

# THE MILITANT

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Swedish government cuts unemployment benefits

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## ANC condemns gov't for violence in South Africa

BY GREG ROSENBERG

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — With just three months until the first-ever nonracial elections in this country, the African National Congress (ANC) is leading a political battle against the white-minority regime of South African president F.W. de Klerk, the Inkatha Freedom Party of Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and ultraright parties. These forces are working feverishly to derail the democratic revolution unfolding here and drown the process in a sea of blood.

On January 17, an estimated 35,000 supporters of Inkatha, many of them armed with

### Eyewitness Report

spears and guns, marched on Pretoria in support of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, who met with de Klerk.

The Inkatha supporters let loose a storm of violence on working people throughout the region. They slaughtered 17 people, assaulting thousands of workers on their way to their jobs. Seven houses were burned to the ground. The marchers commandeered taxis, buses, and other vehicles by force.

Thousands of Inkatha supporters who are Zulu were bused in for the event from Natal. Buthelezi's followers unleashed armed thugs from sympathetic workers hostels in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) region and incited them to violence at train stations. Officials at Hillbrow Hospital near Johannesburg said they treated scores of people for hack and stab wounds.

Assailants stabbed 61-year-old Rebecca Morapedi in the face as she waited on a train platform, leaving her badly injured. "They did not say anything at all," she said. "They just attacked us."

## Protesters demand end to repression in Mexico

BY JUAN VILLAGÓMEZ AND SANDRA PUCCI

SAN CRISTÓBAL DE LAS CASAS, Mexico — Some 2,000 people marched here January 13 to demand an end to army brutalities and the withdrawal of federal troops from this city and other towns in Chiapas, Mexico's southernmost state. Thousands of soldiers have been occupying this impoverished rural area since early January, when guerrillas from the Zapatista National Liberation Front (EZLN) took over several towns.

Lucía Gómez Treo, one of the demonstrators, said she was marching because "we do not want more bombings of the indigenous peoples in Chamula, Ocosingo, or anywhere else." She said, "The federal army should leave all the towns immediately."

Marchers also demanded a real cease-fire and protested recent price hikes on consumer goods.

The day before the action Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari declared a cease-fire but said that if fired on the armed forces would respond in "self-defense."

Meanwhile, in one of the largest political protests in this country in many years, between 50,000 and 100,000 people marched in the streets of Mexico City January 12 demanding "Stop the massacre." Contin-



Militant/Greg Rosenberg  
ANC president Nelson Mandela addressing Youth League congress January 14. "Our perspective is not revenge," he said. "We have the responsibility of leading South Africa — including those who are slaughtering our people today — to live in peace."

Residents in Alexandra said fierce battles erupted between attackers from the hostels and township residents. One person died in the skirmish.

Marchers outside the Union Building in Pretoria fired some 500 rounds into the air as police, army troops, and spectators dove to the ground. No arrests were reported. Armed cops from the KwaZulu "homeland" acted as marshals, along with members of the far-right Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB).

"Once again," said an ANC statement, "the police failed to protect lives and prop-

erty. While today's events implicate the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], the NP [National Party] government cannot escape culpability. President De Klerk has delayed withdrawing the notorious ISU's [Internal Stability Unit] from the townships. We urgently need policing that will abide by the principle

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## Los Angeles earthquake hits workers the hardest

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — As always happens during any natural disaster in a capitalist society, working people are bearing the brunt of the earthquake that rocked this area January 17.

The tremor, which measured 6.6 on the Richter scale, was centered in the Northridge section of Los Angeles, just 20 miles from downtown. Forty-six people were killed and more than 2,600 injured. Thousands of homes are damaged or destroyed. An estimated 20,000 people are taking refuge in city parks. Others are in emergency shelters or camping out in parking lots.

As thousands went without food, shelter, and medical care, police, sheriff's deputies, and more than 2,000 members of the National Guard were mobilized to protect businesses against possible looting, which, in spite of the government panic, never materialized. In fact, there were fewer people arrested in Los Angeles the day following the quake than ever recorded.

The local, state, and federal governments all declared the area a state of emergency and slapped a dusk-to-dawn curfew on the city. This was later changed to 11 p.m. to dawn. Several people have been arrested for curfew violations.

Business and financial analysts were quick to start speculating how the quake will effect businessmen's profits. In statements

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Militant reporters are traveling the world over this month to give our readers the best, most accurate news and analysis of major world events:

**Cuba** — How are working people in Cuba confronting the economic crisis and standing up to Washington's aggression to defend the socialist revolution? *New Internationalist* editor Mary-Alice Waters and *Militant* managing editor Argrís Malapanis, together with Francisco Picado from Miami and Aaron Ruby from Washington, D.C., are on their way to Cuba to get the facts.

**South Africa** — Starting in this issue the *Militant* is featuring firsthand reports on the African National Congress Youth League conference in Johannesburg and the ANC's election campaign. *Militant* staff writer Greg Rosenberg, along with Brian Pugh from Salt Lake City and Brock Satter from Minneapolis, are on the scene.

**Puerto Rico** — This and future issues will feature eyewitness coverage on discussions and debates in Puerto Rico over the fight for independence from U.S. imperialism.

The cost of these trips exceeds \$20,000. The *Militant* depends on the generous contributions of our readers — workers, students, and others who value the coverage they can find nowhere else — to make such reporting possible.



Delegate to ANC Youth League Congress in Soweto.

**Mexico** — *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* reporters Sandra Pucci and Juan Villagómez traveled from Los Angeles to Mexico to find out what workers and farmers there are discussing and doing after the government's violent crackdown against guerrilla forces in Chiapas.

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The truth about the Kronstadt mutiny — pages 8–9





## U.S. forces attack Somalis

U.S. military officials in Somalia pulled most of their sniper teams from Pakistani posts after Pakistani authorities charged them with being too aggressive in firing at local residents. U.S. troops have been involved in three recent incidents, including the January 9 fatal shooting of a woman.

## Israeli troops besiege house

Israeli troops killed four Palestinians January 13-14 in a 12-hour attack on a house in Hebron in the occupied West Bank. Soldiers besieged the house with grenades and shoulder-fired missiles. An Israeli radio report claimed the dead men were members of Hamas, a group opposed to the accord between Tel Aviv and the Palestine Liberation Organization. The assault began several hours after three Israeli soldiers were wounded in an ambush eight miles south of Hebron.

## Rivals maneuver in Bosnia

Rightist Serb forces pressed an attack January 15 intended to isolate a key Bosnian government enclave from the capital city of Sarajevo and strengthen their position in negotiations to divide the republic. United Nations officials were unable to confirm whether the rightists had gained ground in five days of infantry attacks on Olovo and shelling in and around Tuzla. Olovo, which has swelled with refugees to three times its prewar population of 130,000, is halfway between the Bosnian capital and the government-held town of Tuzla. NATO forces have indicated they will bomb Serbian troops if they continue to prevent UN relief flights from landing at Tuzla's airport.

## Italian parliament dissolved

Italian president Oscar Scalfaro dissolved parliament January 16 and named the departing prime minister, Carlo Ciampi, head of a new caretaker government. Ciampi, who resigned January 13 after about eight months in office, set parliamentary elections for March 27. The Christian Democratic-dominated government, which has ruled Italy for more than four decades, has been stained by corruption.

Since February 1992, more than 3,000 people, many of them members of parliament, have been implicated in the vast and systematic pillage of state and private funds

known as the "bribe city" scandal, which involves pay-offs for government contracts. Italy is in the midst of a deep economic crisis. Workers are fighting the government's efforts to sell off state-owned industries to private enterprises and lay off tens of thousands.

## Strikes in Vietnam

Workers struck four factories in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, the first week of January over wages and working conditions. Two hundred fifty employees at a privately owned toy manufacturer won concessions after a short strike to protest late paychecks. Workers at a state-owned cashew processing plant also scored a victory after a brief work stoppage. Three hundred fifty strikers at an underwear factory are demanding a wage increase and a bonus payment.

Vietnam's National Assembly shelved a draft labor law for consideration at its next session in mid-1994. There is currently no legislation in the country that dictates how to settle labor disputes.

## Tokyo deports workers

The Japanese government deported more than 2,600 immigrants during two months of raids in Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya. More than 90 percent of those deported were reportedly undocumented workers holding jobs at construction sites, restaurants, and factories manufacturing plastics and metal products. The majority of the workers emigrated from Thailand, South Korea, and Malaysia.

## U.S. troops sent to Guatemala

Some 4,500 U.S. soldiers are taking part in the six-month "Fuerzas Caminos '94" military exercise, which began January 8 in Guatemala. The army reservists will participate in 12 two-week rotating shifts, with 300 to 500 troops in the Central American country at a time.

Meanwhile, after being deadlocked for more than a year, the government and the



Students in France protest government policy on education funding. Hundreds of thousands of people demonstrated in Paris January 16 in a march built by the teachers' unions against a bill increasing state funding to private schools. The legislation was struck down January 13 as unconstitutional. The state pays teachers' salaries at the mostly Roman Catholic schools that 17 percent of students in France attend.

Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, an alliance of three rebel organizations, agreed January 10 to a new framework for negotiations. The government also agreed to discuss human rights issues when the two sides meet again in February. The government, notorious for its human rights violations, had earlier refused to discuss the matter.

## Rightist heads Haiti parliament

Frantz Monde, a former member of the Duvalier family dictatorship's brutal Tonton Macoutes thugs, was elected chief of Haiti's lower house of parliament January 13. The army-backed legislator headed a slate of opponents of ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide who took charge of the Chamber of Deputies. Twenty-one lawmakers, including at least six Aristide supporters who fled Haiti for their lives, were absent for the 31-25 vote.

Monde pledged to disband parliament if it does not move faster to remove Aristide supporters from the government. The right-wing Front for Haitian Advancement and Progress is backing a petition sponsored by Port-au-Prince police chief Joseph François to dissolve parliament.

## Economic crisis in Barbados

Another 3,300 people joined the ranks of the unemployed in Barbados during the quarter ending September 1993, according to recently released government statistics. The official jobless rate stands at 25.5 percent, one of the highest in the Caribbean region. Youth are hit especially hard. Some 77 percent of those under 40 years old are unemployed. Austerity measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund in 1991 are still in effect.

## U.S. recovery reaches high point

The U.S. economy reportedly grew at a rate exceeding 5 percent in the final quarter of 1993. Industrial output was up and the operating rate of factories, mines, and utilities reached its busiest pace in four and a half years.

The annual inflation rate dropped to 2.7 percent, the lowest rate in seven years. Sales of newly built homes shot up 11.3 percent in November to their highest level since 1986. The housing boom is credited with boosting sales of previously owned homes to a record annual rate of 4.2 million units that month.

## Workweek hits record high

The average workweek in U.S. factories at the end of 1993 was 41.7 hours — higher than any time since the end of World War II. Longer hours, commented the January 17 *Wall Street Journal*, "may be here to stay, helping keep the unemployment rate stubbornly high for some time to come."

## Welfare under attack

Massachusetts governor William Weld proposed an overhaul of the state's welfare program that will require more than 50,000 recipients to find a job within 60 days or do community service for well below minimum wage. The governor also proposes that teenage mothers live with their parents.

Unemployment in the state stands at 6.3 percent. There were 200,000 unemployed people in Massachusetts in December 1993 and only 13,000 job openings listed with the state's Department of Employment and Training. One-fourth of these were part-time openings.

— PAT SMITH

## THE MILITANT

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# Beijing tightens population control policy

BY PAT SMITH

The Chinese government has bolstered its reactionary population control policy with broader restrictions on a woman's right to decide when or if to bear children. Under the pretense of helping to solve the problem of large numbers of children born with birth defects, Chen Minzhang, China's minister of public health, introduced a bill in mid-December to the National People's Congress entitled "On Eugenics and Health Protection."

The proposed legislation aims to "avoid new births of inferior quality and heighten the standards of the whole population" through government-ordered sterilizations and abortions. It explicitly refers to "more than 10 million disabled persons who could have been prevented through better controls." China is in "urgent need of adopting such a law to put a stop to the prevalence of abnormal births," Chen stated.

The Xinhua news agency reported that

even more by fining or dismissing local government officials if the number of births in their region surpassed the quota. The result was a 25 percent surge in the number of people sterilized that year, to 12.5 million.

Peasants report authorities routinely sweep through villages and forcibly terminate pregnancies, sterilize women who have filled their allowance of one or two children, and fine families who give birth without permission. In some cases, premature labor is induced to meet a complex quota system that requires some women to give birth in December of one year instead of January of the next. This policy endangers both the mother and the fetus.

The Chinese government claims restrictions are necessary to lead China out of poverty and into a modern, industrialized future. But the notion that poverty, hunger, and disease are the consequence of excess population is false. From the time it was first raised by Thomas Malthus in 1798, this theory has been used to let the capitalist system, and the rich and powerful who benefit from it, off the hook. If population growth is the cause of poverty and hunger, then the poor have only themselves to blame, they argue.

## Opposite of Lenin's, Castro's course

The Chinese government's population control policies, in fact, place it on a course that is the exact opposite of that charted by the revolutionary leadership team led by V.I. Lenin in the early years of the Russian revolution and by Fidel Castro and the leadership of the Cuban revolution.

Lenin argued that abortions should be legal and contraception welcomed so that women could control their lives. The working class, he said in 1913, should oppose the petty-bourgeoisie that moaned that it is necessary to control population growth because the world is too crowded and too horrible to bring any more children into it.

"Bear children so that they can be maimed?" he said mocking this argument. "Why not that they should fight better, more unitedly, consciously, and resolutely than we are fighting against the present-day condi-

tions of life that are maiming and ruining our generation?"

At the same time Lenin demanded the "unconditional annulment" of all laws against abortion or restricting the distribution of contraceptives. "Freedom for medical propaganda and the protection of the elementary democratic rights of citizens, men and women, are one thing," he said. "The social theory of neomalthusianism is quite another."

Lenin further explained, "Class-conscious workers will always conduct the most ruthless struggle against attempts to impose that reactionary and cowardly theory on the most progressive and strongest class in modern society."

Women can only be truly free to choose whether or not have children if they have access to safe effective means of preventing pregnancies and the opportunity to rear children without being forced out of the productive workforce.

The communist leadership of the Cuban revolution has led a fight to provide sex education, contraceptives, and abortions free and on demand. Women bearing children benefit from regular prenatal care which, like all medical care, is free and accessible. Efforts are made to confront birth defects through research to discover cures and treatment and through universal medical care. Maternity leaves and day care help women remain in the workforce. While the deep economic crisis confronting Cuba today has put tremendous pressure on all of these gains, forcing a retreat on some, the Cuban government does not have a policy that seeks to raise or lower its population rate by controlling the reproductive rights of working people.

Beijing's promotion of abortion as a means to limit population growth or address the serious problem of inadequate prenatal care and illnesses that can lead to birth defects shines a light on the social crisis confronting the toilers in China as a result of decades of bureaucratic misrule.

The 1949 Chinese revolution — which overthrew capitalist rule; nationalized factories, mines, and land; and ushered in conditions favorable for women's emancipation

— was a tremendous advance for humanity. But the Stalinist misleadership there has forced the workers and peasants out of politics and has been a gigantic obstacle to the working-class initiative necessary to advance the revolution and resolve the real challenges of providing food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and education in an underdeveloped country.

While many workers and farmers inside China fight to sidestep the one-child regulations, the *Wall Street Journal* reports that many people they interviewed were sympathetic to the new policy.

"If I had known my child would be like this, I would have chosen not to have him," said Du Guige of her son Xinglong who developed brain damage because of poor prenatal care. Infants born with defects are often abandoned by their parents and end up in orphanages. Locked up in dingy, bare rooms with nothing to do, the children are not taught social skills nor integrated into society.

## Washington expands trade with China

The new population control law comes at a time when the Chinese Communist Party is on a head-long rush to open the country's economy to the world capitalist market. Washington is now the recipient of one-quarter of China's exports. Boeing, the aircraft giant, does 14 percent of its business there and Coca Cola announced that China is one of its fastest-growing markets. This explains why, in spite of the hue and cry about the lack of democratic rights in China, the U.S. rulers have no intention of slapping economic sanctions on Beijing.

On January 12, the Chinese and U.S. governments signed an economic agreement on textiles. Under the accord, Beijing will limit the growth of its textile exports to the United States for three years.

"Although other disputes — such as on human-rights issues — remain," the *Wall Street Journal* said, "the textile accord averted a trade war and could make it easier for the U.S. to reward China with broader trade benefits later."

U.S. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor said the agreement is "the beginning of a healthier and more productive relationship."

Beijing's reactionary population policies undermine the genuinely progressive nature of the fight to defend women's right to choose whether or not to have children and how many. In fact these policies provide ammunition to the antiabortion forces who jump at the opportunity to link their own reactionary perspective to the fight for women's rights.

Right-wing columnist Cal Thomas, for example, compared Medicaid-funded abortions, even within the narrow limits established in the Clinton administration's new law, to the Chinese government's brutal population control policies. "While there are differences in degree between the policies of China and the Clinton Administration, morally they are the same," he wrote in a December 30 syndicated column, which appeared in the *Conservative Chronicle* and other publications.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

"pregnant women who have been diagnosed as having certain infectious diseases or an abnormal fetus will be advised to halt the pregnancy. Couples in the category should have themselves sterilized." Xinhua added that anyone with inheritable ailments such as hepatitis, venereal disease, or mental illness "will be banned from marrying while carrying the disease."

Officials in Gansu Province passed regional legislation in 1989 prohibiting mentally retarded women from having children. They argued that the law was necessary because too many babies were being born with mental defects. Under the law, any mentally retarded woman found pregnant was subject to mandatory abortion. Provincial authorities sought to sterilize up to 260,000 women.

Beijing already enforces harsh laws restricting family size and encouraging abortions to limit population growth. In early 1991 the Chinese Communist Party vowed to tighten its control of family planning

# Crisis in Haiti debated at conference

BY ROLLANDE GIRARD AND JANET POST

MIAMI — "We must have unity to go back to Haiti and erase the genocide that has taken place," said ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide at an international conference here, titled "Democracy: the solution to the Haitian crisis."

