zeigler Holding Co., Rochester and Pittsburgh Coal Co., and Ashland Coal Co.

The picket lines were pulled down November 22 as part of an "amnesty" agreement between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Under terms of the amnesty, all workers facing discharge or other disciplinary action for "strike related activities" will go back to work once a contract is agreed upon. As part of the plan the union dismantled the picket lines and the company said it would withdraw security guards hired especially for the strike.

"I don't think this dismantling of the picket lines can go on forever," said Randy Phelps, president of UMWA Local 1148 at Peabody's Randolph prep plant and Pit No. 6. "The companies are still mining coal at some of the struck operations."

Despite the absence of picket lines and reports that negotiators have reached a verbal agreement, UMWA officials and members emphasize the strike is not over, and there is no contract.

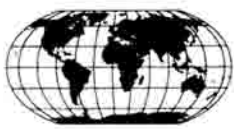
"Negotiators for both parties are working to develop the contract language that was agreed to verbally," said Bill Brumfield, UMWA International Executive Board member for Illinois. "We hope there might be a tentative agreement by the weekend," he continued.

This is the longest strike for a national

Continued on Page 11



Miner watching coal loaded at Zeigler's Old Ben No. 25 mine in Logan, Illinois, in October. The facility is struck but company is using supervisors to cut coal. "I don't think this dismantling of picket lines can go on forever," said Randy Phelps.



General strike cripples Belgium

Workers in Belgium paralyzed factories, trains, shipping, and road traffic November 26 with a one-day general strike to protest an unemployment rate of 14 percent and the government's plan to cut services, freeze wages, and raise taxes. It was the first general strike there since 1936. Most large industry, schools, and post offices were closed. The action came after localized strikes on November 22 and November 24 shut down businesses in several provinces.

Workers forced the government to agree to meet with union representatives to discuss the austerity measures. The unions have threatened another general strike to coincide with the December 10 meeting of European Community government leaders in Brussels.

Unionists march in Spain

Spain's two largest trade unions — the Workers Commission (CO) and the General Union of Workers (UGT) — organized protest marches in 50 cities November 25 against the government's economic policies. Some 60,000 workers demonstrated in Barcelona and 40,000 in Madrid. Rank-and-file unionists have been urging officials to call a general strike for some time in December to force the government to back down on plans to impose wage restraints, reduce benefits, and change legislation that would weaken workers' rights.

Bonn bans Kurdish party

The German government banned the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) November 26, raided homes and offices of people suspected of supporting the Kurdish independence party, and seized property belonging to the group and 35 organizations allegedly associated with it. German interior minister Manfred Kanther blamed the PKK for a November 4 arson attack that killed a person from Turkey. The group denies responsibility for the fire. About 450,000 Kurds from Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and other countries live in Germany.

Students protest in Italy, France

Tens of thousands of high school students in Italy demonstrated November 27 against government plans to cut the number of teachers and reduce spending on public schools. Organizers estimate the number of demon-

strators at 14,000 in Rome, 32,000 in Naples, and 5,000 in the Sicilian town of Trapani.

More than 6,000 high school students held similar protests in Paris November 25 to demand more funding for education and smaller class sizes. Thousands more demonstrated in at least 18 other cities in France. University students had held protests across the country the previous week.

Workers in France have also organized a series of protests against the government's austerity measures and plans to privatize certain industries.

Bosnia talks to restart

Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic, rightist Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia, and President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia reportedly agreed to meet in Geneva November 29 to discuss terms for an end to 19 months of fighting in Bosnia. Talks broke off in September when the Bosnian government rejected the proposed borders for dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina into three ethnic-based autonomous regions.

Indian troops attack Kashmir

Thousands of Indian troops swept into Sopur, Kashmir, in the middle of the night November 26 and sealed off the city of 100,000 people. The army torched houses and a place of worship in an attempt to take control of the community, which is run by supporters of Kashmir independence. Kashmiri troops returned fire. A spokesperson for the independence fighters estimated that more than 200 people, mostly unarmed civilians, were killed.

Russia opposes NATO expansion

Moscow warned the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) against granting Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and other Eastern European countries membership. The director of Russia's intelligence service, Yevgeny Primakov, said NATO's expansion would "bring the biggest military grouping in the world, with its colossal offensive poten-



Riot police in Madrid, Spain, attack a student during nationwide protests November 25 to demand the government spend more on education. Similar actions took place that week in France and Italy.

tial, directly to the borders of Russia." This would force "a fundamental reappraisal of all defense concepts on our side," he said. Washington has suggested joint military exercises between the armies of eastern and central European countries instead of granting membership in NATO.

S. Carolina abortion rights foes step up clinic harassment

Forces opposed to abortion rights bought houses next to two women's clinics in Greenville, South Carolina, to use as centers to harass women seeking abortions. The organization, Pastors for Life, is also picketing the homes, churches, and clinics of doctors, nurses, and other staff members. A spokesperson for the opponents of abortion rights said a paid staff person greets each patient in the parking lot of the neighboring clinic, shows her color photographs of aborted fetuses, and invites her next door instead. More than 15 so-called pregnancy counseling centers are in the same buildings as abortion clinics across the country.

High court allows deportations

U.S. Supreme Court justice Sandra O'Connor temporarily lifted a lower court's restriction on the deportation of up to 50,000 undocumented immigrant workers November 26. The undocumented workers have been seeking legal status based on the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. O'Connor said the Immigrant Assistance Project of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor that won the lower court order on behalf of the immigrants lacked legal standing. Individuals who applied and were rejected for amnesty under the 1986 law, or those who didn't apply for fear of rejection, may qualify to sue the court on their own behalf.

Haitian leader to step down

Robert Malval, named prime minister by

ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide in August, said he would step down December 15. Malval cited the failure of a United Nations-brokered accord to return Aristide to power. Commerce and Industry Minister Louis Dejoie said forces in Haiti were moving toward declaring Aristide temporarily incapacitated, allowing for the installation of a new government, perhaps one more amenable to the army.

Nicaraguan parties talk

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and the ruling National Opposition Union (UNO) agreed on two of the more than 30 proposed changes to Nicaragua's constitution. Both delegations agreed that members of the military will have the right to vote but cannot campaign for candidates or run for office. A soldier interested in participating in the election campaign must resign from active duty one year before the vote. The second constitutional change guarantees the private holding of real estate, personal property, tools, and means of production and outlaws the seizure of property.

Burundi death toll soars

The army in Burundi still roams around the countryside killing civilians and government officials a month after their failed coup, according to the country's foreign minister, Paul Munyembari. Melchior Ndadaye, Burundi's first elected president, and several cabinet members were killed October 21 when soldiers stormed the palace and tried to seize power. Some 800,000 people fled the country into neighboring Rwanda, Tanzania, and Zaire. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said that more than 100 refugees a day were dying in Rwanda of disease and malnutrition. Officials in Burundi fear the death toll from fighting inside the country may exceed the 150,000 killed in 1972.

— PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

Why Washington's 'cold war' against Cuba doesn't end

The 'Militant' explains why the Clinton administration will not back off from its campaign against the Cuban revolution. On-the-scene reports describe how Cubans are responding to the severe economic crisis. Activists give firsthand accounts of new opportunities to broaden opposition to the U.S.-organized trade embargo against Cuba. Don't miss a single issue!



SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

\$10 for 12 issues ☐

☐ **\$15 for 12 weeks**

RENEWAL

☐ **\$27 for 6 months**

☐ **\$45 for 1 year**

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

PHONE

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the Militant outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £6 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £10 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,300 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Closing news date: December 1, 1993

Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Managing Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Sara Lobman, Greg Rosenberg, Stu Singer, Pat Smith, Brian Williams. Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040; Modem, 924-6048.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant. Internet email: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address.

By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. France: Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. Belgium: BF 2,600 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of IMei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia. Philippines, Pacific Islands: Send Australian \$75 or New Zealand \$100 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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

German presidential candidate withdraws

Blow to ruling Christian Democrats is harbinger of increased instability

BY GREG ROSENBERG

In a reflection of sharpening social tensions and polarization in Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl suffered a blow when his handpicked presidential nominee was forced to withdraw from the race November 25.

A growing controversy surrounded Stefan Heitmann, whose reactionary remarks on immigrant workers and women drew opposition, including from members of Kohl's own Christian Democrats. Kohl's ruling party is temporarily left without a presidential candidate for elections scheduled for May.

The defeat for Kohl is a harbinger of increased instability in Germany, the strongest economic power in Europe, which is stuck in its worst recession since World War II.

The Heitmann withdrawal "will weaken an already unpopular CDU [Christian Democratic Union]," the *Financial Times* editors wrote November 26. "The stature of the presidency will probably recover. Mr. Kohl's may not." The presidency is a largely ceremonial office in Germany.

Heitmann, a former Lutheran church official and the justice minister of the eastern state of Saxony, was picked by Kohl in an attempt to placate working people in the eastern part of the country who have suffered the brunt of the economic crisis.

During his campaign, the nominee spoke of Germany being "overrun by foreigners," argued that women were better suited for motherhood than working, and said that homosexuals would "always remain in the minority and thus have to bear the burdens that go with that."

Heitmann also fell afoul of some Jewish organizations for saying, "I believe that the organized deaths of millions of Jews in gas chambers was indeed unique — just as there are many historically unique events. History in any event does not repeat itself. But I do not believe that a special role for Germany should flow from this until the end of history."

The German chancellor was also embarrassed by Heitmann's dismissive comments on so-called European unity.

The most prominent endorsements of Heitmann were those of two ultrarightist parties, the German People's Union and the Republican Party. German People's Union leader Gerhard Frey called Heitmann "one of us."

Reunification a drain

Kohl's ruling party faces 19 separate local and state elections between now and the October 1994 federal elections. The CDU goes into these elections with its 11-year-old coalition with the Free Democratic Party, which felt compelled to oppose Heitmann, tenuous at best.

Bonn pours \$62.5 billion annually into the eastern part of the country, with projections to keep up this pace for at least a decade. Germany's banks have kept interest

rates high, despite pressure from allies in Europe to lower them. The effect has been to siphon funds from capitalists elsewhere on the continent, forcing them to foot part of the bill for German reunification.

The strains of reunification, along with the world depression and the competition it engenders, have placed big pressures on capitalism in Germany. Unemployment rose above 3.5 million in October, the highest level in five decades, reaching 7.6 percent in the west and 15.3 percent in the east.

Bourgeois politicians and big business have in turn launched an assault on the

social benefits of workers in Germany, complaining that workers there have a shorter workweek and more benefits than those of Bonn's rivals.

Kohl, the point man in the offensive against the working class, said, "It seems like there is nothing more important [in Germany] than thinking about how we can expand our recreation time. . . . We cannot secure our country's future by running it like a big amusement park."

The government has targeted unemployment benefits in particular for cutbacks. In the past 12 months, industrial employers

have axed 739,000 jobs in a country of 80 million.

Predictions by the Council of Economic Advisers that unemployment will top 4 million next year drew the remark "Social peace is at risk," from Rudolph Scharping, leader of the Social Democrats. The opposition party has been complicit in the anti-working-class assault.

The ruling families blame immigrant workers for the crisis. The growth of rightist parties has accompanied some 4,800 documented acts of right-wing and racist violence since 1991.

Volkswagen will cut workweek, wages

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Volkswagen (VW) and union officials in Germany reached a tentative agreement in late November to reduce both hours and wages for workers at Europe's largest automaker. The company has threatened to lay off 30,000 workers — one-third of its workforce — in the next two years if the plan is not accepted.

Under the agreement, the workweek will be cut to four days from five, with a corresponding 20 percent reduction in base pay. Workers will not get a 3.5 percent pay increase that was supposed to have taken effect November 1. They will receive a 1 percent raise January 1 in place of wage negotiations scheduled for August 1994.

Along with massive layoffs, VW proposed limiting workers who are under 30 or single to eight or nine months of work per year.

Officials of IG Metall, the metalworkers union, praised the pact as a good alternative to layoffs. They say the auto workers will actually lose only 10 percent of their annual compensation, due to shifts in how bonuses, personal days, and benefits are calculated.

Oskar Lafontaine, deputy chief of the opposition Social Democratic Party, also hailed the deal as a model for other companies.

VW has made clear it intends to push for substantial concessions in work rules as part of the package.

Big business welcomed the agreement. The automaker's shares jumped 2.4 percent on the Frankfurt stock market after the announcement. But some warn that the pact does not go far enough to solve VW's financial problems.

"At best it's a temporary solution to try to win a degree of peace within the company," said Karsten Rahls, an analyst at M. M. Warburg Bank Investment Research in Hamburg, Germany. "Eventually [VW] will have to find a solution for the fact that they've got 30 percent too many people."

The *Washington Post* agreed. "VW is in trouble and needs to take drastic action," said a November 29 editorial. "Two major reasons are VW's wages, which are very high in relation to its competitors', particu-



Assembly line at BMW plant in Regensburg, Germany. Auto workers there now put in four days a week, but work longer shifts and weekends. Volkswagen and other companies hope to cut costs and increase productivity with new work schedules.

larly those in America and Japan, and its labor productivity, which is low.

"In this good-hearted attempt to avoid layoffs and social disruption, Volkswagen is increasing the competitive disadvantage that got it into trouble in the first place," the *Post's* editors conclude.

Other companies in France, Germany, and elsewhere have taken similar measures aimed at cutting labor costs and increasing productivity. One way this works is by getting more flexible work schedules that allow companies to keep machinery running longer hours without overtime pay. At one BMW auto plant in Germany, for instance, workers put in a four-day week, the workday has been lengthened to nine hours, and a

Saturday shift has been added. Until recently, weekend work was rare in Germany.

The miners union in Germany proposed a four-day workweek with a 5 percent pay cut following the VW agreement, saying it could save up to 10,000 jobs in the mining industry.

An article in the November 24 *Wall Street Journal* described how Simmonds, an auto and aerospace parts company in the village of Saint-Cosme-en-Vairais, France, pitted workers against each other. The company said it would lay off a quarter of the workforce, or 150 people, if workers did not accept a shorter workweek with reduced pay. Two-thirds of the town's working population are employed at Simmonds. If they took the pay cut, the company said, only 110 would lose their jobs.

According to the *Journal*, the Communist Party-led union at Simmonds campaigned for a vote against the pay cut, a second union there argued for it in order to save jobs, and a third did not take a position. The workers voted 53 percent to 47 percent against the shorter week and pay cut.

Students protest cutbacks in New Zealand

BY CARMEN BAIN

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — Around 80 students and other young people barricaded themselves in on the sixth floor of Canterbury University's registry building November 3 during a University Council meeting. The occupation protested the council's decision to raise annual tuition fees from NZ\$1,300 to NZ\$1,500.

Some 400 students attended a rally outside the registry building even though classes had ended for the year and examinations were taking place. Speakers at the protest included two students from Otago University in Dunedin, who described recent protests there. They appealed for support for eight students facing prosecution after cops violently broke up a student rally September 28.

The November 3 protest was organized by the Education Action Group (EAG), which was formed three months ago to organize students and others to fight against tuition fees, for universal free education, and for a living allowance for students.

"Education is a right, not a privilege,"

Christina Rizos, a member of the EAG and president-elect of the students association, said. "Learning institutions shouldn't be limited to only those who can pay for it, but be for all those who have the ability to learn. Knowledge is power and we should be empowering those who don't have it."

The student sit-in received extensive coverage in the national media. University administration spokespeople expressed sympathy with the students' demands, blaming government policies for the fee increases. The government announced October 29 that funding for Canterbury University would be slashed by 5.7 percent next year.

Although the rally and sit-in were unable to prevent the fee increase, many participants said they thought it was important the actions took place. One EAG member said she hoped they were "the start of a political movement, of people being aware of what's happening, and making a stand against the scary things that are happening in this country." Free education is "a basic human right, like health care," she added.

The EAG intends to continue organizing

next year, beginning with information tables during enrolment week in late February, to try to win as many new students as possible to become actively involved.

In January EAG representatives will attend a national meeting of education activists in Wellington to map out plans for 1994.

Rizos explained that the New Zealand Students Association would focus next year on building a better, stronger student movement fighting for free education for all.

"The national government has a solely monetarist agenda, with user-pays and privatization. Over the next three years they will bring in as much of this sort of policy as possible," she said.

To counter this, Rizos added, we need to "organize students and other groups. The voice of a small person only gets heard through mass action."

Carmen Bain is a member of the United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union and of the EAG. She was the Communist League's candidate for Christchurch Central in the November 1993 general election.

