

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

INSIDE

How gov't has used Hatch Act against working class

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VOL. 58 NO. 6 February 14, 1994

## 'Capitalism has nothing to offer humanity today'

Castro addresses solidarity conference in Cuba

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

HAVANA, Cuba — "On New Year's Day, when we reach the year 2000, we won't be able to greet each other with a 'happy new century,' not in Latin America or many other parts of the world," said Cuban president Fidel Castro at the closing of the Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Conference for Solidarity, Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and the Life of Our Peoples. "The reality that awaits us — which is manifest now before the turn of the century — is a reality of much effort and struggle."

Imperialist domination of Latin America and the Caribbean, said Castro, has produced "growing unemployment and poverty, lack of resources for education, health care, and housing, and increased marginalization of tens of thousands in all of our cities."

It will be impossible for the imperialist powers, however, the Cuban president said, "to govern this world . . . because they con-

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Militant/Jonathan Silberman

Cuban president Fidel Castro speaking at European solidarity meeting in December

## Mandela presents ANC proposals to workers in Transvaal, South Africa

BY BRIAN PUGH  
AND GREG ROSENBERG

POTCHEFSTROOM, South Africa — Tens of thousands of working people and youth turned out across the northwestern Transvaal region of South Africa January 30-31 to greet African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela. The ANC president's campaign tour began one day after the organization presented its election manifesto at meetings throughout the country. The elections in South Africa are scheduled for April 27-29.

Tumultuous crowds greeted Mandela along the length and breadth of this agricultural and mining region. The response to his speeches was particularly warm in the dusty, impoverished Black townships, where up to 20,000 turned out at stadiums to listen care-

fully to the ANC president hammer away at the violence plaguing South Africa, the threat of counterrevolution, and the program of the ANC to wipe out massive joblessness, landlessness, illiteracy, and other vestiges of the racist apartheid system.

"I am voting for the ANC!" said 19-year-old Thembaka Mbekeni, just before she dashed off with thousands of others to march behind Mandela's motorcade with chants and raised fists. "I want to live in a South Africa where there is no judgment of people by color. Black and white must live together and fight for freedom," she said.

At a rally in Ikageng township here, Mandela explained that "crime and violence have reached unacceptable levels" in South Africa. "Much of the culture of violence has its roots in the apartheid system." The ANC

president stated that 18,000 people have died in political violence since 1984. He appealed to ANC supporters not to engage in acts of retribution.

Mandela pointed to the South African police and the homeland security forces as having "failed to deliver even the minimum level of public safety and security" for the people of South Africa. He said that an ANC

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## Clinton talk: thinly veiled attack on working class

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Bill Clinton marked the end of his first year as president of the United States with a speech that won approval from both Democrats and Republicans for its thinly veiled attacks on working people. The dominant themes of Clinton's State of the Union address were family values, welfare reform, and the war on crime.

Columns in various big-business papers stated that the president had taken the "moral high ground" in his January 25 speech. *Wall Street Journal* commentator

### NEWS ANALYSIS

Albert Hunt wrote January 27, "From crime to welfare to personal responsibilities, Bill Clinton occupied what Republicans thought was their turf." Hunt was one of many who said Clinton's talk was reminiscent of former Republican president Ronald Reagan — both in style and in much of its content.

An editorial in the *New York Post* stated, "The President's emphasis on tough crime legislation — and on the urgent need to reform the welfare system — strikes us as encouraging."

But the policies Clinton outlined have nothing to do with morals from the point of view of workers. He uses the same type of rhetoric on "values" that the right wing does, and for the same reasons — to blame working people for economic and social problems and to break down human solidarity within the working class.

The anti-working-class character of Clinton's program shone through especially when he talked of getting "tough and smart" on crime, urging Congress to pass his so-called anticrime bill. The campaign around this package of antidemocratic measures — including greater use of the death penalty and boot camps for young people accused

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Militant/Brock Satter

Gold miners celebrating after returning from People's Forum in Rustenburg where they were ANC marshalls. Buildings in back are single-sex hostels where miners are housed.

### World Capitalist Politics in the '90s

'Downsizing,' 'Cultural War,' and Global Instability

by JACK BARNES

Miami  
Saturday, February 19  
7:30 pm

New York  
Saturday, March 5  
Time and Location  
to be announced

### Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism

Report back from a recent visit

by MARY-ALICE WATERS

Miami  
Saturday, February 19  
2:30 p.m.

New York  
Saturday, March 5  
Time and Location  
to be announced

Miami events are part of a weekend socialist educational conference that will include classes on the labor movement and the fight for women's rights. For more information see ad on page 12 or call (305) 756-1020. For more information on New York events call (212) 388-9346 or (718) 399-7257.





## Nationwide walkout in Spain

Spain's two largest trade unions announced 90 percent support for a nationwide walkout January 27. The General Workers' Union and the Workers Commissions called the strike last December after negotiations with the government on labor laws broke down. In an attempt to head off the strike, Spain's prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez, said he was willing to consider compromises on the legislation. Spain is in a deep recession with nearly one in four workers unemployed.

The government's laws would make layoffs easier for employers, allow the hiring of apprentices at less than minimum wage, and abolish a required one day off for every seven worked.

## Public workers strike in Portugal

Public-sector workers in Portugal conducted a 24-hour strike January 24 to protest a government proposal to limit 1994 pay increases to 2 percent. Union officials said the action was backed by up to 90 percent of public employees.

The action follows the collapse of efforts to negotiate a national wage pact between unions and employers. Union leaders stated that they were prepared to call a one-day general strike — involving both public and private sector workers — if the government refuses to negotiate a compromise on pay. The government's wage offer represents a cut in real earnings, given that the forecast inflation rate for 1994 is 6 percent.

## Croatian army enters Bosnia

Thousands of Croatian army troops, backed by tanks and helicopters, have been pouring into Bosnia to bolster the Bosnian Croat forces in central Bosnia. According to Haris Silajdzic, prime minister of the Muslim-led Bosnian government, about 12,000 Croatian army soldiers have entered Bosnia. He also stated that Yugoslav special forces are assisting Bosnian Serb forces in their military operations in eastern Bosnia.

Meanwhile, London suspended its official aid convoys throughout former Yugoslavia after a British aid driver was shot dead and two other soldiers were wounded in an attack in Zenica, in central Bosnia. The U.S. Senate January 28 passed a nonbinding resolution urging the Clinton administration to end the U.S. arms embargo against Bosnia.

## Finland joblessness

The unemployment rate in Finland is the highest it has been since World War II. According to the Labor Ministry, more than 536,000 people were out of work in December 1993, almost 22 percent of the workforce. In November the jobless rate stood at 20.3 percent.

Unemployment figures from the Labor Ministry aren't considered official in Finland. Official figures will be released in February by the Central Statistics Office.

## Protests in Romania

More than 1 million workers in Romania participated in a one-hour strike January 28. The workers are demanding higher wages and a better social security system.

Thousands of striking miners protested in Rovinari and Targu Jiu. Some 65,000 pit workers nationwide walked off their jobs demanding back pay from the cash-strapped government. The miners ended their week-long strike at the end of January, complying with a court order to return to work for at least 30 days.

## New president appointed in Algeria

Algeria's army-backed leadership appointed Defense Minister Liamine Zeroual as president January 30. Zeroual retains his defense portfolio and will have vastly enhanced powers over the previous five-member ruling council.

Nearly 2,000 people have been killed since January 1992, when the government canceled a general election, which the Islamic Salvation Front was expected to win. This group, which was subsequently banned, had won more than 80 percent of the seats in the first round of voting. The



Rocket fire and air strikes between opposing factions of the government in Afghanistan erupted again January 26. The fighting, which pits President Burhanuddin Rabbani's army against the forces of Prime Minister Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, has forced tens of thousands of people to flee the capital city of Kabul since January 1.

batteries to South Korea. The U.S. government already maintains 36,000 troops in the country, posing a threat to the North. U.S. officials continue to complain that the North Korean government will not allow detailed inspection of its nuclear facilities. The administration said it will push for economic sanctions if ongoing inspection talks do not meet Washington's demands. The U.S. government has already stepped up spy flights over North Korea.

## Vietnam embargo

By a 62-to-38 vote, the U.S. Senate passed a non-binding resolution January 27 urging the lifting of a 19-year trade embargo against Vietnam. Washington, which waged a decade-long war against that country, first imposed sanctions on North Vietnam in 1964. It extended the embargo to the entire country in 1975 after losing the war. Hanoi estimates it would need \$40 billion in investment to rebuild its infrastructure and double economic output by the year 2,000. Washington has never paid a dime in reconstruction aid promised to Vietnam at the time of the 1973 signing of a peace agreement with Hanoi.

U.S. businesses are anxiously awaiting the go-ahead to begin trading with Vietnam. There are currently 35 U.S. companies with offices in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. Mobil Corp. already has permission to explore for oil. But the trade ban forbids the production or sale of any oil discovered. Other U.S. companies also predict large profits from a potential market of 70 million consumers.

## Visa granted to Irish activist

The Clinton administration agreed January 30 to grant a visa to Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin, a legal political party in Ireland that opposes the British occupation of Northern Ireland and the partition of that country. Adams was invited to participate in a February 1 conference on the conflict in Ireland organized by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. U.S. government officials set restrictions on his visit. He will have to leave February 2, he cannot do any fund-raising and cannot travel more than 25 miles from New York City. Clinton refused a visa to Adams last April, breaking a promise made during his 1992 election campaign.

— PAT SMITH

country has been put on an indefinite state of emergency, with a night curfew on much of the country.

## General strike in Kashmir

Supporters of independence for Kashmir organized a general strike January 28 to protest attacks by Indian soldiers on a crowded market a day earlier. At least 22 people were killed when soldiers fired indiscriminately at shoppers in Kupwara.

## Miners killed in India fire

At least 55 miners are feared dead in the worst mining disaster in India in nearly 20 years. Toxic fumes from an underground coal fire, 50 times the fatal level, filled the shaft of the New Kenda colliery near Asansol, about 130 miles northwest of Calcutta.

The disaster revived calls for better safety standards in the industry. The *Times of India* reported that accidents claimed the lives of 149 miners in 1992.

## Clinton sends missiles to S. Korea

The Clinton administration announced plans January 25 to send Patriot antimissile

## THE MILITANT

On-the-scene coverage  
from South Africa

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## The Militant

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Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Managing Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Sara Lobman, Greg Rosenberg, Pat Smith, Brian Williams.

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

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# Gov't officials step up attacks on workers in aftermath of Los Angeles earthquake

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Two weeks after the earthquake here, more than 13,000 people are still living in parks and emergency tent shelters.

Federal officials estimate that 36,000 housing units are damaged or destroyed.

With key freeway areas crippled by the quake, commuting to work — hard enough before — has become a nightmare that will not end soon.

The disaster has hit working people especially hard. Most of those in the parks and shelters are workers, many of them immigrants.

Some politicians are using the earthquake as an excuse to launch a racist campaign against these workers.

"I want the people of California to understand that hundreds of millions of dollars that should be going to them is instead going to illegal aliens and it's absolutely outrageous," U.S. Representative Dana Rohrabacher declared.

## Attacks on immigrant rights

The Republican congressman said he will sponsor a federal budget amendment prohibiting all but emergency assistance to undocumented immigrants. The House Appropriations Committee approved such an amendment to its earthquake relief bill February 1.

Rohrabacher was speaking at a January 28 news conference held across the street from an office where hundreds of earthquake victims had been in line for as long as 10 hours to apply for food stamps. "When I walked down the street I didn't hear anyone speaking English," he complained.

Pat Nolan, a California state assembly-

man, spoke on the same platform. Undocumented immigrants "should be relocated back to their home country — that's a humanitarian thing," he said. Nolan had introduced a bill that day that would cut off state assistance to undocumented workers.

While immigrants have come under special target, the government has also gone after other working people affected by the quake.

Officials halted a program that provided immediate food stamps to any earthquake victim who said they needed the assistance. Under the new rules, applicants must wait three days while their claim is investigated. The government asserts this measure is needed to stop fraudulent claims.

The emergency food stamp offices were shut down for a day after five men were arrested for allegedly buying the coupons from quake victims. When food stamp distribution resumed January 31, only 16 of 29 offices were reopened. Officials said this was so police forces could be more concentrated for "crowd control."

## 'The message is don't come here'

Government and relief officials are trying to make the tent camps as inhospitable as possible, in order to pressure earthquake victims to return to their homes or find other shelter. "We are cutting down to a minimal distribution of items," Patti Hunter, a Salvation Army cadet who is managing an encampment of 1,200 refugees in Lanark Park, told a *New York Times* reporter.

"There used to be trucks coming in and throwing things off the back," Hunter said, "but we've stopped that. The message is, if your home is safe, don't come here."

Distribution of cots to those staying in the



Residents of Los Angeles waiting on line for food and water. With an estimated 36,000 housing units damaged or destroyed, disaster has hit working people the hardest.

park has been halted, forcing many people to sleep on the ground in musty tents. Breakfast at the camp is limited to cold food.

"They say the apartments are all right, but once you go up there the walls are all cracked and the floor creaks when you walk around," said Sandra Carpio, who is camping in Lanark Park. "Even our landlord is sleeping out here."

Others explained they were afraid to go back to their damaged homes because of continuing aftershocks, some of which were substantial earthquakes in their own right.

A city building department official said, "The newer buildings in the city did not suffer the damage the older ones did."

A *Los Angeles Times* computer analysis confirmed that two-thirds of the buildings declared unsafe so far were built before added earthquake safety codes went into effect following a big 1971 tremor.

Only 40 percent of Los Angeles residents have earthquake coverage. And for most of those the 10 percent deductible — \$15,000 on a \$150,000 home — means they'll never get a cent.

## Crisis in housing, transportation

"Housing losses will be large and concentrated in multifamily structures," wrote Mary Comerio, vice chair of the architecture department at the University of California, Berkeley.

Comerio, a specialist on disaster-related housing issues, emphasized, "The real estate market will never replace affordable housing and will be slow to rebuild market-rate rental housing."

That's not to say housing doesn't exist. The area is in an ongoing recession, which has meant a high vacancy rate in rental units. And a slump in tourism has increased vacancy rates in hotels too.

Home foreclosures in the San Fernando Valley, where the quake was centered, "are going to go up astronomically," said real estate company owner Dale Fay. There were a record 3,650 foreclosures in the valley in 1993 — 20 times more than in 1990.

The earthquake also precipitated a crisis in transportation. Key sections of the freeway system crumbled in the tremor. Residents in the northern part of Los Angeles county trying to get to work in the city are choked by gridlock. Some are finding it takes two hours to move 10 miles.

In response to this situation, Mayor Richard Riordan has come up with a "radical" plan.

His scheme goes as follows: Offer new incentives to car poolers. Stagger work hours. Allow angle parking in some areas. Raise fines for parking violations. And — a major proposal — encourage companies to provide employees with telecomputers so they can do their work from home.

For the past several years work has been in progress to expand the area's public transportation system. But the system being developed is clearly intended to augment, not replace, the freeways, which were choked to overload before the quake.

Riordan's program is to keep cars as the basic means of transportation, with a transit system that will ease the overload.

Los Angeles was not always dependent on the freeways. Before World War II, the city and surrounding area were served by what was then the world's largest mass transit electric rail system. Pacific Electric operated 3,000 trains, carrying 80 million people a year.

This system was deliberately destroyed by automaker General Motors, Standard Oil, and other corporations that stood to gain from replacing it with a transport system based on private cars and GM buses.

# U.S. rulers lift travel ban on Canadian worker

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO — The democratic right of workers to travel from one country to another was strengthened last December when Communist League leader John Steele was taken off the U.S. government's "lookout list." Steele, a Canadian citizen, had been excluded from the United States solely because of his political views since August 1964. Tens of thousands of people from all over the world, including up to 4,000 Canadians, continue to face similar violations of their right to travel to the United States.