Aristide initially announced plans to organize a conference centered around the question of Haitian refugees and their treatment at the hands of the United States government. The character of the meeting was changed, under pressure from the Clinton administration, which threatened to boycott the event. Participants discussed the Governor's Island Accord, signed by Aristide and the military regime in July 1993. The agreement, which called for Aristide's return to Haiti at the end of October last year, was blocked by the coup leaders. U.S. officials hoped Aristide would use this conference to find a new prime minister and expand his government to include pro-military forces.

More than 300 people participated in the January 14-16 gathering, including eight senators from Haiti. There were representatives from the U.S. State Department, the Organization of American States, the United Nations, nongovernmental organizations that are involved in Haiti, Haitian unions, political organizations in exile, and members of the U.S. Congress.

The Haitian military and other Aristide opponents, who were invited at the last minute, did not attend.

In the opening session, Jesse Jackson and several members of the Black Congressional Caucus called for U.S. military intervention in Haiti.

U.S. president Bill Clinton's special adviser on Haitian affairs, Lawrence Pezzullo, praised economic sanctions as an effective way to pressure the Haitian military. "We must have amnesty so that the military can accept the transition," he said.

Most of the meeting's participants did



Militant/Janet Post

During January 14-16 conference on Haiti in Miami, 500 people protested outside to demand justice for Haitian refugees and return of Aristide to the Caribbean country.

not agree with the call for amnesty and instead proposed that Washington indict the criminals responsible for the murder, torture, and disappearance of thousands of Haitian people since the coup.

Five hundred people, mostly Haitians, demonstrated in front of the Hotel Intercontinental where the conference was held. The demonstrators chanted slogans and held signs supporting the return of Aristide. Among the signs was one that read, "the leaders of the coup d'etat, not the innocent victims, are the ones who should leave Haiti." A plane flew overhead trailing a banner reading, "Clinton stop murdering the Haitian refugees."

Many participants at a human rights workshop denounced the Clinton administration's policy of forcibly repatriating Haitian refugees. U.S. State Department representative Michael Kozak, a senior ad-

ministration official, left the room slamming the door when the result of the workshop on this question was read at the plenum. Kozak later said there would be "no shift" in the Clinton administration refugee policy.

A participant from the Association of Political Haitian Refugees of Guantanamo also denounced the fact that no organization of refugees had been invited to speak.

Many politicians and representatives from nongovernmental organizations at the conference favored reinforcing the embargo. But many conference participants said it was not working.

"The embargo is destroying the people. The buying power of workers is nonexistent," Daceus Louissius of the Federation of Unionized Workers said at another press conference. He stated he would support sanctions that "only effected the putchists."

## From Pathfinder

### Too Many Babies?

The Myth of the Population Explosion

BY JOSEPH HANSEN



If in the midst of abundance part of the population goes hungry, Hansen explains, this is due not to the quantity of those without food but to the quality of the economic system under which they live — one that dooms them to starvation in the shadow of bursting granaries and warehouses. \$3.50

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# Los Angeles quake

Continued from front page

that show the utter inhumanity of the capitalist class, several top economists heralded the earthquake as a major boon to California's crisis-ridden economy.

"Within a month, the economy will be booming" in the Los Angeles area, Douglas Woodward, an economist at the University of South Carolina, predicted. "They will get a real boost out of it, no question about it."

Roger Brinner, a senior economist with DRI/McGraw Hill, shared his rosy view. "In the end," he said, "the impact of a disaster on a local economy is, strangely enough, almost always positive."

Anticipating top-dollar freeway repairs and home rebuilding, construction-related stocks jumped 23 percent on the New York stock exchange following the quake.

Other ruling-class soothsayers disagreed. A business analyst for the *Los Angeles Times* called the tremor a "major blow" to the city's economy and the *Wall Street Journal* ran an article under the headline "Disasters do unleash money, but in the longer run, economies take a big hit."

## Unmitigated disaster for working people

Whatever the future holds for the profits of one or another capitalist, the earthquake is already an unmitigated disaster for working people in Los Angeles.

There are no laws that require landlords to notify their tenants if the building they live in does not meet the basic safety code.

According to one retired earthquake safety inspector there is a "policy of silence" with regard to enforcement of these regulations.

The biggest scam is being run by the insurance companies. For the past five years, insurance firms in California have been required to offer earthquake policies. But to protect their profits, they have rigged premiums and coverage in such a way as to make it impossible for most working people — and even many small businesses — to buy insurance. As a result, only 40 percent of Los Angeles residents have earthquake coverage. The extra protection brings the cost of an average policy up from \$450 to as much as \$750. In addition, deductibles of up to 10 percent are standard.

On top of this, some factories have been forced to close as a result of damage. Hughs Aircraft, for example, with about 2,000 workers in Canoga Park and Malibu, is shut down. Rockwell International closed its Canoga Park aerospace engine assembly plant after suffering broken windows, buckled floor tiles, and ruptured water pipes. Before the quake, unemployment in southern California was already around 9 percent.

# ANC condemns violence in S. Africa

Continued from front page

of consultation with communities, and protect all South Africans regardless of race or political affiliation."

A furious political debate around the ISUs is taking place here, with the ANC leading the call for expulsion of this elite cop unit from the townships. The debate grew in intensity after assailants opened fire on an ANC delegation in Katlehong near Johannesburg January 9. Later that day, ISU troops shot a member of a local self-defense unit to death. Inkatha leader Hennie Bekker said a possible agreement to replace the ISU with South African Defense Force (SADF) troops would amount to "treason."

"In light of today's events, the ANC's repeated demand for the withdrawal of the ISUs from all townships... must be met without further delay," said the January 17 ANC statement.

## Opposition to unitary, democratic nation

In opposition to the ANC's call for a unitary, democratic, nonracial, nonsexist South Africa, the National Party government and other forces are fighting a rearguard action to preserve sections of the apartheid state and its accompanying privileges.

Here the interests of the de Klerk regime coincide with those of some local ruling classes in the apartheid homelands. After their meeting, de Klerk and Zwiethini issued a joint statement that said, "De Klerk assured the king of his high consideration for the king, the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu." Zwiethini stated that he "speak[s] for every Zulu, regardless of party affiliation, who has any allegiance to his or her nation. I lay claim to the right of my people to determine their own destiny on the land and the kingdom of their forefathers."

Zwiethini claimed that the upcoming elections would mean "national suicide" without provisions enshrining KwaZulu as a separate entity.

In response to the bloody attacks, Tokyo Sexwale, ANC regional chairperson in the PWV region, said that the Inkatha forces "disorganized transport and public life — exactly what they are going to do as the elections approach." Sexwale told the congress of the ANC Youth League, "They call themselves Zulus. A thug is a thug even if he speaks Zulu."

"South Africa," said ANC president Nelson Mandela in his January 14 address to the youth league meeting, "has become the most violent society in the world." According to figures released by the Human Rights Commission, 4,364 people were killed in political violence in 1993 — the highest annual total since the unbanning of the ANC in 1990. This is a 25 percent increase over 1992, when 3,499 died.

"This violence," said Mandela, "is taking place among Africans and Africans only. Some members of other national groups have been caught in the cross fire."

Mandela charged that "the government is



Maria Callejas feeds campfire in North Hollywood Park before cooking breakfast and after she and her family spent the night at the park. Many working people are homeless after their houses were damaged by the quake.

For those whose factories, offices, and other places of work are operating, a massive transportation crisis looms as a result of the damage to the system of freeways

that ties the city together. According to officials, it may be as long as 18 months before damaged sections of highway can be repaired.

## Impact of the quake: a reporter's notebook

BY GALE SHANGOLD

SAN FERNANDO, California — It was the day after the earthquake and most cars were still off the road, so it proved an easy drive from Los Angeles to this battered town, a few miles north-east of Northridge.

At the emergency shelter in the San Fernando Recreation Center, Red Cross volunteers had just served lunch from a truck. Only string beans and cookies were left as people continued to come up for food.

According to one Red Cross worker, government aid has not yet arrived. All assistance so far is being supplied by the Red Cross, other private agencies, and private donations.

Tents were pitched in the park outside of the shelter. Families were sitting at picnic tables with blankets, clothing, and water jugs next to them.

The media makes much of how the earthquake hit rich and poor alike. But I saw only Latinos — mainly immigrants and a few Black workers at this shelter.

One man told me that two walls had collapsed in his rented house. He's waiting for an inspection and advice on what to do. He had moved here from Mexico in 1968. A machinist, he's been on layoff six weeks.

Across the street from the park, apartment residents were sweeping broken glass. One man invited me into his apartment to see the damage and chaotic mess. The building had a deep visible crack.

Guadalupe Andalon is camping in the park with her children and husband, who is recovering from surgery resulting from a job injury. Their home is badly damaged, and there is no gas.

Josefina Martinez, an office worker, pointed to the ground. "This is where I slept last night with my son and it was cold," she said. Her son is six.

She had tried to register for a bed at the shelter the day before, but the 150 cots had been taken. Today she was third on line to ensure that she and her child would not have to sleep outside for a second night.

"I'm afraid to go home," she said. "There were many fires and explosions in my house. I'm waiting for an inspection before I can go back in. The house was not built safe."

Her house was only two years old. I offered to call her boss to let him know where she was. She hadn't been able to get through on the pay phone.

working with criminals to slaughter blacks to cling to political power.

"Our perspective is not revenge," the ANC president continued. "We have the responsibility of leading South Africa — including those who are slaughtering our people today — to live in peace."

As the April 27 elections approach, the ANC is making gains, forcing sharp divisions in the ranks of its political opponents.

On January 14, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, military leader of the Ciskei homeland, announced he was pulling his government out of the right-wing Freedom Alliance and joining the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), a multiparty body that has assumed some governmental powers. Gqozo says he will now participate in the elections.

According to the January 16 *Sunday Nation*, the Ciskei ruler feared a mutiny by his army, which would be "unauthorized" if the Ciskei government was not part of the TEC by the time of the election.

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Clarence Makwetu, announced January 16 suspension of armed struggle by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA). Makwetu said, however, "APLA will not disband." The PAC will not join the TEC until all armed formations in the country — including the SADF and the South African Police — are under joint control, he said.

The PAC's announcement came just days after the Tanzanian government said it would ban APLA from using its territory to launch attacks in South Africa or make hostile statements.

The ANC will issue its list of 400 candidates for the elections on January 20. Two opinion polls in the past week show the ANC winning a large majority — 64-67 percent — in the electoral contest. Winning two-thirds of the seats in Parliament would allow the ANC to write the new constitution.

Fissures are emerging within the ranks of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Ferdi Hartzenberg's rightist Conservative Party,

two pillars of the Freedom Alliance. Both Buthelezi and Hartzenberg refuse to participate in the elections. But the *Weekly Mail and Guardian* reports that no less than 78 percent of Conservative Party members and 84 percent of those in Inkatha intend to vote.

The ANC released its sixth draft proposal of the organization's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) January 14.

The 61-page draft advances a perspective for the transition from white-minority rule to a democratic republic. "It seeks to mobilize all our people and our country's resources in the final eradication of apartheid and the building of our future," says the opening paragraph of the RDP. The document was drawn up "by the ANC-led alliance in consultation with other key mass organizations."

"Our history has been a bitter one dominated by colonialism, racism, apartheid and repressive labor policies," states the document. "The result is that poverty and degradation exist side-by-side with modern cities and a developed mining, industrial and commercial infrastructure. Our income distribution is racially distorted and ranks as one of the most unequal in the world."

The program raises demands that include levies on capital transfers, land, and luxury goods; a social security program; removal of a tax that penalizes married women at a higher rate than women who are single; construction of 300,000 houses over five years; electrification of 2.5 million homes by the year 2000; no Value Added Tax on basic necessities; and calls for the defense of workers' "right to organize, bargain collectively and strike."

The RDP calls for a massive public works program to help alleviate unemployment, which runs as high as 50 percent in some Black townships.

Since millions of Blacks have been prevented by the apartheid regime from owning and working the land, the document stresses the need for a land reform, including a point on land redistribution. Some 60,000 white farmers own 87 percent of the farmland in South Africa.

"The redistribution program," says the RDP draft, "should use land already on sale and land acquired by corrupt means from the apartheid state or mortgaged to state and parastatal bodies. Where applicable, it will expropriate land and pay compensation as the constitution stipulates."

The RDP continues, "The land reform programme must include land outside of the historically black areas. All legal provisions which may impede the planning and affordability of a land reform programme must be reviewed and if necessary revised."

"Every woman must have the right to choose whether or not to have an early termination of pregnancy according to her own individual beliefs," says the RDP.

The draft document will be debated at a special ANC conference January 21-23 in Johannesburg.

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# ANC Youth League mobilizes for elections

## Delegates at congress chart course to ensure resounding victory for ANC

BY BRIAN PUGH  
AND GREG ROSENBERG

SOWETO, South Africa — The African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) held its 18th National Congress here January 14-17 at Vista College. The theme of the meeting was "Every youth a combatant for democracy, peace, and social justice." Some 1,600 delegates from 14 regions across South Africa participated in discussions centered around campaigning for the ANC in the April 27 elections and bringing political violence in the country to an end.

"The immediate and urgent task of the day is to mobilize the population as a whole for an ANC resounding victory in the elections," said outgoing secretary-general Rapu Molekane in his address to the gathering. "It is expected of us to be the foot soldiers in ensuring this historic triumph. We must between now and April 27 enter every village, township, suburb, school, technikon, university, seminary, church, mosque, and synagogue and sell the ANC and its manifesto."

"The youth league is a member organization of the African National Congress. It stands on the revolutionary democratic program of the ANC, the Freedom Charter," he said.

ANC president Nelson Mandela delivered the opening speech to the meeting, defining the major challenge to the youth league as participating in the election campaign.

"One of the greatest dangers facing our people is the question of complacency," said Mandela. Despite the fact that polls place the ANC with 67 percent of the vote, youth should "visit every house in the country, once, twice and even thrice. We will win that election if we are able to get each and every one of age to the voting station."

"But if you are going to rise to this challenge," the ANC president continued, "there are certain things which you must do. One of the problems we have as a movement is the inability to understand the importance of discipline. You need to lead a disciplined life. If you have a meeting at seven o'clock, everyone should be there at seven o'clock. Keeping people waiting is a sign of abusing people's confidence and respect," said Mandela.

"You are going to interact with the youth of the world," following the elections, he continued, underlining the importance of

education. The future ANC-led government "must ensure that every child goes to school."

"In our society, we are facing difficulty because we don't talk about sex," said Mandela. "Women should have the right to choose an abortion. We must do sex education, and explain how to engage in safe sex." This must include a campaign against AIDS, said the ANC president.

"A democratic government that is not able to deliver the goods is not a democratic government," he emphasized. "If the ANC government is not able to deliver the goods," it needs to be removed.

Mandela said that salaries for government officials should be the same as that of modern industrial workers. "People who went to the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] to get fat checks have made a bad decision. If a member of the ANC national executive committee gets a gift of over 100 rand [US\$30] he's obliged to report it. The organization will decide what to do with it. We don't want any member of our executive to be influenced."

### Halting violence

Mandela explained that the self-defense units (SDUs) in the townships "were formed with the bona fide purpose to defend the people against the security forces and their surrogates. They were supposed to defend, not to attack."

"Some SDUs have gone completely out of order. They have been infiltrated by criminal gangs and agent provocateurs."

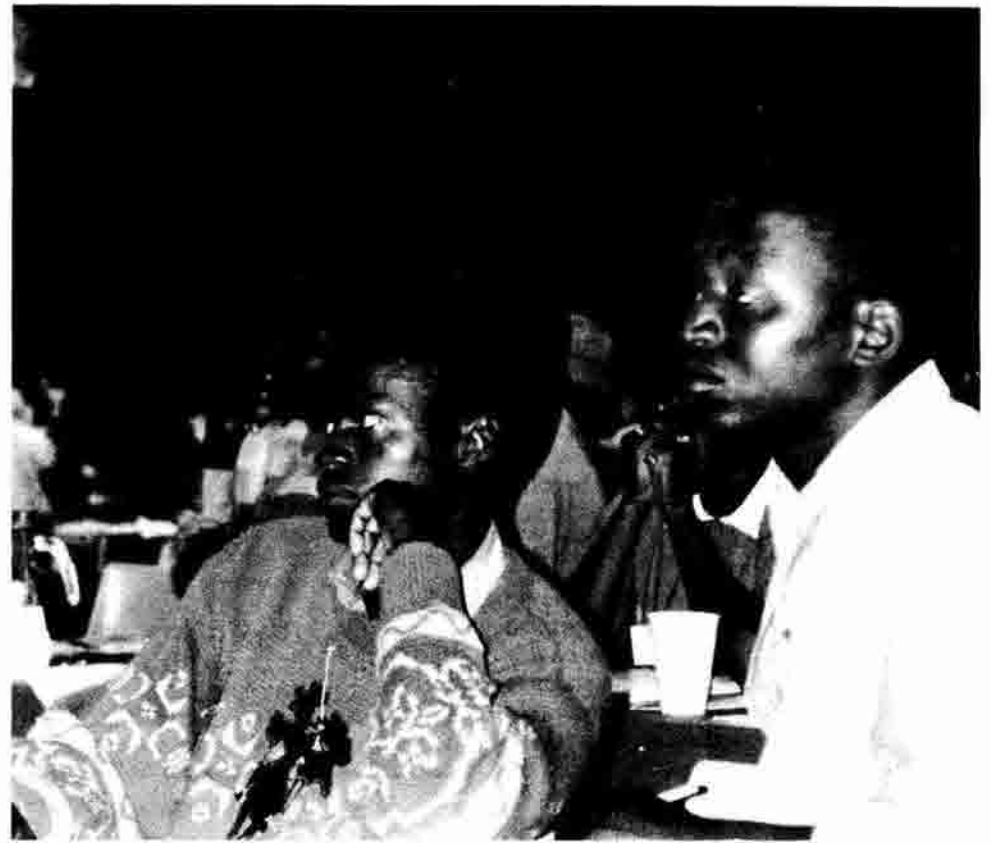
"Nevertheless, it is our problem. We must admit a lack of discipline. Youth must make sure that the criminal gangs are eliminated," from the SDUs, said Mandela.

"We have not yet started our election campaign. When we do, the National Party will beg for mercy. But we must solve the question of violence," he stated.

Mandela told the delegates that when he spoke to a crowd after a violent attack last year, "people sang Mandela, you are behaving like a lamb while the government is killing our people."