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

ACTION PROGRAM TO CONFRONT THE COMING ECONOMIC CRISIS

Edited by Doug Jenness

How a program to fight for jobs, cancellation of the Third World debt, and for affirmative action is crucial to uniting working people internationally in face of employer and government attacks. Booklet. \$3.00.

Cancel the Third World debt!
Shorten the workweek!
Enforce affirmative action!

Available at bookstores listed on page 19 or at the address below. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling. Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150

State Department official outlines U.S. gov't campaign against Cuba

Printed below is a speech given by Alexander Watson, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, outlining the policy of the Clinton administration toward Cuba. Watson delivered the speech on November 18 before the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the House of Representatives.

We are publishing the speech in order for *Militant* readers to gain an accurate appreciation of Washington's continuing "cold war" against the Cuban revolution. Subheads are by the *Militant*.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for this opportunity to discuss recent developments in Cuba, U.S. Cuban policy, and the impact of the Cuban Democracy Act of 1992.

Let me state at the outset that President Clinton's policy toward Cuba is to maintain our economic embargo until there is true democratic reform and respect for human rights, while reaching out to the Cuban people to alleviate their distress. He does not intend to deviate from this policy.

Cuba today is confronting the most serious economic crisis in its history. Six billion dollars in annual Soviet aid has ended. The ensuing economic collapse has laid bare the simple, sad truth that Cuba's inefficient, planned economy is unable to meet its people's most basic needs. Remember that in the 1950's, Cuba had a per capita income among the very highest in Latin America; today, it is among the very lowest. Foreign trade has fallen by 75 percent. Factories are closing, under- and unemployment may well be approaching 40 percent and the 1992 sugar harvest was the smallest in 30 years. Rationing has never been tighter. Milk is only available to children under seven, and Cubans are authorized but one shirt, one pair of shoes and one pair of pants or a skirt per year.

These tragic facts should come as no surprise. They are the result of the failures of Cuba's command economy. Command economies everywhere have produced shortages and rationing, whether in Europe, the Soviet Union, Africa, southeast Asia — or the Caribbean.

In the face of this economic disaster, the Cuban government has made some grudging modifications, but they have been too little and too late. The government's first priority is clear: to maintain control of the Cuban people. For example, individual private enterprise, abolished in 1968, is again

permissible, but the individual must fall within one of about 130 specific categories, and register with and be approved by the state. Those engaged in private enterprise cannot be university graduates and may not hire another person or form a company. Farmers still cannot sell their produce to city dwellers, and it is still illegal for Cubans to freely buy and sell their homes or make a private investment.

Cuba touts its high priority tourism and biotechnology industries in which it has invested so much scarce hard-currency resources. However, these industries cannot succeed in resolving Cuba's pressing economic needs, mired as they are in centralized inefficiency. In addition, Cuba maintains an enormous and costly military and security apparatus. Its armed forces, although smaller than in the past, are still the third largest in Latin America, after only Brazil and Mexico, countries with populations significantly larger than Cuba's. Its massive state security forces seek to control every detail of the daily life of the average Cuban. They are an enormous drain on the Cuban economy. More importantly, however, they indicate the regime's determination to maintain absolute political control.

The modest economic changes I have outlined have not been accompanied by political change. Basic human rights remain repressed and democratic practices are not tolerated.

In short, Cuba is a country at a dead end. Its economic and political systems have failed, and provide the Cuban people with neither the prosperity nor the freedom that they long for. Their daily existence is marked by scarcity, rationing and long lines. Their future under the current regime is without hope.

What is our response to this human tragedy, in a country just 90 miles from our shores? On the one hand, we will continue our diplomatic, political and economic isolation of the Cuban government and maintain our economic embargo as a form of leverage and pressure on the Cuban Government to start to meet the economic and political needs of its people. On the other hand, we will actively reach out to the Cuban people with humanitarian assistance, an offer of improved telecommunications and an increased flow of information. This two-track policy, which is reflected in the Cuban Democracy Act,



U.S. president John Kennedy meeting with military advisers during the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. From Kennedy to Clinton, eight U.S. presidents have led a campaign aimed at destroying the Cuban revolution.

is supported by this Administration because it meets our strategic as well as our humanitarian interests as a nation.

These two tracks are clearly complementary. As the authors of the Cuban Democracy Act wisely recognized, we must make it clear that the regime's denial of basic human rights is and will remain unacceptable to the United States, while still reaching out to the Cuban people.

Against this backdrop of Cuba's current situation, let me review the Act section by section.

Cuban Democracy Act

Section 1703 of the Cuban Democracy Act [CDA] correctly describes current U.S. policy. We believe that the future of Cuba is for the people of Cuba to decide through free and fair elections under international observation. We believe that the economic embargo and diplomatic isolation are the best ways to maintain pressure on the Cuban government to adopt democratic reforms and to start respecting the human rights of the Cuban people. We also want the Cuban people to know, to use the words of Section 1703, that we are also willing to "reduce the sanctions in carefully calibrated ways in response to positive developments in Cuba." To date, we have seen no movement towards democracy or towards respect for human rights.

Section 1704 authorizes the President to suspend foreign assistance to any country that provides assistance, including loans, leases or credits at non-market rates, to Cuba. We continue to monitor this situation closely. Although six billion dollars a year in Soviet assistance to Cuba has ended, we have made very clear to the Russian government repeatedly and at the very highest levels the potential and serious consequences of any contravention of this provision. Earlier this year, Russia announced a \$380 million credit to complete projects started by the Soviet Union in Cuba, and we are monitoring the agreement to ensure that it is on strict market terms. Many western countries, such as Sweden, Canada and Germany, have ended their modest aid programs to Cuba due to human rights concerns. Others, such as Mexico and Venezuela, no longer provide goods to Cuba on concessional terms because Cuba failed to pay back earlier concessional credits. Although the EC [European Community] and Spain have made loans for humanitarian assistance to Cuba in 1993, France is the only country we know of that maintains an assistance program to Cuba today. Neither France nor the EC receives any U.S. aid; Spain is a candidate for some IMET [International Military Exchange Training] funds. Spain's loan to Cuba, however, was for humanitarian purposes, specifically the purchase of food.

'Humanitarian aid'

Section 1705, "Support for the Cuban People," is being implemented. Food donations to Cuba-based individuals or non-governmental organizations have been deregulated. Medicine and medical supplies may be licensed by the Department of Commerce for private donation to individuals and non-governmental organizations in Cuba. The humanitarian sale of medicine to Cuba may also be licensed, when there is adequate on-site inspection and other appropriate means to verify that the export is not misused.

Since the CDA was passed last year, li-

censes valued at over \$3 million have been authorized for large humanitarian aid shipments to Cuba. These have included medicines and dental, medical and hospital supplies to numerous non-governmental organizations in Cuba, including the Cuban Red Cross, the Cuban Ecumenical Council, the Cuban Baptist Convention, the Jewish Casa de la Comunidad Hebrea and CARITAS Cuba, the charitable organization of the Catholic Bishops.

Earlier this year, the Administration also authorized the "Basta!" organization to send two flotillas from Key West, Florida, with cargos of medical and hospital supplies for the Cuban Red Cross and other non-governmental groups. These large shipments are in addition to the thousands of fully-licensed packages that individuals send to their relatives on the island. We continue to look at ways to streamline procedures for sending humanitarian goods directly to the Cuban people.

Opposes efforts to end embargo

I want to emphasize, Mr. Chairman, that there are legal means to provide significant amounts of humanitarian assistance to the Cuban people. This Administration will continue to vigorously oppose politically-motivated efforts to undermine the U.S. economic embargo.

In regard to telecommunications, the Cuban Democracy Act authorizes "efficient and adequate" telecommunications between the U.S. and Cuba. Under guidelines issued by the administration, U.S. companies are now negotiating with Cuban authorities for a substantial increase in telephone links, with full current settlement at standard international rates. Unfortunately, the Cuban response has initially been less than positive. However, we know how important it is to Cuban-Americans to be able to talk with their loved ones, and will continue working for better phone links.

In regard to direct mail delivery, our approach to Cuba in the past for such service met with a negative Cuban response. We hope that subsequent overtures will be more fruitful.

On assistance to support democracy in Cuba, The National Endowment for Democracy continues to support human rights projects related to Cuba, disbursing over \$500,000 in FY-93 [fiscal year 1993]. These projects are undertaken by a wide variety of groups outside of Cuba, such as Freedom House, the José Martí Foundation, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, the Cuban Committee for Human Rights and the Human Rights Information Bureau. They are designed to promote nonviolent democratic change, as the CDA calls for.

Section 1706(a), the prohibition on licensing trade with Cuba by foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms, has been in effect since the Act was signed on October 23, 1992. The Department of the Treasury has ceased to issue licenses for trade with Cuba by U.S.-owned or -controlled firms located in third countries that had previously been permitted under certain circumstances by Treasury's Cuban Assets Control Regulations. Subsequent to the Act's passage, and consistent with its provisions, Treasury only licensed such transactions where the underlying contracts were entered into before the Act was enacted.

Section 1706(b), sanctions on vessels calling at Cuban ports, has also been imple-

Continued on next page



The Cuban revolution in world politics

To Speak the Truth

WHY WASHINGTON'S 'COLD WAR' AGAINST CUBA DOESN'T END

by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara

Why the U.S. government is determined to destroy the example set by the Cuban revolution and why its effort will fail. Introduction by Mary-Alice Waters. \$16.95

Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

CUBA CONFRONTS THE WORLD CRISIS OF THE '90S

by Mary-Alice Waters

Socialism can be built only by free men and women who consciously work together to lay the foundations for a new society, transforming themselves in the process. That course, championed by Ernesto Che Guevara in the early years of the Cuban revolution, remains central for Cuban working people today. Also available in Spanish, French, and Icelandic. Booklet. \$3.50

In Defense of Socialism

FOUR SPEECHES ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

by Fidel Castro

Not only is economic and social progress possible without the dog-eat-dog competition of capitalism, Castro argues, but socialism is the only way forward for humanity. \$13.95

How Far We Slaves Have Come!

SOUTH AFRICA AND CUBA IN TODAY'S WORLD

by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro

Speaking together in Cuba in 1991, Mandela and Castro discuss the unique relationship and example of the struggles of the South African and Cuban peoples. \$8.95

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or at the address below. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 for the first book and \$0.50 for each additional title to cover postage and handling. Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150

Activists condemn U.S. travel ban to Cuba

Opponents of Washington's policy debate strategy in fight against embargo

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — Representatives from a dozen organizations spoke out against Washington's ban on travel to Cuba at a University of Minnesota meeting November 21 attended by nearly 100 people.

The protest, initiated by the Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee and Pastors for Peace, was cosponsored by a range of civil liberties, peace, religious, and political organizations.

It capped a week of events in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area related to the fight against the U.S. trade embargo of Cuba. These included a debate between Alfonso Fraga, head of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., and Dennis Hays, chief of the Cuba desk of the U.S. State Department, as well as a tour by Cuban musician Lázaro Ros and part of the group Mezcla — several of whose members were denied visas by the State Department.

The travel ban protest was organized in response to the potential prosecution of up to 175 participants in the Freedom to Travel tour to Cuba in October. Federal customs agents in Houston seized the passports of some 60 members of that delegation October 17 and 18 as they were returning from Cuba, including two Twin Cities, Minnesota, residents.

The law restricting travel to Cuba for U.S. citizens stipulates up to \$50,000 in individual civil fines and \$250,000 and 10 years' imprisonment in criminal penalties for violations.

"When one right is abrogated," Minnesota Civil Liberties Union (MCLU) executive director Bill Roath said at the November 21 event, "all rights are compromised." The MCLU is the local affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

In a written message to the event, Minneapolis mayor Donald Fraser condemned the travel restrictions to the Caribbean island.



November 21 rally protesting Cuba travel ban. Speakers included Gerry Condon, Pastors for Peace; Lisa Rottach, Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee; and student activist Damon Tinnon (at podium).

Al McFarlane, the publisher of three St. Paul-area newspapers oriented to the Black community and a Cuban-American, urged lifting the travel ban to enable U.S. citizens to see "a fighting people who has survived oppression, has survived racism, and has survived capitalism — a people who has shown the world it is possible to win."

"We should tell Washington: 'Hands off Cuba,'" McFarlane said to cheers, "but to ourselves we should say, 'Hands on Cuba,' to open doors, build bridges, and to learn."

Colleen Aho, executive director of the Twin Cities chapter of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, explained how U.S. Customs agents at the Canadian border seized books and newspapers she'd brought back from a journalistic assignment in Cuba in 1985. She retrieved the confiscated books after legal action against the government.

"What does the U.S. government fear?" the unionist asked. "I believe it is the chance we will see a healthy society in Cuba. The

right to travel is the right to be able to go to Cuba and see what it is ourselves."

No friends in the Clinton administration

In fighting the travel ban, "we have no friends in the Clinton administration," Damon Tinnon, a leader of the Student Political Organizing Committee at the University of Minnesota, told the crowd.

"Some say because Washington has relations with China, or El Salvador, or Haiti, and none with Cuba, there is a double standard. I disagree," the student activist said. "There's a single standard: if you're not willing to bow to the United States, Washington will persecute you. And Cuba will not bow, because it has fought to build socialism and resist imperialism — because the Cuban revolution has integrity."

The event also heard written greetings from Fraga.

"[Cuba] is passing through the most difficult moment in its history," he said, but will persevere and emerge "strengthened after this test."

Other speakers included June Reich, a leader of the Minneapolis National Organization for Women; John Kurl from the Committee in Solidarity with the people of El Salvador; and Marv Davidov, executive director of the Midwest Institute for Social Transformation.

Davidov, who helped organize the 13-member Twin Cities delegation on the Freedom to Travel trip to Cuba in October, had his passport photographed and his belongings searched by customs agents in Tampa, Florida. Officials seized a list he was carrying of the participants on the trip. "As citizens of the world and our country we have a right to go anywhere," Davidov said.

Concluding the event, Pastors for Peace leader Gerry Condon termed the speak-out a "preemptive strike" against possible prosecution of members of a Pastors for Peace-sponsored housing construction brigade, which departed for Havana November 19.

Condon reported Pastors for Peace received a "cease-and-desist" order November 15 from the U.S. Treasury Department warning the group that the brigade violated the Trading with the Enemy Act and was subject to penalties under the law.

"We refused to be intimidated by the government," Condon said, announcing the group's decision to go ahead with the brigade to Cuba. But given Washington's stance, he said, "we may well see some prosecution."

"We are in a win-win situation," Condon continued. "Either the government stands aside and does nothing or it decides to indict. We'll put the embargo on trial and win it in the court of public opinion. Millions more people in the United States and around the world will become aware of [the embargo] and oppose it."

Debate on construction brigade

Even before the government's cease-and-desist order a number of activists who had been building the brigade argued in favor of postponing the trip in order to organize it more broadly. These activists pointed out the brigade had gotten too small and did not have enough local committees actively involved. This both limited the impact of the brigade among working people and youth in the United States and handed the government an easy target.

"When I started organizing to get on the construction brigade, it was being projected as a broadly built action that would involve as many as 80 people," explained Amy Husk Sánchez in a telephone interview. Sánchez is an activist in Cleveland and a member of the United Auto Workers at the Ford Motor Co. Avon Lake plant.

"As we got closer to the date of departure, it became clear that only a few people would be making the trip to Cuba. A narrow group from a few cities was not going to encourage more people to get involved in activities protesting the embargo and defending Cuba. Postponing the trip would have given activists who were interested in building the brigade time to get more people involved and would make it harder for the government to take action against anyone for traveling to Cuba and supporting the Cuban people."

Sánchez had succeeded in getting time off work after many of her coworkers supported her efforts to participate in the construction project.

"Not everyone liked the idea of me going to Cuba," Sánchez said. "One coworker highlighted a part of a letter I circulated, which explained that Cubans are suffering from a lack of food and medicines, and wrote, 'So what, bitch?' He also wrote, 'If you don't want to work here under a capitalist system then stay in Cuba.'"

Many coworkers, however, were supportive. After a lot of back-and-forth discussion in the plant and with help from some union officials, the company granted her the time off, Sánchez said. Two of her coworkers volunteered to approach their churches for contributions.

"My experience at the auto plant showed
Continued on Page 12

U.S. gov't campaign against Cuba

Continued from previous page

mented. The Department of Treasury, in coordination with the Customs Department, has issued notices to all United States port authorities, informing all shipping agents of the CDA prohibitions. All indications have been that notification deterred such vessels coming into our ports to load or unload cargo.