In a letter to Steele's lawyer, Claudia Slovinsky, dated December 10, Karen Stanton, chief of the Written Inquiries Branch of the Visa Office of the U.S. State Department, wrote, "We are pleased to inform you that Mr. Steele's name has been removed from our lookout system. We have notified the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the U.S. Customs Service of our action and have requested that his name also be deleted from the INS system and or TECS system." The socialist's attorney had submitted an application to remove Steele from the blacklist under recently enacted legislation.

"The U.S. has been forced to back down on the exclusion of foreigners based on their ideas. Letting John Steele and others like him into the United States results in the free flow of all kinds of ideas, something we should have had all along," Slovinsky said.

"This is a victory for all working people, union activists, and defenders of democratic rights," said Steele who is a member of the International Association of Machinists. "The capitalist rulers in both Canada and the United States have fostered the myth about the Canada/U.S. border being the world's longest undefended border."

"This may be true for the ruling rich. But for hundreds of thousands of working people, particularly immigrants from the Third World, Blacks, union and political activists, and other fighters for social justice, the Canada-U.S. border is a nightmare of harassment and victimization at the hands of the immigration cops on both sides of the border."

## INS victimization

Steele's fight with the INS began in Minneapolis in 1963 where he was a graduate student at the University of Minnesota. Like many other students at that time he became politically active under the impact of the Cuban revolution, the civil rights struggle,



Militant/Helen Nelson  
Communist League leader John Steele

and the developing Vietnam War. Steele joined the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party at the university.

On July 7, 1964, the political activist received a letter from the INS informing him that his student visa would not be extended for another year. Despite protests from university faculty, he was ordered to leave by August 4 with his wife and newborn son.

INS officials told Steele he threatened the "security interests of the United States," and that he had no legal right to appeal.

Because the sweeping exclusions were an embarrassment to many capitalist politicians in the United States, the "ideological" provisions of the immigration act were dropped in June 1991. In September of that year the U.S. Congress adopted legislation requiring removal of some 300,000 names from the secret lists within a three-year period. The law enables those who are on the list solely for their views to apply to have their names removed. But thousands who are not aware they are on the list, as well as others who have been labeled "terrorists" or drug dealers, remain barred.

For its part, since 1992 Ottawa has been installing what it claims is the most advanced technology in the world for its border cops. Using a scanner linked to a central

computer in Ottawa, the Primary Automated Lookout System (known as PALS Highway) can read a license plate and decide in six seconds whether a vehicle belongs to what the government calls a "high risk" traveler.

"Working people need to be able to travel freely across borders to be able to collaborate in the international fight to defend ourselves against the ravages of the capitalist depression," said Steele. "The continuing restrictions that target working-class fighters along the Canada-U.S. border and above all the U.S. travel ban that prevents U.S. citizens from visiting revolutionary Cuba are aimed at preventing this collaboration. These violations of the right to travel need to be fought by the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights everywhere."

Since his expulsion from the United States, Steele has been denied entry to the country numerous times. No official reason was ever given. Border guards on various occasions interrogated him about his political views, stating he was "undesirable" or "not admissible" under U.S. law. If he entered the United States, Steele was told repeatedly, he would subject himself to "arrest and deportation, and possible criminal prosecution."

## Blacklist legislation

Steele's exclusion was carried out under the McCarran-Walter Act, enacted by the U.S. government in 1952 to bar "ideologically unacceptable" people from entering the country.

Under this act Washington has denied entry to the United States to such noted authors as Gabriel García Márquez and Graham Greene; French actor, Yves Montand; Italian playwright Dario Fo; political leaders, including Daniel Ortega, former president of Nicaragua, and Yasir Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization; and countless individuals deemed to hold subversive ideas or suspected of membership in left-wing political organizations.

In Canada, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau was once on the blacklist because of a trip to China in his youth. In 1989, author Farley Mowat was denied entry as was James Hunter, then president of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers. According to an article in the *Montreal Gazette*, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) often help the U.S. government finger Canadians for their political activities.



# 'We have fought and defeated apartheid gov't and its policy of racial oppression'

Nelson Mandela speaks at forum of journalists and broadcasting workers

Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, delivered the speech below on January 21 at the studios of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

Attended by more than 500 journalists and television and radio workers, Mandela's speech capped off a People's Forum. These forums are being organized throughout South Africa by the ANC and its allies as a place where workers, rural laborers, youth, and others can express their views leading up to the April elections.

Mandela was joined on the platform by Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity; Jay Naidoo, former general-secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); and other ANC leaders.

During the discussion period, people asked what the ANC would do about a tyrannical management, the ANC's affirmative action policies, and whether there would be government control or influence on the press after the elections, which the ANC is widely favored to win. For decades, explained those who took the microphone, the apartheid government had exercised political control over the SABC, which encompasses both radio and television programming.

One of the last speakers, a cleaning worker, got a big round of applause when she demanded the SABC management sign a contract with the cleaners, who are subcontracted by the company.

The transcript of the speech is from a tape recording made by a *Militant* reporting team in South Africa. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

\* \* \*

Comrades and friends,

The time allocated for this debate is very short. Normally we allocate between two to three hours for a forum of this nature so that everybody, or as many as possible should have the opportunity of expressing their fears and concerns. But we are bound to use the time that has been given us. And I must apologize that those who are in charge of

the forum have exceeded the time given to us. Because that can put some of you under a great deal of strain.

Firstly, I should like to indicate to you the spirit in which we have arranged this forum.

We regard the mass media generally, and public broadcasting in particular, as one of the essential elements of democracy. We use the mass media for the purpose of seeing and assessing our own work as public figures. Unless we have the mirror which can faithfully and fearlessly criticize our

Many of those who have spoken here were produced by the resistance movement, in which our task was to criticize the policy of racial oppression in this country. It was correct that we should do so. And it is correct that we should continue to criticize and condemn and to fight the vestiges of apartheid. But that should only be the beginning of our task.

Our task now is to get involved in addressing the socioeconomic problems facing our people. This includes the lack of housing; unemployment, which stands at 50 per-

we must address. To fail to do so would be a betrayal to all our predecessors who have sacrificed in order to ensure that the day of liberation comes. That day is intended to put a government in power which is going to address the basic needs of our people. And it is here that after we have criticized, we should now be able to take the concrete steps to address these problems.

## Free and independent mass media

In that regard, we need a free and independent mass media, an independent broadcaster like the SABC. But it should be totally independent of all political parties. It's no use talking about the mass media as the ground level of democracy if the mass media is not going to operate freely and be able to criticize everybody from the head of state down to the person in the street.

Secondly, all journalists should have the widest opportunity of editorial freedom, of being able to express themselves freely on any issue. If we don't have that editorial freedom, we cannot say that the mass media is a cornerstone of democracy.

Now, both as a party and a government, we are committed to these principles. And on a number of occasions I have made this commitment public. What we say now we intend to honor if and when you place us in power.

Now the policy that I have outlined here on public broadcasting should be defined by a board which is equally independent. We fought together with you here in the campaign for independent

broadcasting, which involved a wide range of organizations both from the liberation movement and in other sectors of our life. We made sure that an independent selection body was set up, consisting of South Africans of integrity.

We encountered opposition, steep opposition from the government. But we insisted, and that selection board was put up. It set up a board of 35. But Mr. de Klerk, contrary to an agreement which I concluded with him, decided to reject seven of those members on the ground that they were members of the ANC. I then told him that I wanted us to go to the United States to receive that award as a united partnership of leaders. And I said to him that we should speak with one voice there because we want investments.

When he dismissed seven of the members of the new board, I went to him and I said, "Put them back now." He said, "I haven't got the legal powers to do so. Once I have dismissed them my powers are finished, I can't do anything." I then said to him, "Now you must understand that when we go the United States of America you will be on your own."

## 'De Klerk is not the president'

I refused to go with him to the White House to see President Clinton. Then we addressed a press conference together. And one journalist said, "What's your relation with the president of South Africa sitting next to you there?" I said, "Mr. de Klerk is not the president of South Africa. He is the president of the whites. The president of South Africa will be elected by all the people of South Africa." It was painful for me to say so, because when we negotiate we want to support one another and to speak with the utmost respect, even though we don't agree.

But when a man breaks an agreement he is entitled to be condemned. Incidentally, President de Klerk has challenged me to a debate. And only the other day I met him together with some of his cabinet ministers. I said to him, "I accept your challenge. But I want you to know the



South African Broadcasting Corporation workers raise their opinions at January 21 People's Forum

Militant/Brian Pugh

actions, it is not possible for us to be truly committed to the principles of a democratic society.

It is in that spirit that we have come to take part in this forum and to listen to your views. Further, I want to say, one of the most difficult things in society is to move that society from one position to the other. It requires a great deal of commitment to truth, to courage, and to have the vision. And we are facing that problem in this country today.

cent of the economically active part of our population; and lack of education, hospitals, clinics, electricity, roads, running water, sports facilities, and theaters. These are the basic needs of our people.

And one of the problems we have, which again illustrates how difficult it is to move society from one place to the other, is the problem of being able to be up front in addressing these socioeconomic problems.

The problem of affirmative action is one

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implications of that debate.

"I am not going to have a school boy debate. I am going to debate national issues." And I said, "One of us will emerge from that debate badly bruised. It will not be me."

We are aware of the disabilities which blacks in this organization [SABC] suffer. We are aware, for example, as far as staffing is concerned that 73 percent are whites and only 27 percent are blacks in a country where whites constitute only 15 percent of the population and blacks 85 percent. That is the condition in this organization.

We are aware that whites constitute 94 percent of top management, whereas blacks are 6 percent. That is a situation we cannot tolerate. It must be changed. And the only way of changing it is through affirmative action.

We are also aware that some of you want to leave the service. I urge you not to leave,

## **"It is our duty to supply affirmative action and to make sure this country is not plunged into bloodshed..."**

but to remain and to play a role in this transformation. You have the skills, you have the expertise, in comparison to the rest of the black population. And you are going to be our vanguard in trying to bring about changes in this organization.

I want to tell a story which I have told on countless occasions before. There was a house which was haunted by evil spirits. The owner tried everything that he knew to get rid of the spirits. And he gave up. He then decided to collect all his belongings, put them on a horse wagon and trek to go and settle in a far away land in order to free himself of these evil spirits. Along the way, he met a friend, who said, "Comrade, where are you going to?" And before he answered, a voice came from the wagon: "We are trekking."

And we say, you must remain and fight with us. We have fought many battles. And you also have fought many battles. We have achieved these results not just because of the fight by the ANC. We are part of a larger group of organizations in the liberation movement, in the churches, in business, in the international community. We have all contributed to this fight and to the victory that has been achieved. All of us must remain together trying to spread the message of peace and unity in order to bring about this new South Africa. A South Africa which should accommodate the fears and concerns of all other groups.

Affirmative action we are going to embark upon. And we have put forward the perspective of a government of national unity where agreement is going to be by consensus. In these years of negotiations, in which we have been since 1986, we have tried to make progress through consensus. On hardly any occasions in the negotiations council have we used the vote, although at one time there were 26 political parties pulling in different directions, with different backgrounds. Nevertheless, we used the art of persuasion and were able to make progress.

We now have the Transitional Executive Council, which is taking over the powers of government. We have a new constitution, which lifts the hopes and aspirations of all South Africans. We now have the 27th of April. And I hope that you will all regard that as a day of liberation. Not just as a day of the first-ever democratic elections in the country, but as a day of liberation.

Those blacks who say they are not going to participate are in fact saying: We don't want liberation; we want to continue to be under the rule of the white minority. We

hope that you will rally on the 27th of April and vote.

If a small party tries to undermine the ability of the government to address these basic needs, we will use majority rule without hesitation.

It is our duty, while supplying affirmative action, to take into account the concerns and fears of the minority. It is our duty to make sure that this country is not plunged into bloodshed after the 27th of April — frightening away investments, keeping 50 percent of the population without jobs, without housing, and all the other amenities I have referred to. So we must address the fears and concerns of the minority.

And one of the challenges is the demand by the right wing, by the ultraright, for a separate Volkstaat [homeland]. I have made very clear and categorical statements in the past that on no occasion will we ever accept that demand in that form.

### **We have fought against ethnic solutions**

We have fought for more than 80 years against ethnic solutions. We have defeated the Bantustan system and the tricameral Parliament. We have a clause in our constitution, which buries the Bantustan system, abolishes it, and incorporates all those areas into South Africa.

Even the government, which is the only body in the world which recognizes the Bantustans, has now agreed that they should come back.

Now the ultraright is saying, "We must have a separate state. We want to rule ourselves." All the time they were happy to rule us! Now that the challenge comes from us, from blacks, they want a separate state. We will never concede to that.

We must find some way of accommodating the fears and concerns of minority groups. You have seen what has happened in our neighboring states — in Angola, in Mozambique. You had some fellows who were hardly known in the villages where they were born who came up and opposed an established government. And those governments said, "We are not going to deal with bandits. We are going to crush them. We opt for a military solution."

Look at what has happened to those countries. Mozambique was reduced to ashes. Because in this world there are powerful reactionaries who have the resources. And when somebody stands up and opposes a government they will get resources from those conservative groups. They will get technology and so forth. And so people who were hardly known in their villages became important figures and reduced their country into ashes.

### **'The ultraright is strong'**

In facing this situation, you must remember that the ultraright is strong. In the last general election in 1989 they polled no less than 500,000 votes. The Afrikaner community was split from top to bottom. And what saved Mr. de Klerk was the fact that the English votes were given to him. Otherwise the Afrikaner community was split.

Then the whites had a referendum in March 1992. Again, Mr. de Klerk won his government. But the ultraright won close to a million votes. They got more than 800,000.

They have a powerful, substantial following in the civil service, in the army, in the police, and in other quarters. Their specialists are deployed in important strategic installations in this country. Now when we were operating as Umkhonto we Sizwe, in comparison to the South African Defence Force [SADF], we were small, inexperienced.



ANC president Nelson Mandela addresses the meeting

Militant/Brian Pugh

enced. We didn't know the country very well because of the limitations imposed on us by apartheid.

The government deployed the South African Defence Forces to protect installations. Nevertheless, we were able to hit when we wanted, in spite of our small numbers and lack of experience. But we are now dealing with a different situation — people who know the country, who are trained, who are specialists. They can derail any democratic government in this country.

To acknowledge this does not mean that we are cowards. We will deal with them if they become violent. There must be no doubt about that — we will deal with them. When a democratic government is in power, we won't allow the SABC, as it did with Radio Pretoria, to lease them their equipment. That equipment they are using came from the SABC. You can shake your head my friend, but that is a fact. You must know that we have an efficient intelligence service. We have contacts with the very people who are responsible for Radio Pretoria, Radio Koppies, Radio Vryheid. There is even a press report tonight that the SADF has actually given equipment to Radio Pretoria. That we will not allow.

But we must address the fears of minorities. And what I am saying to them is, "we will not accept this demand, but we are prepared to discuss a solution. We are prepared to address your fears and concerns. And I would like you to support this to save our country from unnecessary bloodshed."

## **"Our task now is to get involved in addressing the socioeconomic problems facing our people..."**

We have now lost more than 16,000 innocent people as a result of this violence. We will lose far more if an outbreak of violence takes place after the 27th of April. We must try and avoid that."

I have warned the leaders of the ultraright — both Ferdi Hartzenberg and Gen. [Constand] Viljoen, and Dries Bruwer, who is the chairperson of the Transvaal Agricultural Union with whom I have been talking — not to hold a gun at our faces, at our heads.

### **'You must negotiate with us'**

[I have pointed out to them that] "we are the strongest political voice in this country. We have fought and defeated your government and its policy of racial oppression. You want to cling to failed policies. That will not happen in this country. But you must negotiate with us. And be patient as well." We have taken about nine years to reach this breakthrough. Many of you

think that these negotiations started on the 2nd of February [1990], when Mr. de Klerk made the statement. No.