"When I said ignore the leaders — talk to the members of the Inkatha Freedom Party — I was booed down. I understand. But I said, if I am your leader, I am going to point out your mistakes," said Mandela.

Peter Mokaba, the outgoing ANCYL president, addressed the congress. Mokaba, 36, is now beyond the 35-year age limit for



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Delegates attending youth congress in Soweto January 14.

the organization. He outlined the role played by the league in the liberation struggle.

"We have arrived at the point we are at today because we could build and maintain a certain level of unity among the oppressed. The basis of that unity is action," he said.

"Let all the demagogues and the enemies of our people know that the youth are ready to meet them, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," Mokaba stated in his farewell speech. He also said a new revolutionary army might be necessary following the elections.

### Greetings and guests

The Congress heard written greetings from the China Youth Corps, SWAPO Youth of Namibia, the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, the National Black Caucus of Britain, the South Africa Student Congress, and the South Africa Committee of Sweden.

International guests who gave greetings to the congress were Roger Hallus, presi-

dent of the International Union of Socialist Youth based in Sweden, and Brock Satter, one of a delegation of three young socialists from the United States. Other guests included representatives from the Coalition of Left and Progress of Greece, the Socialist Workers Party of the United States, and the Africana Student Cultural Center in Minneapolis.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and representatives of the ANC Women's League, South African Communist Party, and Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's armed group, addressed the meeting.

Molekane reported that since its last congress in 1991, the youth league doubled in size to 238,000 members nationwide. "In the past two years, the ANCYL has lost scores of its leaders and cadres in the violence," Molekane said. He explained that "we have had a problem of negative publicity particularly on the involvement of our members in criminal violence — whether intraorganizational or against other organizations or the forces of the regime."

Molekane pointed out that the youth league set up a peace committee "out of a need to involve the youth league in the peace process."

"Who benefits from this violence — we or others?" said Nathi Mthethwa, the 26-year-old regional secretary of the league in southern Natal, in an interview. Mthethwa's youth league branch was the only one to begin meetings with the Inkatha Freedom Party youth to end the fighting. "The regime and its right wingers — Black and white — are the ones who benefit." These negotiations broke off after a series of violent attacks.

Discussion and debate at the congress led to the adoption of a call supporting a woman's right to choose abortion, with a qualification that the father should be consulted prior to the procedure.

Delegates adopted resolutions calling for reconstruction of the education system, eliminating racially divided schools, combating illiteracy, creating a youth ministry and a national youth council in the future ANC government, and noting the crisis of international youth formations.

The recent failures of discipline and examples of corruption in the SDUs in the Black townships were hotly debated. Delegates adopted a resolution calling on the ANC to lead the process of resolving these problems.

The congress elected a new National Executive Council and National Working Committee leadership. Lulu Johnson, the former deputy president, was elected uncontested to the position of ANC youth league president.

The youth league leadership will discuss a proposal to host a world youth festival in South Africa in 1995.

## Congress delegates snap up Pathfinder books

BY BROCK SATTER

SOWETO, South Africa — A table of Pathfinder books at the 18th National Congress of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) made a big impression. Young socialists from Minneapolis, Minnesota, New York City, and Salt Lake City, Utah, along with a student from the Africana Student Cultural Center in Minnesota staffed the table.

The volunteers were swamped by hun-

dreds of young fighters during the January 14-17 meeting. The table remained a center of attention throughout the congress.

"Where can I get books like these in South Africa?" many delegates asked. Dozens of youth yearned for certain titles, which quickly sold out. Young fighters bought five copies of *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism in Cuba Today* by Mary-Alice Waters, four copies of *Abortion is a Woman's Right* by Pat Grogan, and six copies of

*Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* by Thomas Sankara.

Inspired by ANC president Nelson Mandela's address to the ANCYL stressing the importance of stepping up the election campaign efforts, delegates bought all three copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *Lenin as an Election Campaign Manager* in the first day. The staffers had to refer people to the Cape Town distributor of Pathfinder books to get some of the titles they were seeking. Youth whose first languages included Zulu and Xhosa snapped up 30 copies of the *Militant* newspaper.

Delegates were especially interested in titles on the Cuban revolution, abortion rights and women's liberation, and the unfolding South African revolution. Books containing Mandela's speeches sold well. Many youth also wanted to read books by Malcolm X.

The table was the center of many other discussions on world politics. Young activists were eager to discuss the roots of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the crisis in Russia. Many also wanted to talk about the civil rights movement and the Black liberation struggle in the United States. Some were surprised to hear about fights by workers and the existence of communists in the United States. "I never heard a socialist with an American accent before," said one of the youth delegates. Many people returned to the table each day to continue discussions.

The U.S. contingent sold out of most materials and had to send for more. The success of the Pathfinder table highlights the great interest of South African youth in world politics and communist ideas.



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Brock Satter and Jamil Salaam from the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis staff Pathfinder table and discuss politics with young activists at ANC youth conference. Delegates were especially interested in books on the socialist revolution in Cuba, the fight for women's rights, and writings of Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela.



# Swedish gov't cuts unemployment benefits

## Social democrats, conservatives agree on perspective of slashing social wage

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

The capitalist coalition government in Sweden was able to get parliamentary support December 15 from the populist right-wing New Democracy Party for compulsory unemployment insurance to which workers will pay 1 percent of their income in 1994 and 2 percent in 1995. This is a sign of the growing determination of the Swedish ruling class as a whole to slash the social wage working people receive, in an effort to compete with rival capitalists around the world.

Unemployment insurance is currently voluntary, tied to union membership, and primarily financed by payments by the employers and the state. Last spring the government, with support from the New Democracy Party, cut unemployment benefits from 90 percent to 80 percent of income and eliminated benefits for the first five days that a worker is unemployed.

The jobless rate in Sweden has gone up from 3 percent three years ago to 14 percent today and unemployment has become a major political issue. The government wants to restructure the unemployment insurance system, shorten the length of time for which a worker receives unemployment benefits, lengthen the time needed to work before he or she can qualify for compensation again, lower benefit payments, and make the workers primarily responsible for financing the program. The effect will be to make unemployment compensation more of an insurance and less of a right. This time around the government couldn't win backing in Parliament for more than compulsory payments. The other decisions will be taken later, they say.

More than 30,000 workers from around the country, most of them unemployed, traveled by bus or train to Stockholm to demonstrate December 15 outside Parliament against the government's decision. In October and November, thousands of construction workers, retail workers, public employees, and others marched in Stockholm and around the country against high unemployment and cuts in public spending. Leaders of the Social Democratic Party spoke at these actions. While promising very little, they urged the unemployed workers to vote for the social democrats in the Sept. 18, 1994, elections.

### Social democrats agree with cuts

At the parliamentary session on December 15 the government got support from the Social Democratic Party to raise taxes on alcohol and tobacco by 1 percent.

Spokespeople for the party said their main opposition to the government's unemployment insurance scheme is that the administration of it will be taken away from the unions. They suggested raising compulsory payments for health care by 1 percent of income as an alternative way of financing the deficits. At the social democratic convention in September 1993, party leaders such as Mona Sahlin and Göran Persson emphasized that even a social democratic



Volvo factory in Gothenburg. Auto bosses in Sweden have slashed workforce and increased productivity in recent years as the government cuts unemployment compensation.

government will mean sacrifices and cuts.

Sahlin told the liberal daily *Dagens Nyheter* on December 7, "The worst thing that could happen in the '90s are governments that win elections on promises to overturn the decisions that earlier governments have made."

In the same article Persson, a party spokesperson on economic questions, said, "The Social Democratic Party favors a coalition government even if we get a majority of our own in the elections next fall. The reason is that it is necessary to have broad political unity to deal with the deficit and unemployment." In the parliamentary debate December 15, Persson refused to answer the question whether a social democratic government next year would restore unemployment benefits to 90 percent of income and get rid of the five-day waiting period — something many of those demonstrating outside Parliament believed the Social Democratic Party would do. Persson was quoted in *Dagens Nyheter* the next day saying that the Social Democratic Party would look at all the things that cost money closer to the elections and then make its promises.

Broad political unity behind the cuts in the social wage is a main theme in bourgeois politics in Sweden, as it is in other countries in Europe, including Germany, France, Britain, and Italy. The capitalists in these countries are at a competitive disadvantage rela-

tive to their rivals in the United States and Japan because of a higher social wage and lower labor productivity.

Towards the end of 1992 the Swedish government built up unity behind defense of its currency the krona by raising overnight interest rates to 500 percent. At the time, two austerity packages backed by the social democratic opposition were pushed through parliament by the coalition government. The measures included deep cuts in sick-leave payments and tax increases on fuel.

But the unity they were able to build up vanished when defense of the krona proved to be in vain. The Lindbeck commission, attempted to give the proposed cuts a scientific veneer. Led by professor Assar Lindbeck, a prominent adviser to successive social democratic governments, it failed to restore unity.

The Swedish rulers agree that some long-term political decisions should not be election questions that are open for debate. This has always been the case with foreign policy, but now it is true on the new pension system, education vouchers, health care, and other privatizations made by the government over the last two years.

The current pension system was established in 1958. It is based on the income level for the 15 best-paid years in a worker's life and indexed to prices. When it was set up the capitalist parties campaigned and

voted against it. The new system will be based on lifetime income and not indexed to prices. The level of the pension will depend on compulsory payments by workers, estimated at as much as 5-6 percent of income. That will make pensions more of an insurance and less of a right. There are only minor differences between the Social Democratic Party and the main bourgeois parties on the new pension system.

The privatizations of education and health care that are in effect will not be reversed by a new social democratic government either. That is what Sahlin, the social democratic party secretary, meant when she argued against "promises to overturn decisions that earlier governments have made."

The social democrats' promises center instead on questions that don't threaten this broader unity. For instance they offer to remove a sentence in the new national curriculum about Christian ethics and western humanism. But religion will still have a place in education, especially in the privatized schools that receive state vouchers.

### Anti-immigrant policy

There is also unity between the main bourgeois parties and the social democratic opposition on questions of immigration policy. They all agree on issuing only temporary residency permits for refugees from Bosnia and other parts of the former Yugoslavia. They also back restrictions on the right to asylum, forced work for asylum seekers in order to receive full benefits, and that a refugee should pay for health care and medicine while waiting for a permit.

After three years of negative growth in the economy some change is under way. Production in the export-oriented sectors has begun to grow, much of this due to the 25 percent devaluation of the krona.

During the recession the employers cut costs and increased productivity. Auto bosses at Volvo and Saab have cut the workforce in half since 1989. A Volvo is now put together in 40 hours compared to 70 a few years ago; a Saab takes 30 hours to build, down from 110 hours. Privatization of local bus traffic has meant big cuts in wages and provoked a week-long strike by bus drivers in the Stockholm area in early October 1993.

Domestic production and consumption is still depressed, though. About 33 percent of construction workers are unemployed. For the first time since World War II the percentage of women between the ages of 16 and 65 who belong to the workforce has begun to fall slightly. Consumption is falling and more people are putting money in

Continued on Page 7

## Montreal police beating leaves man in coma; family demands an investigation

BY ROSEMARY RAY

MONTREAL — Fearing a police cover-up of the December 14 beating of Richard Barnabé by the Montreal Urban Community (MUC) cops, the Barnabé family and their lawyer Pierre Goulet held a press conference January 7 where they demanded a public inquiry into the beating.

Barnabé has been in a deep coma on a life-support system at the Montreal Neurological Institute since the attack and is not expected to regain consciousness. His injuries include multiple facial fractures, cranial trauma, brain lesions, broken ribs, and a broken arm.

Goulet said at the press conference that although Barnabé lies in the hospital with his eyes open, he shows no signs of consciousness. "Mr. Barnabé is in a vegetative condition... he'll never be able to be like he was before. He will never be able to come into court and tell what really happened," Goulet said.

Before being beaten by 15 to 20 cops, Barnabé, a 38-year-old taxi driver who is a white, French-speaking Quebecois, went to talk to his parish priest at St. Martyrs Canadiens Church at 3 a.m.

Barnabé was apparently depressed because of marital problems and had wanted to see his 14-year-old son who lives with his mother. Unable to rouse the priest from sleep,

Barnabé reportedly broke a church window. The police were called and there was a car chase that involved 12 cop cruisers. They ended up outside the home of Barnabé's brother Raymond, who is himself an MUC cop. Barnabé was beaten in the driveway of his brother's home and then beaten again while in police custody at Station 44.

Barnabé's family has compared the beating to the cop assault on Rodney King in Los Angeles. The full impact of this comparison became evident to television viewers on January 7 when news networks began showing the first pictures of Barnabé in a hospital bed. His beaten face is unrecognizable and his body is covered with swollen bruises and open wounds.

Goulet and the Barnabé family have called on Quebec's Public Security Minister Claude Ryan to order a public inquiry because government prosecutors assigned to investigate whether criminal charges should be brought against the cops have still not made a decision. The prosecutors have said they are having difficulty getting a full report from the *Sûreté de Québec*, the provincial police assigned to prepare a report on the beating.

At this point the only witnesses to the assault on Barnabé are the cops themselves, all of whom continue to work at Station 44.

Jacques Barnabé, Richard's other brother, said the family wants the full story told on what the cops did. He explained that the family prefers a public inquiry with the power to subpoena witnesses so that a body of evidence can be collected to present at a criminal trial. The Barnabés are concerned that if criminal charges are filed before a public inquiry is held, then during the trial the cops as defendants could refuse to testify.

Responding to public outrage and frustration at the slowness of the police report on the beating, Yves Prud'homme, president of the Police Brotherhood of Montreal, says that the cops who beat Barnabé have already been convicted without trial in the court of public opinion. Prud'homme, who has a long history of defending violent cops, has called for patience in waiting for the outcome of the police investigation. "Before we convict them, before we suspend them, fire them, pillory and crucify them, let the provincial police finish the investigation," Prud'homme said. He also sought to justify Barnabé's beating by adding, "It's sad that we have to use force to contain a suspect, but what do you want? Authority isn't respected much these days."

Rosemary Ray is a member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900.

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# Gulf War syndrome: another cover-up by Washington

BY ELLEN HAYWOOD

ATLANTA, Georgia — After almost three years of stonewalling by the U.S. government, President Bill Clinton signed legislation Dec. 20, 1993, requiring the Veterans Affairs Department to treat thousands of Persian Gulf War veterans for diseases clearly resulting from exposure to toxic substances during the war.

Over 11,000 veterans have registered so far at the Veterans Affairs Desert Storm Registry set up this year. Many are being evaluated at V.A. hospitals in Decatur, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama. Their illnesses, now referred to as Gulf War syndrome, include symptoms such as bleeding gums, diarrhea, aching joints and muscles, hair loss, memory loss, acute fatigue, and depression. Some have developed cancer. In one Mississippi Army National Guard unit, 13 of 15 babies born to member's wives since the war's end have respiratory and blood disorders.

The Gulf War syndrome legislation is the result of soldiers and their families increasingly speaking out and organizing to demand an end to the cover-up by the government and military and denial of their right to health care. The vets are mindful of Washington's inaction and whitewash of the use of Agent Orange, the cancer causing defoliant, in Vietnam.

Similar allegations have gained momentum recently in Britain. According to an Aug. 23, 1993, article in *MacLean's* magazine, "the defence ministry is covering up evidence of alleged Gulf War syndrome." The article reports that "a British charity, Trauma After Care Trust, says that 600 former servicemen and women have contacted it in confidence claiming to be suffering from illnesses following their Gulf service."

Many Gulf War veterans in the United States who sought help for these illnesses for the first year after the war were referred to psychiatrists. Others, military doctors claimed, were suffering from leishmania, a parasitic infection contacted from sandfleas.

An April 29, 1992, *Washington Post* article revealed the truly crass and cynical attitude of the military brass towards the more than 600,000 citizen soldiers who were involved in Desert Storm. It quotes Brig. Gen. Ronald R. Blanck, speaking for the army surgeon general's office, as seeing no cause for alarm over the health of Persian Gulf veterans. "There will be [a spate of claims] 10-15 years from now because [veterans] will have things relating to aging and they will try to relate it to Desert Storm," Blanck said.

During 1992, entire groups of veterans from units in Indiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi began to come forward publicly with complaints of "mystery illnesses" with similar symptoms. By 1993 enough public pressure had built up for several Congressional hearings to be called where vets were able to testify and the legislation that Clinton just signed was introduced.

However, as in the case of Agent Orange the cover-up as to what and more importantly who is responsible for the soldiers' illnesses is moving into even higher gear. Most of the recent media articles and efforts by politicians such as Senator Richard

Shelby and Rep. Glen Browder, both Democrats in Alabama, focus on chemical weapons.

While it is very possible that soldiers were exposed to chemical weapons during the war — the U.S. and allied troops bombed many Iraqi alleged chemical weapons plants — there are other causes not receiving much if any attention. A panel of so-called experts put together by the government to study possible effects of the oil well fires that blackened parts of Iraq and Kuwait toward the end of the six weeks of shooting war, and which included representatives from the petroleum industry, not surprisingly cleared oil products of any culpability in the veterans' illnesses.

## Depleted uranium shells

A possible cause that has all but disappeared from many news reports in the big business press is the estimated 55,000 depleted uranium (DU) shells fired by U.S. and allied tanks and aircraft during the war. These were the shells the Pentagon bragged about being so hard they could penetrate Iraqi tanks, ignite, and burn the crew alive. Depleted uranium was also sprayed as a hardening agent on U.S. tanks.

Depleted uranium is a waste byproduct in the manufacture of atomic bombs and nuclear fuel rods and is highly radioactive. The nuclear industry, which has found no way to safely dispose of it, happily provides DU free to weapons manufacturers.

A confidential report by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, written in April 1991 and leaked to London's *Independent* newspaper in November of that year, estimates that at least 40 tons of DU was dispersed in Iraq and Kuwait during the war.

The health risks become greater after the shells are fired, broken, and release uranium particles. These particles enter the body and deposit themselves in bones, organs, and cells. Exposure to radiation causes many of the same symptoms that Desert Storm veterans are exhibiting such as bleeding gums, aching joints, hair loss, leukemia, birth defects, and numerous cancers.

The Pentagon claims that only 62 veterans were exposed to uranium particles and none have Gulf War syndrome symptoms. But the Pentagon does not explain how it determines who was exposed to the particles when anyone downwind from the fired rounds would be endangered.