Sections 1707 and 1708 concern U.S. aid and assistance to a transitional and to a democratic Cuban government. We of course will be ready to help Cuba in appropriate ways in its transition to democracy, once the process is under way. We have read the draft "Free Cuban Support Act" legislation proposed by Congressman [Robert] Menendez and several co-sponsors with interest and wish to work with this committee on ways to respond to the inevitable change in Cuba.

Washington's travel ban

Although the CDA does not deal extensively with the issue of travel to Cuba, I believe it is an important issue to address, since it has received widespread attention in the past few months. The freedom to travel is a right that Americans cherish. As you know, U.S. law does not prohibit travel to Cuba. It does, however, prohibit spending money on travel to Cuba except for certain authorized categories, such as a visit with close relatives, or professional journalists reporting on events in Cuba. Over 15,000 American citizens and residents traveled legally to Cuba last year. The U.S. government has no desire to keep its citizens from learning about the country of Cuba, its people and its culture, but we do want to deny the Cuban government hard currency. We do not want to prolong the suffering of the Cuban people under a dictatorship, which could happen were the Cuban government to receive the economic windfall open travel would provide.

In October, the State Department gave

provisional approval to the application of a licensed air charter service provider to increase flights to Cuba following changed visa procedures by the Cuban government. The Congress and the Administration were concerned that we do not acquiesce in any attempt by the Cuban government to require individuals going to visit relatives to purchase hotel accommodation packages in order to obtain expedited visas. Therefore, the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) issued a General Circular advising licensed travel service providers that they could sell such packages only if a traveler voluntarily indicated he wished to stay in a hotel.

We have been monitoring the new travel procedures carefully since the issuance of the OFAC circular. Information received from the air charter service provider indicates there has been compliance with the circular. We intend to work with OFAC to continue close monitoring of these travel-related transactions to ensure that any hotel packages sold are purchased on a voluntary basis. Meanwhile, we have begun a policy of approving additional flights, after a careful review, on a month-to-month basis. The demand, however, has not been as great as the air charter service providers anticipated.

Possible prosecution

Also on the subject of travel, approximately 170 members of the Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom to Travel took a protest trip to Havana the second week of October. Their publicly stated goal was to violate the embargo's ban on travel-related expenditures and assert an unqualified right to travel for any reason. Customs officials interviewed many of the protesters and confiscated passports which had Cuban entry stamps as evidence of travel to Cuba, for possible use in prosecutions. The Department of Justice is reviewing the situation to

determine if there is sufficient evidence to warrant prosecution. As with humanitarian donations, the President's policy on travel is to support both the letter and the spirit of the embargo.

The other major travel-related issue eliciting significant interest has been the ongoing interagency review of the free-flow of information as it relates to all economic sanctions programs, which Secretary [of State Warren] Christopher told Congressman [Howard] Berman we could undertake. We seek to strike a balance between the U.S. interest in promoting democracy through enhanced information exchange, including by travel, and our pursuit of other U.S. foreign policy and security goals. On Cuba, the President's dual commitment is to enforce a strong economic embargo against the Cuban regime, while reaching out to the people of Cuba.

In conclusion, I wish to emphasize the importance of both tracks of our policy and how closely they are intertwined one with the other. Without the embargo — and vigorous enforcement of its provisions — our leverage to promote peaceful change would dissipate overnight. Without humanitarian assistance and information sharing, our policy would be needlessly harsh and could add to the suffering of the Cuban people.

Taken as a whole, we have a comprehensive, well reasoned program — the result of close collaboration between Congress and the Executive, and one which enjoys bipartisan support. We are saying "no" to a dictatorial government as we give an emphatic "yes" to the people who suffer under it. And we look forward to the day when the Cuban people regain their freedom, their economic security, and the bright future they have been denied for so long.

Thank you.

Organized efforts can propel 'Militant' fund to completion

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Supporters of the *Militant* are making an all-out effort for the next two weeks to successfully complete the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* 65th Anniversary Fund.

This is a substantial challenge. As of this writing, less than half of the more than \$75,000 pledged to the fund has arrived at the business office in New York. It will take detailed attention by supporters of the socialist press in every city to collect outstanding pledges and reach out to new readers and others who will want to contribute.

A new city has joined the chart this week — Edinboro, Pennsylvania. *Militant* supporters in the Young Socialists group, based on the University of Pennsylvania Edinboro campus, decided to take a goal of raising \$250. "We had literature tables up on campus every week for the first couple months of the semester," said Mark Mateja. A number of students subscribed and began coming to Young Socialist meetings and forums. "We're contacting those subscribers to ask them to contribute to the fund," Mateja said.

With pledges continuing to come in, readers in both Pittsburgh and Philadelphia raised their goals this week.

Militant supporters in a number of cities are organizing special fund-raising forums to help push their goals over the top.

A full weekend of political discussion and education is in the works in San Francisco. Frank Forrestal, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, will speak at a Saturday night rally on the ongoing campaign by the U.S. government against Cuba, the crisis of capitalism, and what road forward

for working people. The first two classes in a seven-part series on Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women's Liberation will take place the same weekend.

This is a fitting way to celebrate the *Militant*. For 65 years the socialist weekly has been an invaluable tool in the fight for women's liberation.

Women in the industrial unions

As women poured into industrial jobs previously reserved for men during World War II, the *Militant* covered their fight to be part of the trade unions.

A Feb. 13, 1943, *Militant* article titled "Women in Industry" explained that the increased enrollment of women in industrial unions strengthened the working class. At first, Marie Taylor wrote, the AFL Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Shipbuilders in California would not accept women into membership and only allowed them to work under a permit system. Bosses used the fact that women were denied union wages and protection to divide the workforce.

"After some militant demonstrations by the women," Taylor wrote, "a referendum vote was taken and the union executive council later ruled that they could be admitted to regular membership. These women are now attending union meetings in increasing numbers and taking part in discussions of shop problems."

During the postwar years the bosses and their government went on an ideological campaign to reverse the confidence and independence women had won when they joined the industrial working class. In 1954 a sharp debate broke

out in the pages of the *Militant* over an article that exposed how cosmetic companies manipulate women to rake in huge profits. The rich lessons of this discussion are recorded in the Pathfinder book *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*.

During the 1970s a mass movement was built around the fight for the right to choose abortion, the Equal Rights Amendment, and affirmative action. A Jan. 27, 1978, *Militant* article encouraged readers to defend affirmative action at demonstrations that had been called to help overturn the Bakke decision. Allan Bakke had charged a California medical school with "reverse discrimination" over an affirmative action program.

The *Militant* explained that the huge gap in the wages of men and women, which is a result of the second-class status of women under capitalism, can only be closed through affirmative action and quotas. Since the bosses benefit from women's status, they will never change the situation voluntarily.

Today the *Militant* features regular coverage of battles to defend abortion rights and other gains women have won — advances that strengthen the possibilities for working-class unity.

Every contribution to the 65th Anniversary Fund, big and small, helps the *Militant* continue to arm workers, farmers, and young people with an understanding of the importance of the fight for women's equality and other struggles.

All contributions received in the business office by Tuesday, December 14, at 12 noon will be counted in the final scoreboard.

MILITANT

PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL

1993 FUND

GOAL \$75,000

	Goal	Paid	Percentage	
Portland	\$60	\$60	100%	66,700
Salt Lake City	\$2,500	\$2,007	80%	
Atlanta	\$2,750	\$2,134	78%	
Albany	\$200	\$140	70%	
Houston	\$3,000	\$1,805	60%	58,300
Pittsburgh	\$3,000	\$1,720	57%	
Philadelphia	\$4,000	\$2,245	56%	
Twin Cities	\$5,500	\$2,715	49%	
Detroit	\$3,500	\$1,684	48%	50,000
Miami	\$2,000	\$921	46%	
Greensboro	\$2,000	\$920	46%	
Newark	\$4,000	\$1,788	45%	
Brooklyn	\$3,000	\$1,225	41%	41,700
Birmingham	\$2,000	\$815	41%	
Manhattan	\$4,000	\$1,616	40%	
San Francisco	\$6,500	\$2,351	36%	
Morgantown	\$1,250	\$435	35%	33,300
Des Moines	\$2,000	\$670	34%	
Los Angeles	\$6,500	\$2,157	33%	
Washington, D.C.	\$3,200	\$960	30%	
Cincinnati	\$300	\$80	27%	25,000
Seattle	\$3,500	\$825	24%	
New Haven	\$500	\$100	20%	
Boston	\$3,000	\$550	18%	16,700
St. Louis	\$3,350	\$535	16%	
Cleveland	\$2,750	\$302	11%	
Chicago	\$5,000	\$100	2%	
Edinboro	\$250	\$0	0%	
Other		\$488		8,300
TOTAL	\$79,610	\$31,350	42%	
SHOULD BE	\$75,000	\$58,300	78%	

I pledge ☐ \$500 ☐ \$250 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$other

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZIP _____

COUNTRY _____

PHONE _____

SEND TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014

British gov't admits secret negotiations with IRA



British troops in Ulster, Northern Ireland.

Continued from front page

the past year, London had proposed a delegation from Sinn Fein meet with representatives of the government. The IRA had offered to call a two-week cease-fire to allow the discussions to take place, but the British government never followed through on the proposal.

According to the *New York Times*, Adams said he would agree to keep the discussions going, "provided honesty replaced duplicity."

The revelations on the secret talks have illustrated the secret and dishonest way in which the government conducts affairs. However, the almost unanimous support for the talks with the IRA has strengthened the hand of British prime minister John Major as he tries to regain control of the so-called peacemaking process in Northern Ireland. For several weeks in October and November, talks between Adams and John Hume, leader of the largely Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party that opposes the IRA, were at the center of attention, largely eclipsing stalled British government-sponsored negotiations.

The exact details of the Hume-Adams proposals have not been made public, but it is widely speculated that they include conditions for an IRA cease-fire and a guarantee to the Unionists — those who want Northern Ireland to remain under British rule — that a united Ireland would only be established by consent of all parties.

The *Manchester Guardian* reported November 2 that London and Dublin had decided "to bury the Hume-Adams initiative and retake control of the peace-making process." The Major government has made the "Ulster Peace Initiative" one of its leading priorities and it was a central component of the speech given to Parliament November 18 by Queen Elizabeth outlining government legislation for the coming year.

With a military stalemate between the British Army and the IRA, every move by London to reach a conclusion to the crisis in Northern Ireland that serves its interests is fraught with difficulties. Many prominent political figures have spoken out against talks with Sinn Fein. Furthermore, Major's government continues to depend on the votes of nine members of the Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) to survive.

However, most figures in the ruling class in Britain have come out in support of the negotiations with the IRA. According to the *New York Times*, "virtually no party or faction [in the House of Commons] took the path of condemning the Government for duplicity, aside from a group of three unionists led by Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)."

Ken Maginnis, leader of the UUP, has also not criticized London. "We've held firmly to our relationship with the government," he said. "We're not in the business of cutting off our nose to spite our face."

According to the *Financial Times*, the Irish government, the UUP, and the DUP were all aware of the negotiations between the British government and the IRA.

Pressure on the Major government to negotiate with Republican forces has also come from leading businessmen in Northern Ireland. The *Financial Times* reports that a survey of executives at the top 50 companies in Northern Ireland found many were for the "eventual unification of Ireland," as long as there were "economic and business dividends from a peace settlement."

"I would be quite happy as an industrialist to work in a united Ireland... given the right political institutions and the right economic support," Edward Wilson, managing director of Ulster Carpets, said.

Ireland and the Irish Question

BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

For workers in Britain, Marx and Engels explain, "the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation." Articles, letters, and documents on Ireland by the founding leaders of the modern working-class movement. 665 pp. \$19.95

MARX
ENGELSIreland
and the
Irish Question

PROGRESS Publishers

Available at bookstores listed on page 12, or at the address below. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling.

Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150

New Jersey politicians show scorn for workers

"We suppressed their vote. . . . We played the game the way the game is played in New Jersey or elsewhere."

Edward Rollins, campaign manager for New Jersey governor-elect Christine Whitman

BY MARK RAHN

Just one week after Republican Party candidate Christine Whitman narrowly won the New Jersey gubernatorial elections, Edward Rollins, Whitman's campaign manager, got up at a November 9 breakfast press conference and announced with pride that he had paid Black ministers to keep their congregations at home on election day.

"We went into Black churches," Rollins said, "and we basically said to ministers who had endorsed [Gov. Jim] Florio,

AS I SEE IT

'Do you have a special project?' And they said, 'We've already endorsed Florio.' We said, 'That's fine. Don't get up on the Sunday pulpit and preach. We know you've endorsed him, but don't get up there and say it's your moral obligation that you go on Tuesday to vote for Jim Florio.'

"We made contributions to their favorite charity," the campaign manager said, "which usually is some kind of special project. What we did, I think for the first time, is we played the game the way the game is played in New Jersey or elsewhere," Rollins added.

Just days earlier, on November 4, Dan Todd, Whitman's brother, made a similar statement. "That is where a lot of our effort went and a lot of our planning — getting out the vote on one side and voter sup —" Todd stopped himself then continued, "and keeping the vote light in other areas," he said at a public forum at Princeton University. "Sometimes voter suppression is as important in this business as vote getting," the governor-elect's chief spokesman, Carl Golden, said.

Whitman was quick to counter Rollins's statement. "It did not happen," she said at a November 10 press conference.

That same day, Rollins himself retracted his story. "My desire to put a spin on events has crossed the line from an honest discussion of my views to an exaggeration that turned out to be inaccurate. My remarks left the impression of something that was not true and did not occur," he said.

'One-upmanship'

Rollins later said that his comments were part of a game of "one-upmanship" with Democratic Party candidate Jim Florio's campaign manager, James Carville. "Part of what I was doing here was playing a game with James Carville. My expectation was not that this was going to become a national story," he said.

A storm of outrage followed Rollins remarks.

"I will not accept [Rollins's] apology," Rev. Willie Simmons, head of the political committee of the Newark-North Jersey Committee of Black Churchmen, said. He



Rollins (right) sparked outrage by bragging that he suppressed vote by Blacks as campaign manager for New Jersey governor-elect Whitman (left).

called Rollins's statement "a slap in the face to every Black minister in the state."

Rev. John Harris Jr. of Trenton added, "I wish there was a way to sue him for malicious slander because that's what it is."

The New Jersey National Association for the Advancement of Colored People released a statement November 10 urging Whitman to hold off taking office "until her name is cleared of this alleged Black vote suppression issue." The NAACP also called on U.S. attorney general Janet Reno to investigate possible violations of the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

The Democratic Party State Committee launched a lawsuit to overturn the election. The lawsuit was dropped November 29 after Democratic Party officials said they lacked evidence. No one has reported being offered money by the Republican Party in exchange for discouraging people from voting.

The FBI opened an investigation and set up a bribery hot line and the Justice Department announced it had launched an inquiry to see if any federal laws were violated.

Total contempt for working people

Did the Whitman campaign pay ministers to discourage their congregations from voting? Who knows. But there is no evidence that they did in this case. The comments by Rollins, Todd, Whitman, and others, however, underscore the disdain and disrespect all big-business politicians have for working people in general and working people who are Black in particular.

Rollins speaks the truth when he says that to him the elections were a game, a competition between two gangs of capitalist politicians. He was bragging when he said he had paid some Black ministers to suppress votes. See, it's not

just big-city Democrats who can set up a party machine, buy votes, and get an election to go their way, he was saying.

He really was surprised when his off-hand comments suddenly became national news. He forgot that his boasts would be heard by working people and others who didn't share his contempt for Blacks — ministers or not. He forgot we even existed. To Rollins and his ilk, working people — Black, white, Asian, or Latino — count only as blocks of voters to be manipulated, lied to, and bought in order to win an election.

This episode also demonstrates the scorn Whitman, Florio, and other capitalist politicians have for the right to vote. Working people, Blacks, and women fought mightily for this right, not so they could join some huckster operation but as part of the fight for equal rights before the law.

For all their scheming and competition, both Whitman and Florio put forward a program aimed at driving down

the standard of living and attacking the democratic rights of working people to shift more of society's wealth to the rich. This is especially true in this period of economic depression. Both Florio and Whitman are part of whipping up hysteria around crime, both support the death penalty, and both are united on the need to make New Jersey more "business friendly."

Socialist alternative

The socialist campaign — including that of myself for governor — put forward a completely different perspective.