Mr. de Klerk was responding to the pressures which had been put by the liberation movement, by the international community, by our people here. And in particular to the initiative which was taken by the ANC in July 1986 when I was in prison. I went to the government and said, "Sir, what is the excuse for us slaughtering one another, when we could sit down as South Africans to address our problem?"

It took us four years, three years before I could meet with P.W. Botha, before we could sit down as the executive

committee of the ANC and the government. And I said many of us have spent close to 30 years in jail. We have come out to negotiate patiently. Ferdi Hartzenberg says, "Look, Mr. Mandela, we must have this settlement before Christmas, by December. Otherwise there's going to be trouble."

And I said, "You don't understand the implications of your own demand. We are not autocrats. I am one among a collection of able and talented leaders. I have no authority to dictate to the organization."

You must attend one of the meetings of our National Executive. Here, they call me president and so on. They respect me. They don't do so when we are discussing [in the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC)]. And I said to Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg, "We have to place this matter before the officials. If they approve, we have to go to the National Working Committee. If the National Working Committee approves, we have to go to the NEC. And if they approve, we have to go to the National Conference. You don't understand the implications of your own demand when you say we must reach a settlement before December. That we're not going to do."

However, our strongest weapon as the ANC and the democratic movement is dialogue. We know that we have got a powerful case. And that is why we are coming to you. Because it is only if you have this criticism, you have the right to criticize, that we can be stronger. We are here to serve you. And I said to Ferdi Hartzenberg, "You don't understand the workings of our organization."

We have been patient in spite of the fact that we have been in jail for many years. We want you to be patient. And I want you therefore to support us, very fully, in trying to settle for a solution with the ultraright.

Finally, I want to say that I hope you understand that the ANC is committed to democratic principles. In spite of the angry youth that you find in the townships, we are committed to the culture of political tolerance. We are prepared to discuss with a wide variety of political organizations because it is only through dialogue that we can change one another. And I would like you therefore to help entrench this culture of political tolerance.

Can I end up again with a statement that I have made before? A person who does what all others can do is a normal person. A person who does what only a few others can do is exceptional. But a person who does what no other has ever done is a genius, a national asset, an institution. Today, we want men and women who are national assets, who are institutions. And listening to all the questions that you have put here, we have geniuses here, people who are national assets, people who are institutions, and who are going to bring about the new South Africa of our dreams. I thank you.



# S. Africa

Continued from front page

government would create a racially and gender representative police force that is "effective and has the confidence of the people."

During the two-day campaign tour, Mandela was accompanied by Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise, National Executive Committee members Carl Niehaus and Rocky Molebane, and the regional leadership of the ANC in the western Transvaal. The ANC president addressed gatherings in six languages — English, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, and Sotho. A whirlwind schedule saw a People's Forum at Rustenburg, on the Bophuthatswana border; mass rallies at Jouberton township and Potchefstroom; a large community meeting of mostly Indians and so-called Coloureds at Promosa; and a tour and rally at Boskop agricultural training center here.

The ANC plans to take its election program to all the people of South Africa. The platform is entitled "Working Together for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom." It calls for creating a democratic constitution and bill of rights, new economic opportunities for Blacks, implementing a national public works program to provide jobs, building houses and a public infrastructure, guaranteeing workers' right to organize and strike, land reform through a Land Claims Court, compulsory education for all children, free health care for children under five, and a rigorous affirmative action campaign.

## Meetings launch ANC manifesto

The January 29 meetings to launch the election manifesto took place across the country. The Natal regional rally in Durban, was attended by thousands of supporters, mostly youth. The meeting was addressed by NEC member Valli Moosa; ANC regional chair of South Natal Jeff Radebe; and nominee for premiership of Natal Jacob Zuma. Zuma recently won the nomination over Harry Gwala. Moosa, a member of the ANC team negotiating with the right-wing



Participants in an ANC-sponsored People's Forum in Olympia Stadium in Rustenburg, on the border of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan. Many residents attended the event despite roadblocks set up by the homeland police. Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Freedom Alliance, said, "Even at this late date, we may make changes to accommodate the right wing." As to how far they will go he continued, "We cannot move away from a democratic, nonracial society" after the elections.

Negotiations between the ANC, the South African government of National Party leader F.W. de Klerk, and the Freedom Alliance are continuing. The Freedom Alliance includes Mangosutho Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and the Conservative Party. The Alliance insists that the upcoming elections should include a double election in which voters would cast separate ballots for regional and national parliaments.

Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu and Buthelezi met in Johannesburg January 28 and agreed to jointly

demand the double ballot.

During the tour of western Transvaal, Mandela explained that "the Freedom Alliance is asking for an independent Volkstaat [homeland] that will represent the Boer [Afrikaner] community. And they will not get it as far as we are concerned."

He explained that those Afrikaners who wish to do so can make their views known in the elections, and that any other questions will be decided by South Africa's constituent assembly after the election.

According to the January 31 *Citizen*, Afrikaner People's Front leader Gen. Constand Viljoen told a large meeting of rightists January 29 that "If we want a Volkstaat before April 27, we would have to seize it violently..." The paper reported that the crowd chanted "Now, now."

Mandela appealed to the right "not to do anything which will drag our country into a conflict which will result in the deaths of any innocent people, black or white."

The Bophuthatswana homeland government of Lucas Mangope has carried out a campaign of intimidation and repression against ANC supporters. Many miners and residents walked up to 30 kilometers [18.6 miles] to hear Mandela at Rustenburg. Homeland police set up roadblocks to prevent ANC supporters from attending the meeting.

## Homeland authorities block ANC rally

Homeland authorities also prevented ANC election rallies from taking place at Bophuthatswana University in Mmabatho January 30. ANC leaders were denied access to the campus while roadblocks were set up to prevent attendance.

Residents questioned Mandela on what the ANC was doing about Mangope's actions. The ANC president explained that "no agreement of any kind has been reached with Mangope" in meetings between the ANC and the homeland president. "Mangope is fighting a losing battle," Mandela said, pointing to the official's attempts to prevent residents of Bophuthatswana from participating in the elections. "The TEC [Transitional Executive Council] is now the leading authority in Bophuthatswana. He [Mangope] has only three months to lead Bophuthatswana. And not more," Mandela added. The TEC is responsible for overseeing preparations for the elections. As such, it has assumed increasing governmental power over a range of affairs, including law and order, defense, intelligence, finance, regional and local government, foreign affairs, and the status of women. It may take until after the elections for the TEC to enforce its authority, the ANC president said.

"Our people in Bophuthatswana will be able to vote on April 27," Mandela added. The TEC has suspended a 216 million rand (U.S.\$64 million) loan until there is free political activity in the homeland. Mandela continued, "We will deal with Bophuthatswana. Don't you worry about that."

A key plank of the ANC election manifesto is establishing nationwide, nonracial education. "The human potential of our country," said Mandela at Ikageng Stadium, "has been wasted, dissipated, and destroyed." He called for "regenerating a cul-

ture of learning" to develop human potential. This, he said, would require an investment of 23 billion rand.

Giant gold mines dot the horizon around Khuma township. Thousands of miners and their families jammed Khuma stadium and listened keenly to Mandela's comments on the ANC's demands regarding mineral wealth beneath the soil.

## 'The state will own these minerals'

"The gold and diamonds underground are our wealth," said the ANC president. "It belongs to all the people of South Africa. The state which will be representing you will own these minerals." Mandela said he was not proposing nationalization, but a situation analogous to Canada or Australia, where, he said, the mineral wealth belongs to the state. Up until two years ago, mining companies in South Africa leased mineral rights. Mandela said that when the conglomerates began to fear a democratic government, they collaborated with the apartheid regime to privatize the lands. "We are going to put an end to that," said Mandela, who pointed out that no less than 750,000 workers are employed in the mines of South Africa.

The *Militant* reporting team followed a bus filled with miners from one rally site to another January 30, and passed through an enormous gold mining compound where thousands of miners are housed in single-sex hostels, far away from their families.

At one hostel, a dozen miners hopped off the bus, unfurled an ANC banner, and began an impromptu march, singing, chanting, and *toy-toying* from the hostel toward a nearby soccer field.

At Khuma, Mandela explained the ANC's call for affirmative action and said, "We are going to use state power to put an end to monopolies that favor one minority in this country." But, he said, "We're not going to promote blacks [to management] in order to exploit their black brothers. We want [employers] to know that they can't exploit workers — black or white." At each meeting he explained that when he talked about Blacks, he was speaking of all non-whites in South Africa — Africans, Indians, and those classified by the apartheid regime as Coloureds.

Thousands of spirited supporters of the ANC at the Jouberton rally chanted "Down with de Klerk!" Mandela reaffirmed the position of the ANC toward the National Party campaign. "Even amongst ourselves, as bitter as we are, we want fairness," he said. "Even those parties that have treated us with such cruelty, they deserve a chance to put forward their own point of view."

"It is only through your votes you make the next government of this country a democratic government," Mandela stated. "If you want to continue living in wretched poverty as you do, without food, without clothing, without getting the things that you'd like in life, then you must go to your homes and sleep. If you want to succeed in changing the way in which you live, from now on you have to work hard. Every one of you must have a [voters] I.D.," the ANC president stated.

## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY DUANE STILWELL

**Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the writings and speeches of working-class and communist leaders of the worldwide struggles against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.**

The January issue of *Library Journal* debuts its semiannual review of Spanish-language books and features two Pathfinder titles. "No self-respecting ethnic studies program or library can afford to be without this," says Ricardo Aguilar, in his review of *Habla Malcolm X*. Aguilar points out that *Habla Malcolm X* is the most extensive collection of Malcolm X's speeches in Spanish.

In her critique of *Intensifiquemos la lucha* (Intensify the struggle) by Nelson Mandela, Molly Molloy wrote, "Pathfinder continues an excellent tradition of providing Spanish translations of the works and speeches of world leaders in national liberation struggles. . . . The book is well documented. . . . Recommended for libraries serving Spanish-speaking populations."

A call by a Pathfinder sales representative to the Cleveland school district's administration resulted in appointments for 15-minute presentations before monthly meetings of public school librarians, affording Pathfinder the opportunity to reach all public school librarians in the city at once.

Volunteers at the Morgantown Pathfinder Bookstore sold 4 copies of *Mother Jones Speaks* at a Coal Futures Conference held at West Virginia University.

Participants at the December 4-7 Afri-

can Students Association Conference in Boston purchased more than \$750 worth of literature from supporters of the Pathfinder bookstore in that city. Titles included 18 copies of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* and 11 copies of *Women's Liberation and the African Freedom Struggle* by Thomas Sankara.

Pathfinder bookstore volunteers are sending in encouraging year-end reports. The 1993 sales for the store in Seattle topped \$4,300. Bookstore supporters in Salt Lake City report sales of more than \$4,200 worth of literature and volunteers at the Pathfinder bookstore in Reykjavik, Iceland, sold \$1,466 worth of titles in 1993. The Pathfinder Mural bookstore, at the foot of Pathfinder's six-story mural in Manhattan, had its best month ever in December, selling more than \$1,360.

"Anyone involved in the wider trade union and labour movement should find this account of the 1989-91 International Association of Machinists strike against the union busting efforts of Frank Lorenzo instructive," writes Chris Green in his review of *The Eastern Airlines Strike*, which appeared in the December issue of the *T & G Record*, published by the Transport and General Workers Union in Britain.

Another review of the book in the Canadian publication *Labour/Le Travail*, by Alex Kondra of the University of Alberta, notes that "The *Daily News* and the Eastern Airlines strikes were held out as examples of labour solidarity and the various authors spin a convincing tale how the working class can deal a serious blow to firms who attempt to thwart the objectives of the labour movement."



# Residents condemn living conditions in S. Africa townships

BY BROCK SATTER

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — "We want a South Africa that is free of racial discrimination, where all people are equal," said a resident of the "SWAPO B" squatter camp. The camp, named after the South West African People's Organization of Namibia, is near Pietermaritzburg, in the Natal Midlands. Eight men were discussing the squalid conditions that apartheid has assigned to them.

"I have six children and no job," said one. "I have nothing for myself and nothing to give my children," said another resident. Jobs, housing, health care, and education were the problems these men cited as most pressing. "In this entire area there is no school for our children," one resident said.

During its 3-week stay in South Africa, a *Militant* reporting team visited several different townships and squatter camps, where the majority of the 30 million Blacks in South Africa live. Having the chance to talk to the residents in these areas provided a sobering look into the cruel effects of apartheid and the task that lies before the African National Congress in building a new South Africa.

Many of these squatters are refugees fleeing from areas of Natal where the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has carried out a campaign of violence. "Buthelezi is only concerned with making money. He does not represent all Zulus," one resident of SWAPO said.

Inkatha forced many to flee to the camp, residents said. They are also furious about

the government's Internal Stability Units (ISU). "Once the security forces came with the pretext of searching for weapons, but instead they stole money," said Ricardo Joulesh, a SWAPO resident.

"The ISUs used Inkatha as a shield," a resident told the team on a visit to another camp, Bhambayi, outside Durban, in southern Natal. "On the first day there was fighting between Inkatha and the ANC. On the second day the ISUs came out," ostensibly to stabilize the situation, "with a full attack on the people," he added.

Tamia Majola, a 35 year-old woman who lives in Bhambayi, told the *Militant*, "Women are not safe here. It is painful for me to describe. I watched from my window as they came into my neighbor's house and killed her. Just the other day," Majola said, "they [ISUs] came here harassing and beating people to put us to sleep at seven o'clock. They've killed pregnant women, old women, the list is very long. We have lost so many people, this is a desperate situation. If ISUs are here we don't feel safe."

Majola also commented on the lack of education. "We can't get our children into the schools in the city. They say our children are violent. Many of the parents here have met to discuss how we can solve this problem," she said. "We have tried to get those people who have finished a 10th grade education to teach school here."

The Kliptown camp, in Soweto, is lined



Residents of the "SWAPO B" squatter camp near Pietermaritzburg in Natal.

Militant/Brock Satter

with rows of shacks constructed of scrap metal and wood, packed tightly together. There is no running water in any of them. The muddy ground is littered with debris generally and is filled with garbage at certain areas between the shacks. This trash kicks up an unfriendly stench as it decomposes in the hot sun. Children play on these piles.

## Local officials refuse to collect garbage

We asked some of our guides why there was so much garbage. In Soweto and in most townships throughout South Africa there have been rent strikes lasting years. To protest the poor living conditions township residents have also refused to pay municipal fees for basic services. In retaliation local governments, appointed by the white minority regime, refused to pick up the garbage.

The half dozen portable toilets there have not been emptied in six years. Like many other squatter camps and townships, Klip-town has no electricity. "Just look at the

conditions we are living in," a resident told the *Militant*. He was glad the ANC Youth League leaders brought the team there, he said, so that "this system can be exposed to the world."

Similar conditions exist in the SWAPO B camp. Residents there, however, won a fight to establish a number of water taps and toilets across the road.

Also across the street was a vivid example of the cynical architecture of apartheid. There, just yards away from SWAPO "B" was an Indian-designated township with houses, electricity, running water, and toilets. Apartheid created sub-divisions among the non-whites in South Africa. Classifying people as Africans, Coloureds, and Indians, the apartheid regime assigned them differential status and comfort, not only in living conditions, but in schooling, work, and democratic rights. It wasn't until the apartheid laws began to crumble under the pressure of the ANC-led movement that it became legal for Africans to live in these Indian-designated areas.

## Students plan antiapartheid conference in Philadelphia

BY MITCHEL ROSENBERG

PHILADELPHIA — "Giving Birth to a New South Africa," a regional student anti-apartheid conference will take place here at Temple University Friday and Saturday, February 11-12.

Sponsored by 14 area student organizations, the gathering will hear speeches by former African National Congress Youth League president Peter Mokaba and Jeff Radebe, chairperson for the African National Congress (ANC) in southern Natal.

"Initially, the idea was to pull students together to mobilize around South Africa," Kevin Naidoo, co-chair of the ANC Student Conference Committee and a member of the ANC said. But now "the conference is seeking to reach out to anyone interested in the process building in South Africa including workers, students, and professional people." For example, a labor workshop is part of the agenda.