A March 18, 1991, *Time* magazine article, entitled, "A Hidden Danger in the Shells?" reports that "concern over the hazards of depleted uranium goes back to at least 1980, when a New York plant that fabricated the shells from uranium metal chips was shut down." Radioactive emissions in the area of the buildings were 25 times greater than deemed safe under local law.

A Desert Storm vet at the Decatur veterans hospital said he was suffering from



U.S. infantryman during Persian Gulf War. Washington is trying to cover up effects on GIs and Iraqis of depleted plutonium and other deadly chemicals U.S. military used.

bleeding gums, a painful scalp condition, and such severe depression that he couldn't hold a job for more than a few months at a time. His job during the war was on a tank — loading DU shells.

Given the Pentagon's track record so far on the Gulf War syndrome, on Agent Orange, and on the recent revelations of testing humans with radioactive substances, the denial by the military brass of exposure to uranium particles as a possible cause of the veterans' illnesses should be highly suspect.

In fact, the *MacLean's* article explains that in July, 1993, Britain's "Armed Forces Minister Jeremy Hanley admitted in the House of Commons that British troops were not properly advised about the dangers of radioactive contamination from depleted uranium shells."

More than 20 British war veterans, the article states, "have been treated in military hospitals many of them for lung and kidney problems — both of which can be symptoms of exposure to depleted uranium."

## Effects in Iraq

Further evidence can be found in a Jan. 21, 1993, *New York Times* article entitled, "Making the Desert Glow." It is subtitled, "U.S. uranium shells used in the gulf war may be killing Iraqi children." The author of the article is Eric Hoskins, a doctor and public health specialist, and medical coordinator of a Harvard Study Team's surveys of health and welfare in postwar Iraq.

Hoskins explains that many health experts suspect that depleted uranium shells

are at least in part the cause of a postwar increase in childhood cancer and mysterious swollen abdomens in Iraqi children. United Nations personnel have seen Iraqi children playing with the shells, thousands of which are still on the ground in Iraq.

Hoskins writes, "Despite the risks associated with depleted uranium, there has been virtually no debate about its effects in postwar Iraq and Kuwait. The UN Environment Program, which has investigated ecological damage of the gulf war, has been remarkably silent."

"Similarly," Hoskins points out, "although Congress has ordered the military to monitor the health of soldiers exposed to smoke from Kuwaiti oil fires, there has been no such directive concerning exposure to depleted uranium."

At least 150,000 Iraqis were slaughtered during Desert Storm, and tens of thousands more died by the end of 1991 including 50,000 children. Thousands more continue to die as a result of the criminal U.S. and UN embargo against Iraq and their refusal to clean up the ground and treat the victims of this ongoing holocaust.

Gulf War syndrome is another piece of the horrible picture of what the U.S. and allied governments carried out. It's further proof of what capitalism has in store for working people, both in and out of uniform.

Ellen Haywood is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2490 in Loganville, Georgia.

# Dudley Laws trial begins in Toronto

BY GARY KETTNER

TORONTO — The jury has been selected and the prosecutor has begun presenting his case in the trial of Dudley Laws. A leading fighter against police violence in Canada, Laws is facing seven charges of conspiring to break Canadian and U.S. immigration laws by transporting people across the border between Buffalo and Fort Erie and Detroit and Windsor.

For many years Laws has run a consulting service in Toronto that advises immigrants and refugees on immigration and citizenship matters. He was arrested on Oct. 15, 1991, after a massive police entrapment operation.

In his opening address to the jury January 5, prosecutor Morris Pistyner claimed that Laws had remarked two years ago that he was bringing people across the border at the rate of "three or four a month." But the four people named in the indictment against Laws are all undercover cops who say they

posed as "illegal immigrants."

Tony Riviere, a Metropolitan Toronto Police undercover officer "on loan to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police," testified that in the fall of 1991 he had asked Laws to arrange the "smuggling" of two undercover cops from Canada into the United States and two others from the United States into Canada. In each case he claimed to have paid Laws \$1,500 and received a receipt marked "for immigration services."

The prosecutor presented videotape footage of Laws, Riviere, and the other undercover cops entering and leaving Laws's office. They also played tapes of wiretapped telephone conversations between Riviere and Laws.

During the preliminary hearing in the case in 1992, police testified that their investigation involved more than 30 officers and staff working full time and cost more than \$400,000. They maintained numerous wiretaps and 24-hour video surveillance of

Laws's office over a four-month period prior to his arrest.

Larry Motley, an associate of Laws from Michigan, who was originally arrested and charged along with him, has pleaded guilty and faces sentencing on January 25.

Laws is the best-known spokesperson for the Black Action Defence Committee (BADC), which has organized many protests against police racism and brutality. In 1991, the Metro Toronto Police Association sued him for libel after he called the Toronto cops "the most murderous in North America."

The trial is expected to continue for another three to four weeks.

Letters of protest demanding that the charges against Laws be dropped can be sent to Allan Rock, attorney general of Canada, Ministry of Justice Building, Kent and Wellington Streets, Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0H8. Send copies to the BADC, 393 Vaughan Rd., Toronto, Ontario M6C 2N8.

## Swedish gov't cuts

Continued from Page 6

pension insurances again. New car sales, which peaked at 340,000 in 1988, are down to 128,000 in 1993.

An article in the financial pages of the December 16 *Svenska Dagbladet*, a conservative daily, warned that political instability in Russia could put the German currency, the mark, under pressure, driving up interest rates again. The article pointed to the big outstanding loans that German finance-capital has in Russia and the weak performance of the overall German economy. "If foreign investors begin to sell German bonds, which have financed German reunification... this will put the mark under enormous pressure," the article says, reflecting some of the worries and fears among the ruling rich families in Sweden.



# The truth about the Kronstadt mutiny

On January 10, Russian president Boris Yeltsin issued a decree declaring the suppression by the Soviet government of the mutiny by sailors at the Kronstadt naval base in 1921 illegal and repressive. Yeltsin "rehabilitated" the sailors and ordered a memorial to be erected in Kronstadt for the mutineers.

Editors of big-business dailies immediately seized on the news. Articles, opinion columns, and editorials appeared in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *New York Post*, and other publications, rehashing decades-old lies about Kronstadt.

The goal of these mouthpieces of big capital? To repeat the claim that the Soviet government's suppression of the 1921 mutiny is proof that V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 spawned the crimes of Stalinism—the counterfeit of Marxism.

"Kronstadt always stood as a symbol of how Russia's Communist revolution went awry early on," said a *Washington Post* editorial.

The falsifications of history by Yeltsin and his backers in Washington are best answered by Lenin and Leon Trotsky, two of the central leaders of the Russian revolution who led the suppression of the mutiny, in the Pathfinder book *Kronstadt*.

We are reprinting below excerpts of articles by Trotsky and Lenin from this book. Copyright © Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings and footnotes are by the *Militant*.

## Hue and cry over Kronstadt

BY LEON TROTSKY

The campaign around Kronstadt<sup>1</sup> is being carried on with undiminished vigor in certain circles. One would think that the Kronstadt revolt occurred not seventeen years ago, but only yesterday. Participating in the campaign with equal zeal and under one and the same slogan are anarchists, Russian Mensheviks, left Social Democrats of the London Bureau,<sup>2</sup> individual blunderers, Miliukov's paper,<sup>3</sup> and, on occasion, the big capitalist press. A "People's Front" of its own kind!

Only yesterday I happened across the following lines in a Mexican weekly which is both reactionary Catholic and "democratic": "Trotsky ordered the shooting of 1,500 (?) Kronstadt sailors, the purest of the pure. His policy when in power differed in no way from the present policy of Stalin." As is known, the left anarchists draw the same conclusion. When for the first time in the press I briefly answered the questions of Wendelin Thomas, member of the Commission of Inquiry, the Russian Mensheviks' paper immediately came to the defense of the Kronstadt sailors and . . . of Wendelin Thomas. Miliukov's paper came forward in the same spirit. The anarchists attacked me with still greater vigor. All these authorities claim that my answer was completely worthless. This unanimity is all the more remarkable since the anarchists defend, in the symbol of Kronstadt, genuine antistatist communism; the Mensheviks, at the time of the Kronstadt uprising, stood openly for the restoration of capitalism; and Miliukov stands for capitalism even now.

How can the Kronstadt uprising cause

such heartburn to anarchists, Mensheviks, and "liberal" counterrevolutionists, all at the same time? The answer is simple: all these groupings are interested in compromising the only genuinely revolutionary current, which has never repudiated its banner, has not compromised with its enemies, and alone represents the future. It is because of this that among the belated denouncers of my Kronstadt "crime" there are so many former revolutionists or semirevolutionists,



Lenin and Trotsky, in Petrograd, at the center of a group of soldiers who took part in suppression of Kronstadt mutiny.

people who have lost their program and their principles and who find it necessary to divert attention from the degradation of the Second International or the perfidy of the Spanish anarchists.

As yet, the Stalinists cannot openly join this campaign around Kronstadt but even they, of course, rub their hands with pleasure; for the blows are directed against "Trotskyism," against revolutionary Marxism, against the Fourth International!

Why in particular has this variegated fraternity seized precisely upon Kronstadt? During the years of the revolution we clashed not a few times with the Cossacks, the peasants, even with certain layers of workers (certain groups of workers from the Urals organized a volunteer regiment in the army of Kolchak!). The antagonism between the workers as consumers and the peasants as producers and sellers of bread lay, in the main, at the root of these conflicts. Under the pressure of need and deprivation, the workers themselves were episodically divided into hostile camps, depending upon stronger or weaker ties with the village. The Red Army also found itself under the influence of the countryside. During the years of the civil war it was necessary more than once to disarm discontented regiments.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP)<sup>4</sup> attenuated the friction but far from eliminated it. On the contrary, it paved

the way for the rebirth of kulaks and led, at the beginning of this decade, to the renewal of civil war in the village. The Kronstadt uprising was only an episode in the history of the relations between the proletarian city and the petty-bourgeois village. It is possible to understand this episode only in connection with the general course of the development of the class struggle during the revolution.

Kronstadt differed from a long series of other petty-bourgeois movements and uprisings only by its greater external effect. The problem here involved a maritime fortress under Petrograd itself. During the uprising proclamations were issued and radio broadcasts were made. The Social Revolutionaries and the anarchists, hurrying from Petrograd, adorned the uprising with "noble" phrases and gestures.

All this left traces in print. With the aid of these "documentary" materials (i.e., false labels), it is not hard to construct a legend about Kronstadt, all the more exalted since in 1917 the name Kronstadt was surrounded by a revolutionary halo. Not idly does the Mexican magazine quoted above ironically call the Kronstadt sailors the "purest of the pure."

The play upon the revolutionary authority of Kronstadt is one of the distinguishing features of this truly charlatan campaign. Anarchists, Mensheviks<sup>5</sup>, liberals, reactionaries try to present the matter as if at the beginning of 1921 the Bolsheviks turned their weapons on those very Kronstadt sailors who guaranteed the victory of the October insurrection. Here is the point of departure for all the subsequent falsehoods. Whoever wishes to unravel these lies should first of all read the article by Comrade John G. Wright in the *New International* (February 1938).<sup>6</sup> My problem is another one: I wish to describe the character of the Kronstadt uprising from a more general point of view.

The making of a revolution

A revolution is "made" directly by a minority. The success of a revolution is possible, however, only where this minority finds more or less support, or at least friendly neutrality, on the part of the majority. The shift in different stages of the revolution, like the transition from revolution to counterrevolution, is directly determined by changing political relations between the minority and the majority, between the vanguard and the class.

Among the Kronstadt sailors there were three political layers: the proletarian revolutionists, some with a serious past and training; the intermediate majority, mainly peasant in origin; and finally, the reactionaries, sons of kulaks, shopkeepers, and priests. In tsarist times, order on battleships and in the fortress could be maintained only so long as the officers, acting through the reactionary sections of the petty officers and sailors, subjected the broad intermediate layer to their influence or terror, thus isolating the revolutionists, mainly the machinists, the gunners, and the electricians, i.e., predominantly the city workers.

The course of the uprising on the battleship *Potemkin* in 1905 was based entirely on the relations among these three layers, i.e., on the struggle between proletarian and petty-bourgeois reactionary extremes for influence upon the more numerous middle peasant layer. Whoever has not understood this problem, which runs through the whole revolutionary movement in the fleet, had best be silent about the problems of the Russian revolution in general. For it was entirely, and to a great degree still is, a struggle between the proletariat and the

bourgeoisie for influence upon the peasantry.

During the Soviet period the bourgeoisie has appeared principally in the guise of kulaks (i.e., the top stratum of the petty bourgeoisie), the "socialist" intelligentsia, and now in the form of the "Communist" bureaucracy. Such is the basic mechanism of the revolution in all its stages. In the fleet it assumed a more centralized, and therefore more dramatic expression.

The political composition of the Kronstadt Soviet reflected the composition of the garrison and the crews. The leadership of the soviets as early as the summer of 1917 belonged to the Bolshevik Party, which rested on the better sections of the sailors and included in its ranks many revolutionists from the underground movement who had been liberated from the hard-labor prisons. But I seem to recall that even in the days of the October insurrection the Bolsheviks constituted less than one-half of the Kronstadt Soviet. The majority consisted of SRs<sup>7</sup> and anarchists. There were no Mensheviks at all in Kronstadt. The Menshevik Party hated Kronstadt. The official SRs, incidentally, had no better attitude toward it. The Kronstadt SRs quickly went over into opposition to Kerensky and formed one of the shock brigades of the so-called Left SRs. They based themselves on the peasant part of the fleet and of the shore garrison.

As for the anarchists, they were the most motley group. Among them were real revolutionists, like Zhuk and Zhelezniakov, but these were the elements most closely linked to the Bolsheviks. Most of the Kronstadt "anarchists" represented the city petty bourgeoisie and stood upon a lower revolutionary level than the SRs. The president of the soviet was a nonparty man, "sympathetic to the anarchists," and in essence a peaceful petty clerk who had been formerly subservient to the tsarist authorities and was now subservient . . . to the revolution. The complete absence of Mensheviks, the "left" character of the SRs, and the anarchist hue of the petty bourgeois were due to the sharpness of the revolutionary struggle in the fleet and the dominating influence of the proletarian sections of the sailors.

This social and political characterization of Kronstadt, which, if desired, could be substantiated and illustrated by many facts and documents, is already sufficient to illuminate the upheavals which occurred in Kronstadt during the years of the civil war and as a result of which its physiognomy changed beyond recognition. Precisely about this important aspect of the question, the belated accusers say not one word, partly out of ignorance, partly out of malevolence.

Yes, Kronstadt wrote a heroic page in the history of the revolution. But the civil war began a systematic depopulation of Kronstadt and of the whole Baltic Fleet. As early as the days of the October uprising detachments of Kronstadt sailors were being sent to help Moscow. Other detachments were then sent to the Don, to the Ukraine, to requisition bread and organize the local power. It seemed at first as if Kronstadt were inexhaustible. From different fronts I sent dozens of telegrams about the mobilization of new "reliable" detachments from among the Petrograd workers and the Baltic sailors. But beginning as early as 1918, and in any case not later than 1919, the fronts began to complain that the new contingents of "Kronstadters" were unsatisfactory, exacting, undisciplined, unreliable in battle, and doing more harm than good.

After the liquidation of Yudenich (in the winter of 1919), the Baltic Fleet and the Kronstadt garrison were denuded of all revolutionary forces. All the elements among them that were of any use at all were thrown against Denikin in the south. If in 1917-18 the Kronstadt sailor stood considerably higher than the average level of the Red Army and formed the framework of its first detachments as well as the framework of the Soviet regime in many districts, those sailors who remained in "peaceful" Kronstadt until the beginning of 1921, not fitting in on any of the fronts of the civil war, stood by this time on a level considerably lower, in general, than the average level of the Red Army, and included a great percentage of completely demoralized elements, wearing showy bell-bottom pants and sporty haircuts.

## FOR FURTHER READING

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KRONSTADT  
BY V.I. LENIN & LEON TROTSKY





Demoralization based on hunger and speculation had, in general, greatly increased by the end of the civil war. The so-called sack-carriers (petty speculators) had become a social blight, threatening to stifle the revolution. Precisely in Kronstadt where the garrison did nothing and had everything it needed, the demoralization assumed particularly great dimensions. When conditions became very critical in hungry Petrograd, the Political Bureau more than once discussed the possibility of securing an "internal loan" from Kronstadt, where a quantity of old provisions still remained. But delegates of the Petrograd workers answered: "You will get nothing from them by kindness. They speculate in cloth, coal, and bread. At present in Kronstadt every kind of ruffraff has raised its head." That was the real situation. It was not like the sugar-sweet idealizations after the event.

It must further be added that former sailors from Latvia and Estonia who feared they would be sent to the front and were preparing to cross into their new bourgeois fatherlands, Latvia and Estonia, had joined the Baltic Fleet as "volunteers." These elements were in essence hostile to the Soviet authority and displayed this hostility fully in the days of the Kronstadt uprising. . . . Besides these there were many thousands of Latvian workers, mainly former farm laborers, who showed unexampled heroism on all fronts of the civil war. We must not, therefore, tar the Latvian workers and the "Kronstadters" with the same brush. We must recognize social and political differences. . . .

#### War and peasantry

In 1917-18 the revolutionary workers led the peasant masses, not only of the fleet but of the entire country. The peasants seized and divided the land most often under the leadership of the soldiers and sailors arriving in their home districts. Requisitions of bread had only begun and were mainly from the landlords and kulaks at that. The peasants reconciled themselves to requisitions as a temporary evil. But the civil war dragged on for three years. The city gave practically nothing to the village and took almost everything from it, chiefly for the needs of war. The peasants approved of the *Bolsheviks* but became increasingly hostile to the *Communists*. If in the preceding period the workers had led the peasants forward, the peasants now dragged the workers back.

Only because of this change in mood could the Whites<sup>8</sup> partially attract the peasants, and even the half-peasants-half-workers, of the Urals to their side. This mood, i.e., hostility to the city, nourished the movement of Makhno, who seized and looted trains marked for the factories, the plants, and the Red Army; tore up railroad tracks; shot Communists; etc. Of course, Makhno called this the anarchist struggle with the state. In reality, this was a struggle of the infuriated petty property owner against the proletarian dictatorship.