The Socialist Workers candidates didn't try to get the "Black vote" on Monday, the "women's vote" on Tuesday, and so on. Instead we explained that the real changes in how society is organized come about through social struggles that have very little to do with elections. The fight against slavery, which culminated in the Civil War; the huge labor battles of the 1930s and '40s, which established industrial unions; the civil rights movement; and the women's movement are important examples.

It is out of big fights like these — and smaller, but important battles like the strikes of textile workers in New Jersey and American Airlines flight attendants — that we can campaign for what we really want and need. Through these struggles we will eventually gain the confidence to once and for all kick out of power all varieties of big-business politicians and the capitalist rulers they represent.

Mark Rahn is a garment worker and a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 145. He was the Socialist Workers candidate for governor in New Jersey this year.

Mandela display vandalized at Detroit bookstore

BY JAMES HARRIS

DETROIT — A large piece of asphalt was thrown through the window of the Pathfinder bookstore here. Supporters discovered the damage at 9:30 a.m. on November 18.

The attack came within 24 hours of the approval by multiparty negotiators in South Africa of a new interim constitution. The storefront bookstore featured a prominent window display of the new Pathfinder book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. The rock was thrown at a poster of Mandela.

Bookstore supporters immediately called a wide range of activists, bookstore customers, coworkers, and supporters of democrat-

ic rights to inform them of the facts and to invite them to a meeting responding to the attack at 5:00 p.m. the same day.

In the process, supporters discovered that three weeks earlier Global Books, which is associated with the U.S. Communist Party, had also been vandalized.

Toni Jackson, who staffs the Pathfinder bookstore on a voluntary basis, presented a statement to the media. "This act of vandalism is aimed at all supporters of the freedom struggle in South Africa," said Jackson. "It is meant to intimidate those who are getting out the truth about the struggle. Supporters of the bookstore will not be intimidated. We will continue to sell books of Nelson Mandela's speeches and

plan to increase their distribution in response to this attack." In addition to *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, the Pathfinder bookstore features writings and speeches of other revolutionary leaders, including Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, Karl Marx, and V. I. Lenin.

In the four days following the attack, nine copies of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* were sold.

Jackson's statement was played several times that day on WWJ, an all-news radio station. The attack was also reported on WDET, the Detroit area public radio station. A short story appeared in the *South End*, the Wayne State University newspaper.

Statements of support for the bookstore were sent by city council president Maryann Mahaffey and Correy Kennard, president of the Wayne State chapter of the NAACP. Many others called to ask what they could do.

At the meeting to protest the attack, Na-

than Head, civil rights director of the United Auto Workers, said, "I firmly believe this vandalism is certainly tied to the conclusion of the ratification of the new constitution for South Africa. It also may be tied to a rash of vandalism and property destruction that has been happening to liberal and progressive organizations nationally."

Ed Vaughn, the owner of Detroit's oldest Black bookstore, also attended the meeting. He told those in attendance how his shop — Vaughn's Book Store — had been firebombed by the Detroit police during the 1967 rebellion. He said the police had spread the lie that his store was the starting place of the riot. The cops actually attacked the store twice, destroying all of his stock. Vaughn said that after the attack he received book donations from all over the world to get started again, including from supporters of Pathfinder.

JOIN THE PATHFINDER READERS CLUB

Pathfinder is the leading international publisher of books by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon, Joseph Hansen, George Novack, Evelyn Reed, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, Maurice Bishop, and others.

Joining the Pathfinder Readers Club makes it easier and less expensive to get the books you want to read and study.

For a \$10 annual fee, members of the Readers Club receive a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder books and pamphlets at any Pathfinder bookstore around the world. You will also enjoy higher discounts on special selected titles.

To join, contact the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you or send \$10 to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



Volunteer points out damage to window of Pathfinder bookstore

Building a South Africa that belongs to 'all who live in it — black and white'

New book of Nelson Mandela's speeches explains revolutionary struggle

Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. 296 pp. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1993. \$18.95.

BY SAM MANUEL
AND GREG McCARTAN

"The forces of racism in South Africa are on the retreat. The countdown to the democratic transfer of power to the people has begun," Nelson Mandela told participants at the national convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, held in Indianapolis, Indiana, in July 1993. "The first-ever general election in our country conducted on the basis of one person, one vote, will be held on April 27, 1994."

This assessment of the immediate stakes in the fight for a democratic, nonracial republic in South Africa is part of a new

IN REVIEW

collection of speeches by the central leader of the African National Congress (ANC) released in November by Pathfinder entitled: *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*.

Editor Steve Clark has chosen a valuable selection of speeches on the political issues central to the revolution unfolding in South Africa today. The ANC's Department of Publicity and Information provided many of the speeches and other documents in the collection.

With each page the reader will not only

“South Africa should not only be unitary, nonracial and democratic, but should also be a nonsexist state”

gain an appreciation of Mandela as a revolutionary leader on a world scale, but of the capacities and power of working people and youth when they are part of a mighty social struggle.

An attractive full-color cover, extensive index, glossary, chronology, and footnotes make this new book exceptionally useful and readable.

The timely appearance of this collection will prove valuable both to longtime supporters of the ANC and to those learning for the first time about the struggle to end white-minority rule.

The 31 speeches and interviews begin with Mandela's address upon his release from prison in 1990 and conclude with his



Striking food workers in South Africa picket in front of their plant July 1991. Mandela points to organized mobilization of all those opposed to apartheid as only way forward.

presentation at the NAACP convention. They sharply illustrate the concrete challenges that have confronted South Africa's toilers during these three and a half years and the deep going advances they have made, led by the ANC toward the goal of dismantling the apartheid state and building a South Africa that — in the words of the Freedom Charter — belongs to all those who live and work in it.

"They said they would never talk with the ANC," Mandela explains in an interview with *Time* magazine in June 1993. But "they have had to unban the ANC, to lift the state of emergency, to allow a climate of free political activity, which they had not allowed for more than forty years. They have released political prisoners, allowed political exiles to return to the country, amended and even repealed repressive legislation, and agreed on the installation of a transitional executive council. And now they are agreeing with us on a date for an election."

Through the experiences of a living revolutionary struggle, Mandela answers many of the burning questions of politics, strategy, and tactics facing the revolutionary democratic movement in South Africa.

What is the relation between negotiations, mass action, and armed struggle? Is the white-minority regime simply handing over power to those it brutally repressed for

decades? How can the divisions among working people fostered by the rulers be overcome? How can ordinary working people build a movement capable of replacing the existing regime with a government that acts in the interests of the vast majority? The answers provided in this book will be of great interest to working people and youth who seek to be part of the fight against exploitation and oppression the world over.

Tasks of the democratic revolution

Through Mandela's speeches, readers can trace the ANC's steadfast course of fighting for the most thoroughgoing and radical democratic revolution.

It is only by completely uprooting, not reforming, every vestige of the caste-like system of white-minority rule, Mandela explains, that working people in South Africa can begin to reorganize every aspect of economic and social life in their own interests.

"We see negotiations as a continuation of the struggle leading to our central objective: the transfer of power to the people," he said to an ANC national conference in July 1991. "There are therefore some issues that are nonnegotiable: among others our demands for one person one vote; a united South Africa; the liberation of women; and the protection of fundamental human rights."

Mandela points to the central place of the fight for women's rights in South Africa.

"The constitution for a new South Africa should unequivocally state that South Africa should not only be unitary, nonracial and democratic, but should also be a non-sexist state," Mandela told an ANC workshop on women's rights in November 1990. But, he added, "from our experiences in the ANC, and lessons learnt from other parts of the world, we have come to realize that it is not just the provisions contained in the constitution that bring about true equality between men and women in a society. It is rather a preparedness to struggle on the part of the women's movement and all democrats."

The ANC, Mandela explains, has consistently rejected attempts by the racist regime to wrench concessions from the democratic movement that would amount to a continuation of white privilege in a postapartheid South Africa. One way in which the National Party government led by F. W. de Klerk has attempted to achieve this is to propose a "power-sharing" arrangement in which it would have equal voice with the revolutionary democratic movement.

In a speech at the University of Natal in March 1993, Mandela answered critics

who claim the ANC has agreed to such a plan. "We have never put forward as a solution the idea of power sharing, never," he said. "We have resisted it right from the beginning...."

"Our policy," he continued, "is a government of national unity, which is totally different than power sharing...."

"The principle of majority rule must be respected. The party that has an outright majority is entitled to form the government singlehandedly," Mandela said. "But that party may invite all political parties which get more than 5 percent of the vote to join the government," in order to more confidently involve all South Africans in transforming their society.

Mass action of toilers is decisive

From the moment he walked out of prison, Mandela has pointed to the organized mobilizations in South Africa of all those who oppose the apartheid state as the only force that can drive the democratic movement forward.

Apartheid, Mandela said in a speech in Cape Town just after his release from prison in February 1990, "has to be ended by our own decisive mass action."

Negotiations with the de Klerk government, he explains, are a result of the progress the mass movement has made.

"We always insisted that, depending on the level and intensity of the struggle, the Pretoria regime will one day find it advisable to seek negotiations," Mandela explains in a August 1991 speech to a conference of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing. "At the same time, we said also that negotiations cannot be regarded as a substitute for the national liberation struggle. They must and can only be an aspect of the movement's strategy, employed at a specific moment to attain our stated and historic objectives."

Mandela points to the South African government and its security forces as the cause of violence in South Africa. At the same time he rejects any idea that opponents of apartheid can engage in indiscriminate violence in the name of advancing the struggle.

“Our policy is a government of national unity, which is completely different than power sharing”

Pretoria's campaign of violence "constitutes a cold-blooded strategy of state terrorism intended to create the conditions under which the forces responsible for the introduction and entrenchment of the system of apartheid would have the possibility of imposing their will on a weakened democratic movement at the negotiations table," Mandela told the United Nations Security Council in July 1992. "It is the regime which controls state power, with the capacity to bring the violence to an end," he emphasized.

The working people of South Africa have answered these government provocations with disciplined, united mass action.

In August 1992, for example, the ANC-led alliance called a general strike demanding resumption of meaningful negotiations and for a halt to the government-sponsored massacres. Four million workers responded to the strike call, which was part of a week of actions that included 28 rallies, 74 marches, and hundreds of other actions around the country.

In March 1993 Mandela made a three-day visit to Natal province. The trip was organized in response to three incidents earlier in the month where 20 people, including 6 schoolchildren, had been killed in armed ambushes. The children were from an area in Natal dominated by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Several ANC mem-

New from Pathfinder

NELSON MANDELA SPEAKS

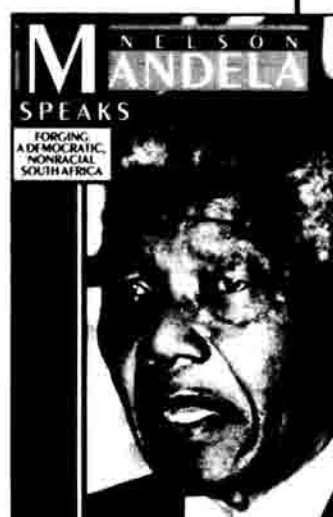
Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa

Tells the story of the struggles that have brought South Africa to the threshold of a political and social transformation. The president of the African National Congress charts a course to lead the national, democratic revolution in South Africa to a successful conclusion. \$18.95

■ "These powerful speeches... offer insight into one of the world's profound thinkers" —Herb Boyd, author, *African History for Beginners*

■ "Illuminating volume of speeches by one of South Africa's most remarkable political leaders" —*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*

■ "Belongs in every household" —*Chicago Defender*



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 the first title and \$0.50 for each additional book to cover postage and handling. Write for a free catalog.

bers were arrested and charged with the attacks. ANC members traveling to the arraignment of those accused members were then targets in another shooting.

"The people who are responsible for such a slaughter — whether they are members of the ANC, members of the IFP, or members of the state security services — they are no longer human beings," Mandela told a meeting in Bruntville during his Natal visit. "They are animals. And they should be treated as such if we find them guilty — if they are responsible for this massacre they must be punished."

Mandela Speaks offers a wealth of experience in the fight to forge a nation for the first time in South Africa through the struggle to overcome the legacy of racist and colonial divisions reinforced by more than 40 years of apartheid rule.

In its battle against the racist regime, the ANC has resolutely stood behind its policy of nonracialism. As the struggle has advanced, Mandela has pointed to the need to take further measures to strengthen unity of all opponents of apartheid by incorporating all sectors of the population in the ANC and its leadership. "We appreciate the concerns of the Indian and Coloured communities," Mandela told a meeting in the Indian community in Pietermaritzburg in March 1993, "precisely because of the mistakes made by the African National Congress itself, because the African National Congress, in spite of its policies, realistically it is still an organization of Africans."

"In some of our power structures, you cannot find any member of the Indian community, any member of the Coloured community," he said, pointing to the need to correct this situation.

Wealth shall be distributed equitably

Four decades of apartheid rule have wreaked an enormous toll on the working people of South Africa. "Our economy and our social life have been completely devastated, in some respects beyond repair," Mandela said in June 1993 in the interview with *Time*.

This fact places a premium on the earliest removal of the white-minority regime. "Our demand is for freedom now! It can never be in our interest that we prolong the agony of the apartheid system," Mandela told a July 1991 ANC policy conference.

Returning to this theme at a May 1992 ANC policy conference, Mandela pointed to the tremendous challenges that will face the new South African republic. "The ANC



Militant/Ruth Haswell
Mandela addressing the ANC's 48th National Conference in Durban, South Africa, July 2, 1991. "There are some issues that are nonnegotiable," Mandela said, "among others our demands for one person, one vote; a united South Africa; the liberation of women; and the protection of fundamental human rights."

remains unequivocally committed to both growth and redistribution," he stated. "A failure to secure these in the shortest space of time will result in the further degradation of the social fabric in our country."

In a February 1991 speech to the Johannesburg Press Club, Mandela explained, "In the bleak townships, squatter camps, ghettos, compounds, and hostels in which the majority of black South Africans are compelled, under pain of imprisonment, to reside in the urban areas, the right to life

"The right to life would be meaningless if it did not translate into free health care, affordable shelter"

would be meaningless if it did not translate into an accessible, dependable, and free health service . . . if it did not entail decent, affordable shelter."

To a crowd of 100,000 in Harlem, New York, in June 1990, Mandela said, "For us, political power should be the basis for the economic empowerment of people. It is outrageous that in the richest country on our continent, with its vast economic resources, that millions should be deprived of the basic necessities of life. . . . We are irrevocably committed to realizing a society in which the fruits of our people's labor shall be distributed equitably. That the striking imbalance between the wealth of the minority and the poverty of the majority has to be addressed."

One striking feature of the book is how much the fight against apartheid has been,

and remains, a part of world politics. Through his speeches in the United States, Britain, Sweden, Kenya, and Cuba, as well as in South Africa, the ANC leader places the struggles of South Africa's toilers within the worldwide struggle against oppression and exploitation.

It is not so long ago, Mandela noted in the February 1991 speech to the Johannesburg Press Club, that "few if any of the leading statesmen of Europe would have blushed at the term 'imperialist.' It is an index of the manner in which our political vocabulary has been transformed by the nationalism of formerly oppressed peoples that today 'imperialist' is regarded as a term of abuse," Mandela said.

Advances for national liberation in Asia, Latin America, and elsewhere in Africa have been decisive in bringing the apartheid state down.

The 1988 defeat of South African troops at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola at the hands of Cuban, Angolan, and Namibian fighters forced South Africa to withdraw its troops from Angola and recognize Namibia's independence. In a speech in Cuba in July

1991, Mandela explained that this battle was "a turning point in the struggle to free the continent and our country from the scourge of apartheid."

Mandela also noted the steadfast support the ANC and the antiapartheid movement in South Africa have always received from Cuba.

"When we wanted to take up arms we approached numerous Western governments for assistance and we were never able to see any but the most junior ministers. When we visited Cuba we were received by the highest officials and were immediately offered whatever we wanted and needed," he said. "That was our earliest experience with Cuban internationalism."

In the speech to the NAACP convention, which concludes the book, Mandela pays tribute to the struggle for Black rights in the United States. "Our own Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws of 1952 found an echo," he says, in the launching of the historic civil rights struggle in the United States. "The famous *Brown vs. Board of Education* case," which struck down legal segregation in education, also "struck a mighty blow against the system of apartheid in South Africa."

"The historic challenge facing us all," he says, "is to ensure that as a result of [the April] elections, democracy wins, nonracism emerges triumphant, nonsexism becomes the victor, and the people take power into their hands. . . . Let us march on till victory is won!"