The conference is being widely built in the Philadelphia area. Among organizations most active in the ANC Conference Committee that meets each week to build the weekend events are Temple University's Organization of African Students and the African Student Union, the University of Penn-

sylvania's Graduate Students' Association Council, the African-American Students' Association at Chestnut Hill College, the Black Students' League at Community College of Philadelphia, the Student Government at St. Joseph University, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at Drexel University, and the *Gleaner* newspaper at Rutgers University in Camden, New Jersey.

People are planning to attend from New York; Boston; Washington, D.C.; Cleveland, and Greensboro, North Carolina. "We're reaching out beyond Philadelphia more and more," Naidoo explained. "We've had calls from as far away as Salt Lake City and San Francisco."

The conference will begin Friday evening with a keynote talk by Radebe. The ANC leader's presentation will be followed by a discussion period to maximize the participation of those attending the conference.

Workshop topics include "What's behind the violence in South Africa" and "The role of the elections in the fight for freedom."

A series of workshops will focus on solidarity efforts in the United States. These include "The role of youth and students in the U.S. fight in the fight for a new South Africa: political solidarity and material aid campaign," "How U.S. labor can participate in the fight for freedom in South Africa," and "Voter education and international monitor campaign."

Mokaba will address the crowd at a final wrap-up rally on Saturday night.

Activists building the event are excited about their work. John Howard, a former Temple student, explains that "a delegation will be put together out of the conference to monitor the elections."

Rhonda Williams, from University of Pennsylvania's Graduate Student's Association Council reports that activists there are "doing a blitz publicizing the conference and the situation in South Africa" on campus.

Mitchel Rosenberg is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 170 in Philadelphia.

## North Korean ambassador opposes U.S. aggression at New York forum

BY EVA BRAIMAN

NEW YORK — "To meet the unanimous desire of 70 million inhabitants to hand down a reunified country to the next generation... is the supreme task of our nation," said Kim Jong Su, deputy permanent representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) to the United Nations. He was speaking before a January 8 Militant Labor Forum entitled "End U.S. Aggression Against North Korea" held in the newly opened Pathfinder bookstore in lower Manhattan.

Kim called recent provocations and demands by the U.S. government that Pyongyang allow unlimited inspections of its military sites, "an obstinate maneuver by the United States against our socialist example." The Clinton administration backed off some of its threats in early January after tentatively accepting a proposal from the North Korean government for inspection of seven atomic sites. Kim noted that Washington is the only power on earth ever to drop nuclear weapons on human beings.

He charged that it is the tens of thousands of nuclear-armed U.S. troops currently stationed in South Korea that are the real nuclear threat on the Korean peninsula. The North Korean people are fully prepared to defend themselves, the diplomat said, and U.S. imperialism "cannot arrest our people's commitment to sovereignty, unity, and socialism." He called for a peace treaty between the United States and the DPRK. Two to three million Koreans were killed in the U.S.-led Korean War, which ended in a stalemate armistice agreement in 1953.

A lively discussion followed the presentation. Asked whether the DPRK has experienced a breakdown in trade with the former Soviet Union similar to that of Cuba, Kim said North Korea's "many relations



North Korean ambassador Kim Jong Su

with the USSR and socialist Europe" were over and "our main market has disappeared." This has led to a "period of adjustment," the official explained, in which Pyongyang will concentrate on agriculture, light industry, and foreign trade.

Questioned about the DPRK's call for reunification, Kim briefly outlined North Korean president Kim Il Sung's proposal for a nationwide struggle for a "Democratic Confederal Republic." This would comprise one state with one name and two economic systems and governments, in which "differences would narrow little by little." He added that trying to impose socialism on South Korea would mean war. Kim said that struggles of workers and youth in the South against the regime in Seoul are "decisive" in the fight for reunification.

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Friday, February 11

7:00 pm Jeff Radebe, ANC chairperson in Southern Natal

Saturday, February 12

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9:30-10:30 am Plenary session  
12:30-2:00 Lunch  
2:00-4:00 Workshops  
4:00-7:00 Plenary Session  
7:30 pm Peter Mokaba, former ANC Youth League president

For more information contact the ANC Conference Committee, 1100 W. Godfrey Ave. #210, Box 27, Philadelphia, PA, 19141. Tel: 215-324-5520 or



# Castro: 'Capitalism has nothing to offer'

Continued from front page  
front a tremendous weapon, which is the consciousness of the people, above all when that consciousness is transformed into action by the peoples.

"Capitalism," Castro stated, "a system at the zenith of its political, economic, and military power, has nothing to offer to humanity today."

"Many people around the world despaired, lost their spirit because of the disaster in the socialist camp," he added, referring to the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union beginning in 1989. "But today we already see in all parts of the world signs of hope, of struggle."

This was the central theme of Castro's address to the nearly 1,200 congress delegates and observers.

Participants at the four-day conference, which concluded January 28, represented political parties, trade unions, and peasant organizations, as well as student, women's rights, antiracist, cultural, environmental, and religious groups.

Pedro Ross Leal, general secretary of the Federation of Cuban Workers; Vilma Espín, head of the Federation of Cuban Women; Juan Contino Aslán, first secretary of the Union of Young Communists; Abel Prieto, president of the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists; and other central leaders of the Cuban Communist Party attended the final session.

About 250 people attended the first of these congresses, which took place in Quito, Ecuador, in 1988. Participation increased in each of the subsequent meetings, which were organized in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1989 and São Paulo, Brazil, in 1991. The Havana event was by far the biggest in size and broadest in participation.

## Conference of the entire Americas

Delegates came from virtually every country in Latin America and the Caribbean. More than 20 delegates from the United States also participated in the deliberations with voice and vote. They included representatives of the Caribbean Action Movement, Communist Party, Committees of Correspondence, Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Gay and Lesbian Association, Socialist Workers Party, U.S. Hands Off Cuba Coalition, and War Resisters League. Two dozen delegates came from Canada.



Slum in Manila, Philippines, bordering municipal garbage dump. "Capitalism is a system of injustice, of unequal distribution, of exploitation of man by man," Castro said. "It is irrational and indefensible."

"The fact that this time we were able to achieve active representation from the peoples of the Caribbean, the United States, and Canada," stated the final declaration the delegates adopted, "changed this meeting in Havana to a conference of the entire Americas."

A few observers from Britain, Germany, and other European countries, as well as delegates from Libya and South Korea, also attended.

Nearly 100 participants were in their teens and twenties, representing student and other youth groups.

Hundreds of women also attended as participants and leaders of many delegations. This larger presence of women — higher than at many meetings of political forces that function in the workers' movement in Latin America and the Caribbean — reflected the growing incorporation of women in the workforce and in political life in the Americas.

In his speech, Castro pointed to the recent high level of imperialist investment in Latin America and the Caribbean through the purchase of stocks and bonds in previously state-owned enterprises in these countries. "Major and important companies have been sold to foreign or local capitalists, who have many times financed these purchases with paper equity in the foreign debt," said Castro, "the same debt that we called unpayable and uncollectable."

## The foreign debt has increased

The foreign debt of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, Castro said, has now grown to \$500 billion. But the acute debt crisis of banks and the capitalist governments that represent them has receded since the mid-1980s.

"Back in those days, we held big conferences on the foreign debt — in 1985 — when we warned about many of the things that are now unfolding," Castro stated. "Our continent lost the best moment then for a great battle [against payment of the foreign debt], when we could have averted many of the calamities we face today."

Capitalist governments in Latin America claimed they would use part of the proceeds from the sale of state-owned companies to fund social services, Castro said, but this never happened. The so-called neoliberal policies of these governments are but "the latest expression of capitalism, of imperialism," Castro said.

"If you talk to teachers, doctors, artists, unionists, peasants, students they all recount the same problem: there are no resources," Castro said. "At the same time the proportion of the national budget of each Latin American country allocated to service the foreign debt is enormous, in some cases it exceeds 50 percent of the budget. Of course, there is nothing in the budget for the essential social services of the population, to solve any problem, and this is what they teach our people."

Castro explained that the debt is a result of the social relations between the industrialized capitalist powers and workers and peasants in the semicolonial world. As a result of imperialist domination, unequal trade relations have been imposed. The prices of raw materials and agricultural products like coffee and sugar exported by Third World countries have hit rock bottom, while the prices of imported manufactured goods have skyrocketed.

At the same time, while many governments in the Third World countries have eliminated protectionist tariffs for imports, "the United States and European countries keep our agricultural products out of their markets through high import taxes."

The much touted "miracle" of development of countries like Taiwan, Singapore, and South Korea "is a fraud for the Third World," Castro said. "How is it possible for Haiti or most countries in Africa to imitate Taiwan when they don't have functioning schools, universities, qualified personnel,

capital, or access to markets?

So, it is not only Cuba that is going through a special period," Castro stated. "Latin America is going through a special period, the entire Third World is going through a special period." Cuban communists use this term to describe the period of severe economic difficulties triggered by the collapse of trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries since 1990.

"In fact, the whole world, with the exception of the superprivileged minorities that hold power, is living through a special period," the Cuban president emphasized.

The same policies Washington, Bonn, and Tokyo use in the semicolonial world "the imperialists are now trying to apply in the former socialist countries in Europe," Castro said. "And what is the result? From what appears in the international press, and from what you can deduce from the news, you can say they have produced a true disaster in those countries."

"Naturally this has provoked a backlash, bringing to the fore at times strong nationalist sentiments, provoking all kinds of reactions among disillusioned and desperate people."

This crisis of capitalism is also acute within the imperialist countries, the Cuban president said. Once the rate of profits decreases and economic growth slows down, "that's a disaster for the United States, for Japan, for Europe. They close down factories, productive and service enterprises go bankrupt, banks go bankrupt, insurance companies go bankrupt."

"Now, precisely when hunger is growing in the world, when there is more poverty than ever, how do the capitalists try to resolve problems like the conflict over agricultural subsidies between the United States and Europe? They propose to slaughter millions of cows, yes millions of cows, when hundreds of millions of children don't have any milk. That's a crime!" Capitalist governments also force farmers to idle huge tracts of land by offering subsidies. "In a world with all the calamities we know, that's also a great crime."

"You can't call a system that's obliged by its laws to function in this fashion rational. . . . It is irrational and indefensible," he declared.

"Capitalism is a system of injustice, of unequal distribution, of exploitation of man by man — even though this exploitation is worse in the Third World than in the developed capitalist countries."

In today's world it is also impossible for the imperialist powers to "resolve the conflict of interests between the major economic blocs they have created," Castro said.

## Prospects for war

The Cuban president pointed out that Washington is maintaining its policy of constant rearmament and modernization of its armed forces. "Now that the cold war is over and the socialist bloc has disappeared, this year, in 1994, they are not reducing even by one cent the Pentagon's budget. For what reason do they want these enormous armed forces, if not to assert their role as world cop, to intervene militarily wherever they need to around the world," Castro said.

"It seems they are preparing for real, hot wars against some countries in the Third World. That's why they are maintaining most of their military bases the world over."

However, Castro said, it will not be easy for Washington to dominate the entire globe as a world cop.

"They intervened in Somalia to bring food to the people at the point of bayonets," Castro said. "But the resistance the special forces of the U.S. army encountered by many of those hungry, skeleton-like people was a real lesson to the imperialists about how difficult it will be to govern the world."

Castro blasted the recent expansion of the use of U.S. troops in Colombia, Venezuela, and other countries in Latin America under the pretext of helping the local authorities

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ANC campaign rally in Johannesburg, South Africa.

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carry out public works programs such as building schools, roads, and clinics.

"Our countries don't need a single U.S. soldier to carry out social programs. [In Cuba] we have built thousands of schools, polyclinics, centers for family doctors, in all thousands and thousands, and we never needed even a drop of sweat from a single Yankee soldier. And they don't need them in any Latin American country either."

Castro said the Cuban government has often sent hundreds of engineers and construction workers to Tanzania, Peru, Vietnam, and other countries to help with public works projects, but it never sent soldiers.

"What would happen if Cuba sent a battalion of engineers abroad?" Castro asked, causing laughter and applause. "Can you imagine the extent of the international scandal if we offered to whatever friendly country to send an army battalion to build schools, hospitals, and meet other needs?"

#### Challenges in Cuba

After painting this picture of world politics, Castro discussed briefly the challenges facing the revolution during the special period and the economic measures the Cuban government is implementing to deal with severe shortages of food, fuel, and other basic necessities and the burgeoning black market.

Since the collapse of trade with the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, Castro said, "Cuba's import capacity has been reduced by 70 percent." The country is able to import only 6 million tons of oil, down from 14 million tons used for energy in industry, agriculture, and domestic needs in 1989. Blackouts are frequent. Long lines at bus stops and shopping centers with few products available on the shelves have

become a feature of everyday life.

"In some respects our conditions are more difficult than most countries in Latin America," Castro said. "But we have resisted for three years, even after Washington tightened its inhuman and criminal blockade with the Torricelli bill," he noted, referring to the Cuban Democracy Act adopted by the U.S. Congress in 1992.

The Cuban president said the government hasn't closed any schools or hospitals and has relocated workers laid off due to the dramatic fall in production in most industries, which lack raw materials, spare parts, and fuel. Castro praised workers in power plants and other factories who use their ingenuity to maintain the maximum possible level of production under the circumstances.

"We have a people who know what capitalism is and don't want to return to it," he stated.

Castro said the Cuban government has been forced to implement measures such as decriminalizing the possession and circulation of U.S. dollars and increasing investments by foreign capitalists in industry, hotels, and other nationalized enterprises to stimulate production. He described these measures as an undesirable but necessary retreat from the goals of the revolution "not in order to stray away from socialism, but to save, to defend socialism."

The Cuban revolution, he said, will never submit to the pressures from Washington to abandon the goal of building a society based on human need and cooperation instead of the profits of a few wealthy families.

"We don't want even a tiny tip of a single one of the stars the imperialists want to add to their flag," said Castro, causing repeated applause. "Because the one star [of the Cu-

Continued on Page 10

## Supporters launch campaign to win visas for U.S. tour of Cuban youth

BY DAMON TINNON

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota — A national campaign has been launched to win visas for Cuban youth leaders Arleen Rodríguez Derivet and Pavel Díaz Hernández to visit the United States. Supporters of the Cuban youths' tour are organizing a campaign to get letters demanding the visas be expedited sent to Dennis Hayes, Director of the Office of Cuban Affairs at the U.S. State Department.

The one-month visit, scheduled to begin February 15, is being coordinated by the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, based at the University of Minnesota. More than 50 professors and student groups at 31 campuses in 23 cities have invited Rodríguez and Díaz.

On January 10, Rodríguez was denied a visa at the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. A few days later, Díaz's application was also turned down. The State Department form reply stated that the two youth had failed to demonstrate "strong economic, family, or social ties, or any other strong ties that would force the applicant to return after a temporary visit to the United States."

A letter to supporters from Professors Guillermo Rojas and August Nimtz on behalf of the Faculty-Student Committee stated, "Clearly this is a spurious pretext to deny the visa request. Rodríguez, who is the editor of *Juventud Rebelde*, one of the two

major weeklies in Cuba, and a member of the country's National Assembly does have strong ties and reasons to return to Cuba." The letter noted that Díaz also has strong ties to his country.

Rodríguez and Díaz reported to tour organizers that on January 21 officials from the U.S. Interests Section apologized. The officials informed the youth leaders that a mistake had been made and invited them to resubmit their applications, which they did on January 25. An interview has yet to be scheduled.

Nimtz urged all defenders of free speech and the right to travel to gear up for the fight to win visas for Díaz and Rodríguez. "The fact that the state department has accepted the youth leaders' applications does not mean they intend to grant them visas," he pointed out. "This is an important time to step up our campaign."

The Faculty-Student Committee is urging that messages demanding the visas be granted be sent to: Dennis Hayes, Director of the Office of Cuban Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2200 C Street NW, RA-CCA, Room 3250, Washington, D.C., 20520. Fax: 202-736-4475.