A similar movement arose in a number of other districts, especially in Tambov, under the banner of Social Revolutionaries. Finally, in different parts of the country so-called Green peasant detachments were active. They did not want to recognize either the Reds or the Whites and shunned the city parties. The Greens sometimes met the Whites and received severe blows from them, but they did not, of course, get any mercy from the Reds. Just as the petty bourgeoisie is ground economically between the millstones of big capital and the proletariat, so the peasant partisan detachments were pulverized between the Red Army and the White.

Only an entirely superficial person can see in Makhno's bands or in the Kronstadt revolt a struggle between the abstract principles of anarchism and "state socialism." Actually these movements were convulsions of the peasant petty bourgeoisie which desired, of course, to liberate itself from capital but which at the same time did not consent to subordinate itself to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie does not know concretely what it wants, and by virtue of its position cannot know. That is why it so readily covered the confusion of its demands and hopes, now with the anarchist banner, now with the populist, now simply with the Green. Counterposing itself to the proletariat, it tried, flying all these banners, to turn the wheel of the revolution backward.

There were, of course, no impassable



The dock at the naval base at Kronstadt, located on Kotlin island in the Gulf of Finland.

bulkheads dividing the different social and political layers of Kronstadt. There were still at Kronstadt a certain number of qualified workers and technicians to take care of the machinery. But even they were identified by a method of negative selection as politically unreliable and of little use for the civil war. Some "leaders" of the uprising came from among these elements. However, this completely natural and inevitable circumstance, to which some accusers triumphantly point, does not change by one iota the antiproletarian character of the revolt. Unless we are to deceive ourselves with pretentious slogans, false labels, etc., we shall see that the Kronstadt uprising was nothing but armed reaction of the petty bourgeoisie against the hardships of social revolution and the severity of the proletarian dictatorship.

That was exactly the significance of the Kronstadt slogan, "soviets without Communists," which was immediately seized upon not only by the SRs but by the bourgeois liberals as well. As a rather farsighted representative of capital, Professor Miliukov understood that to free the soviets from the leadership of the Bolsheviks would have meant within a short time to demolish the soviets themselves. The experience of the Russian soviets during the period of Menshevik and SR domination and, even more clearly, the experience of the German and Austrian soviets under the domination of the Social Democrats, proved this. Social Revolutionary-anarchist soviets could serve only as a bridge from the proletarian dictatorship to capitalist restoration. They could play no other role, regardless of the "ideas" of their participants. The Kronstadt uprising thus had a counterrevolutionary character.

From the class point of view, which — without offense to the honorable eclectics — remains the basic criterion not only for politics but for history, it is extremely important to contrast the behavior of Kronstadt to that of Petrograd in those critical days. The whole leading stratum of the workers had also been drawn out of Petrograd. Hunger and cold reigned in the deserted capital, perhaps even more fiercely than in Moscow. A heroic and tragic period! All were hungry and irritable. All were dissatisfied. In the factories there was dull discontent.

Underground organizers sent by the SRs and the White officers tried to link the military uprising with the movement of the discontented workers. The Kronstadt paper wrote about barricades in Petrograd, about thousands being killed. The press of the whole world proclaimed the same thing. Actually the precise opposite occurred. The Kronstadt uprising did not attract the Petrograd workers. It repelled them. The stratification proceeded along class lines. The workers immediately felt that the Kronstadt mutineers stood on the opposite side of the barricades — and they supported the Soviet power. The political isolation of Kronstadt was the cause of its internal uncertainty and its military defeat.

Victor Serge, who, it would seem, is trying to manufacture a sort of synthesis of anarchism, POUMism, and Marxism, has intervened very unfortunately in the polemic about Kronstadt. In his opinion the introduction of the NEP one year earlier could have averted the Kronstadt uprising. Let us admit that. But advice like this is very easy to give after the event.

It is true, as Victor Serge remembers, that I had proposed the transition to the NEP as early as 1920, but I was not at all sure in advance of its success. It was no secret to me that the remedy could prove to be more dangerous than the malady itself. When I met opposition

from the leaders of the party, I did not appeal to the ranks, in order to avoid mobilizing the petty bourgeoisie against the workers. The experience of the ensuing twelve months was required to convince the party of the need for the new course. But the remarkable thing is that it was precisely the anarchists all over the world who looked upon the NEP as . . . a betrayal of communism. But now the advocates of the anarchists denounce us for not having introduced the NEP a year earlier. . . .

The present disputes around Kronstadt revolve around the same class axis as the Kronstadt uprising itself, in which the reactionary sections of the sailors tried to overthrow the proletarian dictatorship. . . .

January 15, 1938

## Kronstadt's historical place

BY V.I. LENIN

I believe that there are only two kinds of government possible in Russia — a government by the soviets or a government headed by a tsar. Some fools or traitors in Kronstadt talked of a constituent assembly, but does any man in his senses believe for a moment that a constituent assembly at this critical abnormal stage would be anything but a bear garden? This Kronstadt affair in itself is a very petty incident. It no more threatens to break up the Soviet state than the Irish disorders are threatening to break up the British Empire.

Some people in America have come to think of the Bolsheviks as a small clique of very bad men who are tyrannizing over a vast number of highly intellectual people who would form an admirable government among themselves the moment the Bolshevik regime was overthrown. This is a mistake, for there is nobody to take our place save butcher generals and helpless bureaucrats who have already displayed their total incapacity for rule.

If people abroad exaggerate the importance of the rising in Kronstadt and give it support, it is because the world has broken up into two camps: capitalism abroad and Communist Russia.

March 15, 1921

1. The disturbance at Kronstadt began Feb. 28, 1921. The following day 12,000-14,000 sailors, workers, and members of the Red Army met there. Under the influence of anti-communist agitation a resolution was adopted. It demanded among other things removal of soldiers who prevent unauthorized trade and called for free

elections in the soviets with the participation of anarchists and Left Social Revolutionaries, who had organized an insurrection in Moscow three years earlier. On March 2, a committee of delegates assumed power and took control of a well-armed naval fortress. The bulk of the 15,000 insurgents were sailors. This was the beginning of open rebellion.

The Red Army officials on the spot took a wait-and-see approach. But the revolt drew the attention of the international bourgeoisie and White Guards. To confront the threat of Kronstadt becoming a magnet for counterrevolutionary forces the Red Army took action.

Soviet authorities issued an appeal March 5 to the insurgents and population of Kronstadt to lay down their guns. Three days later the revolutionary soldiers unsuccessfully attacked Kronstadt. After politically and militarily reinforcing the troops, the Red Army launched a frontal assault March 16 on the growing ranks of renegades. After almost two days of continuous fighting the Red Army forces took control of the city and the naval station.

2. The London Bureau was a loose international association of centrist parties in the 1930s that was not affiliated to either the Second or the Third International but was opposed to the formation of a Fourth International. Among its components were the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) of Spain, the SAP (Socialist Workers Party) of Germany, and the PSOP (Workers and Peasants Socialist Party) of France.

3. Miliukov's paper was *Poslednie Novosti* (Latest News), published in Paris. Paul Miliukov (1859-1943) was the central leader of the Cadets, the popular name for the Constitutional Democratic Party of Russia, the liberal party favoring a constitutional monarchy. Miliukov was minister of foreign affairs in the Provisional government March-May 1917 and one of the most class-conscious enemies of the Bolshevik revolution.

4. New Economic Policy (NEP) — adopted at the Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party, March 8-16, 1921, as a temporary measure to replace the policy of war communism. The NEP allowed a limited growth of free trade inside the Soviet Union and foreign concessions alongside the nationalized and state-controlled sections of the economy.

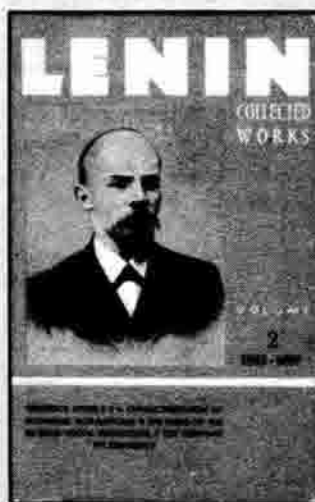
5. Mensheviks — the minority that split off from the Russian Social Democratic Party and opposed the proletarian course of the Bolsheviks.

6. This article appears on page 101 of the Pathfinder book *Kronstadt* (see ad on page 8).

7. Social Revolutionaries (SRs) — members of the Social Revolutionary Party, which was founded in 1900, emerging in 1901-02 as the political expression of all the earlier Narodnik, or populist, currents. Its orientation was to the peasants rather than the workers. It was the largest party in Russia in 1917 and together with the Mensheviks was the main influence in the soviets until September 1917. During 1917, distinct right and left wings developed. The Right SRs, grouping themselves around Kerensky, opposed the October revolution and the Bolsheviks. The Left SRs constituted themselves a separate party in November 1917 and joined the Bolsheviks in a coalition Soviet government, prompted by the Bolsheviks' realization of the need to form a tactical alliance with the peasantry, many of whom looked to the SRs politically. The Left SRs soon opposed the Bolsheviks "from the left," organizing an insurrection in July 1918 in Moscow after the Soviet government had agreed to accept the German conditions for ending the war and had signed the peace of Brest-Litovsk.

8. Whites or White Guards — the general designation for Russian counterrevolutionary forces after the October 1917 revolution and throughout the civil war. Koslovsky, one of the White Guard generals, played a prominent role in the Kronstadt mutiny.

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# After accident, Michigan activists urge protests to shut nuclear plant near Detroit

BY GARY BOYERS

DETROIT — "I don't know what caused the turbine failure, I don't know what it's going to cost to fix it, and I don't know how long it's going to take." These were the words John Martin, regional administrator of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC), used to describe a Christmas Day accident at the Fermi 2 nuclear power plant 30 miles south of Detroit. Government regulators and officials of Detroit Edison, the plant's operator, said January 4 that the accident was more serious than initial accounts revealed.

Although the exact sequence of events is unknown, it has been revealed that: the plant's 1,100 megawatt generator caught fire and at least two pieces of a 500-ton turbine tore loose. One piece smashed through a protective casing and landed 75 feet away. In addition, radioactive steam poured out of an 18-inch hole in the turbine casing. The exciter, which regulates voltage from the generator, was badly damaged and probably must be replaced. About 1 million gallons of oily, radioactive water must be decontaminated and removed from the plant's basement. Describing the situation near the damaged turbine, the NRC's Martin admitted that "certainly if there had been people in the area, there would have been injuries, fatalities."



A 1966 partial meltdown of the Fermi 1 reactor near Detroit was most serious accident at a U.S. nuclear power plant until 1979 events at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania (above).

The official investigation into the cause of the accident and the cost of repairs had not begun in the 10 days between Christmas and the January 4 press conference. Detroit Edison Chairman John Lobb, however, dismissed criticism by former Fermi workers that recent

layoffs at the plant helped lead to unsafe conditions there. "We think we're operating more safely than we ever have," he said.

Mike Keegan, a leader of the Safe Energy Coalition of Michigan and a long-time opponent of the Fermi plant, said in an interview

that there were safety problems dating back to the time the plant was constructed in the late 1960s. The 500-ton turbine was not rotated properly, and consequently, it bent under its own weight.

## Turbine missiles

Officials of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, in both 1977 and 1981, expressed concern about the possibility of "turbine missiles" in nuclear power plants. A turbine missile is created, Keegan explained, when a piece of the turbine breaks off. A large enough missile, going at very high speed, could easily penetrate the reactor core or the vessel storing nuclear fuel, with devastating results. The anti-nuclear power activist believes a turbine missile precipitated the Christmas events at Fermi.

Keegan also stated that Edison officials knew such an accident was likely. In the fall of 1990, there were problems at the same section of the turbine where the pieces broke loose last month; the reactor was shut down. In March 1991, with the reactor still out of service, Edison announced an intensified (and quick) repair effort to mollify nervous stockholders. Keegan said that a number of shortcuts were taken and that the reactor should never have been allowed to go back on line with its "half-assed repair job."

The Safe Energy Coalition leader estimates that current repairs will take anywhere from six to 18 months, if it is repairable at all. He suspects that the entire turbine needs to be replaced. The Fermi turbine is one of only 10 built by an English company in the late 1960s and early '70s. Two of these have been located in mothballed European nuclear plants, but removing either, shipping it here, and then installing it in the Fermi reactor would obviously be an extremely expensive project.

Keegan said that now is the time for working people, other environmentalists and all opponents of nuclear power to redouble their efforts to shut down Fermi. He described his phone as "ringing off the hook" since Christmas. The antinuke activist has spent 14 years fighting Detroit Edison over the Fermi plant and thinks the chances for a victory have never looked better. The stakes involved in this struggle are awesome.

The Fermi 2 plant is located at the site of the former Fermi 1 plant, which was also operated by Detroit Edison. A 1966 partial meltdown at Fermi 1 was the most serious accident at a U.S. nuclear power plant until the March 1979 events at Three Mile Island. John Fuller used the words of a Fermi 1 engineer for the title of his 1975 book about the Fermi accident — *We Almost Lost Detroit*.

Gary Boyers is a member of United Auto Workers Local 155 in Warren, Michigan.

## Big money at stake in attack on skater

BY NAOMI CRAINE

During the United States Figure Skating Championship in Detroit, a stranger approached Nancy Kerrigan and struck her knee, putting her out of the competition. In the two weeks since, sports sections and tabloids have filled their pages with stories about the skater and her top rival, Tonya Harding, whose bodyguard was arrested with two others on charges of conspiring to injure Kerrigan. Her former husband has also been arrested in connection with the case, and Harding is under investigation.

The incident shines a spotlight on the big money involved in the Olympics, as well as the ruthless drive by top athletes to get there.

"To be perfectly honest, what I'm really thinking about are dollar signs," Harding stated bluntly after winning the competition in Detroit. With Kerrigan temporarily put out of commission by the January 6 attack, Harding easily took first place, thereby gaining a berth in the U.S. skating team that will compete in the Winter Olympic Games in Norway in February.

While the runner-up in the national competition usually gets the other spot on the team, U.S. Olympic officials made an exception for Kerrigan, who had been considered a strong candidate for the gold medal before the attack, and gave her the slot.

An Olympic gold medal in women's figure skating can net \$10 million or more in endorsements, tours, appearances, and merchandising for the winner.

Police say Shawn Eckardt, who worked as Harding's bodyguard, confessed to hiring two men to injure Kerrigan. Eckardt and the man accused of carrying out the actual at-

tack have reportedly implicated Harding and her ex-husband, Jeff Gillooly. Both deny involvement or knowledge of a plot to harm the skater.

A tape recording of a conversation in which three men discuss whether to kill or merely injure Kerrigan has turned up. A friend of Eckardt said he can identify the voices as those of the bodyguard, Gillooly, and a hit man.

Investigators say they are looking into whether the \$6,500 Eckardt says he paid to have Kerrigan's knee bruised came from Harding or Gillooly.

With accusations swirling around her, Harding has come under pressure from skating officials to withdraw from the Olympic team. The skater says she will not voluntarily pull out.

Much of the media coverage has compared the background of the two skaters. In a January 15 column Ellen Goodman said Kerrigan's "blue-collar family remortgaged their house to pay for her lessons. Now... she's signed on to sell watches, soup, and sneakers."

Harding, on the other hand, is a "survivor of an Oregon family that put the 'dys' before 'functional.'... She was also abused by her husband, whom she divorced but then moved back in with."

"She [Harding] brings a common touch to a stuffy sport," commented an article in the January 10 *New York Times*.

Whatever their backgrounds, both women have taken in — and spent — large sums of money in the last couple of years.

Kerrigan has endorsements — a lucrative side of the skating business — with five



Tonya Harding, left, and Nancy Kerrigan.

major companies. She spends some \$50,000 each year on training and equipment alone.

Harding, for her part, has made about \$200,000 since 1991, most of it from skating tours. She has received money from private donors as well, including \$20,000 from George Steinbrenner, owner of the New York Yankees baseball team and an Olympic committee vice president.

Advertising agencies are already debating the merits of the two skaters. "You don't want an athlete who puts people on one side or the other of a dividing line," Brian Murphy, publisher of the *Sports Marketing Letter* said.

Marty Blackman, a sports consultant to advertising agencies, described Harding as having a "tough kid" image. "She's got asthma and smokes in public. That might not turn on anybody but [cigarette maker] Philip Morris... you can't have her for Cadillac, but maybe you can have her for Jeep," said Blackman.

Television networks stand to make out well from the affair. ABC's rating for its telecast of the national women's skating championship was up 41 percent from the previous year.

CBS closed a deal January 13 to televise a skating exhibition featuring Kerrigan and others a week before the Olympics begin. "It's maudlin, but this attention doesn't hurt," commented Rick Gentile, senior vice president of production for CBS Sports. "Who'd think there would be this kind of buzz about figure skating?"

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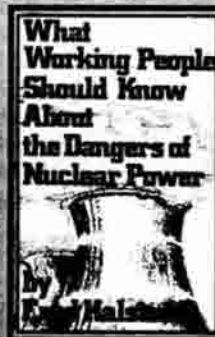
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# Caterpillar workers discuss continued fight with company

BY PETER THIERJUNG

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — A three-day unfair labor practice strike here last November by more than 13,000 workers against Caterpillar Inc. sent shock waves through the corporate giant. Caterpillar is the world's largest manufacturer of earth moving and heavy construction equipment.

The nationwide walkout dramatically called attention to the continuing struggle of United Auto Workers (UAW) members for a labor contract. Workers at Caterpillar have been without a negotiated agreement since April 1992 when a bitter five-month strike was called off by top union officials. The company had threatened to hire scabs if UAW members did not return to work.

Since then, workers have continued to refuse to be bullied by a company hell-bent on breaking their union and have found ways to carry out the fight despite severe limitations imposed on them.

In several interviews, workers and local union officials from Caterpillar facilities in Decatur, East Peoria, and Pontiac, Illinois, agreed that the November walkout could be a turning point in their struggle and would put the union in a better position to take on Caterpillar this spring when business and production demands are expected to increase substantially.

"We can strike, we know how," said Morris Delbridge, a 28-year Caterpillar employee in Decatur. "We would have been better off to have stayed in the streets" in 1992, he said. "But we're fighting the best we can. It was impressive to me as a union member what we did in November. The people were great."