Sam Manuel is a member of the United Transportation Union, and Greg McCartan is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 106, in Washington, D.C.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY MAGGIE PUCCI

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

Pathfinder's book *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's Cold War against Cuba Doesn't End* is essential reading for those seeking to understand why successive U.S. administrations, both Democrats and Republicans, have persisted in trying to strangle the Cuban revolution.

Pathfinder publishes books and pamphlets that provide a deeper understanding of the Cuban revolution. In *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today: Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the '90s*, author Mary-Alice Waters describes the course advocated by Guevara in the early years of the revolution as "a framework for the working class, in alliance with toiling farmers, to structure the economic and social organization of its state and economy to advance the construction of socialism, and in the process to transform themselves into a more politically conscious, self-confident, and proletarian component of an internationalist movement." This pamphlet is available in English, French, Spanish and Icelandic.

Cuban president Fidel Castro explains why "socialism is and will continue to

be the only hope, the only road for the peoples, the oppressed, the exploited, the plundered," in four 1989 speeches marking the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution printed in *In Defense of Socialism*.

For a complete listing of Pathfinder titles about the Cuban revolution, write Pathfinder for a catalog, or visit the Pathfinder bookstore nearest you.

* * *

A review of *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* appeared in the November 21 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The reviewer for this major daily writes, "Nelson Mandela's own words can be rewarding . . . readers come away with a deeper understanding of the kind of nation he would build if he is victorious at the polls during South Africa's first-ever nonracial election, set for April 27."

Pathfinder supporters active in their trade unions report a good reception for *Nelson Mandela Speaks* from coworkers. Members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) in Cleveland have taken on a goal of selling 12 copies of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* to fellow unionists. They are off to a good start, having sold 2 already. One coworker who purchased the book also joined the Pathfinder Readers Club.

A Pathfinder volunteer and member of UAW Local 980 at the Ford Motor Co. plant in Edison, New Jersey, has taken orders for the collection of speeches by the African National Congress leader from five coworkers.

Pathfinder bookstore hosts meeting to protest rightist attacks in Sweden

BY HILDING EKLUND

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — The Pathfinder bookstore in Stockholm hosted a meeting November 13 to protest a series of right-wing attacks against political bookstores that sell antiracist books and newspapers.

The windows of the Pathfinder bookstore were fired upon and destroyed November 6 sometime after the Sweden Democrats, a racist organization, marched through the streets of Stockholm. A large display of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela was featured in the store's window at the time of the attack.

A squad of 400 cops protected the 100 racist demonstrators. This defense by the police emboldened the racists to carry out their violent actions. The cops prohibited counter-demonstrations and closed off large parts of Stockholm while the rightists demonstrated.

"This attack follows the pattern we've seen when other bookshops have been attacked," stated Lars Johansson, representing the Pathfinder bookstore. "These assaults occur after ultrarightist demonstrations or rock concerts involving racist groups." Several days earlier the offices of the Turkish

social democratic youth organization had been firebombed.

"The racist demonstrations have nothing to do with free speech," Johansson said. "The purpose of these attacks is to frighten and silence antiracist fighters. However, the police and capitalist government use proposals that call for the banning of racist marches in order to attack the democratic rights of working people."

These racist actions take place in the context of government moves to limit the right to asylum and growing attacks on immigrant rights in Sweden.

A representative from the Roda Rummet bookstore told the audience that it has had its windows smashed twice — one night after a racist demonstration and again after a racist rock concert. Another book café, Info, had its windows broken four times.

Those participating in the meeting agreed on the importance of organizing defense of the bookstores when racist demonstrations occur. A statement was adopted condemning these attacks, defending the right to free speech, and demanding that the police investigate and prosecute those who carried out the shootings.

Palestinians protest Israeli army killings

Continued from front page

week earlier. Military authorities had granted Abu Rish amnesty and released him.

"After they released him," said Palestinian journalist Ziad Abbas in a telephone interview from East Jerusalem, "special units followed him, surrounded his house, and opened fire." Abu Rish and another Palestinian died in the assault.

The PLO leadership had called on the Hawks to surrender their weapons following the signing of the accord. But the group announced November 29 it was resuming armed attacks because the army had not stopped hunting Palestinians down.

Abbas reported that during the previous week, "the Israeli army killed seven people in the West Bank and Gaza."

In response, the PLO called a general strike in Gaza, which was widely observed. "All the schools and shops are closed," said Abbas.

At least 3,000 marched through Rafah to protest Abu Rish's murder. When Israeli troops moved in to capture Palestinians they accused of belonging to the Hawks, thousands of people defied a curfew and tried to prevent the soldiers from reaching them.

On November 29 another undercover army unit captured PLO leader Taisir Bardini, following a clash with soldiers in the Rafah refugee camp near the Egyptian border.

Implementation of accord in doubt

Arafat warned the negotiations were in jeopardy. "This escalation has to be stopped," he said. "The only way to stop it is the quick implementation of the agreements on the ground, and not delays." PLO officials, however, continued negotiations in Cairo, Egypt, with Israeli officials.

In the two months following the signing of the accord, more than 30 Palestinians and 9 Israelis have been killed.

"I hope this will not destroy negotiations, but many Palestinians are now wondering," said Maen Areikat in a telephone interview. Areikat is the press officer in the Orient House, the semi-official seat of the PLO in East Jerusalem. "They are not only hunting down Palestinian activists. They are raiding Palestinian shops to collect taxes, are reluctant to release prisoners, and are refusing to grant self-rule in the greater Jericho area."

Palestinians demand that the 146-square-mile area around Jericho be included as part of the limited self-rule agreement with Tel Aviv, not just the town itself. Israeli officials disagree, saying they only pledged to redeploy their troops out of Jericho's city limits.

"We insist on implementation of the agreements by December 13," said Areikat. "Any delay will contribute to the lack of credibility. The Israelis are now breaking their promises. How do we know if they'll keep their word?"

Rabin's threat to delay troop withdrawal and army assaults in the occupied territories is contributing to the growing debate among Palestinians on the accord.

"This is the best chance for the Palestinian opposition, those opposed to the accord especially," said Abbas. He reported that FIDA, a splinter group of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, which

previously supported Arafat's position, is now raising objections to the agreement with Tel Aviv.

Supporters of Fatah, who until recently held a majority in the student council at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, were trounced in student elections November 24. A coalition of groups affiliated with Hamas and PLO factions opposed to the accord swept the contest.

Settlers rampage

In November Palestinian opponents of the accord carried out several attacks on settlers in the West Bank and Gaza. Supporters of Hamas took responsibility for many of the assaults.

In response, settlers rioted in Arab areas. On November 16 settlers rampaged through Hebron in the West Bank, smashing car windows, overturning vegetable carts, and threatening shop owners.

In other instances, armed settlers fired at Palestinian bystanders and stormed through refugee camps, breaking windows and setting houses ablaze. On November 13 a Palestinian man was shot and seriously wounded by someone in a group of Israelis who were trying to set fire to a chicken farm where a settler was killed October 29.

Since its inception the Israeli regime has seized on every opportunity to expand land takeovers. In recent years, it has organized immigrants from the Soviet Union and other Jewish settlers to grab more Arab land in the West Bank and Gaza.

There are currently 144 settlements spread throughout the occupied territories, encompassing 130,000 Jews among a population of 1.7 million Palestinians. Settlers control 55 percent of the land in the West Bank and Gaza and most of the water resources, issues hotly disputed in current negotiations. The September accord leaves control of the settlements in the hands of the Israeli army.

As attacks by settlers continued throughout November, Israeli troops set curfews in different parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. A spokeswoman for the Israeli police said, however, that fewer than 20 settlers were arrested and all but one released. No one is facing serious charges. Most Palestinians arrested for throwing rocks during clashes with settlers or the army, on the other hand, are given harsh jail sentences.

Rightist settler leaders have pledged "mil-



Mother of Hamas leader Kahled al-Zeer at his funeral in Gaza November 30.

This crisis was illustrated during Qurie's recent visit to France. Staff at the PLO office in Paris went on strike because the organization could not pay workers. All inquiries about the visiting Palestinians were dealt with by the Israeli embassy.

Repercussions in Israel

Journalist Annette Sarajousdi said in an interview from Jerusalem November 30 that a no-confidence motion called by the opposition Likud Party failed in parliament November 29. This shows a majority in the Israeli ruling class remains committed in trying to implement the September accord. The Likud leadership has been steadfast in its opposition to the deal Rabin struck with the PLO, but has been unable to garner a majority in parliament.

"The Israeli public has not reacted yet" to the events in the occupied territories, Sarajousdi said, "but in the next few days things might change. There is a demonstration planned by the Israeli leftist group Gush Shalom in East Jerusalem December 4 to protest the killings by the Israeli troops in Gaza."

Rabin has fought to maintain a majority in parliament. On November 28 he persuaded a divided cabinet to sponsor legislation that would prevent the importation of nonkosher meat. The move was a concession to the ultra-Orthodox Jewish Shas Party, which walked out of Rabin's coalition several weeks ago, leaving the ruling Labor Party with a minority government.

A week earlier, another chapter in the Israeli government's long history of assassination activities came to light. Aharon Yariv, former chief of military intelligence, said November 22 that Mossad, the Israeli secret police, organized to systematically murder Palestinians who were alleged members of the Black September guerrilla organization.

There was a "conscious campaign of liquidation, of killing the heads" of the organization, he said, supposedly in retaliation for the killing of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympic games in Munich, Germany. Yariv said 10-15 Palestinians were hunted down and killed. Mossad also murdered a Moroccan waiter in Norway in 1973 who was mistaken for a target.

The then prime minister, Golda Meir, personally approved each assassination.

itant direct action" to sabotage implementation of the accord. The Council of Jewish Communities in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza told its members to ignore any orders from a Palestinian police force, which is scheduled to start operations in Gaza and Jericho in December.

"We are adamant about not cooperating in any way with a Palestinian Arab police force," said a Council official.

According to news reports from PLO headquarters in Tunis, Tunisia, Arafat has ordered 7,000-9,000 members of the Palestine Liberation Army to be ready to enter Gaza and Jericho to assume police duties as soon as an Israeli troop pullback begins. The force is designed to eventually have 50,000 members carrying light arms and automatic weapons.

Ahmed Qurie, PLO economics chief, said November 17 that the organization faces a financial crisis that may hamper its plans for implementing even limited Palestinian rule in the territories. "We are completely unable to face our commitments and obligations to our embassies, departments, and the institutions like universities, trade unions, and chambers of commerce, which form the backbone of Palestinian social life."

New Jersey textile strikers denounce charges

BY SIMONE BERG AND MARTHA PETTIT

CLIFTON, New Jersey — Waving signs quoting the First Amendment and calling for the defense of free speech, 250 striking dyers, finishers, and printers, members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), rallied in front of city hall here November 29 to protest criminal charges filed against seven workers for handing out strike literature.

More than 1,500 textile workers at 23 shops have been on strike since October 23. The workers were forced out by the companies' widespread demands for concessions. The owners insist on a higher copayment for reduced medical coverage, overtime pay after 40 hours per week instead of 8 hours daily, taking away two holidays, ending free access to the plant by union representatives, and a no-strike pledge during the life of the contract. The employers are also trying to implement a deeper two-tier wage system. Starting hourly wages would be reduced to \$8.00 from \$9.25, and it would take five years instead of one to reach the top pay rate of \$13.00 per hour.

Striker Lester Rome, who has worked four years at Signature Clothing Co., one of the struck facilities, said, "Out here I may not be getting a paycheck, but at least I'm fighting."

The strikers chanted, "What do we want — contract; when do we want it — now," as they marched to Signature to protest the actions of company-owner Philip Rosen.

Rosen filed charges against the seven union members after they distributed handbills about the strike in his neighborhood in Montville, New Jersey. "Our union means democracy and free speech at work. And we intend to fight for democracy and free speech in the community too," said striker Vincent Roveccio.

Last year, workers at Signature went on strike for two weeks after Rosen tried to impose takeback demands. The ACTWU members were able to defeat that attempt to break away from the basic contract agreement.

Nearly 600 strikers and their supporters participated in a solidarity rally in neighboring Paterson November 22.

Archer Cole, president of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council, which represents 235,000 industrial-union members, pledged the support of his organization, as did Ernesto Jofre, manager and secretary-treasurer of ACTWU Local 169 in New York City. "Local 169 will make a contribution to the emergency fund, and we will go to every Local 169 shop to get food

contributions," he said.

That same day, the union took out a full-page ad in the *North Jersey Herald and News*, appealing to people in Paterson and Passaic for support. The ad explains some of the issues in the strike and calls on friends and neighbors to contribute to the union's foodbank, which operates out of the union's strike headquarters; to join in the union's rallies, marches, and demonstrations; and to stop by the picket line.

Simone Berg is a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 1445. Martha Pettit is a laid-off member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 158.



Striking textile workers and supporters rally November 29 to defend free speech

Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq
BY JACK BARNES



The U.S. government's murderous blockade, bombardment, and invasion of Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among imperialist powers, more wars, and growing instability of international capitalism. In *New International* no. 7. \$12.00

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 to cover postage and handling.

American Airlines suspends workers for strike activities

BY JANET POST

MIAMI—As flight attendants returned to work after a five-day strike that crippled American Airlines, they were met with new challenges from management. Forty workers were suspended from their jobs "for activities during the strike," according to Randy Edwards, national communications director for the Association of Professional Flight Attendants (APFA).

"This is purely an intimidation tactic by the company," said Edwards. "The suspended workers have not even been told what they are accused of or are being investigated for. American is taking hostages before negotiations continue."

The nationwide strike by APFA members commanded the attention of the airline industry and was watched intently by millions of working people. It ended November 22 after the flight attendants forced President Bill Clinton to intervene and the union and the company agreed to accept binding arbitration under the aus-

pices of the federal government.

Ninety-five percent of the 21,000 APFA flight attendants picketed in 40 cities, along with thousands of airline workers and others who supported the strike against American, the largest U.S. domestic carrier.

The 40 suspended workers include 16 flight attendants in San Juan, Puerto Rico. They are now known there as the San Juan 16. "Some of the strikers suspended were those that did interviews, others just walked the picket, but none ever stepped out of line or carried out any illegal activity," said Pedro Rivera, chairman of the APFA San Juan Council.

Unless workers are promptly reinstated, the union plans to organize protest pickets. "We already have plenty of volunteers from the United States to help out," the union official said. They are starting up a special fund for the workers and printing "San Juan 16" T-shirts. At this point, the suspended attendants are receiving "withheld from service" pay for minimum guaranteed flight hours.



Militant/Janet Post

American Airlines flight attendants picket in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in preparation for the strike. American suspended 40 flight attendants for strike activity.

A San Juan flight attendant also reported the base manager there is scheduling crews by separating strikers and those who crossed the picket lines onto different flights.

In the United States attendants have reported numerous instances of hostility by management since the strike ended. The union headquarters in Dallas "is being flooded with reports of crew scheduling problems, workers being cussed out by su-

pervisors, attendants with flight passes being left at the gate—all in addition to the suspensions," said Edwards.

He said in some cities the company has contracted security agents to ride in the vans that transport workers to their hotels.

In addition, the union says it is protesting the company's processing of transfer requests out of seniority order for some of the 1,000 flight attendants who crossed the picket lines.

Attendants went back on the job under new work rules that had been imposed by the company October 31 at the end of a 30-day "cooling off" period during contract negotiations. American has not moved to implement all the measures. The company has yet to begin health insurance copayments, bidding restrictions, and a generalized cut in flight hours and crew size, said Linda Fincher, an APFA negotiator.

But she said American has put more workers on "standby" and "reserve" statuses, which lower flight hours worked—and therefore pay. It has also decreased the service provided on many flights, allowing the company to use smaller crews.

The company has also instituted a wage increase, although its claim that the raise is 7.5 percent for each year of the four-year contract is highly disputed by the union.

This amount, says APFA, includes increases already in place through the 1987 contract. It also includes the pay increase B-scale workers will get when they merge within the nine-year, two-tier wage structure.

Since the average seniority for flight attendants at American is seven years, a large number are expected to merge their pay during the course of the new contract.

"We get a lot of propaganda from the company," said one American mechanic. "I like to hear both sides. But I asked myself: If this is such a good contract, why did 95 percent of the flight attendants stay out on strike?"

UMWA dismantles pickets in coalfields

Continued from front page

coal contract in decades. The UMWA has engaged in a selective strike against some of the BCOA companies.

The central issue in the strike is what miners term double-breasting. Under provisions of the 1988 pact, BCOA companies agreed that three out of five job openings at any new mine opened by signatories to the contract would go to laid-off union miners. Coal bosses have increasingly sought to open up new nonunion operations, often taking coal lands from previously union mines to do this.