Copies should be sent to the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, c/o Professor Guillermo Rojas, 102 Scott Hall, 72 Pleasant Ave. SE, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN, 55455.



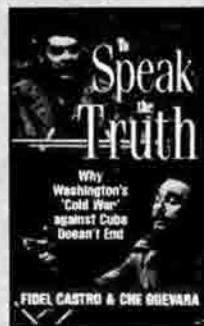
Arleen Rodríguez and Pavel Díaz have dozens of invitations to speak on U.S. campuses

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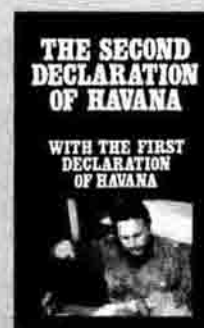
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# Japan: rulers face economic, political crisis

BY BOB MILLER

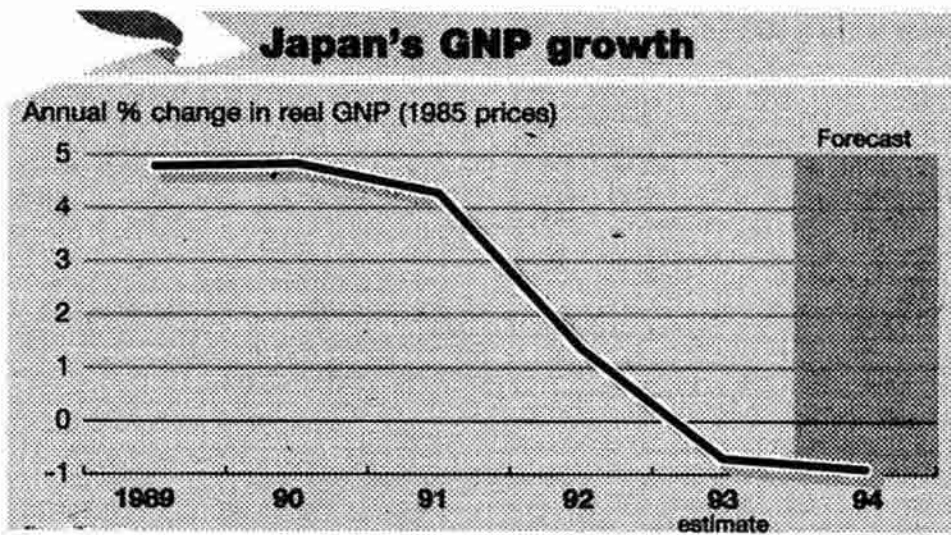
The Japanese government of prime minister Morihiro Hosokawa was plunged into chaos January 21 following the defeat of the government's centerpiece "electoral reform" legislation in the upper house of Parliament. In response, the stock market, or Nikkei stock average, dropped 4.9 percent January 24, the largest single day drop since August 1991. The six-month-old, eight-party coalition government was on the brink of collapse.

The crisis was triggered when 17 of the 73 Socialist Party (SP) members of the upper parliamentary house bolted and voted no with the opposition Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The SP is the largest party in the ruling coalition.

Hosokawa rewrote the legislative package to make it more beneficial to the LDP, the party that ruled Japan continuously for 38 years until last August. The plan passed a week later on voice vote. The package, which is promoted as an anti-corruption measure, places some limits on corporate donations to candidates and redraws Japan's electoral map, giving greater representation to urban residents. Stock prices soared nearly 8 percent January 31, the fourth largest one-day rise since 1945.

This ten-day episode reveals the political instability intertwined with the country's deepening economic crisis.

Japan is currently in the midst of its longest recession since World War II. This Jan-



Growth in Japan's gross national product has plummeted in last three years

uary marked the fourth anniversary of the 1990 stock market crash, which erased more than \$6 trillion in one of the steepest plunges in stock and property values this century. Despite a 16 percent rise in the Nikkei this year, stock and real estate prices are down more than 50 percent from January 1990, with no signs of recovery.

In addition, Japan's banks hold at least \$270 billion in bad loans and that figure is rising. The *New York Times* reported that almost no transactions are taking place in land or commercial property because "to sell

land is to realize the loss." In 1993 department store sales were down 6.6 percent and vehicle output dropped 10.2 percent.

The Hosokawa government is expected to present a "stimulus package" valued at more than 14 trillion yen (U.S.\$127.2 billion) in early February. This will be the fourth of its kind in 20 months.

The Japanese capitalists are stepping up their assault on working people in a drive to increase their rate of profit. An article in the December 13 *Business Week* reports that overall productivity in Japan is 25 per-

cent less than in the United States, while labor costs are 14 percent higher. "Some analysts wonder if Japan is on its way to becoming another Germany — increasingly hobbled by high cost producers, lagging in leading edge technologies and saddled with redundant workers," the article states.

In late January, Japan Airlines, facing an annual loss of about \$235 million, said it would slash its workforce by 5,000, or fully 23 percent.

The so-called lifetime-job system also continues to deteriorate as the use of temporary contract workers increases. Last year 19 percent of Japanese companies employed contract workers. Official unemployment has reached a high for Japan of 2.7 percent, and *Business Week* reports that "hidden unemployed are becoming more visible."

Toyota has gotten rid of almost all the 2,618 contract factory workers they employed in 1991. The company announced January 21 they will create a new category of temporary professional workers, beginning with auto designers on one-year contracts. In mid-January, Keizai Doyukai, a business organization, released a survey showing 41 percent of top Japanese executives think Japan "must thoroughly revise the lifetime employment system."

## Rising trade tensions with Washington

Meanwhile, trade tensions between Washington and Tokyo are rising with negotiations becoming "unusually bitter," according to the *Times*. Five senior members of the Clinton administration visited Tokyo in January. U.S. treasury secretary Lloyd Bentsen made an unscheduled stop January 23 to threaten Japan that the U.S. government might take a more forceful approach to open Japanese markets. Commerce secretary Ron Brown stated January 24, "We're going to keep pressing the Japanese government" adding, "we have got to take tough and aggressive action."

Hosokawa is scheduled to meet U.S. president Bill Clinton in Washington February 11

Continued on Page 12

## Activists reject gov't demand to turn over information on brigade to Cuba

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — In a response issued January 20 here, Pastors for Peace refused to provide information demanded by the U.S. government on its November 1993 housing construction brigade to Cuba.

Seventeen people participated in the brigade. In October, 175 people had joined a Freedom to Travel Challenge tour to Cuba sponsored by the San Francisco-based Global Exchange. At the conclusion of this earlier trip, U.S. customs officials seized the passports of 60 participants, threatening them with legal action.

The Minneapolis national office of Pastors for Peace received a fax of the inquiry in December from the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), a division of the U.S. Treasury Department.

The Treasury Department is one of several government agencies that monitors compliance with the Trading with the Enemy Act, the legal teeth of Washington's 35-year trade embargo against Cuba. The act also forbids individual U.S. citizens from spending money in Cuba, essentially functioning as a travel ban.

The OFAC letter demanded Pastors for Peace turn over application materials for the construction brigade, names and addresses of its participants and those who helped plan the project, the itinerary of the brigade, and its financial and travel records.

"After prayerful consideration," Pastors for Peace executive director Rev. Lucius Walker stated, "and for reasons of conscience and because of my solemn religious obligations, I am compelled to decline."

"Is it a violation of the laws of our great country to assist hurricane victims who live in Cuba?" said Walker in a January 20 news release. "If this is the law of our land, then that law must be changed. If this is the meaning of the embargo, then the embargo must be ended."

The federal demand for information from Pastors for Peace is based on the assumption



Militant/Jeanette Dawson  
Bernardo Toscano speaking in Seattle

that the construction brigade was illegal because it did not have a license to provide humanitarian assistance.

Jon Hillson is a member of the Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee and the United Transportation Union.

## Cuban diplomat tours Northwest

BY SCOTT BREEN

SEATTLE — Bernardo Toscano, the Third Secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., spoke to hundreds of people in the Pacific Northwest during a six-day tour. Toscano addressed public meetings and gatherings on college campuses and high schools in Seattle, Tacoma, Olympia, and Bellingham, Washington, and Portland, Oregon. He was interviewed by radio stations KUOW, KCMU, and KMTT. The Cuban official gave greetings to a Martin Luther King Day rally of 1,500 in Seattle.

His tour was organized by the Seattle-Cuba Friendship/Pastors for Peace, which is participating in the Third U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan. This caravan will deliver material aid such as paper, pens, bicycles, and medical supplies to Cuba in public defiance of the U.S.-imposed embargo against that country.

At a public meeting in Seattle, Toscano

said that the difficult economic situation in Cuba today is "due to the double blockade — the United States financial, economic, and trade blockade we have faced for the last 30 years, and the loss of 85 percent of our trade after the collapse and disintegration of the former Soviet Union."

Asked if he knew of discussions within the U.S. government about changing its policy towards Cuba, Toscano said, "In my personal opinion, I don't see any possibility of a change at this moment. This administration does not have the same aggressive rhetoric as the former one, but, in fact, the blockade has stepped up."

Questioned at the University of Washington about why Cuba still supports socialism, Toscano explained that "Socialism and independence for us are indissolubly linked. We are proud to be socialist. For us, there is no other alternative. We have lived under capitalism before."

A student at Portland State University asked why people defect from Cuba. "Is that for economic or political reasons?"

"Mostly economic today. Our process is totally voluntary," Toscano replied. A visa is required to visit the United States. "The people who go to the U.S. Interests Section [in Havana] for a visa have to wait a long time for it. They may be denied a visa. But if they use an illegal way to come to the U.S., they are welcomed. They can become a citizen, I think, within one year."

While in Bellingham, Toscano briefly addressed a regional planning meeting for the US-Cuba Friendship. The 33 activists there came from Vancouver and Nanaimo, Canada; Portland, Olympia, Seattle, and Bellingham to discuss plans for the third caravan scheduled for February 25-March 25.

Throughout the tour, several people expressed interest in participating in the Friendship caravan. "This is an important and effective way to oppose our government's immoral policy towards Cuba," said one woman, a librarian from Portland, who is now considering joining the caravan.

Scott Breen is a member of the Seattle-Cuba Friendship Committee.

## Fidel Castro addresses conference in Cuba

Continued from Page 9

ban flag] is enough for us. This star is enough for us, lonely today, tomorrow in brotherhood with the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. Only then could this star come down from its triangle: to join the emblems of the united peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, which I hope will always include some red, because we will never renounce the color red. We can't, we don't want to, and we will never renounce red. A lot of blood has been spilled and many sacrifices have been made in the name of this flag. We don't aspire to be a Miami, a Florida, a Texas, nor any of these states."

### Debate on anti-imperialism

At the end of his address to the delegates, Castro said that it's not important how future meetings of the congress are named. He was referring to a debate that broke out during the final session of the meeting, just before his closing speech. Several delegates of par-

ties from Brazil, Ecuador, and Venezuela that call themselves Marxist-Leninist and looked to the former Stalinist regimes of Enver Hoxha in Albania and Mao Zedong in China had proposed that the congress be renamed an "anti-imperialist front."

This proposal was defeated by the overwhelming majority of delegates in a standing vote. The attempt by the "Marxist-Leninists" to steal the banner of anti-imperialism from the Cuban revolution and its leadership was laid to rest unceremoniously by Castro's speech.

This debate concluded four days of broad-ranging discussions during sessions divided by different themes. On the third day of the congress, delegates split up in ten workshops devoted to the fight for women's rights, the challenges facing youth, struggles of workers and peasants, economic problems and other questions confronting artists, and others.

Some of these subgroups met in locations outside the convention palace where most

of the congress sessions occurred. The workshop on peasants, for example, took place at one of the new cooperative farms near Havana, while delegates from the session on workers' rights joined Cuban unionists at a meeting of workers in a seafood processing plant.

"Only through struggle against the anarchy and madness of imperialism and the social system it represents can humanity survive and progress," Castro said at the end of his speech. To a standing ovation, he concluded with "Socialism or death," the slogan Cuban communists have added recently to the basic slogans of the revolution.

Most international and Cuban delegates reacted with enthusiasm to Castro's address. "I've been waiting for this speech for a couple of years," said a member of the Cuban Communist Party delegation.

"This speech makes it a little easier to deal with going home tonight without food on the table," said another Cuban delegate, as she walked out of the closing session smiling.



# For 55 years, gov't has used Hatch Act against working class

BY SARA LOBMAN

In November 1993, Milton Chee, a California naval station worker and member of the Socialist Workers Party, won an important victory when the government backed off its attempt to victimize him under the Hatch Act. Chee's fight offers an opportunity to review the anti-working-class origins of this law and where it fits into the myriad of thought-control legislation and executive orders that have been handed down by the U.S. rulers over the past five decades.

Chee was threatened with disciplinary action by the government after he ran for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1992. The Hatch Act forbids government workers from engaging in certain kinds of political activity, including running as candidates in partisan elections.

Although the Board of Supervisors election is officially nonpartisan, the government claims it became partisan when the Socialist Workers Campaign Committee endorsed Chee's campaign. In November, Chee was informed of the victory when the Office of Special Council (OSC)—the government agency responsible for reviewing the case—sent him a letter reporting it had decided not to prosecute him for violating the Hatch Act.

The OSC investigation was only the most recent episode in a year-and-a-half-long campaign to prevent Chee from expressing his political views. He first came under fire in 1991 when he spoke out against the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. He was detained by military police for carrying a flyer advertising a public meeting opposing the U.S. war in the Middle East. He was then cited for circulating political literature, which base authorities classified as contraband, along with drugs, weapons, photographic equipment, and drug paraphernalia.

In spite of the clearly antidemocratic character of many of the Hatch Act's provisions, some labor union officials, and others who claim to represent the interests of working people, support the law. They argue that it is necessary to prevent corruption in government and to protect government employees from being used as political pawns.

Officials for the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), for example, applauded the revisions made to the 55-year-old act by Congress this summer. These changes relax some of the most onerous sections of the law, while leaving its core in place. Most government employees will now be allowed to campaign for candidates in partisan elections and to hold positions in political parties. Other provisions, including the one preventing federal workers from running in partisan

elections, will remain in place.

"The legislation allows an equitable balance to be struck between the constitutional rights of employees and the need of the government to maintain an unbiased civil service, free of political coercion," said AFGE president John Sturdivant.

## Part of preparations for World War II

But a look at the history of the Hatch Act shows that it has nothing to do with protecting government employees. Rather, it was an integral part of an offensive by the U.S. ruling class against the democratic rights of working people on the eve of World War II.

By the late-1930s, the bosses and their government were preparing for a second imperialist slaughter to promote their interests and profits against their rivals in London, Paris, and Bonn. They also wanted to crush the workers' state in the Soviet Union and defeat the anticolonial struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

To do this, they first had to muzzle the new industrial unions—organized into the Congress of Industrial Organizations—that had been won by the working class during the preceding years through a massive social movement, and isolate those fighters who could provide leadership to an antiwar movement.

The capitalists used every weapon they could lay their hands on in their assault on the working-class fighters of the 1930s, including government spies, company cops, federal troops, and the courts. Striking workers and other activists were arrested, beaten, and sometimes killed. The Hatch Act of 1939 was one of a series of anti-democratic laws—some approved by Congress, others simply Executive Orders of the president—that aimed to accomplish these goals. The government "loyalty program" highlighted the increasing power of the executive office.

Like the Foreign Agents Registration Act passed a year earlier, and the Smith and Voorhis Acts approved by Congress and signed into law in 1940, the Hatch Act set the framework for the loyalty oaths and loyalty boards that were used to purge government employees and intimidate hundreds of thousands of other workers over the next several decades.

The target of these regulations was not limited to government employees. Their focus was first and foremost the working class as a whole. But ultimately, they were a broadside attack against the democratic rights of everyone. The Foreign Agents Registration Act, for example, required anyone issuing political material on behalf of a government other than the United States to reg-



Mass rally of WPA government relief workers, July 10, 1939. The Hatch Act, approved by Congress the following month, was part of a government assault aimed at breaking the back of the industrial union movement on the eve of World War II.

ister with the State Department.