Despite company claims that the three-day walkout was unsuccessful and that more than 7,600 workers crossed picket lines, local union officials in Decatur and East Peoria confirmed the strike was very effective. Few workers remained on the job.

"The company was reckless with the truth," said Jerry Brown, president of UAW Local 974 in East Peoria. "In fact, a majority that crossed the line during the first strike stuck with us this time. The walkout brought our local back together and unified us. We showed the world and the company that the struggle goes on." In 1992, only a few hundred UAW members made the decision to go against the strike and return to work.

## Workers can still strike

Larry Solomon, president of UAW Local 751 in Decatur, said the November walkout was "like *deja-vu* for the company. It showed the workers can still strike and that the strike weapon has not been relegated to another century."

The November action showed that "the membership wants this situation resolved," said Michael Masching, an executive board member of UAW Local 2096 in Pontiac. He said workers had no choice but to strike in 1991-92. Since then, UAW locals and members throughout Caterpillar had come even closer together in defense of their union, he added.

The November walkout was not the first since the 1991-92 strike.

UAW members struck last September after the company suspended two UAW Local 2096 union representatives. UAW Local 145 members in Aurora, Illinois, backed the Pontiac action and joined the walkout. The company dropped one of the suspensions and workers at both facilities returned to work the next day.

Thirty-two workers in Denver walked off the job in October to protest the company's suspension of UAW Local 1415 president Joe Vasquez for wearing a button critical of the company. When workers reported back to work the following day, Caterpillar demanded they give up their right to collective action or they would not be allowed to return. The union stood firm and the company backed off. Vasquez was allowed to return to work and the company dropped its demands.

Plant gate rallies, pickets at corporate headquarters in Peoria, T-shirt days, and other actions have also been organized by

UAW members to maintain solidarity and keep the struggle going. "No contract, no peace" is the central slogan, including on billboards that dot Decatur, Peoria, and East Peoria. The billboards warn visitors, "You are entering a war zone: Caterpillar vs. UAW."

UAW members have also extended solidarity to others. UAW Local 751 has conducted regular collections for 760 workers locked out last June by the A.E. Staley Mfg. Co. in Decatur. Almost \$20,000 has already been contributed to the Staley workers, according to Solomon.

Both Solomon and UAW Local 974 president Jerry Brown reported that Contract Action Teams have been organized at their plants. These teams, according to the two local officials, are groups of volunteer union activists.

Fourteen teams have been set up so far in East Peoria. In Decatur, the local aims to have a team for each department and on each shift. Teams meet weekly to discuss the fight for a contract. Support groups called Families in Solidarity have also been active in supporting the cause.

## An outlaw company

"Caterpillar believes it is one step above the law," Brown said. The UAW Local 974 president cited some 53 complaints filed by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) against Caterpillar since 1992 for violation of workers' and union rights. In April 1993, some 150 UAW members at the Mossville facility outside Peoria were arrested for wearing "Permanently replace Fites" T-shirts on company property. Donald Fites is Caterpillar's chairman. Charges were dropped several months later after a campaign by the union.

Brown reported that union activists are routinely harassed by management and supervisory personnel called "head hunters" by some workers. Thus far, the company has fired at least 43 workers for activities related to the struggle for a contract.

It is against this background that the suspension of George Boze Jr. sparked the company-wide walkout in November. Boze, who is well respected and liked by coworkers, is the union unit chairman for UAW Local 974 at the Mossville, Illinois, engine complex. He, along with UAW member Jim Lippert, has been instrumental in preparing the union's case in NLRB hearings reviewing complaints against the company. Prior to his suspension, Boze spent six weeks with time off for union business to work with UAW attorneys.

"The harassment began the first day I was back in the shop," Boze said. A foreman outside of his work area began to harass him. The unionist was forced to file a grievance, but the harassment did not abate. Then, as he was in the process of filing a second grievance on November 11, Boze was suspended indefinitely by the supervisor for "insubordination."

Workers in Boze's area, Building DD, the largest in the facility, met that afternoon and discussed what had happened. They started to demand action and raised their concerns with local union officials. Word of the victimization spread rapidly through the whole Mossville complex.

By the end of the first shift hundreds of workers gathered in the plant parking lot to discuss what they would do next. By that evening pickets shut down most of the Mossville facility. The workers' swift reaction "surprised the hell out of the company," Boze said.

As quickly as word of Boze's suspension had spread through the Mossville facility, news of the strike there reached the Caterpillar complex in neighboring East Peoria and locals in other cities. By six o'clock the next morning East Peoria facilities were shut down, Local 974 president Jerry Brown said.

Larry Solomon, president of Local 751, explained how Decatur received word of the strike in the evening on November 11 and a meeting of local officials was held. Union members were called to meet at the union



Militant/Paul Mailhot

Skirmishes between workers and Caterpillar have continued since top union officials called off a bitter five-month strike in April 1992. Last November 13,000 unionists joined in a three-day walkout. Above, rally during last days of 1991-92 strike.

hall at 5 a.m., but "we weren't sure whether we would have the numbers to shut down the plant," Solomon said.

For Local 751 member Ken Rogers there was no alternative but to support the workers in Mossville by closing the Decatur plant. By six o'clock "the word came down," Rogers, who works third shift, explained. A large enough core of Local 751 members had turned up at the union hall to effectively shut down the plant's three main gates.

Rogers then helped lead a walkout by third-shift workers to join fellow unionists on the picket line. As first-shift workers arrived for work, they eagerly sought information about what was happening. "They talked with coworkers they knew and respected, and joined the line," Solomon said. "Our success shocked us as well as the company," he added.

From November 12-14, a weekend that included overtime, pickets shut down Caterpillar's Illinois operations in Aurora, Decatur, East Peoria, Mapleton, Mossville, and Pontiac. Plants in Denver and York, Pennsylvania, were also struck.

The company scrambled to counter the effects of the strike. According to reports received by the union, buses were readied to move management personnel to various plants in a feeble attempt to start up production. Office staff were sent to the shop floor only to botch work orders. Walmart's stock of safety shoes was emptied by the company in a desperate effort to provide managers with gear needed for production. A plane loaded with parts was prepared for flight to facilities where parts might run out.

The *Contract Action Times*, a UAW monthly newsletter published in East Peoria, reported that mass local union meetings were held across the chain November 14 and workers returned to work that evening at midnight.

Some 8,000 Local 974 members and spouses packed an overflowing field house in East Peoria. "Members lined the aisles and sat on the floor" once all seats were filled, Brown recalled. The crowd cheered the news that many union members who had

crossed picket lines in 1992 joined the walkout. "We welcome these people back with open arms," Brown told the meeting.

Boze received a "thunderous standing ovation," the *Contract Action Times* said.

"The last couple of days, you have given me more than a man could ask for, but I must ask you for something else," Boze told the crowd. "When you return to work, take your solidarity and pride with you. Show this company that threats and intimidation will not sway you from your ultimate goal, which is the return to work of every person who has been discharged due to the company's unfair labor practices."

"The walkout got people motivated," Boze said in an interview. Union members came to "realize that there are many members who have been discharged by the company. It helped to bring the other cases in the limelight as well."

## Reorganizing from bottom up

The strike's success reflected that "we have had to reorganize our union from the bottom up, from the shop floor up," Boze continued. "We are doing things now that could have been done years ago" to get the membership involved and "are now necessary."

Caterpillar arrogantly changed Boze's suspension to a discharge and suspended Jim Lippert at the beginning of December. The company has also sent UAW members threatening letters warning them not to engage in further walkouts. The letters, couched in polite language, threaten lockouts of employees involved in future walkouts, disciplinary action — including firing strikers — and "if necessary" operating the company "without the service of striking employees" by hiring replacement workers.

These attempts at intimidation have not, however, deterred Boze and other UAW members. "You still have to stay in their face," he said about the company. "Now I'll have plenty of more time to do that."

Peter Thierjung is a member of UAW Local 538 in Cleveland.

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The Internationalist Forums Association in Iceland and the Communist League in Sweden are sponsoring a speaking tour of Ma'mud Shirvani. Shirvani is coauthor of the introduction to the Pathfinder book *To See the Dawn*, the documentary record of the First Congress of the People of the East, held in Baku, Azerbaijan, in September 1920. Shirvani recently returned from that region.

#### REYKJAVÍK, ICELAND

SAT., JANUARY 22

#### TWO CLASSES:

1:30 p.m. Baku Congress: Historical Steps in Forging International Unity.  
4:00 p.m. Politics Today in Iran, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian Republics: The Lessons of Baku-Presentation and Slideshow from Iran. KLAPPARSTÍG 26, 2ND FLOOR  
Donation - 100 kronur each class. Program in English. Translation to Icelandic will be provided. For more information, call: (1) 17513 or (1) 13695.

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6:30 p.m. Politics Today in Iran, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian Republics: The Lessons of Baku-Presentation and Slideshow from Iran. VIKINGAGATAN 10, (T-bana St Eriksplan)  
For more information call: (08) 31 69 33.

## — CALENDAR —

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Educational & Organizing Conference on Cuba.** Speakers: Alfonso Fraga and Bernardo Toscano, Cuban Interests Section; Tom Hansen, National Director, Pastors for Peace; Hilda Roberts, Bay Area Caravan organizer and Laredo Hunger Striker. Sat., Jan. 29, 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. Laney College Forum (9th & Fallon Sts., Lake Merritt BART). Sponsored by Bay Area U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan/Pastors for Peace and Mexican American/Latin American Studies Depts. Laney College. Donation: \$5-10, lunch provided. For more information, call (510) 273-9199.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Fundraising Dinner for Pastors for Peace/U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan.** Sat., Feb. 12, 6-9:30 p.m. Little Five Points Community Center, 1083 Austin Ave. (Corner of Euclid and Austin Ave.) Music by Elise Whitt, the Pand Band, Ritual Band East, and others. For more information, call (404) 377-1079.

### NEW YORK

#### Brooklyn

**Take a Stand! Help to End the U.S. Blockade of Cuba.** Presentation of the video *Who's Afraid of a Little Yellow School Bus?* Speakers: Gail Walker, IFCO/Pastors for Peace; Participants from U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan II; Participants in the Pastors for Peace Construction Brigade. Fri., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. Park Slope United Methodist Church (6th Avenue and 8th St.) For more information, call (212) 926-5757.

#### Manhattan

**Come dance and support the 3rd U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan.** Fri., Feb. 4, 9 p.m. Local 1199, 310 W. 43rd St. Tickets: \$10 in advance, \$12 at the door. For more information, call (212) 926-5757.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan Benefit.** Sat., Feb. 5, Program: 7:30 p.m. featuring Andean Ensemble, Tepuy. Dancing: 8:30 p.m. to the Salvadoran group, Izalco. Casa del Pueblo, 1459 Columbia Road, N.W. Donation: \$5. Tel: (202) 452-5966.

### CANADA

#### Vancouver

**Help Challenge the U.S. Blockade. Public meeting to build the Pastors for Peace Caravan Feb. '94.** Speakers: David Long, executive member of Vancouver and District Labour Council; Prof. Jorge García, Spanish and Latin American Studies, Simon Fraser University; Rev. Thomas Anthony, St. Matthew's Anglican Church, Vancouver; Kathy Wheeler, Seattle, driver from Friendshipment II; Camilo García, Vancouver Island, Friendshipment II and hunger striker. Thurs. Jan. 27, 7:30 p.m. Video at 7 p.m. Maritime Labour Center, 1880 Triumph (at Victoria north of Hastings) Donation: \$5.

## — MILITANT LABOR FORUMS —

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Washington's Continuing War Against Cuba.** Speakers: Dr. Hesham Ragab, Pediatricians for Peace; Sherrie Love, member of United Transportation Union and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

#### San Francisco

**Mexico: End Repression in Chiapas!** Speaker: Susan Zarate, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 5, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

### IOWA

#### Des Moines

**The Fight for Abortion Rights Today.** Speaker: Angel Lariscy, member of United Auto Workers Local 270 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**The U.S. Secret Nuclear War: What Recent Revelations Show.** Speaker: Jack Wiley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

## Mexico protesters demand end to repression

### Continued from front page

four others and more than half of the homes cook in wood-burning stoves. The 56 percent of the population that has running water lives mainly in the cities. Despite the fact that Chiapas produces 55 percent of the country's electric power, in 1990 of every three households only two had electricity. No education is provided for 60 percent of the children who are between five and 14 years old. Chiapas has the highest rate of death by tuberculosis in the country.

### Problem is complex

"The problem in Chiapas is complex," said government representative Manuel Camacho in response to these demands at a press conference held here. Camacho was appointed by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari to head a Commission for Peace and Reconciliation. "There are problems in agriculture, in the justice system, and low prices of the region's products," he acknowledged. This, he said, "will make it difficult for there to be reconciliation in the areas under conflict."

The EZLN proposed that Samuel Ruiz, bishop of San Cristóbal, be the mediator in the conflict. Ruiz, who accepted the job, called for a general amnesty as the main step to initiate negotiations.

According to the Mexico City newsweekly *Proceso*, when guerrilla forces briefly took over San Cristóbal January 1, EZLN spokesperson "Commander Marcos" told reporters, "We demand the resignation of the federal government and the creation of a new transition government that will call free and democratic elections for August 1994.

ist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Greensboro

**End the Blockade of Cuba!** Speakers: Gini Webb, Caribbean International Education Committee; Tim McDowall and Jean Handy, Duke/UNC Latin American Studies Working Group on Cuba; Kim Porter and Karen Williams, recent visitors to Cuba; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Defend Native Fishing Rights.** Speakers: Chief Johnny Jackson and Wilber Stockish, members of the Klickitat tribe. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

### BRITAIN

#### London

**A Working-Class Answer to the Government's "Back to Basics" Campaign.** Sat., Jan.

On that basis, he said, "other demands could be negotiated such as bread, housing, health care, education, land, justice and many other problems that are particularly acute among the Indian population." He added, "The Zapatista Army of National Liberation has no defined ideology in the communist or Marxist-Leninist sense. Rather its the lack of freedom and democracy that provides a common thread that links the various sectors."

"We are neither socialists nor Marxists," said "Major Mario," another leader of the EZLN who is a 25 year-old Tzotzil Indian who headed the occupation of Ocosingo. He also said that the armed struggle was a result of the fact that "many here died of cholera. We asked the government for help but didn't get any. We'd rather die facing the bullets than of cholera."

More than 360 families, mostly women and children, from the mountain village of Vicente Guerrero fled the fighting between guerrillas and the army and have taken refuge in the village of Las Margaritas. One young man there said they left their community January 11 because "the EZLN came and wanted to force us to support them." He explained that he agreed with "what they said about poverty," but he did not like what they do. He said that the Zapatista guerrillas were peasants like himself and that they did not mistreat them nor did they destroy their property. Other refugees said that they left the town "because we heard that the national army was on its way." They wanted to return to their homes but the army would not allow them to, despite the official cease-fire. Many refugees and residents of Las Margaritas said they hoped the conflict would force the government to address the social problems of the region.

29, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401-2409.

### Manchester

**Police Frame-ups and New Government Laws.** Speakers: Toby May, Friends of Susan May; Mike da Silva, frame-up victim; Gerry McCarthy, framed by police informer; Hugh Robertson, supporter of Mark Curtis Defense Campaign. Sat., Jan. 29, 6 p.m. 1st floor, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839 1766.

### CANADA

#### Vancouver

**The Cuban Revolution Today.** Speaker: Joe Young, volunteer driver in the February 1994 Friendshipment caravan to Cuba, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 3495 and Communist League. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. Fund-raising dinner 6 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$4. Dinner \$10. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

### NEW ZEALAND

#### Christchurch

**The Deepening Economic and Political Crisis in Russia.** Speaker: Carmen Bain, Communist League. Sat., Jan. 29, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

Many soldiers could be seen patrolling the streets of Las Margaritas, including some in tanks.

In the town of Ocosingo, which was also attacked by guerrillas January 1, several residents said they "knew nothing of the Zapatistas." Many were clearly reluctant to speak freely to reporters given the army presence.

### Against the gov't and the rich

A young woman whose family owns a small restaurant in Ocosingo's central square said, "When they came into town many Zapatistas spoke with the people. They did us no harm. They asked my two younger brothers to join them so they could have land and education. They said they were against the government and the rich."

Several hundred people marched in Ocosingo January 13 demanding that the Mexican army stay in the town to ensure its safety.

"We can hardly afford anything due to the low price we get for our coffee," said one peasant at the Ocosingo market. "We all live on small plots of land and grow a little bit of corn and beans to feed ourselves. In this area there are big cattle ranches. The landowners own up to 1,000 hectares [2,470 acres] and they take the land away from peasants," he said.

During his press conference in San Cristóbal, Camacho announced the government's proposal to "grant a general amnesty from January 1 until Sunday, January 16 at 11 a.m. for those who took up arms." He said that any armed action after then would not fall within the amnesty provisions.

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**Sharp**—Check out the '94 Rolls Royce Silver Spur III. It is a bit pricey — \$189,000 — and gets



Harry Ring

but 10 miles per gallon in the city and 15 on the road. But it features a cellular phone, an answering machine, and a 110-amp sound system, including a CD player.

**Plain talk**—An article said companies are weighing the pros and cons of a "liberal" sick-leave

policy. The Cleveland Electric Co. takes a no-nonsense stand on this. A spokeswoman said the company is nonunion and most of its workers are on piecework. Sick leave? "The belief we have here is that we have no need to pay somebody for work they are not doing. They could get a leave of absence. But they wouldn't get paid for it," she stated.

**Undocumented immigrants?**—The cost of administering federal welfare programs — food stamps, Medicaid, and Aid to Families with Dependent Children — has increased more than twice as fast as the number of recipients. In three years, the number of recipients increased 18 percent while the cost of administering the programs

jumped 43 percent.

**Wrong code?**—A lot of folks thought Reagan was a foul-mouthed racist when he used to talk about "welfare queens" driving up in Cadillacs for their checks. But maybe he was talking about those administrators who seem to be doing so nicely.

**Moral dilemma**—For a number of years the Iowa library system donated surplus books to Planned Parenthood, which used them for fund-raising sales. But, someone noticed, abortions are performed at Planned Parenthood clinics. So, this year, 10,000 books were donated to Goodwill Industries for shredding. But Goodwill noticed there were a lot of good books and is thinking of

a book sale instead. If they do that, they were told, the state wants a cut.