Before the ink was dry on the 1988 agreement, the coal operators began opening up new nonunion mines and refusing to give the prescribed number of jobs to laid-off UMWA members. The BCOA companies would open the mine under a new name, saying it had no relation to them, even though the resources were previously owned by the signatory and the same outfit still owned the coal lands.

The companies have also sought seven-day-a-week, round-the-clock coal production and reduction in medical costs.

Once contract language is agreed to between company and union negotiators, UMWA miners have the right to read, discuss, and vote the proposal up or down. All miners working for BCOA companies are eligible to vote.

Phelps said, "Right now we're just holding tight. We could go in either direction. If the membership votes for the contract, we'll

go back to work. If it fails, we'll go back to the picket line.

"The strike's not over," he added. "We're just taking a little pause. And after seven months on strike, we'll look that contract over real hard."

David Smith, a member of UMWA Local 2412 at Peabody's Marissa mine, said, "We're just waiting. I hope it's a good contract that gets worked out. There's a few people at the strike headquarters, but right now most of us are doing nothing but waiting."

"I don't know how long we'll be in this stand-by mode," said Fred Wagner, president of UMWA Local 1392. Wagner is one of the workers the company threatened to discharge.

'We'll see what's in the contract'

"I'm not optimistic," he said. "We've been close so many times before. I just have to wait and see, once there is a contract, what's in it."

"We'll have to see if it's something we can live with," Wagner said. "After more than six months on strike, I don't think we should go back for less than what we had."

Al Dunning, recording secretary for UMWA Local 1148, said there is continued activity at the Marissa strike headquarters. "The phone keeps ringing and strikers are stopping by to see what's going on. We're trying to stay together and be supportive," he said.

Miners emphasize support is still needed from other workers, including financial sup-

port for strike relief funds in each state. Brumfield said the union was continuing to respond to requests for speakers. "We just got a donation of \$292 from a British coal miner," he said.

In a related development the Supreme Court heard oral arguments November 29 on the UMWA's challenge to the \$52 million fines levied against them for activities that hindered coal production or transportation during the 11-month-long strike in 1989-90 against Pittston Coal Co.

This is one of the largest civil-contempt fines ever imposed by a U.S. court.

In September, the Clinton administration joined the assault on the union, filing a brief defending the fines.

Wagner said, "It's outrageous. We get \$52 million levied in fines against us for just sitting in the road. When the coal companies kill miners on the job with unsafe working conditions, they get no such fine."

"Justice in America is not what it should be. If you're not a big businessman with a big wallet, you don't get justice, you get hammered."

Mary Zins is a laid-off coal miner and member of United Transportation Union Local 1405. Bernie Senter from Morgantown, West Virginia, contributed to this article.

Miners reject frame-up charges

BY KATHY RETTIG

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia—Eight members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 5958 pleaded innocent in federal court November 18 to frame-up charges that they conspired to attack a convoy of cars with rocks, slingshots, firearms, and Molotov cocktails.

Eddie York, a nonunion contract worker, was shot in the back of the head the afternoon of July 22 while driving out of a side entrance to Arch Mineral Corp.'s Ruffner mine in southern West Virginia. He was riding in the middle of a convoy of cars, which included Elite security guard vehicles. All eight pickets were in front of the convoy when York was shot.

Jerry Lowe, the picket captain that day and chair of the local's mine safety committee, is charged with illegal use of firearms and faces 50 years in prison and a \$1 million fine if convicted. The others, including Local 5958 president Ernie Woods, could receive sentences of up to 25 years in prison and fines of \$500,000. The eight miners were released on \$10,000 bond each and will stand trial January 24.

From the beginning of the strike, Elite security guards harassed and intimidated strikers at the Arch mine by firing guns in the air, videotaping them, brandishing

night sticks and stun guns, shining high-powered floodlights at the picket shacks at night, attacking the main picket shack with tear gas, and destroying equipment there.

Arch Mineral vice-president Blair Gardner claims that Elite security guards used tear gas, but only in self-defense, and were instructed never to carry weapons, according to the *Charleston Gazette*.

But a lawsuit filed November 12 by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) charges that security guards hired by Arch Mineral have been "restraining and coercing" United Mine Workers of America members who have been exercising their right to picket while on strike. The suit says that Elite security guards have threatened and harassed UMWA Local 5958 members with tear gas, gunfire, and mock explosives.

On July 22, the same day York was shot, an Elite security guard threatened UMWA members by "discharging a firearm from a security vehicle," according to the NLRB.

The suit also charges that Elite security guards "assaulted [UMWA members] by driving at them with security vehicles, narrowly missing them as they were gathered around a campfire."

Special offer to miners, airline workers, and their supporters



THE EASTERN AIRLINES STRIKE and 12 weeks of the MILITANT
\$13
\$5.00 FOR BOOK ONLY (REGULAR \$9.95)

This book tells the story of the 686-day strike. It explains how rank-and-file resistance by Machinists prevented Eastern's antiunion onslaught from becoming the road to a profitable nonunion airline. And it highlights the links forged between striking airline workers and coal miners during the 1989-90 strike against Pittston Coal.

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling for the book.



Cuba travel ban

Continued from Page 5

that a construction brigade to do voluntary work in Cuba could be built in a much bigger way," Sánchez said in explaining why she argued for postponing the trip and eventually decided not to go. "Even if the government doesn't decide to prosecute people, it would have been better to postpone it and get some momentum behind the trip so that it would have been an example and an encouragement to more people getting involved."

Sánchez said she is planning to work to use support for the construction brigade among several of her workmates to help build the upcoming third U.S./Cuba Friendshipment. Drivers on the solidarity caravan will travel through dozens of cities, collecting tons of humanitarian aid they will deliver to Cuba in March.

Stamping passports in Cuba

In an interview in the Twin Cities, Davidov, a veteran peace activist, related the discussion on the construction brigade to a "debate and discussion we had in Havana," during the Freedom to Travel trip in October, "over whether to ask the Cubans to stamp our passports."

Such a designation is concrete proof of having violated the travel ban. "A good percentage asked to have them stamped," Davidov noted, supporting the decision taken by 60-70 members of the 175-person tour to do so.

Other members of that delegation, however, spoke against having the passports stamped. In a telephone interview from San Francisco, Paul Montauk, an activist in the Bay Area who participated in the October trip, said he and others "argued that the success of the trip consisted in the collective effort of 175 people," more than double the number originally projected. "The breadth of participation on that trip was a powerful statement against the travel ban," Montauk said. "The travelers were prepared to return and speak about their experiences, winning more people to the fight against the embargo. Asking Cuban government officials to stamp the passports would unnecessarily wave a red flag in front of U.S. Customs officials."

"We should be on the offensive," Davidov argued. "All of us went knowing there's a risk. We should be pressing the political point — to challenge the travel ban — and to look for people to do this."

"You reach for the moral and political position first," Davidov said, backing the decision to proceed with the construction brigade. "Challenge the ban by doing the right thing, not applying for a license." The cease-and-desist order by the U.S. Treasury Department mentioned that Pastors for Peace could apply for a license for the construction project. "To hell with the license," Davidov stated. "They have a right to go and get more to go. And if they get indicted, then we should unite, all get behind them, and defend them."

Tactics governing such trips to Cuba, Davidov said, "should be diverse — large groups, small groups, any kind of groups. Let people go there legally, illegally, anyway they want to go, but go there."

Brock Satter, a member of the Africana Student Cultural Center and the Student Political Organizing Committee at the University of Minnesota who had been planning to go on the construction brigade, presented a different view.

The declining size of the project "really concerned me," he said in an interview. The cease-and-desist order then "crystallized the problem of what we were undertaking." Satter was among those who proposed that the trip be postponed and decided not to go.

"That the ban is immoral is not a question," Satter said. "The question is how we defeat this ban, given where we are at."

It will take "a huge amount of people demanding the travel ban end to force the government to lift it," the student activist noted.

"How do we bring these people in? We have to assess everything we do by how many people have been brought into opposition to the embargo and travel ban."

Jon Hillson is a member of the United Transportation Union and a member of the Friendshipment committee in Minneapolis. Militant managing editor Argiris Malapanis contributed to this article.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

FLORIDA

Miami

"Peru's Shining Path: Anatomy of a Reactionary Sect." Speaker: Martin Koppel, author of the pamphlet of the same title and editor of the Spanish-language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sat., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$5. Students and unemployed: \$2.50. Dinner 6 p.m. Donation: \$5. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

Video showing of The Panama Deception. Speaker: Seth Galinsky, visited Panama three months after the 1989 U.S. invasion as a *Militant* reporter. Sat., Dec. 18, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

IOWA

Des Moines

Celebrate 65 Years of the Militant! Speaker: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 15199 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Sat., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. Reception 6:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

U.S. aims blows at France in GATT talks

Continued from front page

international commerce. The outcome of the contest over GATT will largely be determined in Germany. German chancellor Helmut Kohl favors passage of GATT. The employing class in Germany, the strongest economic power in Europe, would benefit from the agreement. But in exerting pressure on Paris, Bonn risks rupturing the Franco-German alliance that is at the heart of the EC.

U.S. president Bill Clinton telephoned British prime minister John Major November 24. According to the *Financial Times*, Clinton "wanted Britain to ask Bonn how far German officials would be prepared [to go] to put pressure on France into making compromises over the Uruguay Round."

As the world's dominant military and economic power, Washington wants barriers to trade lowered and needs more compliant trading partners.

For decades the Japanese government maintained an official policy of not allowing "a single grain of rice" to be imported. This kept rice prices artificially high, enriching wealthy farmers in Japan.

Under the deal, U.S. officials said, Japan will allow rice imports to rise to about 8 percent of domestic consumption by the turn of the century.

In addition, U.S. negotiators are pressing the Japanese government to open its market wider to wood products, and to U.S. banks and other financial institutions. If Tokyo refuses, they threaten sanctions on Japanese firms doing business in the United States.

The heart of the U.S.-France row is agri-

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Washington's Drive to War. Rally to celebrate 65 years of the *Militant* newspaper. Speaker: Maggie Trowe, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. Reception 6:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass. Ave.) Donation: \$5. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

Vietnam Today: An Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Don Gurewitz, recently returned from Vietnam and Cambodia. Sat., Dec. 18, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass. Ave.) Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Clinton's Stepped-up Threats against Korea. Speaker: Chris Nisan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Crisis of Homelessness. Speaker: Margaret McCourt, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees DC 47, City of Philadelphia Housing Division; Leona Smith, National Union of the Homeless; Henry

Hillenbrand, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Transportation Union. Sat., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

BRITAIN

London

Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. Celebrate the publication of Pathfinder's new book *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. Speakers: Mandla Langa, African National Congress; Donald Woods, author of *Biko and Asking for Trouble*; Kumar Murshid, chair, Tower Hamlets Anti-Racist Committee; Kevin Hussey, sacked Transport and General Workers Union shop steward; Glenroy Watson, Anti-Apartheid Movement representative, Pathfinder Press. Sat., Dec. 11, 2 p.m. School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Thornhaugh St. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401-2409.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Apartheid's Final Hour. Celebrate the publication of Pathfinder's new book *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. Sat., Dec. 11, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

cultural trade. Paris objects to the Blair House accord, a draft farm trade agreement between the U.S. and EC governments. France is the world's second-largest agricultural exporter. If the Blair House agreement is implemented, the French government would be forced to reduce the volume of its subsidized exports by 21 percent over six years, cutting into the profits of rich farmers.

Grain monopolies and traders in the United States would be able to boost their food exports to Europe. While all the imperialist governments pay subsidies, the lion's share of which goes to capitalist farmers, the price support systems in Europe and Japan are proportionally higher than those of the United States.

The U.S. and EC governments are feuding over other aspects of GATT as well, including market access, subsidies to the European aircraft manufacturer Airbus and its U.S. competitors, steel tariffs, audiovisual services, "intellectual property," and a host of other issues.

Appeals to nationalism in France

The ruling families in France have mounted a campaign against GATT, invoking French nationalism. Speaking before the National Assembly in October, Balladur said it was time "to defend together the interests of France and Europe as we know it."

Paris also demands a "cultural exception" to GATT that would allow subsidies to its movie industry to continue and would limit exhibition of programming and films produced outside France.

Jack Lang, the former Socialist Party cul-

ture minister, declared, "It's war, and in a war our nation must stand together." He warned that if demands to protect French culture were not met in the GATT round, it would lead to "the mental colonization of Europe and the progressive destruction of its imagination."

Anti-GATT leader Jacques Laigneau warned that if the agreement goes through, "there will only be barbarians." There will only be "American comedy, Japanese cars, Asian clothing, and unemployed Frenchmen."

Trade union officials are promoting the same protectionist chauvinism. "We are in the midst of an economic war," said Chantal Rey, a leader of the General Confederation of Labor, associated with the Communist Party. GATT will "encourage robots, automation, and cheap labor to take French jobs."

The country's largest farm union, FNSEA, asked the government to demand compensation from the United States, Canada, and Mexico for the diversion of French and European farm exports it says will result from NAFTA.

Balladur faces growing pressure from his EC allies to come to heel on GATT. Kohl has called a GATT failure "intolerable," and in November 30-December 1 talks German officials urged Paris to accede.

In addition, the GATT vote risks growing instability in France. In order to place the draft before parliament, Balladur must present it in the form of a confidence vote in his government.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. San Francisco: 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516. Tel: (203) 688-5418.

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

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2905 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Mailing 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.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 071-928-7993.

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

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

CANADA

Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

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.

FRANCE

Paris: 8, allée Berlioz 94800 Villejuif Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21

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.

They thought it was a free-trade deal — The feds are checking reports that the CIA looked the other way while top officials of a



Harry Ring

Venezuelan antidrug unit funded by the agency smuggled a ton of cocaine into the United States.

Must be paranoid — Greek cops busted but quickly released two men identified as U.S. Em-

bassy employees. They were in a van bearing Greek plates and parked in central Athens for three days. The van contained transmitters, wigs, and guns. One of the "diplomats" tried, unsuccessfully, to flee. Police said they initially thought the two were terrorists.

Can't they follow our example? — Washington is probing the possibility that U.S.-funded Russian TV commercials intended to plug privatization were twisted to plug Yeltsin's political fortunes. If so, officials said, it would violate U.S. law.

The caring society — "Ill and injured workers around the country face hunger, homelessness and

even premature death as they wait for Social Security to decide their claims for disability benefits. Some ... get so depressed they attempt suicide." — Associated Press.

The values society — On the anniversary of the day Jack Ruby shot Lee Harvey Oswald, Ruby's brother was slated to fire 100 "commemorative bullets" from the gun used. The National Historical Mint will mount the bullets on plaques, along with a photo of the gun and one of the Oswald shooting. The plaques may be available for as little as \$2,500.

The advantageous society — On the eve of congressional reregulation of TV cable rates,

one cable exec issued an instruction to boost rates on unregulated customer services. Calling for a hard-nosed approach to customer objections, he advised, "It will take awhile, but they'll get used to it." And, he added, "the best news of all is that we can blame it on reregulation. ... Let's take advantage of it!"

They'll quake in their boots — Responding to complaints about rate hikes, a keen-eyed Federal Communications Commission spokesperson voiced concern about "a propensity by cable operators to push the limits of our rules." He said 16 cable operators had been sent letters of inquiry "with investigatory overtones."

Higher education (I) — As reported in "Doonesbury," big-time swindler Michael Milken has been teaching a University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) advanced class on corporate financing. UCLA will get a cut of the take on the sale of tapes of the lectures. The taping is by Milken's new company, aptly named Education Entertainment Network.

Higher education (II) — UCLA is the target of a criminal investigation with the recent accidental discovery that boxes of cremated remains of medical school cadavers, slated for dumping at sea, also contained hazardous medical waste, including broken syringes, used gauze, etc.

Conservatives lose Greek election over Macedonia

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES

ATHENS, Greece — The failure of the Greek government's policy toward the Republic of Macedonia and dissatisfaction among workers over sweeping austerity measures by former prime minister Constantinos Mitsotakis led to the defeat of the conservative New Democracy Party (NDP) in parliamentary elections October 10.

The NDP, which ruled for the past three and a half years, received 39 percent of the vote and 110 seats in the 290-seat parliament.

The social democratic Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), which governed the country from 1981 to 1989, won the election with 47 percent of the vote, gaining a majority of 171 seats.