The Voorhis Act mandated that all groups affiliated to organizations in other countries register with the government. It sought to isolate U.S. workers from their brothers and sisters in other parts of the world. The Socialist Workers Party, for example, was forced to disaffiliate from the Fourth International, at the time the international organization of the communist movement.

The Smith Act, which was the first legislation since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 to make the expression of certain ideas a crime, made it illegal to advocate or teach, or belong to an organization that advocated or taught "the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence." Eighteen members of the SWP and the Teamsters union in Minneapolis were the first to be convicted under this law.

Before the witch-hunt ended more than a decade and a half later, these and other laws had been used to victimize everyone from public and private workers, actors, lawyers, clergy, political activists, and politicians.

## Treacherous role of Stalinists

Franklin Roosevelt's Democratic administration was helped considerably in its crackdown on democratic rights by the treacherous policies of the Stalinist caste in the Soviet Union. Moscow's thinly veiled support to the Hitler regime in Germany following the signing of the 1939 Stalin-Hitler Pact helped disarm working people in the United States and made it easier for the witch-hunters to whip up anticommunist hysteria and use the Stalinists as targets for antidemocratic laws, which were really intended to suppress the rights of everyone.

The Stalinists in the United States aided the government as well. Although they would become the main victims of the anti-communist witch-hunt, the Communist Party (CP) proved itself incapable of waging a principled fight in defense of those facing government harassment.

Following Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, the CP, like its cothinkers around the world, had flip-flopped from supporting the German government to whole-hearted support for Roosevelt's drive toward war. As part of this course, they refused to defend the members of the SWP and Teamsters union charged with violating the Smith Act, arguing that they were agents of the German government.

About eight years later, 11 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were themselves convicted under the Smith Act. Instead of organizing a political defense campaign, four of the 11 defendants went into hiding, while others turned themselves in. This course led many supporters of the Communist Party to conclude that public political activity had become impossible.

The Hatch Act was approved by Congress in August 1939. It was the first law in the United States to require workers to testify to their political views and affiliations. Section 9A made it illegal for government workers to "have membership in any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States."

This section further stipulated that anyone

violating the Hatch Act "be immediately removed" from their job.

"No person who is not satisfied with our form of government should be permitted to draw compensation from that Government," one senator stated, defending the law. Attorney General Frank Murphy endorsed Section 9A, commenting that "no man can serve two masters."

## 'To keep subversives out'

The Hatch Act was "necessary for the government, in order to keep subversion out of its ranks," former president Harry Truman says in his memoirs. "Those responsible for the conduct of our government security were fully alert to, and aware of, the new threat of a Communist menace," he adds. "Our government, armed with the Hatch Act, now became even more vigilant."

Just weeks before the Hatch Act was approved, 500,000 government relief workers waged a militant nationwide strike. These workers—employed as part of the Works Project Administration (WPA)—were protesting the signing of the antilabor Woodrum bill, which promised more layoffs, less pay, and longer hours on government "make work" projects. The Woodrum bill was part of the Roosevelt administration's shift from the policies of the New Deal to those of a war deal. While Roosevelt proposed cuts of 25 percent on WPA expenditures at the beginning of 1939, he doubled the amount budgeted for armaments.

WPA workers are "government employees," Eleanor Roosevelt, the president's wife, declared before the walkout. "No group that actually works for the government has a right to strike against the government."

It took several more years for the bosses to flesh out the Hatch Act. In 1940 the Civil Service Commission issued a special circular listing the organizations covered under this act. According to Circular 222, members of the "Communist Party, the German Bund, or any other Communist, Nazi, or Fascist organization" were barred from government employment. This last category was left deliberately vague and within several years the Attorney General had designated 47 organizations as subversive under the Hatch Act. While the list contained several fascist groups, it was used primarily to go after working-class organizations. Some version of this Attorney General's list was in use until at least 1974, when the government claimed it was abolished.

Between 1940 and 1947 more than 6,000 workers were investigated under the Hatch Act. According to one source, more than 100 were dismissed from their jobs and 46 resigned in the course of the inquiries that followed. In 1941 Congress allocated \$100,000 for investigations of disloyalty complaints against federal employees.

One of the targets of the Hatch Act was James Kutcher, an army veteran and a member of the SWP who lost both his legs during World War II. Kutcher was fired from his clerical job with the Veterans Administration in 1948 on grounds of "disloyalty."

The attack on Kutcher was part of the broader witch-hunt and anticommunist hysteria fostered by the government at the end

Continued on Page 13

## FOR FURTHER READING

### The 50-year Domestic Contra Operation

in *New International* no. 6  
Larry Seigle

Addresses a question vital to the interests of workers and farmers throughout the world—the fight against attacks on democratic rights and political freedoms by the FBI, CIA, and other U.S. government police agencies. \$10.00

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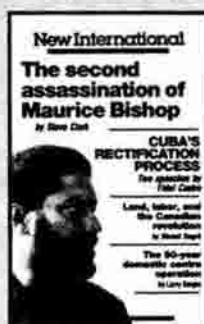
### Labor's Giant Step

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Art Preis

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# MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

## CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

**Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today.** Video excerpts of 1991 U.S. tour of Carlos Tablada, author of *Che Guevara: Economics & Politics in the Transition to Socialism*. Speaker: Alfredo Rico, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

**The Political Legacy of Malcolm X.** Sat., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**The Fight for Immigrant Rights.** Speakers: Representative of Association of Florida Farmworkers; Haitian rights activists; activists in fight against U.S. embargo of Cuba; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**Celebrate Black History Month and Publication of the New Book from Pathfinder Press: Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa.** Speakers: Jonathan Narcisse, editor, The Communicator; Rose Webster, librarian; Shirley Peña, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Auto Workers Local 997. Sun., Feb. 13, 5 p.m. Reception: 4 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas.** Speaker: James Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation:

\$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

**Celebrate the New Pathfinder Release: Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa.** Hear a panel of Detroit-area anti-apartheid activists and watch a video with Nelson Mandela on the African National Congress election campaign. Fri., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. Reception: 6 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Lessons of the 1993 Coal Miners Strike.** Speaker: Ty Becker, president of United Mine Workers of America Local 2412 at Peabody's Marissa mine in Illinois. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

**The Palestinian Fight for Self-Determination.** Speakers: Fawzi Arafat, Committee for a Democratic Palestine; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

**Class Series: Why Washington's 'Cold War' Against Cuba Doesn't End.** Sun., Feb. 13, 4 p.m. Recommended reading: *The Second Declaration of Havana*, a speech by Fidel Castro. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

**South Africa: The Revolution Advances.** Speakers include students from South Africa and Marty Boyers, member of United Auto Workers Local 1597 and the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St., Donation: \$3. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**The Fight Against Police Brutality: A Panel**

**Discussion.** Speakers: Stevenson "Stoney" Bey, father of Maniea Bey; Rev. Thomas Smith, president of NAACP Pittsburgh branch; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Origins of the Myth of Race: How Theories of Race Inferiority Are Used to Justify Oppression.** Speaker: Jerry Freiwirth, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway #250. Donation: \$4. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

**Why Working People Should Defend Revolutionary Cuba.** Speaker: Nelson Gonzalez, Socialist Workers Party and member of Salt Lake City U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. Sat., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**South Africa Today: The Unfolding Revolution Deepens.** Speaker: Brian Pugh, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from Militant reporting trip to South Africa that covered African National Congress Youth League conference and ANC's election campaign. Sat., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Stop the Repression in Chiapas, Mexico.** Speaker: Juan Villagómez, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from reporting trip to Chiapas. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

## Socialist Educational Conference

### FEBRUARY 19-20 Miami, Florida

#### SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19

2:30 p.m.—*Mary-Alice Waters* on: Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism: Report Back from a Recent Visit  
7:30 p.m.—*Jack Barnes* on: World Capitalist Politics in the 90s: "Downsizing," "Cultural War," and Global Instability

#### SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20

10:00 a.m.—*Tom Leonard* on: Trade Unions and the Fight Against Imperialist War: Lessons from the Maritime Union in World War II  
1:30 p.m.—*Betsy Farley* and *Rolande Girard* on: A Class Perspective on the Fight for Women's Liberation From Baby Jessica to the Date Rape Debate and the Bobbitt Controversy  
4:30 p.m.—*Eyewitness Report* from the Fight for a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa  
Speaker to be announced.

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Registration \$25.00 (\$5.00 for each class)  
For more information call (305) 756-1020

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

**The Cuban Revolution Today.** Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from attending International Solidarity Conference in Cuba. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 1802 Belmont Rd., N.W. (At 18th Street in Adams Morgan). Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

## BRITAIN

### London

**Eyewitness Report of Recent Trip to Ireland by Militant reporters.** Sat., Feb. 12, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401 2409.

### Manchester

**Which Way Forward in Ireland?** Speaker: Tony Hunt, member, Baker, Food and Allied Workers Union, participant in Militant reporting team to Ireland. Sat., Feb. 12, 6 p.m. 60 Shudehill, 1st floor. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839 1766.

**Their Morals and Ours.** Speaker: Ann Fiander, Communist League, member of Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union. Sat., Feb. 19, 6 p.m. 60 Shudehill, 1st floor. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839 1766.

### Sheffield

**The Crisis in Australia.** Speaker: Paul Davies, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 12. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £2. Tel: 0742-765070.

**Eyewitness Report of Recent Trip to Ireland by Militant Reporters.** Sat., Feb. 19, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £2. Tel: 0742-765070.

## CANADA

### Montreal

**The Cuban Revolution Today.** Speaker: Michel Prairie, Communist League, just returned from two-week reporting trip to Cuba. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 4581 St. Denis. Voluntary donation. Tel: (514) 284-0456.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Christchurch

**Clinton: Hands Off Korea!** Speaker: Kate Rodda, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

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

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

## SWEDEN

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

# CALENDAR

## CONNECTICUT

### Hartford

**Celebration in Friendship with Cuba. Fund-raising for Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment.** Food and live music. Sat., Feb. 12, 2-5 p.m. Central Baptist Church, 457 Main Street. Organized by Greater Hartford Coalition on Cuba. For more information, call Alejandro at (203) 875-3941; Alex or Pat at (203) 286-9963.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Support the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment III. End the U.S. Embargo Against Cuba.** Speaker: Rev. Lucius Walker, leader of the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organizations (IFCO) and Pastors for Peace. Wed., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. Jerusalem Church, 4201 N.E. 2nd Ave. Sponsored by the Miami-Cuba Friendship Committee. Donation: \$3. For more information, call (305) 221-2837.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**Fund-raising Dinner for Pastors for Peace/U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan.** The At-

lanta Pastors for Peace/U.S. Cuba Friendshipment Caravan will hold a potluck dinner with musical entertainment. Sat., Feb. 12, from 6 to 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 other local bands. For further information, call Robin Singer at (404) 377-1079.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**Cuban Printmaking — Exhibit Reception — Art Exhibit with Dance and Music Performance by the Malcolm X Park Drummers.** Fri., Feb. 11, 6:30 to 9:30 p.m. Maryland Institute College of Art, BO Railroad Bldg. Gallery, Mt. Royal Cathedral Streets. Proceeds to purchase supplies for Cuban artists to be delivered with Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. For more information call (410) 467-9388.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**It's Time To Stop The U.S. War Against Cuba. Rally to End the Blockade.** Speakers: Ramsey Clark, former U.S. attorney general; Bishop Thomas Gumbleton; Rev. Lucius Walker, Pastors for Peace; Teresa Gutierrez, Peace for Cuba; Andrés Gómez, Antonio Maceo Brigade. Sat., Feb. 12, 2 p.m. Symphony Space, 2537 Broadway and 95th Street. Sponsored by International Peace for Cuba Appeal. Tickets: \$10. For more information, call (212) 633-6646.

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

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 1802 Belmont Rd. N.W. Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

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

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

## AUSTRALIA

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

# Japan crisis

Continued from Page 10

to sign a new trade agreement. U.S. negotiators have demanded that Japan open its market to medical equipment, insurance companies, automobiles, and auto parts.

## Rising value of yen

Over the past year, competing U.S. companies have benefited from the rising value of the yen, which makes Japanese goods sold in the United States more expensive. The current exchange rate is 111 yen to the dollar, which is 12 percent stronger than at the beginning of 1993. "Allowing the yen to slide is not an acceptable way out of recession," commented Bentsen.

Pointing to the Clinton administration's policy of seeking to reduce the value of the dollar against the yen, Judy Shelton of the Hoover Institution wrote in the January 28 *Wall Street Journal*, "When a government acts deliberately to weaken the value of its money against other currencies, effectively raising prices on imported goods . . . , it is practicing the most insidious form of protectionism . . . ."

"Manipulating currencies can lead to war," she continues, "witness the devastating syndrome of competitive devaluations in the 1930s as nations sought to undercut each other's ability to sell products in work markets."

In early February Tokyo plans to launch its first major rocket built without reliance on U.S. technology. Japan's war department currently has the highest expenditures in the world next to the Pentagon.



**Naturally** — "... low-income renters will probably suffer the most in the quake's aftermath because most of the apartments that



**Harry Ring**

sustained severe damage were low-rent, older complexes built before strict (?) seismic laws were put in place." — News item on L.A. earthquake.

**He works in mysterious ways** — "Is quake a sign of God's

wrath? Clergy says no — Most absolve the Almighty of blame for natural disasters, but have a harder time explaining why some people die and others live" — Headline on *Los Angeles Times* earthquake feature.

**Better than prunes** — Mr. Pluto, a cute little cartoon fella, says that the idea that deadly plutonium is deadly is a "misunderstanding." A fellow cartoon character gets bloated chugging down six plutonium cocktails. "Even if you swallow it," enthuses Pluto, "it goes right through your body." A toilet flushes and the plutonium drinker emerges slim. It's a Japanese commercial, part of the nuclear industry's effort there to counter popular

resistance to importing 30 tons of the stuff for breeder reactors.

**Check with Pluto** — The Energy Dept. is soliciting ideas for a new, environmentally attractive, name for its shut-down Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant, which is saturated with lethal plutonium contamination.

**Remember, the 'new world order'** — Iraq has become a major world supplier of human kidneys and other organs. Iraqi officials said this is a byproduct of the UN embargo, which reduced the value of Iraqi currency by 99 percent.

**The free-enterprise spirit** — A new Massachusetts disclosure law

requires corporations to make public what they're paying in state taxes. Among other things, it showed that some outfits were taking tax credits assertedly intended to compensate them for creating new jobs. Like Analog Devices, which netted \$2.1 million in the state, paid a fast \$1,367 in taxes after taking \$797,000 in such credits — while laying people off.

**Let's not be unreasonable** — Responding to public ire over the disclosure of corporate tax swindles, Massachusetts legislators acted resolutely. They amended the law to require continued disclosure of corporate tax payments, but the names of companies will be blacked out.

**Old Glory** — Each day, on the roof of the U.S. Capitol, workers run hundreds of flags up and down six poles. For up to \$17.48, depending on size, your Congressman will send you one, along with a certificate confirming it had flown over the Capitol.

**Could make it a glass house** — In Laguna Beach, the posh southern California beach town, the city Design Review Board is weighing removal of a youngster's treehouse. Neighbors complain it blocks their sea view. The \$3,200 structure is 10' x 5', 8-foot high at the peak of its pitched roof, and has a balcony. It was a birthday gift from mom and dad.

## Hatch Act: gov't tool against the working class

Continued from Page 11

of the 1940s. Washington, which had emerged from World War II as the undisputed leader of the imperialist powers, was looking to take advantage of its victory over its rivals. The U.S. rulers had already mapped out plans to send their army into Asia, with the goal of "winning" China for U.S. imperialism.