**Safer than adding more cops**—Reportedly, a thousand disciples of the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi conducted a two-month, \$4 million effort to reduce violent crime in Washington, D.C., by meditating in unison. The number of murders did go up. But, the meditators insist, they were less violent. They would like \$5 million in public funding to continue meditating.

**It can be tough on top**—"The human side of downsizing: How to rebuild the team after restructuring — A practical approach that can help you cope better with organizational and life changes... Identify the survivor traits that can help you

through difficult times." — Blurp for a course at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

**How much time do you think he'll do?**—Rena De La Cova, the U.S. drug agent who arrested Panama leader Manuel Noriega, pleaded guilty to ripping off \$700,000 during antidrug operations. He was permitted to plead guilty to a single charge of theft of government property.

**Flush times**—"The feeling is much the same as watching the Berlin Wall come down or seeing the fall of communism." — Julius Ballanco, an engineer who points to growing evidence that there may one day be a single national plumbing code.

## Pathfinder reissues booklets on Jewish question

BY SARA LOBMAN

"Now more than ever, the fate of the Jewish people — not only their political but also their physical fate — is indissolubly linked with the emancipating struggle of the international proletariat."

Leon Trotsky wrote these words in a 1938 appeal to "American Jews Menaced by Fascism and Anti-Semitism." Along with a selection of other material written between 1930 and 1940 by this central leader of the Russian revolution, it is part of the pamphlet *On the Jewish Question*, by Leon Trotsky,

### IN REVIEW

soon to be reprinted by Pathfinder Press with a new cover.

In addition to reissuing this booklet Pathfinder has announced plans to reprint *Socialists and the Fight Against Anti-Semitism*, by Peter Seidman, and *How Can the Jews Survive? A Socialist Answer to Zionism*, by George Novack. Together, these booklets provide a working class perspective for the fight against anti-Semitism.

In the early 1930s, Trotsky wrote several letters to Jewish workers who he hoped would join the international opposition to the bureaucratic caste being consolidated by Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union. These working people, Trotsky said, were "a large and important part of the whole proletariat." In the 1930s in the United States, for example, nearly 40 percent of the Jewish population were workers.

This is no longer the case. Today the Jewish population in the United States is made up overwhelmingly of middle-class and professional layers. This change in the class makeup of the Jewish population in the United States since World War II is also the basis for the rightward shift of many of the major Jewish organizations.

Trotsky's working-class approach at the time, however, remains invaluable today.

"I maintain that it is without a doubt the greatest obligation of the Jewish workers in France, just as in other countries, to participate in the workers' movement of the land in which they live, work, and struggle," he wrote to *Klorkeir*, a Yiddish-language newspaper in Paris in 1930. "This is not only in the individual interest of each person, but also in the political interest of the French and international working class."

"The foreign workers are of a different mind, just because they are foreign; of an emigrant spirit, more mobile, more receptive to revolutionary ideas," Trotsky said in the letter to *Klorkeir*, drawing attention to the recent immigration of many Jewish workers, either from one country in Europe to another or from Europe to the United States.

By the end of the 1930s it was already clear to Trotsky and his cothinkers around the world that the deep crisis of capitalism, coupled with the failure of the Stalinist and social democratic misleaders to unite the working class and successfully lead a fight for power, had made a second imperialist slaughter inevitable. Rightist politicians had gained more of a hearing for their reactionary demagoguery from a demoralized and frightened middle class, not just in Germany and Italy, but in the United States and other imperialist countries as well. As early as 1933, when the first concentration camps had been established in Germany, the "Jewish Question" had become a life and death question for the working class.

Marxists offer a "materialist explanation for the exceptional endurance and peculiar characteristics of the Jews," Novack says in his pamphlet. The Jewish people, he argues, "have maintained existence and individuality as a nationality primarily because of the special role they played as a people-class in precapitalist society," where they were primarily traders and merchants.

Novack explains that the rise of capitalism eliminated the special functions of this Jewish people-class, thus laying the basis for their gradual assimilation into the population as a whole. But at the same time, anti-Semitism became "a ready-made means for diverting the wrath of despairing and deluded people... by making the Jews a scapegoat for the crimes of a decaying capitalism." Middle-class layers, in particular, viewed Jewish merchants as competitors. Because of this, Novack noted, Jew-hatred would only be eliminated as part of a worldwide fight for socialism.

#### Zionism and imperialism

The rise of fascism and the slaughter of six million Jews — and millions of others — in Nazi death camps gave a new life to the half-century-old Zionist movement. Supporters of this reactionary current argued that the only way to end the persecution of the Jews was to establish a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine. In reality, however, the Zionists were willing pawns of the imperialists' plans to colonize the Middle East.

Marxists rejected the Zionists' arguments from the beginning. "I am, it is understood, opposed to Zionism and all such forms of self-isolation on the part of the Jewish workers," Trotsky said in a 1934 interview.

He elaborated further in a 1937 interview with correspondents from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency and *Der Weg*, a newspaper published in Mexico. "Every passing day... the conflict between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine acquires a more and more tragic and more and more menacing character," Trotsky

said. "I do not at all believe that the Jewish question can be resolved within the framework of rotting capitalism and under the control of British imperialism."

Experiences since 1948, when the state of Israel was established with the goal of crushing the fight for self-determination of the Arab masses in the region, confirm that Trotsky was correct.

The booklet by Seidman explains the treacherous role of the U.S. ruling class and the Zionists in refusing to allow tens of thousands of Jewish refugees fleeing the mounting Nazi repression to enter the United States. These policies, Seidman argues, showed that any serious effort to save the victims of fascism would require a fight against the capitalist government of Franklin Roosevelt, not reliance on it.

Zionist leaders supported the immigration quotas, arguing that the battle to let the refugees in would alienate their imperialist benefactors and draw attention away from the campaign to establish a Jewish state in Palestine.

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, led the fight to demand an open door policy for all those fleeing Europe. "Solidarity with those who suffer at the hands of fascism is one of the best ways of establishing, in this country, an unbreakable wall against the advance of American Fascism," said a statement by the SWP National Committee excerpted in the booklet by Seidman.

Fighting workers and young people will find these three pamphlets invaluable to gain a scientific understanding of the Jewish question today.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



Chicano students at Roosevelt High School in East Los Angeles have let it be known that they will no longer accept abuse from racist instructors. Hundreds of students left their classes on Jan. 8 to demonstrate with signs reading, "Chicano Control of our Schools! Racists Out!"

A student at the school charged that on Dec. 10 John Hogan, a business education instructor, called her a "dirty Mexican." She and her witnesses filed a protest with school authorities and demanded that Hogan be transferred.

When their demand was ignored for weeks by the board of education, hundreds of students left their classes at noon on Jan. 8 to demonstrate in front of the school. The demonstrations were repeated for three days in spite of attempted intimidation by a show of force by the police, with six police cars and a patrol wagon lined up near the school on the third day of picketing.



For months the American people have

witnessed the repulsive spectacle of a heated congressional debate on whether or not the servicemen, who are presumably fighting and dying for democracy all over the planet, were to be given the elementary democratic right of voting in the 1944 election. A so-called "States Rights" bill, previously adopted by the Senate and favorably reported out of the House Committee on Elections, represented an unconditional surrender to the poll-tax Democrats of the "solid South" and their northern anti-labor colleagues. This non-voting "voting" bill was so raw that even Secretary of War Stimson declared that "few if any members of the armed forces would be able to vote under the 'States' Rights' soldier voting bill."

Such a roar of protest surged up from the soldier ranks that even the congressional "defenders of democracy" could not ignore it. They found it politically expedient to devise a substitute measure which, while pretending to grant all soldiers the right to vote, actually protected the poll-tax system and disfranchised millions of men in the armed forces. By a vote of 12 to 2 the Senate Committee on Elections turned this trick by reporting out a new measure embodying the provision that "Election officials in the States would have the final say as to what ballots should be counted."

This means that, although soldiers are given the right to cast a ballot, the decision whether or not their vote will be counted is left entirely to the Democratic and Republican machine-controlled election officials of the various states.

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## Politics of resentment, on ice

Under all the hype and glitter, the Olympics — like all major capitalist sports events — are at heart a big-money, cutthroat, and sometimes nasty business operation. It's not just the sponsors and promoters who see it that way; most athletes are keenly aware that the value of a gold medal is measured not just in prestige but in millions of dollars. The January 6 assault on figure skater Nancy Kerrigan in Detroit and subsequent accusations against Tonya Harding and her entourage have shined a spotlight on this fact.

"What I'm really thinking about are dollar signs," Harding told reporters after winning the national figure skating championship, which assured her a try in the Winter Olympic Games in February. That was just days before her bodyguard and two others were arrested and charged with conspiring to injure rival Kerrigan's knee. Kerrigan could not compete with Harding in the nationals after the beating, a premeditated attack by a goon who was apparently executing a contract.

Right wingers are likely to use the incident as fuel for their culture war against working people — pointing to the "broken home" Harding came from to argue that bad family values are the root of social ills. Working people need to reject this type of argument, which is aimed at scapegoating the "down and out" section of the working class.

At the same time, workers should be careful not to fall into the trap of the politics of resentment that Harding and her supporters promote. Some commentators in the big-business media play up her image as a poor, struggling, working-class woman who suffered an unhappy childhood and abusive marriage. She supposedly "brings a common touch to a stuffy sport," as a *New York Times* reporter put it. By this accounting, people should empathize with Harding, who denies involvement in the attack on Kerrigan, because she has had a harder time making it than most of her competitors. She is the poor kid from the wrong side of the tracks; they had the

money and the easy breaks. Or so the line goes.

But Harding's ties to the working class are somewhere in her past. Immersed in the world of big-time sports, Harding and other athletes who may come from working-class families, including Kerrigan, take on the lifestyle of Hollywood stars and ape the values of the bourgeoisie. Harding associates every double or triple axel of hers on ice with dollar signs, and she is pretty blunt about it. The desire for more lucrative awards might have led her and/or her former husband to put out a contract on Harding's rival. At least that's what the alleged hit men, retained by Harding's hired thug, claim.

Putting out a contract on a person's knee — whether it was ordered by Harding or someone else around her — is simply the crudest version of what goes on every day in the capitalist business world. Crime and every type of thuggery is bred by the viciousness of the capitalist market system and its dog-eat-dog competition in all arenas, including sports, not from some rough side of working-class life.

The upcoming Olympic Games will be a bonanza for many sports barons, as well as the television networks and the big-name endorsers. Marketing specialists are already analyzing the potential advertising value of one athlete over another, depending on which medal they take home. Many among those who hope to compete are thinking and acting along the same lines.

Figure skating, and all sports, will remain chained to the profit motive as long as capitalism exists. Making sports the property of the working class, and freeing human contest during play or pastime from the monetary bond, can only be achieved under socialism — as the accomplishments of the Cuban revolution show.

In the meantime, working people should reject the politics of resentment, on ice or elsewhere.

## Sliding scale of wages and hours

We are now at the high point in the U.S. economic recovery. "The workweek should have started declining shortly after the current recovery began in April 1991," an article in the January 17 *Wall Street Journal* said. Instead, average weekly overtime surged to 4.4 hours by the end of 1993. The length of the workweek in U.S. factories reached 41.7 hours — the longest since plants pumped out ships and planes for World War II.

This recovery is not based on an expansion of productive capacity. Instead, each company is looking to downsize, cut costs, and up productivity squeezed out of fewer workers. Factories are running through increased speed up and longer hours. And as the employers' margins become narrower, their rate of profit tends to fall still further.

Most capitalists are now pouring money into the bubble of paper values, the stock and bond markets, in hopes of a better return, fueling record stock prices. But without an increase in real capacity to produce goods that can be sold for a profit, the stock market boom is nothing but a balloon that is destined to burst with disastrous results. This is what the good times look like during a world economic depression.

The capitalist classes in Europe face even bigger problems. They are several years behind their U.S. counterparts in cutting social benefits and increasing productivity. Some companies there are imposing shorter hours combined with a reduction in weekly pay to stall massive layoffs. While it may save employers from an immediate confrontation with workers, it doesn't solve the bosses' profit problem or the workers' jobs and wages problem.

The shorter workweek imposed by Volkswagen, Simmonds, and other companies has nothing to do with the demand put forward by fighting workers for more than a century to reduce the workweek with no cut in pay as a

way to spread around available work and build a strong united workers movement.

Throughout the 1800s and well into this century, workers in the United States and other industrialized countries waged battles first for the 10-hour and then for the 8-hour day. And it was not always a peaceful fight. A good many workers were killed in police attacks on picket lines and demonstrations pressing these demands.

The stakes are much higher today, because the crisis of the market system is more worldwide in scope than ever before.

Workers must reject the employers' framework of linking working peoples' standard of living to the profits of the bosses, and instead fight to defend their own interests. The capitalist bubble will burst regardless. Workers need a sliding scale of hours and wages, to protect their income from the ups and downs of the bosses' fortunes, along with a shorter workweek. The division between the employed and the unemployed is among the employers' most powerful weapons in blocking the development of a strong and united workers movement. Fighting for 30 hours work with 40 hours' pay would immediately open up the possibility of jobs for millions of workers. It would also strengthen the fight against speedup on the job and the struggle to extend social programs and democratic rights.

In addition, fighting to expand affirmative action programs and defend the rights of immigrants can help break down other divisions in the working class along lines of race, sex, and national origin.

The labor movement needs to organize around demands like these, which increase working-class solidarity internationally and take the brunt of the capitalist economic crisis off the backs of working people.

## The Gulf syndrome cover-up

Washington's and London's callous and calculated cover-up of the causes behind the bleeding gums, diarrhea, and depression suffered by thousands of veterans of the U.S.-led war against Iraq shows the brutal disregard of capitalist politicians for the lives and well-being of working people.

The latest snow job by the White House is part and parcel of the monstrous slaughter Washington and its allies carried out against the Iraqi people in 1991. At least 150,000 Iraqis were killed during the so-called Desert Storm. Tens of thousands more have died since as a result of a brutal embargo.

Now Washington hypocritically tries to blame Baghdad for the scandal. But the fact that thousands of Gulf War vets were exposed to toxic substances without their knowledge and then lied to and denied medical care for almost three years cannot be laid at the feet of the Iraqi regime. Nor was it an accident or a mistake.

Like the secret radiation experiments Washington now admits carrying out for decades, and the use of Agent Orange during the Vietnam War, the Gulf War syndrome and its whitewash is the result of conscious policy by the U.S. and British governments.

The capitalist classes in the United States and Britain simply traded the lives and well-being of hundreds of thousands of working people to better advance their economic and political interests in the Middle East. Gulf War syndrome is first

and foremost a class question. It is workers and farmers in uniform who are the cannon fodder for the bosses' wars, not the sons and daughters of the rich and powerful.

The employers try to convince working people that we have different interests from our brothers and sisters around the world. But their contempt for veterans of the Gulf War shows this to be a lie. The slaughter of the people of Iraq was simply an extension of the attacks on the standard of living and democratic rights of working people here at home that the wealthy capitalist families carry out every day. It makes no difference to them whether the worker who is exposed to depleted uranium shells is from Detroit or Baghdad.

The labor movement should demand an end to the U.S.-sponsored sanctions against Iraq. Every file that might reveal the truth about the Gulf War syndrome must be made public, down to the last scrap of paper. Veterans who are suffering from illnesses related to the war, like their counterparts in Iraq, are entitled to full medical care and compensation.

Most importantly, the savage reality of the Gulf War and the contempt of the imperialist rulers for its victims exposes the vile nature of the capitalist system. The Gulf syndrome and its cover-up point to the need for workers and farmers around the world to join together to replace the brutality of capitalism with a socialist society that puts human needs before profits.

## Dublin lifts broadcast ban on Sinn Fein

Continued from Page 16

essay, to the world arena.

One objective of the joint declaration is to force Sinn Fein to enter any future political setup on the terms dictated by London and Dublin, and thereby contribute to the forging of a more stable situation for capitalism in Ireland. In the declaration, London implies its preparedness to modify the old constitutional arrangements as it strives for this goal.

### Sinn Fein requests 'clarification'

Sinn Fein has requested clarification on the London/Dublin declaration. Martin McGuinness, a leader of Sinn Fein, said, "It is widely accepted that the document is ambiguous. It is also acknowledged that both governments have tended to put a different gloss on it. Given that other parties have all had an opportunity to talk directly to both governments to clarify their corners, it is not unreasonable for Sinn Fein to similarly seek clarification."

In the face of this request, the governments in London and Dublin, and different political forces in both Britain and Ireland, have sought to employ a "carrot and stick" approach to win Sinn Fein's endorsement of the declaration. Renewed threats of internment as well as calls for demilitarization are being debated among capitalist politicians in both countries. David Trimble, the official Ulster Unionist MP [Member of Parliament], argued, "The government has gone the furthest distance imaginable to meet the demands of the nationalists. If they turned it down, they would be showing no interest in the democratic procedure, and the only thing then is for a form of repression."

Labour Party leader John Smith joined forces with British prime minister John Major in opposing the demand for "clarification." Smith said there was a danger of negotiations "under the guise of so-called clarification," while Major said that Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams was seeking back-door talks.

John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party in Northern Ireland, and coauthor with Adams of an as yet unpublished set of proposals addressing the conflict in Ireland, has written a five-page statement urging Sinn Fein to accept the London-Dublin declaration. Hume argues that the agreement contains a clear British acceptance of the right of the Irish people to self-determination, and that another key demand of the republican movement — for an organized political alternative to armed struggle — had been met by the Irish government's promise to establish a "forum for peace and reconciliation." Hume said peace would bring an influx of new investment into Northern Ireland.

The Sinn Fein leadership has been consulting its membership and supporters in a series of meetings. At one such event, widely covered by the British media, Adams said that he considered the joint declaration's reference to Irish self-determination to be positive.

### New IRA bombing

During the Christmas holidays, the IRA exploded a bomb in Derry in its first attack since the declaration was announced. In late December, Reynolds threatened the IRA, saying that it would face stiffer security measures in both north and south if it didn't accept the declaration. Reynolds explained that the two prime ministers were prepared to continue to seeking an agreement with Sinn Fein despite the attacks, but he added that repressive measures would be used if Sinn Fein rejects London's and Dublin's demands. "Undoubtedly there would be stiffer security situations. After a period in which such strong support has been expressed by people in both communities for peace, there would be revulsion at a resumption of full-scale violence again," he said.