Political Spring (PS), a party founded last June by deputies who split from the NDP, became the third-largest force in parliament with 10 seats after winning 5 percent of the ballots cast. PS leader Antónis Samarás, the former NDP foreign minister, waged a nationalist campaign on the demagogic theme that "the fatherland should come first and above any party." It was Samarás and other deputies who quit the NDP in September who forced Mitsotakis to call early elections.

Samarás railed against the "moral degradation and corruptness of the two-party system." Leading figures from PASOK and the NDP, including Mitsotakis and the new prime minister, Andréas Papandréou, have been involved in public scandals, including embezzling state funds and illegal wiretapping over the past five years.

Samarás accused the former NDP government of a "national betrayal" because of its willingness to compromise on its policy toward the Republic of Macedonia.

Nationalist campaign on Macedonia

This republic, which borders on the northern Greek province also called Macedonia, declared its independence from Yugoslavia following the breakup of that country in 1991. Since then, Athens has waged an international campaign against recognition of the former Yugoslav republic, arguing that "Macedonia was, is, and will remain Greek." This slogan is similar to the "America First" or "France First" nationalist demagoguery advanced by rightists and other capitalist politicians and by union officials in the United States, France, and other countries.

Mitsotakis's nationalist campaign on Macedonia was an extension of the government's attacks against the standard of living and democratic rights of working people at home, especially immigrant workers.

There are several oppressed nationalities in northern Greece, as well as throughout the country, including hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrant workers from the Balkans, Turkey, the Middle East, northern Africa, and the Philippines.

Immigration from semicolonial countries has been steadily rising since the late 1960s. Recently, most immigrants have come from Eastern Europe. The government has worked overtime to scapegoat this section of the working class for most economic and social problems. Last May dozens of workers from Albania were hunted down and beaten by racist thugs in the village of Kriekouki in central Greece. In a one-week period of mass roundups in June the government deported 20,000 workers from Albania.

In addition to attacks against immigrant workers, the NDP government arrested and took to court nine activists for distributing literature opposing its position on Macedonia.

Last spring, under pressure from Washington, Bonn, and Paris, the Mitsotakis government was forced to accept a compromise. In April the United Nations Security Council approved UN membership for Macedonia under the name "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia." Samarás, who had just quit as foreign minister prior to this compromise, eventually launched his own party.

Papandréou, as well as most union officials, outdid Mitsotakis in his nationalist pitch during the election campaign. Papandréou declared he will "not recognize any state with the name 'Macedonia' or any of its derivatives even if the whole world will recognize it." PASOK's election program referred to "central Macedonia" as "the historic area from which a new offensive of Hellenism will begin."

PASOK also called for a "social contract" between workers, employers, and the government on a package of measures that will tie wage increases to productivity. It proposed a "selective curb in public spending, broadening the tax base [that is increasing taxes], and punishment for tax evasion."

The social democratic party, however, took its distance from sweeping privatizations of state-owned companies and cutbacks in social programs that the NDP government was implementing.

Economic crisis

During the last four years industrial production declined while unemployment rose to more than 9 percent. Inflation now stands at 15 percent, the highest in western Europe.

To address declining profit rates, the NDP government imposed a wage freeze, passed new antilabor laws further limiting the right to strike, and laid off thousands of workers in the process of privatizing state-owned firms.

Working farmers saw their incomes decline by as much as 33 percent as a result of a large increase in production costs and stagnating or declining prices for their products.

The NDP government also attacked the social wage by cutting back health care, retirement benefits, and education. It sharply increased indirect taxes that hit working people the hardest.

With the NDP standing on the government's record and promising more of the same, many workers and farmers voted for PASOK hoping for some relief from the devastating conditions they face.

The Stalinist Communist Party's (CP) election program called for "the democratization of labor relations that uplifts the personality of working people and gives the ability to develop productive initiatives" — that is collaboration between employers and union officials to deal with the economic crisis.

The CP won 4.5 percent of the vote, its worst showing since the 1930s, and nine deputies in parliament. The Coalition of Left and Progress, a splinter form the CP, fell below 3 percent and did not get any parliamentary seats. Neither of these parties opposed the government's nationalist campaign on Macedonia.



Students demonstrating last January in Athens, Greece, against government cuts in education. Conservative New Democracy Party lost parliamentary elections after implementing sweeping cuts in social programs, privatizations, layoffs, and a wage freeze.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

December 13, 1968

Price 10¢

The Black Student Union-initiated strike at San Francisco State College reached a new stage today when the entire spectrum of the leadership of the black community here responded to brutal police attacks on the students by throwing their weight behind the strikers.

At a noon rally today, representatives of black organizations ranging from the Black Panther Party to CORE and including black ministers and black Democratic Party politicians pledged their active support to the strike until all the demands are met.

This development came in the wake of a particularly vicious police attack on the striking students yesterday. Early yesterday morning a squad of cops attacked a peaceful student picket line and broke it up, chasing the students all over the campus and beating those they caught.

Later in the day another attempt at using police violence to break the strike was made. A demonstration of striking students was attacked by a large force of cops. This time the students defended themselves with rocks, bottles and table legs. A barricade was built with tables from the cafeteria.

This massive police violence sent shock waves throughout the Bay Area, and the reaction to it has just begun. Its first result was to galvanize the black community into active support of the strike. Four thousand students heard the black community leaders at a noon

rally today and then staged a massive march around the campus despite the presence of 600 riot-equipped cops on the campus.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y.

FIVE (5) CENTS

December 11, 1943

The capitalist press has rapturously greeted the Three-Power declaration drawn up at the five-day conference at Cairo between Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek as nothing less than "a charter for the Pacific."

Ever since Roosevelt and Churchill met for the first time in August 1941 the public has been deluged with this kind of bombastic hypocrisy which serves to cover up the real decisions arrived at in the conferences and to camouflage their reactionary nature. The first Roosevelt-Churchill conference resulted in the Atlantic Charter which promised liberation to the oppressed nations and a new birth of democracy throughout the world. These promises have been repeated after each of the next six conferences between the Allied leaders.

So long as the allies were at peace with Japan, they manifested neither interest nor indignation at the enslavement of the Koreans. As the *Times* coyly remarks: "All this was none of our business." The Three Powers now say that "in due course Korea shall become free and independent." The joker in this promise lies in the phrase: "in due course." Every imperialist power is ready to grant freedom to its colonial slaves at some indefinite time in the future. India too has been promised freedom "in due course." But that day never comes if the decision is left to the imperialists.

Defend socialism in Cuba

"Cuba today is confronting the most serious economic crisis in its history," said Alexander Watson, assistant secretary of state for inter-American Affairs. Watson was explaining why the administration of U.S. president Bill Clinton would continue to use a trade embargo, travel restrictions, and other means to strangle the Cuban revolution.

For more than 30 years, since the Cuban people broke the yoke of U.S.-backed military dictatorship and imperialist superexploitation and began on the road of building socialism, Washington has tried by hook or crook to crush the Cuban revolution.

Before the recent economic crisis engulfed Cuba, there were indications that the imperialists might ease up on the embargo. This wasn't because of a change of heart, however, but because it seemed it wasn't working.

Today, with a devastating economic crisis confronting Cuba, the U.S. capitalist class has blood in its mouth. Clinton has made it clear that he has no intention of easing the pressure now.

Watson is nothing less than a cynical hypocrite when he cries crocodile tears about the "suffering of the Cuban people" today. But when he points to the prerevolutionary Cuba of the 1950s as something to look forward to he speaks the truth about the aims of U.S. rulers.

Back then Havana was a big tropical brothel for U.S. businessmen who owned huge chunks of land and much of industry on the island. These wealthy families never forgave the millions of Cuban workers and peasants who expropriated these holdings as they carried out land reform,

won democratic rights, established a government of their own, and began to build a society based on human needs not profit. Clinton and his ilk want "their property" back in Cuba. Moreover, they want to extinguish the political example the Cuban people have provided to toilers the world over.

Even as Cuba is forced to make concessions to the imperialists by opening up the economy to investment — in other words, exploitation — by foreign capital, Washington knows it can't count on Fidel Castro's government to usher in capitalism. Castro has a very different track record on this question from the Chinese regime, for example. The slogan "socialism or death," still captures the goal of the revolution.

That's why the White House is unequivocal in its efforts to overthrow the Cuban government and impose a social, economic, and political regime of its liking.

For the same reason, working people and youth in the United States and around the world should stand up to Washington's policy against Cuba.

Opponents of U.S. policy should throw themselves into building the next U.S./Cuba Friendshipment caravan and defend all those threatened with victimization for violating the inhuman and immoral embargo.

Thousands of fresh forces can be won to opposition to the embargo and to defending socialism in Cuba, which has stood as a beacon for more than 34 years to millions denied the right to life and human dignity.

As the capitalist system sinks into a world depression, this is a noble and honorable goal to fight for.

Behind the trade conflicts

Washington is using the final days before the December 15 deadline on negotiations on the GATT to strike blows against Paris.

The employing class in the United States has carried out a massive restructuring in industry over the past several years, in a bigger and more thorough way than the capitalist classes in Europe and Japan. By destroying outmoded plants, squeezing the size of the labor force while increasing output, and introducing widespread computerization, the bosses have driven up the rate of surplus value they wring from workers on the job. In the meantime, they have driven tens of thousands of farmers off the land. As a result, Washington has a big competitive edge in the productivity of labor, which it is using as a bludgeon against Tokyo, Paris, and other competitors in Europe. The Clinton administration has already forced the government of Japanese prime minister Morihiro Hosokawa to open its markets to rice imports.

The U.S. government will attempt to force similar agreements from France and other countries in the European Community. This is why Paris is squealing like a stuck pig over the agricultural concessions that Washington wants it to swallow.

An employer-government effort in Europe and Japan to drive through their own restructuring is already underway. The watchwords of this anti-working-class assault are identical to those of the bipartisan offensive in the United States: reduce budget deficits, cut social security and healthcare, deny rights of citizenship to immigrant workers, etc. This

course will cause explosions and increasing instability.

In Europe, there are initial signs of resistance, as protest strikes have begun to hit Belgium, France, Spain, and Italy. Instability is growing. Ruling parties are encountering surprises, such as in Germany where Chancellor Kohl's presidential candidate was forced to withdraw. Farmers' protests are growing in France and Japan.

The imperialists have also begun to pour massive investment into the semicolonial countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The United States is now a net exporter of capital. While the employers will use the investment to exploit tens of millions in these countries, the net effect will be to create a bigger army of workers in urban centers. These new forces for the world workers' movement will also prove a mighty ally in the fight against capitalism.

Workers have no interest in supporting any wing of the employers. Whether its French nationalism, German nationalism, or the pro- or anti-NAFTA nationalism of the different wings of the bosses and their trade union lieutenants in the United States, workers will be the victims of such campaigns.

The international character of the crisis of capitalism will increasingly drive workers and farmers the world over to resist the bosses' attacks. We can defend our interests only by rejecting the chauvinist slogans of the bosses, and fighting together to advance our interests as a class that recognizes no borders.

How can workers fight for jobs?

Is the new pact at Volkswagen — shorter hours combined with a reduction in weekly pay — a model of how to protect jobs during a depression? The automaker and labor officialdom in Germany are trying to convince workers it is.

For years communists have put forward the call for thirty hours work for forty hours pay. The *Militant* has pointed out many times that this demand can help unify the working class in a fight against the effects of the employers' economic crisis.

But the agreement at VW has nothing to do with this. Volkswagen, like most capitalist enterprises today, is facing fierce competition from its rivals in the United States, Japan, and elsewhere. To conquer a larger share of the market and increase profits, the German automaker needs to get rid of extra capacity while squeezing more production out of the workers and machinery it keeps.

In many ways the VW plan is an indication of the relative weakness of the German bosses and their nervousness in confronting the working class head on. Eventually, they will need to do far more than simply shuffle between four workers each working three hours to produce a car — or some other commodity — and three workers putting in four hours. Either way, from the bosses point of view, it takes 12 labor-hours to end up with a car.

The German employer class will be forced to change this and to try to massively restructure industry — as the U.S. bosses have done over the past decade — to make labor more productive. That is, they will need to drive down the value of labor power so that each worker produces more in less time. This is the only way the German bosses can remain competitive in the world. The 30,000 jobs supposedly saved by the agreement are not secure in the long run.

The problem for working people is that the entire frame-

work of the discussion on the shorter workweek at Volkswagen and other companies fosters divisions among working people. It presents jobs and living standards as counterposed — and asks workers to fight over which will be slashed.

The labor movement needs to organize around demands that increase working-class solidarity internationally and take the brunt of the capitalist economic crisis off the backs of working people. A struggle for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay would have that effect.

Working people in different countries also need to come together to defend the rights of immigrants and to demand cancellation of the debts owed by semicolonial countries to the imperialist banks in New York, London, Paris, Bonn, and Tokyo. The debt burden is strangling workers and farmers in the Third World, while anti-immigrant scapegoating is used to divide working people in the imperialist countries. In addition, fighting for affirmative action, enforced by quotas, and for a higher minimum wage can weaken the ability of the bosses to pit workers against each other based on sex, race, and age by winning better conditions for the most oppressed layers of the working class.

These measures won't solve the bosses' problems, of course. They're the exact opposite of what the owners of companies like Volkswagen and General Motors, as well as their representatives in government such as U.S. president Bill Clinton and German chancellor Helmut Kohl, want.

The capitalist class can't solve its crisis except at the expense of the lives and livelihoods of millions of working people the world over. The fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and other such demands will put the working class in a stronger position to struggle to get rid of the capitalist system altogether.

What road for workers in South Africa?

In a letter on the facing page, a reader from South Africa argues that the *Militant* should not support the political course of the African National Congress (ANC). Instead, Ronald Ferdinand writes, working people around the world should back "tiny groups of revolutionaries" who carry out "working-class resistance against the negotiated settlement."

But if revolutionaries in South Africa were to carry out the perspective outlined in his letter, they would set back the fight against apartheid, and with it the ability of the

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

working class in South Africa to forge a genuine communist leadership.

The ANC is leading the struggle needed to advance the interests of workers and farmers in South Africa today. The revolution unfolding there is a national, democratic one. Its aim is to wipe the scourge of apartheid from the face of the earth and construct a nonracial, democratic republic.

The working class is playing the vanguard role in this process, which is a prerequisite for a socialist revolution, and is drawing the broadest possible layers of society into the fight. The character of this struggle and its importance in the world are discussed in "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," printed in issue no. 5 of *New International* and available from Pathfinder Press.

At each step the revolutionary movement led by the ANC has pushed forward the organization, mobilization, unity, and self-confidence of working people, cutting across racial lines. Divisions fostered for decades by the apartheid system, both between Blacks and whites and the so-called tribal divisions, are breaking down. One concrete example is the way ANC president Nelson Mandela has been able to mobilize support, including mass rallies, in Natal and other regions where forces that oppose the democratic revolution, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, have long dominated the political scene.

Far from being an instrument of the white minority regime to maintain its privileges, as Ferdinand suggests, the negotiations and the gains registered in them are a product of the mass struggle. At each stage in the multi-party talks, the ANC has relied on the mobilization of millions of workers and other democratic-minded people. The changing relationship of forces in favor of this struggle has then been codified at the bargaining table. Mandela is in the forefront leading this revolutionary movement.

At the same time working people in South Africa are gaining in strength and confidence, the right wing has become more isolated at every turning point. The advance of the democratic revolution also strengthens the hand of rank and file workers relative to any officials in the trade unions — or the South African Communist Party or any other organization — who do not place their confidence in the working class. These forces have either been compelled to agree to democratic, nonracial elections and an interim constitution or have been pushed more and more to the side.

The constitution itself bears the stamp of the working class. It outlaws discrimination not only on the basis of race but also gender, sexual orientation, physical disability, language, religion, or age, and it provides legal protection for a broad range of democratic rights won through the anti-apartheid struggle. The interim constitution also offers restitution to Blacks who have been driven off the land under discriminatory laws over the last 80 years. How thoroughly such an agrarian reform is carried out will depend on the continued mobilization of workers and peasants in the coming months and years.

As Mandela himself points out, the elections planned for April 1994 and the new constitution are only the beginning of what must be accomplished. In the struggle to implement the democratic tasks outlined in the ANC's Freedom Charter, working people will gain the experience, confidence, and unity needed to carry out a socialist revolution as well.

Working-class fighters should be part of the fight by the ANC to carry the democratic revolution through as thoroughly as possible. Out of this struggle a communist, working-class leadership can be forged that can build on these gains and lead the fight for socialism.