But the government faced a problem. Workers and farmers in uniform, particularly those in the Pacific, organized massive protests demanding to be brought home immediately. "We've won the war against fascism you said we were fighting," they argued. "We didn't sign up for a war in China."

At the same time, millions of striking workers in the United States — many of them newly returned veterans — poured onto the picket lines to demand an end to the wartime wage-controls. In addition, the bosses were confronted with the real possibility of a massive movement for Black equality as a result of the civil rights struggle that had begun to emerge during the war.

The employers and their government moved into action against these working-class struggles. A new militarization drive was launched as Washington sought to demonstrate to the toilers around the world that it would stop at nothing to protect its empire. As part of this offensive, the Truman administration stepped up the use of thought-control laws.

At first, Kutcher was not charged with violations of the Hatch Act. Instead the government used another new law, Executive Order No. 9835. This 1947 order by Truman established a Loyalty Review Board responsible for conducting a "loyalty investigation of every person entering the civilian employment of any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government."

Kutcher was charged with being a member of the Socialist Workers Party; working in the headquarters of the Newark, New Jersey, branch of the Socialist Workers Party; contributing to a Militant Fund Drive; and associating with "persons, activities, movements, and groups, designated by the Attorney General as subversive in nature." The Socialist Workers Party was included in the list of "subversive" organizations prepared by the Attorney General to supplement the Executive Order.

Executive Order No. 9835, however, didn't require the government to fire Kutcher.

The loyalty board was supposed to weigh all the evidence in a case before making a decision. The political fight that Kutcher was waging to keep his job, along with his status as a disabled veteran, made the government's case a little shaky. So the Veterans Administration called on the Hatch Act, which made Kutcher's removal mandatory.

After a long fight, which gained substantial support from the labor movement, Kutcher won his job back in 1956. Two years later, the government agreed to pay him more than \$13,000 in back pay.

The most blatantly undemocratic parts of the Hatch Act — those contained in Section 9A — were ruled unconstitutional in 1972. But as the continued harassment of Milton Chee shows, the law remains a tool that the U.S. government will use to victimize those workers whose ideas it finds unacceptable.

While the OSC was forced to back off its plans to discipline Chee for his political activity, they have not stopped their harassment. "If you should again violate the Hatch Act," the November 1993 letter to Chee threatens, "we would consider your violation knowing and willful."

"Evidence indicated that you distributed campaign literature for candidates running in partisan elections and you held positions and actively participated in the management of the Socialist Workers Party," the letter continues, noting that the recent changes to the Hatch Act would now allow such activity. However, the OSC warns, "you are still restricted from being a candidate for public office in partisan elections... [and] you may not engage in political activity while on duty or in any government office."

### Rulers' assault today

It is no accident that Chee was first targeted by naval base authorities after he campaigned in opposition to the U.S. government's war against Iraq. This imperialist slaughter was the first since World War II marked by an economic and social crisis of the international capitalist system. Under these conditions of economic depression and war, the U.S. rulers will once again wage an assault on the democratic rights and standard of living of the working class in the United States. They will dust off every law on the books to try to disarm and silence fighting workers and youth who oppose their course.

But Chee's victory shows that it is possible to fight. Working people today, in fact,



Militant/Peter Reynolds  
California naval station worker Milton Chee speaks with reporters after victory against U.S. government, which backed off from attempt to victimize him under Hatch Act.

are in a stronger position to defend ourselves than our counterparts were 40 years ago. The defeat of Jim Crow segregation in the South and the fight for Black rights, the integration of tens of millions of women into the workforce, and the increasingly international character of the working class in the United States and all the imperialist countries in the five-and-a-half decades since the Hatch Act was signed into law all contribute to the unity of the toilers.

Most importantly, the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has removed the greatest obstacle to the international mobilization of the working class and its allies.

Under these conditions, a clear understanding of how the U.S. ruling class has used laws such as the Hatch Act to try to intimidate previous generations of fighters can be an important tool in the hands of working people and youth today.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

**THE MILITANT**  
Published in the interest of the Working People  
February 14, 1969 Price 10¢

The media in the U.S. and other western countries has been whipping up a hysteria about the hanging in Iraq of 14 people — including nine Jews — on charges of being Israeli agents.

Meanwhile a series of marches and demonstrations have erupted in the Israeli-occupied Gaza area of the United Arab Republic. Perhaps the most dramatic action occurred Feb. 2 when club-swinging Israeli forces savagely attacked a demonstration of several thousand students from three girls' high schools.

So fierce was the attack that 40 girls were hospitalized. Three were reported to have suffered broken limbs.

The girls had poured into the streets to protest the jailing of three young women on charges of aiding guerrilla activity in the Israeli-occupied area. After their protest was brutally smashed, a similar demonstration was reported by schoolboys. Then came adult marches which were also attacked.

Following several of these demonstrations, however, the three imprisoned girls, even though already convicted, were released on bail.

The shocking treatment of the protesting young women somewhat flaws the fine moral outrage of the Israeli government

about the hangings in Iraq.

Armed and financed by the U.S., the Israeli regime may forcibly occupy areas of the Arab world. But the magnificent young Arab women who stood up to the occupation forces told the entire world their liberation struggle cannot be repressed.

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

February 12, 1944

The U.S. Circuit Court by a 2-1 decision [Feb. 4] upheld the army's Jim Crow segregation policy in filling draft quotas.

In this important test case Winfred William Lynn, a Negro soldier, sought release from the army on the grounds that he was inducted Dec. 19, 1942, on a requisition directing the Jamaica, Queens local board to base its quota on the first 90 white men and the first 50 Negroes in 1A. The order further stated, "Separate delivery lists are to be made for white and Negro registrants delivered."

The majority opinion, handed down by Judges Swan and Hand, upheld the army's policy of segregation, based on statutory sanctions established in 1866. They supported the New York City practice of quotas based on racial proportions. No attempt was made to explain how a ration of 90-50 gives equality to Negroes who comprise approximately 10% of the population.

The dissenting Judge, C.E. Clark, held that separate quotas did violate the Selective Service Act prohibitions against discrimination because of race or color.

### COINTELPRO:

**The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom**



**Nelson Blackstock**

The FBI's spying and disruption against socialists and activists in the Black and antiwar movements. Includes FBI documents. \$15.95

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

### FBI on Trial

**The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit Against Government Spying**  
Edited by Margaret Jayko



The historic 1986 federal court ruling, trial testimony, and commentary tracing 50 years of government spying. \$17.95



## Castro: socialism is way forward

Fidel Castro spoke directly to the challenge facing workers and farmers in every corner of the globe when he declared, "Only through struggle against the anarchy and madness of imperialism and the social system it represents can humanity survive and progress."

Speaking to activists from throughout the Americas, the Cuban president vividly described the criminal brutality of capitalism — a system that destroys cows and grain when hundreds of millions of human beings need milk and bread, all for the sake of profits. "Capitalism is a system of injustice" throughout the world, Castro explained, "even though this exploitation is worse in the Third World than in the developed capitalist countries." The anti-working-class stance U.S. president Bill Clinton struck in his recent State of the Union address illustrates this point well.

Capitalism is also a system that is in worldwide crisis. The powers in Washington, London, Bonn, Tokyo, and other imperialist centers cannot peacefully resolve their economic problems and trade conflicts. That is why the U.S. government maintains its massive military apparatus, Castro said. But Washington finds resistance when it tries to use this war machine, even in an impoverished country like Somalia.

The consciousness of the people of the world, Castro said, transformed into action, will make it impossible for the imperialist powers to rule.

Castro's speech underlined the determination of the communist leadership in Cuba, as well as the vast majority

of working people there, to defend their socialist revolution and to look toward advances in the class struggle in other parts of the world. In spite of relentless hostility from imperialism and necessary retreats under the pressure of the current economic crisis, Castro said, "We have a people who know what capitalism is and don't want to return to it."

This is a powerful reminder of the importance of the Cuban revolution, which demonstrates that there is an alternative to this criminal system. For 35 years the working people of Cuba have fought to build a society based on human needs, cooperation, and international solidarity, not on profits for a wealthy few.

Today it is more important than ever to defend the socialist revolution in Cuba. The Friendship caravan, which will bring aid to Cuba from across the United States and Canada over the next couple months, will be an opportunity for workers, young people, and others to join in helping working people in Cuba to stand up to imperialism. Alongside this is the upcoming speaking tour of two Cuban youth leaders, and the fight to demand that Washington grant them visas to enter the United States.

While engaging in these concrete actions of solidarity, many workers and youth can be won to what Castro explains is the only road forward for humanity. This is the future that revolutionaries in Cuba have inscribed on their banner:

Socialism or death!

## For a world without borders

A victory was won for the democratic right of working people to travel and exchange ideas when the U.S. government finally dropped its 30-year ban on the right of John Steele, a leader of the Communist League in Canada, to enter the United States.

Hundreds of well-known writers and artists, political activists, revolutionary leaders, and other working-class fighters have been kept out of the United States by immigration authorities because of their political views and activities. In fact, the rulers of capitalist countries throughout the world employ thousands of border police who every day routinely turn away and harass countless numbers of working people who simply seek the right to travel from one country to another.

In 1991 the U.S. Congress, under pressure from supporters of democratic rights, dropped some of the provisions of the McCarthy-era McCarran-Walter Act that targeted people from other countries for exclusion because of their political ideas and associations.

However, several thousand people continue to face such surveillance and travel bans. Washington still reserves the right to exclude individuals believed to be members of communist parties or whose admission would have "adverse foreign policy consequences." It's in this context that winning Steele's right to travel is significant.

After being denied visas by Washington for years, Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams was finally allowed to enter the United States for a limited 48-hour visit. However, the

Irish political activist's television appearances on CNN's "Larry King Live" and the "Today" show on NBC were censored by these stations in their broadcasts to Europe. This decision was supposedly carried out to comply with the British government's reactionary media ban on Sinn Féin representatives.

The fight to end travel and immigration restrictions, as well as all forms of censorship, is of great importance to working people. Interaction among workers molded by experiences in different countries strengthens the fighting capacity of the working class as a whole in battles with the bosses and their governments.

In this context, trade unionists, students, and all other supporters of democratic rights should join in the campaign launched by the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee to get letters to the U.S. State Department demanding visas for Arleen Rodríguez and Pavel Díaz. These Cuban youth leaders have a right to speak, and workers and youth in the United States have the right to hear and discuss with them.

The labor movement should take the lead in fighting to abolish all restrictions on travel between countries, so that working people are free to seek work wherever we want and to hold meetings and discussions, as well as engage in other political activity, with fellow workers in other countries.

To build international solidarity, the workers movement needs to fight for a world without borders.

## Not just a natural disaster

The earthquake that shook Los Angeles in January was an act of nature. But its consequences are measured more accurately on an economic/social scale than on the Richter scale.

While tens of thousands of working people continue to suffer the effects of the quake, the government is using the disaster as an excuse to attack workers' rights, especially those of immigrants. The decision by the House Appropriations Committee of the U.S. Congress to deny all but emergency aid to undocumented workers is outrageous.

Congressman Dana Rohrabacher and other capitalist politicians attempt to convince U.S.-born workers that their problem is "illegal aliens" taking "hundreds of millions of dollars that should be going to them." This is a classic example of scapegoating — a deadly and divisive trap that working people should reject.

Likewise, working people should not accept the attempts to use "food stamp cheats" and other arguments to justify cutting back assistance programs and pushing people whose homes are damaged out of the tent camps. It's not the people who need emergency assistance or immigrant workers, many of whom suffered the worst from the tremor, who are to blame for the inadequate relief effort.

There's no objective reason that an earthquake or other natural occurrence should mean the disaster in human lives and welfare that is unfolding in Los Angeles today. The material resources in this society are more than adequate to solve the crises in housing, transportation, and other areas of life that have been exacerbated by the quake.

For instance, there is a simple, meaningful emergency

measure that can be taken to deal with the housing situation. Many apartments and hotel rooms are empty due to the depressed economy. Let the city use its legal authority to open these up for those who have been left homeless.

Individual earthquake insurance, with deductibles that can run in the tens of thousands of dollars, is totally inadequate. The government should declare a moratorium on mortgages and home foreclosures, which are expected to skyrocket.

In the longer term, what's called for is a federally funded program to build structurally safe, decent, low-cost public housing for all those who need it.

The transportation crisis also demands a basic solution. The city government's plan is to keep cars as the basic means of transportation, with a supplementary transit system to ease the overload on the freeways.

This is fine with the auto and highway construction industries. But what working people need more urgently than ever is a mass public transportation system that will end dependency on the freeways and on owning a car that runs. Such a system did exist in the 1930s, until it was intentionally destroyed by General Motors and other capitalist giants to boost their profits.

The capitalist rulers and their representatives at all levels of government are to blame for the level of human suffering in the aftermath of the earthquake, not immigrants and other working people. They are the ones who won't rebuild housing or a mass transit system, or provide emergency relief on the scale needed, if it's not profitable.

## Clinton's speech

Continued from front page

of breaking the law — is aimed both at restricting working people's rights and at convincing workers and the middle class that the biggest problem they face is crime.

"I know what it's like to sign laws increasing penalties, to build more prison cells, to carry out the death penalty," Clinton bragged, referring to his years as governor of Arkansas.

The president endorsed measures to require life imprisonment without parole for anyone convicted of three violent offenses. Dubbed "three strikes and you're out," this scheme is being promoted in several states by politicians ranging from Democratic governor of New York Mario Cuomo to California's Republican governor Pete Wilson.

Dehumanizing the worst-off layers of the working class, and scapegoating them for the violence and degradation that exist in capitalist society, Clinton declared, "In our toughest neighborhoods, on our meanest streets, in our poorest rural areas, we have seen a stunning and simultaneous breakdown of community, family, and work — the heart and soul of civilized society."

Making sure those listening would know who he held responsible, he continued, "Our problems go way beyond the reach of government. They're rooted in the loss of values... within a decade more than half of the children will be born into families where there has been no marriage." He reiterated his call to put 100,000 more cops on the streets.

Clinton faces growing pressure from the ruling class to slash the social wage working people receive. Turning to this challenge, he said, "We must literally transform our outdated unemployment system into a new re-employment system." Aside from some amorphous talk of training programs, however, he didn't say where workers would find new jobs.

The president devoted a substantial portion of his speech to so-called welfare reform. He renewed calls for limiting welfare benefits to two years, after which the recipient would be forced to take a job or do "community service" work — often at or below the minimum wage.

### Hypocrisy on 'restoring values'

Teenage mothers, he said, would be forced to stay with their parents. Clinton also called for measures ranging from garnishing wages to forced labor to get noncustodial parents to pay child support.

The president hypocritically said his planned welfare reform bill "restores the basic values of work and responsibility." But working people don't need to have their values "restored."

He quoted one woman who had been on welfare as saying the best thing about getting a job was that "when my boy goes to school and they say what does your mother do for a living, he can give an answer."

But Clinton's welfare proposals do nothing to address the jobs problem. The planned jobs, if they materialize at all, will be temporary and low-paying. Immigrant workers would be ineligible, and other social programs are to be cut in the name of paying for the program.

The president also said his administration will slash a quarter of a million government jobs in the next five years.

The various proposals on the table to "end welfare as we know it" are not intended to ensure jobs at decent wages for all those who want to work. Instead this campaign, along with the war on crime, seeks to pin the blame for social problems on supposedly lazy, immoral, unwed mothers, their ill-supervised children, and so-called dead-beat dads who don't pay child support.

This view, which dehumanizes a whole section of the working class, is dead wrong. It is the capitalist class who are the social parasites, living off the wealth created by millions of working people around the world. And they don't worry what their kids will say when asked what their mother does for a living.

The welfare reform measures are also aimed at getting rid of the idea of entitlements. The capitalist rulers want workers to stop thinking there are things they are entitled to as human beings. Along with welfare, Clinton makes clear he intends to go after social gains like unemployment compensation, which the working class won through struggle.

The same holds true for the White House health reform plan, which Washington will use to try to roll back medical entitlements such as Medicare and workers' compensation. Clinton used his address to push this scheme, once again playing up the "individual responsibility" theme.