Later on Reynolds called for demilitarization of Northern Ireland, coupled with a hint of a promise to discuss the future status of political prisoners. "Undoubtedly, the future of the prisoners would be part of it," he stated. "That is what the British government would have in mind in exploratory talks with Sinn Fein when they said they would engage in talks within three months after a real cessation of violence."

The British government has also taken a hard-soft approach. Prime Minister Major said, "I cannot anticipate what is going to happen until we have an end to violence. Then we can discuss what happens with the number of troops in Northern Ireland." Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd added that there would be "no quarter for republicans" if they reject the declaration.

"One thing that people can be assured of is that there will be an amnesty for the political prisoners," stated McGuinness in explaining Sinn Fein's position on the issue. In response to the acquittal of two soldiers on charges of murdering a Sinn Fein member, Fergal Caragher, in south Armagh three years ago, Sinn Fein chairman Tom Hartley said, "This verdict points up the contradiction in John Major's denial of amnesty for political prisoners. As with all these cases there is an amnesty for members of the British crown forces."

### Correction

In the January 17, 1994, issue of the *Militant*, footnote number three to the article "Leon Trotsky on education and culture" incorrectly stated, "NEP was adopted as a temporary measure to revise the economy after the civil war." It should have read, "NEP was adopted as a temporary measure to revive the economy after the civil war."



# Trial of framed-up miners postponed to April

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.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

The trial of eight members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 5958, in southern West Virginia, who were framed up in the July 22 shooting death of nonunion contract worker Eddie York, has been postponed until April 4 by a federal judge.

Judge John Copenhaver moved the trial, which was originally scheduled to open January 24, due to the "scores of legal documents" that have been issued in the case thus far, according to the *Charleston Gazette*. Federal prosecutors said there are 2,000 pages of documents for defense lawyers to review.

"I think we have a real good case and will show before this is over that the men are innocent," stated UMWA international representative Howard Green. He said he believed that the trial postponement would help the framed-up miners' defense team "get more information from the state."

York was shot in the back of the head as he drove from a side entrance to Arch Mineral Corp.'s Ruffner mine in Yohyn, West Virginia. York was traveling in a convoy, which included vehicles driven by Elite security guards, toward a UMWA picket shack staffed by the eight miners and others on strike against Arch during the recently concluded national coal strike.

All eight accused miners, including Jerry Lowe, who is charged with firing the gun that shot York, were in front of the convoy when the shooting occurred.

Immediately after the incident, Elite security guards were deputized and helped police cordon off the area and conduct a preliminary investigation. Union members were prevented from entering the area.

The miners were indicted by a federal grand jury for allegedly violating federal laws that prohibit interfering with interstate commerce. The indictment asserts the miners

conspired to "disable and incapacitate" York.

### Ontario grocery workers fight concession demands

"We can no longer put up with this. I have been working with this company for eight years as a part-timer and I still have to fight to get even 18 hours a week. Now they want to cut our pay or lay us off. No way," said one of the 6,500 Miracle Food Mart grocery workers in Ontario, Canada, who have been on picket lines since November 18.

The workers are members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) locals 175 and 633. Their employer, Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co. (A&P), owners of the 63-store Miracle Food Mart chain in Ontario, have threatened widespread store closures and demanded deep concessions, including pay cuts, the elimination of most full-time positions, and massive layoffs.

On December 11 workers throughout the province voted 80 percent against the company's latest contract offer. It called for a \$2 an hour pay cut, the closing of eight stores with the loss of 700 jobs, and no guarantee of full-time employment.

On the picket lines workers are

determined to win this fight and have been active in distributing information about the strike to customers using other stores owned by A&P not included in the UFCW bargaining unit. The 63 Miracle Mart stores remain closed. Under Ontario's "anti scab" labor legislation it is illegal for the company to hire replacement workers.

No talks have been held between the UFCW and the company since December 10.

Last March, 6,000 UFCW members in Alberta accepted wage and benefit cuts worth \$40,000 after Canada Safeway threatened to close its supermarkets in the province. In June another 10,000 A&P workers are expected to face concession demands.

### Rally in Atlanta backs striking printing workers

More than 300 angry unionists rallied in the rain December 22 in Atlanta, Georgia, to voice their solidarity with 200 striking workers at the American Signature printing plant.

Atlanta Labor Council president Stewart Acuff and Hal Landis, president of Graphic Communications International Union Local 8M, which represents most of the strikers, were arrested as they attempted to enter the plant. Three other supporters were also arrested for picket line incidents.

The strikers, many of whom have 20 or more years' seniority in the plant, set up picket lines eight months ago after their new owner, Heller Financial Bank, tore up the old contract. The company fired 47 employees, eliminated seniority, slashed benefits, and cut wages an



Participants in labor rally in Atlanta last June to support striking members of the Graphic Communications International Union Local 8-M.

Militant/Linda Joyce

average of 30 percent. American Signature hired new workers to permanently replace strikers.

Many workers were hopeful that the National Labor Relations Board would rule their strike to be over unfair labor practices and prohibit scabs from permanently replacing them.

Heller has now put the Atlanta plant and American Signature facilities in three other cities up for sale.

### Iowa meatpackers vote to extend IBP contract

Members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1149 in Perry, Iowa, approved an indefinite extension of their contract with IBP January 3. The 192-40 vote was the third time since June 1993 that IBP — the largest U.S. meat processor — has demanded and been granted an extension.

Union members rejected two proposed four-year contracts in December. They voted 382-6 December 9 against an agreement freezing

wages for four years and 219-95 December 20 against a one-year freeze with minimal increases possible in future years.

Jim Oleson, UFCW Local 1149 president, told the *Des Moines Register* that IBP asked the union to extend the contract. Either party can cancel it with seven days notice. IBP had threatened throughout the last few months to close the pork plant by December 31 or slaughter and process hogs with nonunion workers.

Four hundred thirty of the 630 production workers in the plant belong to the union in this "right to work" state. About half voted on the latest extension.

The following people contributed to this week's column: Kathy Rettig in Morgantown, West Virginia; James Anampio, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2729 in Toronto; Bob Braxton, member of United Auto Workers Local 882 in Atlanta; and Andrew Pulley, member of UFCW Local 1149 in Perry, Iowa.

## LETTERS

### Date rape

In her December 20 article on "the debate behind date rape," Estelle DeBates explains that "before the advent of private property, men and women were equals and sexism and sexist violence did not exist." This is counterposed to Susan Brownmiller, who argues in *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* that rape "is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear."

Brownmiller actually presents evidence in her book that helps prove DeBates's point. In a chapter on the history of the legal treatment of rape, she traces the ongoing connection between concepts of democratic rights, property, and rape laws. Over the course of centuries the legal view of rape changed from being judged as an act against the woman's "owner" (father, husband, etc.) to being seen as an act of violence against the woman herself. Brownmiller's conclusion is that this development in early English law reflected "a gradual humanization of jurisprudence in general, and in particular, man's eternal confusion, never quite resolved, as to whether the crime was a crime against a woman's body or a crime against his own estate."

Brownmiller's chapters on rape in wartime also work against her argument that men as a group are the problem. She documents the widespread rape carried out [in Vietnam] by the invading French and then U.S. troops, and by the soldiers of the puppet regime in Saigon. Ob-

servers of the war, however, "were usually confounded by the lack" of rape carried out by the Vietnamese workers and peasants fighting for national and social liberation. This is the result of the fact that in the Vietnamese revolution "women played a major role in military operations and that the presence of women fighting as equals among their men acted against the sexual humiliation or mistreatment of other women."

The conclusion is clear: violence against women is rooted in class society, and "women fighting as equals among their men" to overturn capitalist exploitation is critical in ending the oppression of women.

Michael Italie  
Cleveland, Ohio

### Leonard Jeffries

The column in the [Nov. 15, 1993] *Militant* opposing the attempt to fire Professor Leonard Jeffries is a welcome change. This brings the *Militant's* stand into line with your long-standing opposition to government attacks on free speech — even in the case of fascists, or professors who made pseudoscientific claims that Blacks were inferior. Suppressing free speech does nothing and is not intended to do anything to end any form of racism. The real targets are always the democratic



rights of the working class and our allies.

Was Jeffries targeted, as the column suggests, because he "helped prepare a report opposing racism in the New York school system?" While Jeffries may well have played a positive role in struggles against racism in education in the 1960s, I see no evidence that he does so today. Jeffries was selected because his anti-Semitic slurs created a big opening for an attack on free speech and Black studies programs that might be widely accepted among opponents of racism.

Jeffries is opposed to aspects of anti-Black discrimination and to certain misrepresentations of Black history in the schools. It would be a big exaggeration, however, to por-

tray him as an opponent of racist education.

He teaches anti-Semitism, which is a form of racism. His theories about innate differences between Blacks and whites are rooted in and help legitimize a tradition of racist pseudoscience that in the United States primarily targets Blacks. He routinely uses Jew-baiting, white-baiting, and anti-homosexual abuse against those, including Blacks, who differ with him.

While rejecting attempts to suppress Jeffries's rights because of his reactionary views, it is important to stress — as the column did — that countering Jeffries's anti-Semitism with the facts of history and science and explaining that his antidemocratic and antiworker ideas are

rooted in capitalism and today's class polarization is not a diversion of attention away from the much bigger problem of discrimination against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities on college campuses.

Contrary to the course followed by Jeffries and his middle-class counterparts in the major Jewish organizations who demanded that he be fired, opposition to anti-Black racism and opposition to Jew-hatred are not counterposed or in competition with each other from the standpoint of working people.

Although anti-Semitism today is much more peripheral to the basic issues of the class struggle than the fight against the national oppression of Blacks, the fight against racism is indivisible.

The Jeffries case shows that concessions to anti-Semitism can play a divisive and destructive role against the fight for Black rights and other struggles of working people.

Fred Feldman  
Brooklyn, New York

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.



## Dublin lifts broadcast ban on Sinn Fein

BY SHELLIA KENNEDY

MANCHESTER, England — The Irish government announced January 12 that it is lifting the broadcasting ban on the political party Sinn Fein, a legal political party in Ireland that opposes the British occupation of Northern Ireland and the partition of the country. The ban was instituted 18 years ago under Section 31 of the 1960 Broadcasting Act. It is one of a series of attacks on democratic rights by Dublin in the name of fighting "terrorism." This law made it illegal to broadcast political radio or television interviews with members of named organizations deemed "supporters of paramilitary violence."

Dublin has been under national and international pressure to end the ban spearheaded by the "Repeal Section 31" campaign.

Since the announcement, government representatives have threatened to reinstate the ban. A spokesman for the Arts, Culture and Broadcasting minister said, "The decision not to renew it does not preclude a review of the situation at any time. The legislation under which the order is made remains in force." In his explanation of the government's move, Irish prime minister Albert Reynolds said that after a permanent cease-fire by the Irish Republic Army (IRA) it "would be unrealistic to retain Section 31." Dick Spring, the foreign affairs minister, added, "it would be ludicrous if Sinn Fein were involved in the proposed forum after a permanent IRA cease-fire and were still banned from taking part in debate on the airwaves."

### Carrot and stick approach

These different statements do not suggest a split in the government over policy, but rather reflect the Irish rulers' carrot and stick approach toward Sinn Fein. Even with the lifting of the ban, broadcasters will still be required to abide by Section 18 of the 1960 Broadcasting Act, which blocks supposed material likely to incite crime or "undermine the authority of the state."

The announcement by the Dublin government has prompted calls on London to lift a similar ban in the United Kingdom. Government officials in London have stated that any moves to follow suit could not happen for several weeks. Broadcasters in the United Kingdom have attempted to get around the ban by using actors' voices dubbed over film of Sinn Fein activists whenever they appear on television or radio.

Dublin and London are taking these steps against the backdrop of the joint declaration signed by the two governments, December 15. The declaration claimed to be a "new beginning in the peace process" for Northern Ireland.

In fact, the joint declaration has made no difference in the lives of working people. Nor does it hold out even the promise of any reversal in the decades-long denial of democratic rights, or of the systematic discrimination of workers in Northern Ireland who are Catholic. Rather, its clauses codify the attempts of the capitalist rulers in Britain and

Ireland to safeguard the most effective conditions for the exploitation of labor after coming to the conclusion that it can no longer continue to rule Northern Ireland as it has been doing.

On the one hand, both capitalist classes have failed to break the resistance of working people in Ireland and impose their "solution" despite the deployment of troops by London and attacks on democratic rights by both governments. The British government, while more powerful than the ruling class in Ireland, finds itself in an increasingly weaker position in relation to its imperialist rivals and needs stability in Ireland in order to be able to turn its attention, and troops if necessary, to the continent.

Continued on Page 14



This largely Catholic working-class neighborhood in Londonderry, reflects systematic discrimination workers who are Catholic face in Northern Ireland. The campaign to lift broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein and against other restrictions on democratic rights by both London and Dublin can provide more political space to workers in their fight for Irish self-determination.

## Independence activists meet in Puerto Rico

BY SETH GALINSKY

MAYAGÜEZ, Puerto Rico — Four hundred activists in the fight for Puerto Rican independence attended a conference here January 10. The main slogan of the gathering was "Reaffirmation of our Puerto Rican Nationality."

"The Third Hostosian Conference," as it was called, is named for Eugenio María de Hostos, a leader in the fight for Puerto Rican and Cuban independence from Spanish colonialism in the 19th century. More than 1,000 people attended each of the first two conferences. The goal of the three gatherings, conference convenor Juan Mari Bras stated, is to pave the way for "a congress or unitary parliament of the patriotic movement."

The meeting took place just two months after residents of Puerto Rico voted in a plebiscite to choose between statehood, retaining Commonwealth status, or independence.

Forty-eight percent supported Commonwealth, 46 percent statehood, and 4 percent voted for independence. Some 74 percent of eligible voters participated in the poll.

The pro-independence parties were divided on the plebiscite. The New Independence Movement (NMI) (formerly the Puerto Rican Socialist Party), Common Cause (a new group led by Juan Mari Bras), and the Movement of Socialist Workers (MST) called for a boycott. The Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), the largest of the pro-independence organizations, actively campaigned for a vote supporting independence.

The NMI, Common Cause, and the MST are active participants in the Hostosian conferences. The national PIP leadership is not a part of the effort. Local elected officials of

the PIP, however, did attend the conference, as did some PIP representatives in the Puerto Rican Assembly.

Conference participant and long-time independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda, said in an interview, "We didn't participate in this farce [the plebiscite]. We consider it a farce because there cannot be a plebiscite or elections in a militarily occupied country."

"It's also impossible to have a free election," Cancel Miranda continued when "60 percent of the population depends on food stamps and where the major means of communication are manipulated by those who oppose freedom for our people."

Cancel Miranda saw the results of the plebiscite as a victory of sorts. "In spite of hundreds of years of colonialism, the people did not agree to annexation [statehood]. This shows that our people did not fall into the trap of committing suicide," he said.

Pro-independence sentiment seems to be highest among the youth. One junior high school student noted that several schools held straw polls. In her Catholic school, those backing independence narrowly lost to the pro-statehood forces. "At another school," she added, "the independentistas smashed their opponents."

At the start of the Mayagüez conference, Fufi Santori, leader of the Pro-Homeland National Union, explained his campaign to convince 1,000 people to renounce their U.S. citizenship by September 23, the anniversary of the Grito de Lares rebellion.

"Our biggest enemy is U.S. citizenship," he stated. "We're not interested in politics. The only way to advance is not negotiating with the North Americans, it's not speaking about plebiscites, it's by renouncing U.S. citizenship and adopting Puerto Rican citizenship."

While Santori's proposal was not discussed or voted on during the conference, it was debated by activists during the breaks and outside the conference sessions.

### Debate on U.S. citizenship

Many expressed sympathy with the idea, but not everyone saw it as a practical option. Twenty-one people signed up to "renounce" their citizenship and obtain Puerto Rican passports at the conference.

Guillermo Albino, a farm worker who spends half the year working the fields in New Jersey and is a leader of the farm worker organization known as CATA, said, "It's difficult to renounce citizenship. Many people must use it for economic reasons. However, as a symbolic act it can help bring attention to the fight for independence."

Norman Pietri wrote on this question in the January 7-13 edition of *Claridad*, a pro-independence weekly that reflects the views

of the New Independence Movement. "I disagree totally with the pseudo-vanguardist vision and I affirm on the contrary that although it's fine to renounce [citizenship], not doing so does not disqualify anyone from the struggle," he said.

"Bold acts are not necessarily correct ones," he continued, "and in the immediate past the independence fight has already been the victim of a variety of unproductive audacities."

While participants in the conference held a range of views on participation in the plebiscite and renunciation of U.S. citizenship, there was a general consensus on the need for "reaffirming our Puerto Rican nationality."

According to Apolinar Cintrón, a member of the Arecibo Patriotic Front, "reaffirming our nationality implies supporting independence."

"But we have to take a look at where things are at now," he said. "Even though statehood was defeated in the vote, it did win 46 percent."

"We saw in the outpouring of support to Puerto Rico's sports teams in the Central American and the Caribbean games that even people who support statehood feel pride in being Puerto Rican," Cintrón continued. "This is another way for us to take a step toward involving the Puerto Rican people."

The bulk of the Mayagüez meeting concentrated on electing a coordinating committee to plan for and set a date for the "Congress or Parliament." No other activities or demonstrations were planned.

In a discussion on "Areas of Work" a motion was proposed to add a point on defense of Puerto Rican political prisoners held in the United States. Dozens of independence activists are still incarcerated across the United States for their actions in support of freedom for Puerto Rico. The proposal was adopted unanimously.

None of the delegates at the event discussed during conference sessions Cuba's socialist revolution, its accomplishments, or the challenges Cuban people face today. But many participants expressed opposition to Washington's aggression against Cuba during informal discussion.

Members of the Committee in Solidarity with Cuba set up a table and sold dozens of T-shirts demanding an end to the U.S. trade embargo.

Organizers of the conference promoted an action to commemorate the 141st anniversary of the birth of José Martí, scheduled to take place January 28 at the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico.

Seth Galinsky is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2594 in Miami, Florida.

### For Further Reading

## IRELAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

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## MARX ENGELS

### Ireland and the Irish Question

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