— NAOMI CRAINE

THE COMING REVOLUTION IN SOUTH AFRICA BY JACK BARNES

The world importance of the struggle to overthrow the apartheid system, and the vanguard role of the African National Congress. In *New International* no. 5. \$9.00

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 to cover postage and handling.



Montreal newspaper workers oppose concessions

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.

Confrontations between concession-hungry bosses and the printers' unions have swept the Quebec

workers from three newspapers held a boisterous demonstration outside the offices of *La Presse*, chanting, "We want a contract." On November 27, 350 workers from *Le Journal* and *The Gazette* held a benefit supper and dance, with a six-foot by three-foot cake decorated with the word "Solidarity" served as dessert.

Alitalia Airlines strikers attacked while picketing

Alitalia Airlines strikers Michael Boyle and Ernest Few were attacked and beaten October 29 as they walked on an informational picket line at Contact Trucking near John F. Kennedy International Air-

Kennedy Airport have told pickets at the cargo facility that they must take down the big "Alitalia on Strike" sign from the barricade area that restricts their picketing.

Support grows in Ireland for bakery strikers

Fourteen of an original 25 bakery workers at Pat the Bakers in Dublin, Ireland, have been fighting for eight months for union recognition. The mood of the strikers, who began their fight March 28 after being fired, "continues to be determined," says Brian O'Neill, an official of the food branch of the strikers' union, the Services Professional Technical Union (SIPTU). O'Neill also reported that workers in 70 supermarkets in Ireland are currently balloting to take action in support of the Pat the Bakers strike. The vote is for "noncooperation with the sale and distribution" of Pat the Bakers' products. SIPTU members at five stores have already voted in favor of the action.

The company has lost "a substantial portion of sales" due to the effects of a consumer boycott campaign, reported O'Neill.

Montreal steelworkers vow to continue strike

"We've been on strike for 14 months," said Michel Guidon, president of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 15398 at Shokkabeton in Montreal. The company fabricates structural and architectural cement blocks.

Of the original 60 strikers, about 30 continue to picket regularly. One hundred percent of those voting rejected the employer's "comprehensive and final offer" this September after a full year on strike.

The company's offer would lower wages by \$3.50 an hour for most workers. Strikers would not be called back in order of seniority after the contract was signed. "It



Some 800 newspaper workers demonstrate in front of the offices of *La Presse* to protest lockouts at *Le Journal de Montréal* and *The Gazette* as well as *La Presse*'s threats of a concession contract.

ON THE PICKET LINE

newspaper industry in the last year. Eight daily newspapers in the province have been hit by strikes, lockouts, and employer demands for contract concessions.

In Montreal, three of the city's four major dailies are attempting to lay off hundreds of workers.

The largest French-language daily, *Le Journal de Montréal*, locked out 138 workers September 19 and another 208 October 11. These members of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers (CEP) and of the International Graphic and Communications union (IGC) have mounted 24-hour picket lines and called for an advertising boycott of *Le Journal*.

There is fierce competition among newspaper owners in Montreal as they each introduce new computer technology to try to gain a competitive edge.

Looming over *Le Journal*, *La Presse*, and *The Gazette* are production cost cuts by Montreal's other daily, *Le Devoir*. This company recently squeezed \$800,000 of contract concessions from its unionized workforce under threat of closing.

On October 14, 800 union mem-

port in New York City. Pickets had been harassed and warned not to picket at Contact Trucking by four men the previous week.

Boyle suffered a broken nose, a hematoma, and concussion-like symptoms. Few had a cut over his eye, which required stitches, and had bruises all over his body from being kicked and beaten while on the ground.

Striking cargo workers at Alitalia have expanded their picketing from the cargo facility at Kennedy Airport to Contact Trucking and four other trucking companies in the airport area because these companies are doing struck work. They build up and break down cargo and then drive it in and out of the Alitalia facility.

Cargo workers and ticket agents at Kennedy Airport have been on strike for more than two months. Reservations agents at the Manhattan office of Alitalia voted to strike as well. The workers are represented by the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

As the strike goes on, strikers are encountering harassment on other levels. Port Authority police at

LETTERS

South Africa sellout?

Serious are my doubts about your revolutionary commitment, especially here in South Africa. Why? You say Mandela is this great revolutionary leader and the ANC is currently leading the national democratic revolution and the overthrow of the apartheid system. This is a huge lie.

The negotiation process is nothing but a means by which the government is trying to save the privileges of the whites and the capitalist system which were seriously threatened by the revolutionary onslaught of the 1980s. The demands of the democratic revolution will never be granted by the government as this will enable the workers to destroy capitalism itself. Hence, despite all the talk about democracy, Blacks are not going to get the full franchise or land.

The ANC leaders' part in this whole scheme is to deceive the people into accepting this dressed-up version of apartheid. They are trying their best and are getting huge payments from imperialism for this dirty work. The tasks of revolutionaries are to expose this fraud for what it is and to put forward the real demands of the workers. Tiny groups of revolutionaries are doing this and are mercilessly persecuted by the ANC leaders and their ever-willing friends: the trade union bureaucrats in COSATU and the Stalinist gangsters in the SACP [South African Communist Party].

If your paper is really published in the interest of working people you should stop boosting the already gigantic egos of the Mandelas and rather tell the U.S. workers about the real freedom struggle in South Africa: Working-class resistance against the negoti-

ated settlement. This struggle is getting more fierce by the day.

Ronald Ferdinand
Sarepta, South Africa

Unionization in France

An error crept into the title the November 22 *Militant* gave to an item in the "On the Picket Line" column: "Unionists in France fight GEC-Alsthom layoff plans." I think characterizing the workers involved in this fight as "unionists" results from a misunderstanding. While the unions have spearheaded the struggle, a large majority of the workers involved in it are not union members.

Unlike in Anglo-Saxon labor tradition, in France workers in each plant, in each shop, find several unions vying for their allegiance. Once this division ran between Catholic and non-Catholic unions. More recently it has been mainly between unions led by Communist Party members and others led by two different social democratic currents. The general rate of unionization in industry in France is around 5 percent.

In virtually every labor battle here, as was also the case recently in the strike at Air France, the large majority of participants are not members of any union. Overcoming the division between unions and creating a unitary structure which all workers feel represented by is always a big stake in these fights.

Derek Jeffers

Paris, France

PLO-Israeli accord

I appreciated your "Discussion With Our Readers" column in the November 1 issue of the paper. However, rereading the September 27 editorial

in light of your column brought to mind a couple of questions. Perhaps you would find it useful to expand on these points in a future issue.

The editorial points to other factors that indicate the accord is a step forward. It argues that "new political space" has opened up "for Palestinian fighters to advance their struggle for an independent state." It states further, "It will be easier for Palestinian trade unions and other workers' organizations to function and grow." It notes that Israeli censorship and control of the educational system will be weakened.

It raises another idea that I found quite persuasive at the time: "The accord opens up new possibilities for common discussion and action by Palestinian and Israeli workers," and notes that Israelis can now meet legally with PLO leaders and that PLO statements can now be broadcast. In fact, wasn't there a substantial demonstration a few weeks ago of Palestinians and Israelis on the issue of release of Palestinian prisoners?

So I am wondering if as a result of your trip you found these conclusions to still be correct or if they too should be modified or changed? Maybe you can take this up in a future column.

Geoff Mirelowitz
Boston, Massachusetts

Somalia intervention

Brian Williams's article on why Washington is invading Somalia in the October 25 *Militant* is a good description of the imperialist intervention in Somalia. But I see it also from another angle as a manifestation of imperialism's weakness.

I agree that Washington's invasion of Somalia was primarily aimed

at reasserting the right of the U.S. military to intervene in areas around the world to the extent that it is about reasserting. In the public opinion, at least here in Germany, this right was won in the war against Iraq and the publicity campaign preceding it. This enabled the German government to send an army unit to Kampuchea, which was just a medical unit operating a hospital there, and then an armed unit to Somalia (which is supposed to give logistic support for an Indian contingent). But the armed actions of the U.S. forces in Mogadishu undermined the propaganda about a humanitarian mission and gave rise to demands for a withdrawal. The German ministers for defense (Rühe) and foreign affairs (Kinkel) had a public dispute about withdrawing. Should the German soldiers leave Somalia with the U.S. troops next spring, as Ruhe said, or should they stay longer?

As far as I can see, the performance of the imperialist troops in Somalia is risking the loss of acceptance for humanitarian military interventions, which they had won in the campaign against Iraq. And I think that this motivates the "bring them home" proclamations among the ruling class in the USA.

Lüko Willms
Frankfurt/Main, Germany

Yeltsin vs. farmers

I wanted to comment on Greg Rosenberg's article on the land question in Russia.

In 1917 the Russian small farmers opposed private ownership of the land and pushed through the land law they wanted. A law that made land public property, gave all citizens equal access and outlawed

everything that was necessary to the rise of inequality and capitalist relations on the land — i.e., debt slavery and wage labor. According to National Public Radio and the *Militant*, the Russian farmers are still opposed to the privatization of the land. It looks like the Yeltsin regime is headed towards a collision with the Russian peasants. His attack is not against forced collectivization, but rather against the peasants' right to use the land as they wish.

In 1917, Lenin came under criticism for introducing "non-Marxist" land reform. Lenin replied, "As a democratic government, we can not ignore the decision of the masses of the people, even though we may disagree with it." The Leninist policy of worker-peasant alliance is summed up in that simple sentence, a respect for the peasants' right to control their own lives. In contrast, the policy of Stalin was to force unwanted "blessings" on the peasants. Yeltsin, Stalin's heir, is launched on the same course.

Roy Inglee
Wilmington, Delaware

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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

Hundreds march in Los Angeles to defend rights of immigrant workers

BY JUAN VILLAGÓMEZ

LOS ANGELES — "Workers' struggles have no borders" and "We're here and we're not leaving" were among the chants heard at a November 13 march here in defense of immigrant workers. The 600 demonstrators, many of them students and other youth, marched through downtown to the Federal Building. Some participants came from San Francisco, San Diego, and Santa Barbara, California.

The protest was sponsored by the Pro-Immigrant Mobilization Coalition, a group of 50 organizations that came together to oppose the increasing government attacks on immigrants in California. Politicians from both major parties, including Republican governor Pete Wilson and Democratic congresswoman Diane Feinstein, have spearheaded a chauvinist campaign that scapegoats immigrant workers, especially those with no papers, for the economic and social crisis. In early November two former officials of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) launched a campaign to put an initiative on the ballot next year that would bar children of undocumented immigrants from California's public schools. The two are

former INS commissioner Alan Nelson and former regional INS chief Harold Ezell.

A former Los Angeles county supervisor has also announced he will campaign for a ballot initiative that would ban undocumented immigrants from most emergency medical care in public facilities.

A student at Northridge State University who took part in the march said, "We have to defend all immigrants, regardless of their nationality." In the schools, she added, "they never teach about the contributions immigrant workers have made to this society." She said, "The best way to defend immigrants is by protesting in the streets."

A student at Los Angeles Community College stated, "The attacks on education and on immigrants are basically the same. They're trying to roll back our rights."

"Garment workers and building janitors aren't to blame for the economic crisis. It's the owners of the factories and the buildings who're to blame," a member of Latino Network, a gay rights group, said.

Alvaro Maldonado, representing the coalition that sponsored the action, told the crowd, "All workers should unite to defend ourselves against these attacks. Working



November 13 rally in support of immigrant rights in Los Angeles

Militant/Stuart Mack

people and the oppressed from all nationalities have no alternative but to unite for once and for all."

Translated by the Militant from the December issue of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Rally condemns Ohio toxic waste incinerator

BY JOHN COX

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "At the beginning of this struggle, we set out to prove that this incinerator was not legal, not safe, not needed, and not wanted. On all counts, we have been vindicated," said Lorenzo Spencer, a leader of the fight against a giant toxic-waste incinerator in East Liverpool, Ohio. Spencer was speaking at the Ban the

Burn/National Rally to End Incineration in Lafayette Park across the street from the White House November 6. The main focus of the demonstration was the East Liverpool incinerator, which is known by the name of the corporation that owns it, Waste Technologies Industries (WTI).

WTI was allowed to open in April of this year despite well-documented evidence sup-

porting Spencer's statement that the plant was neither safe nor legal, much less desired or needed by the community it is located in. WTI built the incinerator within 300 feet of the nearest residence and 400 yards from an elementary school. The Ohio River, a major source of drinking water for millions of people, is also within a few yards of the plant.

The incinerator failed its test burn in

March with an efficiency rating for burning mercury of 7 percent, far below the required 99.99 percent. An inspection the following month found numerous violations of environmental safety regulations, including failure to store hazardous waste in closed containers. Approximately 500 people attended the demonstration, some driving from as far away as Florida.

Many of the protestors were college students and other young people. "I'm protesting the way that these corporations use the government, which allows big business to do what they want at the expense of the average citizen. The politicians wouldn't allow this toxic waste in their back yards. Why should we?" said Gary Brownstein, one of a half-dozen students who came down from Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

The demonstrators denounced the hypocrisy of Vice-president Al Gore, who on two occasions last year pledged to prevent the WTI plant from opening. Several dozen copies of Gore's book *Earth in the Balance* — which gave him an undeserved reputation as an environmentalist in some quarters — were dumped on the sidewalk in front of the White House with messages written in them from the angry protestors.

Demonstrators also exposed the role of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) in covering up the countless legal and safety violations committed by WTI. "Those who are supposed to be regulating the industry are in conspiracy with the very people they are supposed to be watching," Spencer asserted. One example of this was the refusal of Clinton's EPA chief, Carol Browner, to act on an EPA study that estimated that the toxic risk to the food chain near the incinerator could pose a human cancer threat 1,000 times greater than simple inhalation of emissions.

In July, two senior EPA administrators were charged by another EPA official with modifying WTI's permit to give it "temporary authorization" to operate, knowing that the permit was legally invalid. Another example of the EPA's poor record in relation to WTI is the case of the people's advocate who they named to East Liverpool in response to a growing movement in the community against the incinerator. This advocate visited East Liverpool just once and then promptly accepted a vice presidency at Waste Management, Inc. Waste Management provides the WTI incinerator with most of its waste.

Trial of cop in New Jersey shooting opens

BY TED LEONARD

NEWARK, New Jersey — The trial of suspended Newark cop Kenneth Holloway opened here November 5. He is accused of the near-fatal shooting of 17-year-old Howard Caesar in June 1992.

Holloway, a 30-year-old Black first-year cop at the time, faces several charges of conspiracy, official misconduct, aggravated assault, and weapon offenses. Five other cops involved in the shooting struck plea bargains for lesser charges and have returned to work. Each has taken the stand to testify that Holloway pulled the trigger. Holloway's lawyer told the jury that the other cops were lying when they blamed his client for the shooting.

Caesar testified November 18. He told the jury he was shot by "a Caucasian officer with Black hair and a mustache."

In the early hours of the morning of June 9, 1992, Caesar and a friend were walking away from the car he had been driving after it hit a curb. The six cops, who were all either off duty or not in their assigned patrol area, were hiding behind bushes in a nearby park. They opened fire on the two Black youths. Caesar was struck in the abdomen and was hospitalized for nearly three months. He underwent 10 operations.

The police charged that Caesar was driving a stolen car that belonged to a cop's mother. However, the phone call reporting the car theft was not placed until one minute

after Caesar was shot.

None of the officers on the scene filed a report on the shooting. In a further effort to cover their tracks, the cops returned to the park where the shooting occurred to recover spent cartridges. It was only later after witnesses came forward that the event came to light.

Caesar was shot with a .45-caliber handgun, not the 9mm handgun issued by the Newark police. The prosecution says Holloway used a "throwaway gun," a gun used by cops in addition to their service revolver and which, therefore, cannot be traced to them.

On November 10, police officer Neftalis Mendez testified. According to Mendez, who was one of the six cops on the scene when Caesar was shot, a meeting was held within 24 hours of the shooting of all the officers involved so they could "get their stories straight."

In April of this year Caesar's family filed a \$50 million lawsuit against the city of Newark, the police department, and the individual cops involved. Caesar explained at the time that he hadn't done anything to "justify them shooting me. I wasn't trying to take anybody's life. I felt they were trying to take my life."

Mark Rahn, the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the recent elections for New Jersey governor, has been attending the trial. "Once again the green light is given to cops to terrorize Black youth in the name of fighting crime," he said. "All six cops involved should be prosecuted for attempted murder. Actions like the marches and rallies organized by Caesar's family in the weeks after the ambush are needed today to fight for justice for Howard Caesar."



Howard Caesar, seated at center, with his lawyer and family members.