"There must be more responsibility on the part of all of us in how we use this system... We have to have better health habits, and we can't abuse the system," Clinton said. "Those who don't have insurance under our approach will get coverage, but they'll have to pay something for it too," he continued. In fact many working people will pay more money for less care under the Clinton plan.

In a clear indication of what Clinton really thinks of health care, a few days after the state-of-the-union address, the White House announced it will seek to relax laws requiring toxic waste sites to be cleaned up.

While his speech focused mostly on the rulers' plans to attack working people in the United States, Clinton boasted of his success in asserting Washington's dominance in the world capitalist system through the North American Free Trade Agreement, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and other trade pacts.

He also vowed to maintain a war machine capable of "remaining engaged in the rest of the world." In other words, Clinton intends to carry out the same type of assaults against working people around the globe as within the borders of the United States.



# The Bobbitt case and the fight for women's rights

BY RONI McCANN

On June 23, 1993, Lorena Bobbitt took a kitchen knife and severed her husband's penis as he was sleeping. He had raped her, something he often did, she said. She suffered a brief psychotic breakdown — temporary insanity — her lawyers argued, and after chopping it off she ran from the house. She threw it from her car, then told police where to find the severed organ, which was later reattached to John Bobbitt.

Bobbitt was found not guilty of marital rape Nov. 10, 1993. Evidence of prior incidents of abuse was not allowed into that trial. "The fact that [he] was acquitted doesn't mean it didn't happen," said Paul Ebert, who prosecuted both

women. It is class-divided society in which a tiny handful of wealthy families hold economic and political power over the working class. It is a social and economic system that reproduces and fosters racism and sexism used to divide working people.

The biggest blow to the abuse of women was the massive entry of women into the workforce during World War II. This gave women new confidence and, most importantly, economic independence to leave men who abused them. And many did.

Tremendous gains have been made in the fight for equality for women because women stood up, not as victims, but as fighters. Today the majority of working people both male and female support a woman's right to choose abortion and they support the right of women to work nontraditional jobs.

These victories and the changed consciousness that goes with them are an advance for the entire working class because they give us an increased basis for unity. Because of this, there is less abuse of women today than in the past.

This unity is also important to mount the kind of struggles necessary to defend ourselves against attacks on our wages, working conditions, unions, and standard of living. We won't build unity by ignoring the real oppression of women in society and the continued fight needed to eradicate it. We also won't build unity by blaming men for that oppression. That will only keep us fighting against each other instead of against the system that is at fault and needs to be changed.

While not all subscribe to the view that all men are incorrigible beasts, another common view expressed regarding the Bobbitt case was that Lorena Bobbitt's actions and acquittal will send a message to men who abuse women.

But this is a dangerous approach. Perpetrators of rape and other violent crimes against women should be arrested, prosecuted, and sent to jail.

Author Katie Roiphe made a good point in an article on the Bobbitt case published in the *New York Times*. "There may be some poetic justice in what happened... but this is life, not poetry," she wrote. "Since we long ago surrendered the idea of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, there is something strange about feminist hopes' riding on this woman's trial."

Do we really want to live in a society where one takes matters into one's own hands and seeks revenge? Would women really be safer living under such conditions? Would workers? The challenge is to go forward, not back.

I don't believe the decision to acquit Lorena Bobbitt is a green light for actions such as the one she committed. The fact is, the seven-woman, five-man jury that acquitted Lorena Bobbitt was not voting in favor of her actions. They were



John Bobbitt



Lorena Bobbitt

simply saying they could not see sending a woman who was clearly disturbed and had clearly been abused for years to jail. They heard the hours of testimony she gave describing years of physical, mental, and sexual abuse and decided she was driven to that point. The jurors said they reenacted the crime. "The more we did, we realized this was not a person who was acting in a sane manner," said juror Jeanne Elmore.

During the past week at the steel mill where I work several of us discussed the issues in the Bobbitt case. I am the only woman on my crew but our opinions were not very different. One coworker expressed the views held by several: he could understand why she would get to such a point, the guy was a jerk, but he wasn't sure what she did was right.

As part of her testimony Lorena Bobbitt said that she had been taught that marriage was forever and divorce was immoral. "She isn't an American woman and chances are in her culture women are taught to stay no matter what," one coworker said in response to another's view that she should have just packed up and left.

The seriousness of my discussions at work and the genuine interest in the question of how violence against women can be ended gave me confidence that we have a level of human solidarity to build on. Contrary to rightist commentator Rush Limbaugh, who concludes an article entitled "No tears for Lorena" by stating that people are "bored with the good and the decent," the working class is the only class that can change society for the better and really open the doors for the liberation of humanity, women included.

Roni McCann is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9126 in Cleveland, Ohio.

## AS I SEE IT

Bobbitts' cases. Lorena Bobbitt was acquitted of malicious wounding January 21. "We felt she'd really been abused, a victim" who had been "stripped of everything" needed to act in a rational way, said one juror. A series of witnesses testified that Lorena Bobbitt had been a victim of her husband's abusive behavior for an extended period of time.

The Bobbitt case shows a couple of things I want to focus on. One is that many women suffer violence and abuse and the majority of working people think there should be a solution to this. The other is that in discussing how to deal with this violence working people and young people must clearly see who the enemy really is and who our allies are in the fight for the rights of women.

Many different opinions on this have been advanced over the past several weeks.

Some are frightening. A group of "feminists" in Ecuador, where Lorena is from originally, had threatened to castrate 100 more men from the United States if Lorena Bobbitt was convicted. A supporter of Catherine MacKinnon and writer Andrea Dworkin called Lorena Bobbitt "a symbol of innovative resistance against gender oppression everywhere." MacKinnon is a professor who is campaigning to ban pornography.

These views give credence to the notion that there is a war going on between the sexes and that men and women have only each other to blame. Some feminists argue that men are basically beasts, "potential rapists," and will never change. Perhaps since they cannot be controlled one has to "send a message to them all" by supporting Lorena Bobbitt's actions.

I think this is dead wrong. Advocating this kind of vigilante justice sets back the fight for women's rights. If supporters of women's rights see the primary problem as men we will not be able to advance.

Violence and abuse of women is a social problem rooted in the oppression of women under capitalism. We live in a capitalist society organized so the drive for profits for a few comes before the needs of the majority — men and

## LETTERS

### Cuba's economic crisis

I want to make some critical comments on Martin Koppel's article on the economic crisis in Cuba in the December 27 issue of the *Militant*. His statement that, if all of Cuba's difficulties are due to external factors beyond its control, then "there would be nothing Cuban workers and farmers could do about it" makes no sense.

This is like saying that if you have a car accident you couldn't prevent, then there is nothing you can do about getting your injuries treated or your car repaired. You may not have had control over the accident, but you do have control over what the results of that accident are going to be. The Cubans may not have had any control over the weather and the blockade and the collapse of the Soviet bloc, but they do have some control over what to do to remedy the problems.

The Cuban leadership could have taken better measures in the past that would help them now to overcome the present economic crisis, but they could not have prevented it. There is no way that Cuba could have become self-sufficient in oil to generate electricity and for fuel and transportation, which are necessities for a socialist society. Even to have become self-sufficient food would have taken a lot of land, money, capital and labor away from socialist development in other areas. Does Mr. Koppel think that it was possible to take one "Great Leap Forward" and



build "socialism in one country" in a small resource-poor country like Cuba?

We need to study the mistakes of all revolutionary movements, but do it in a more positive way. Putting the primary blame for the economic crisis in Cuba on the Cuban leadership only gives aid and comfort to the capitalist propagandists who say that socialism will never work because socialist leaders will always make mistakes, and these mistakes will be disastrous in a centrally controlled economy. Cuba's mistakes have made the economic crisis worse than it had to be, but they did not cause it.

A prisoner  
Beacon, New York

### Prisoners in Russia

The great revolutionary unionist and socialist, Eugene V. Debs, was a vigorous commentator on prison life. He characterized U.S. prisons, which he knew from long experience inside some of them, not as aberrations in the social system, but reflections of the society that produced them.

In this light, *Militant* readers would find interesting an article in the November 1993 issue of *Natural History* magazine, entitled "Telltale Tattoos in Russian Prisons." Retired Soviet criminologist Arkady G. Bronnikov says that of the 35 million people who served time in Soviet prisons from the mid-1960s to the mid-

1980s, 28-30 million were tattooed.

Officially illegal, the tattooing process is slow, painful, and unsanitary, using a mixture of burned rubber and urine. They can take hundreds of hours to draw. Many prisoners are tattooed against their will, some with brands of vulnerability making them unshielded victims of prison assaults.

Bronnikov asserts the Soviet — now Russian — government hides and tries to prevent the practice. Are they unable to stop it? It seems unlikely to me. More probably it was and is part of a system of social control within the prisons not unlike that which the Stalinist ruling coterie itself used to run the country.

Marty Anderson  
Brooklyn, New York

### U.S. bombing protest

With the cold war over and the Kremlin's evil empire in disarray, the U.S. is prioritizing peace and disarmament, right?

Wrong, says the Shoshone-Paiute tribe. They were speaking out at a hearing in Boise, Idaho, on whether or not to build a military bomb-training range next to their Duck Valley reservation. And the local news media reported on it.

The 3,000 residents of the reservation say the training maneuvers would add to the already deafening air traffic over their homes.

"We hold our sacred sun dances and the B-52s come flying

over at tree-top level," says tribal member Benson Gibson. "Would they do that to the Vatican on Easter?"

The tribe's opinion has been ignored by the air force and Idaho state authorities. Tribal chairman Lindsay Manning said they would fight the project in court and beyond. "We'll test our sovereign power to all ends if necessary," he said.

Stopping the bombing is a matter of life and death for the tribe, which survives on animal and plant life that would be destroyed or frightened off by the bombing.

"We Indians don't want to be pushed around," declared 95-year old Chief Eagle Tail. "That bombing is too dangerous to us. We've only got one life."

David Salner  
Salt Lake City, Utah

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.

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## Youth in Iceland attend programs on Russian and Cuban revolutions

BY MARNIE KENNEDY

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — "I've never seen so many young people at these meetings. It's inspiring to see this interest." These were Ma'mud Shirvani's opening remarks at two classes he presented to an audience of 24 at the Pathfinder bookstore here January 22. Shirvani is the coauthor, along with John Riddell, of the introduction to the Pathfinder book, *To See the Dawn*, which contains documents and speeches from the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku, Azerbaijan, in 1920. He has been on tour promoting the book and discussing his recent visit to the region.

Several of the youth had already participated in a class series at the bookstore. They studied *Socialism on Trial*, which contains the testimony of leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and Socialist Workers Party in the United States charged with sedition during World War II.

One woman, a 15-year-old student, came by the bookstore several days earlier to purchase a collection of speeches by Ernesto Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution. She was doing a project for school but said the books in the library on Che were "full of lies." Another young woman came after meeting supporters of the International Forums Association, which sponsored the

events, at a book table at her school. Many of those attending the classes returned several days later for a forum on Cuba.

Shirvani described the Baku congress as the product of the Communist International's fight under V.I. Lenin to reach out to forge an alliance of workers and peasants on a world scale. Participants from anticolonial struggles that were developing across Asia, inspired by the new era opened by the victory of the Russian Revolution in 1917, responded to the congress call. In all, 2,000 delegates participated in the congress.

In the second session Shirvani gave an account of revolutionary developments in the region since 1920. He explained the consequences of the mid-1920's counter-revolution in the Soviet Union led by a petty bourgeois layer inside the Communist Party. Working people were pushed out of politics and continuity with the Bolshevik leadership was broken. This betrayal set back revolutionary struggles around the world for many decades. When revolutionary movements grew in Iran in 1945 and 1953, for example, they were betrayed by their Stalinist leadership. These defeats, Shirvani said, were responsible for the leadership vacuum during the 1979 revolution, which resulted in the formation of a capitalist government.



Militant/Marnie Kennedy

Forum participants at Pathfinder bookstore in Reykjavik January 22

Shirvani explained that with the collapse of the bureaucratic apparatuses in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Stalinism is less of an obstacle for the new generation of fighters trying to find their way to Marxism.

### Youth request meeting on Cuba

During a break in the program, several young people approached Marnie Kennedy with questions about the Cuban revolution. Kennedy had been introduced as a member of the Communist League in Australia who had visited Cuba in 1992 to participate in the Havana International book fair as a Pathfinder representative. Plans were made on the spot to hold a meeting on the Cuban revolution three days later. One of the participants volunteered to help publicize the event at her school. She organized to distribute leaflets and talk to students about the meeting during a recess. As a result, 10 students from her school came to the Cuba program.

Kennedy gave a presentation titled, "The Cuban Revolution Today — Why Washington's 'Cold War' Against Cuba Doesn't End." The talk focused on why the socialist revolution is under attack by U.S. imperialism and how the international working class

must not only fight to defend it but must also emulate it as the worldwide crisis of capitalism deepens.

In all, 24 people attended the event, most in their teens. The discussion period took up some of the most pressing political challenges facing the revolution. "What do Cuban youth think about Marxism?" one person asked. "Will socialism die with Fidel?" another wanted to know. Kennedy explained that the revolution has advanced at each stage through the mobilizations of the working class, led by a revolutionary, communist leadership.

A debate about the Cuban government's use of the death penalty for certain crimes against the revolution took up the necessity of looking at the issue as a class question. Kennedy pointed to the increasing use of the death penalty and attacks on prisoners' right of appeal in the United States to explain how the bourgeois justice system is used against working people.

Three single copies and a subscription to the *Militant* were sold as well as five Pathfinder titles. A dozen people signed up to become more involved in the International Forums Association.

## New Zealand protesters demand gov't enforce Maori land rights



Militant

Maoris in Helensville, New Zealand, protest government land policy.

BY DEAN HAZLEWOOD  
AND FELICITY COGGAN

HELENSVILLE, New Zealand — More than 20 Maori youth have been camping out for a month in the Woodhill Forest north of Auckland. The protesters are demanding the government honor the terms of a lease for forest land owned by their families, shareholders in the Otakanini Topu Incorporation. Maoris, the indigenous people of New Zealand, are an oppressed nationality.

The demonstrators have felled pine trees to block roads, effectively preventing forestry giant Carter Holt Harvey from logging 3,000 hectares of land to the north. Carter Holt Harvey was contracted by the Ministry of Forestry to manage these forests. The incorporation has been negotiating with them since 1991.

A spokesperson for the protesters, Chappy Uruamo, explained they are demanding payment for the use of the roads on their land. They are also asking for payment from tourist buses using the roads and that other provisions of the lease, such as providing jobs for incorporation shareholders, be met.

In the small town of Helensville itself, another protest by local Maoris is taking place against the misuse of land gifted to the government 130 years ago.

Tataiarangi Akarana explained that the 10 acres of land had originally been donated to the government by his ancestor, chief Te Otene Kikokiko, to build a courthouse. Several portions, however, have since been used for other purposes. The local government building in fact stands on an area designated as a "native reserve."

In October 1993 the group requested the use of office space in the local government building, which now stands on donated land. The local council has refused this request.

Akarana and a small group of supporters have been occupying part of this land since January 9 to publicize and build support for their case.

Also being sought, through a claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, is monetary compensation for part of the land sold by the government to a telephone company and for some of the land that has been sold to private interests.



Nearly 200 people jammed into the Militant Labor Forum January 22 in Los Angeles to hear a panel of speakers demand an end to the Mexican government's repression in the state of Chiapas. Panelists included Rodrigo Argueta, a construction worker from Chiapas; Lucas Cruz Fentanes, of Frente Mixteco-Zapoteco Binacional; Jorge Mancillas, a University of California, Los Angeles, professor who was part of a human rights delegation to Chiapas; Felipe Rojas of the Proyecto de Acción Educativa sobre Guatemala; and Juan Villagómez of the Socialist Workers Party who just returned from a *Militant* reporting trip to Mexico.