

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Protest frame-up of  
peasant leader in Brazil

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## Washington fosters bombings, says Cuban government

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — On September 4 the Cuban people were confronted with a significant escalation of terrorist bombings, with four blasts in Havana. One claimed the life of Fabio Di Celmo.

Di Celmo, an Italian who resided in Canada, was killed by shrapnel from a bomb that went off in the lobby of the Copacabana Hotel at midday. Within an hour, two more

**Socialists: condemn terrorist bombings!**

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bombings took place at two nearby hotels, the Tritón and Chateau Miramar. Later that night slight injuries were reported as another device exploded at La Bodeguita del Medio, a famous Havana restaurant popular with tourists.

These latest bombings are part of a terror campaign that began on April 13 with an early morning bombing near a disco in the Meliá-Cohiba Hotel in Havana. After this first bombing and prior to the September 4 attacks, there were at least four other explosions in hotels in Havana and the Varadero

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## Albright backs Israeli regime in Mideast trip

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Tensions between Palestinian patriots and Tel Aviv were reaching a boiling point as U.S. secretary of state Madeleine Albright began her Middle East tour in Israel September 10 in an attempt to bolster the Zionist regime.

"We are with you in your insistence that the Palestinian Authority fulfill the responsibilities and obligations it has undertaken," she said upon her arrival in Tel Aviv. "Militarily, we have cooperated in many areas, including early warning and missile defense, and the United States remains absolutely committed to helping Israel maintain its qualitative military edge."

As Albright prepared her regional tour of the Middle East, an Israeli embassy spokesman announced September 2 in Ankara, Turkey, that Washington has scheduled joint naval maneuvers with its navy along with Israeli and Turkish military forces in the Mediterranean Sea November 15-25.

Albright launched her mission to squeeze Palestinian Authority president Yasir Arafat and the Palestinian leadership to crack down on resistance by the Palestinian masses, including the Hamas organization. In the aftermath of a triple suicide bomb attack by Palestinian fighters, Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu gave several in-

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## S.F. rail strikers: no to two-tier pay!

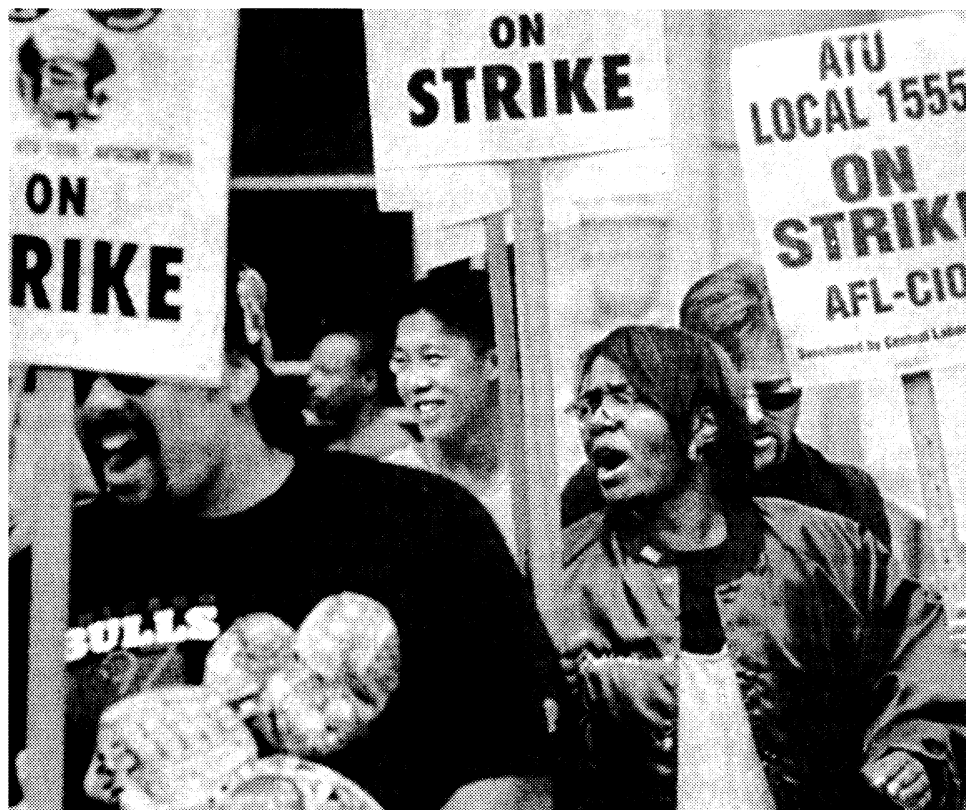
BY MARKIE WILSON  
AND JIM ALTENBERG

OAKLAND, California — "There'll be no BART until there's no two tier," said Tim Weltz, a train operator on the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system and member of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 1555. Weltz expressed the views of many strikers, for whom getting rid of a two-tier wage scale imposed by BART management in union contracts three years ago is the key issue.

At the BART stations, people continually come up to ask why the workers are on strike. The strikers take time to explain the issues and distribute leaflets put out by the unions. Many passersby express support, while drivers on nearby roads honk their horns and wave. A train operator picketing with Weltz at the Berkeley station said that workers from many unions had come by to show their support. Many strikers had paid close attention to the recent Teamsters strike against United Parcel Service, and some had joined the picket lines. "The UPS strike was a solidifying factor for us," said Weltz.

Not everyone supports the strikers, however. Two women picketing at the Fruitvale station here said one woman got out of her

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Strikers picket Bay Area Rapid Transit system station in San Francisco September 9

## Canadian Auto Workers occupy plant to stop use of scab labor

BY JOANNE PRITCHARD

TORONTO — Hundreds of members of the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) from across the province of Ontario surrounded and occupied a plant here September 8. Some 70 workers at PC World, which manufactures computer circuit boards, have been locked out for eight months. Thirty-four of the original workforce crossed the picket line.

Three weeks into the lockout the employer hired replacement workers and has been running full production. Legislation outlawing the use of replacement workers was wiped out by the provincial government of Michael Harris after he took office in 1995.

The locked out union members earned an average of Can\$12 (US\$8.67) an hour. The company is demanding pay cuts of up to \$4 an hour from about half the workforce. The majority of the workers are immigrants from the Philippines, India, and China. Striker Kusum Gohil says the main issue in the strike now is that the employer "wants to break the union."

Busloads and carpools of CAW members from aerospace, auto assembly, auto parts plants in Toronto, St. Catharines, Windsor, Oshawa and London are here. "We're not moving until they get a contract," said Juan Cruz of CAW Local 1967 at de Havilland.

CAW members at GM in Quebec have offered to send buses if necessary. Small contingents of unionists from the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), Ontario Public Service Employees Union, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers are participating. USWA member Jack Sward, one of the strikers from S.A. Armstrong who

have been on strike for 16 months and who are also fighting the use of replacement workers, explained they were participating because they had become "roaming picketers, ready to be part of any action."

After the company got a court injunction, CAW members agreed to end the occupa-

tion of the plant and company property if the police didn't try to remove the mass pickets around the plant.

Joanne Pritchard is a CAW member and Communist League candidate for mayor of Toronto.

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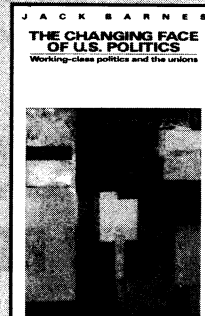
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## General strikes called in Kenya

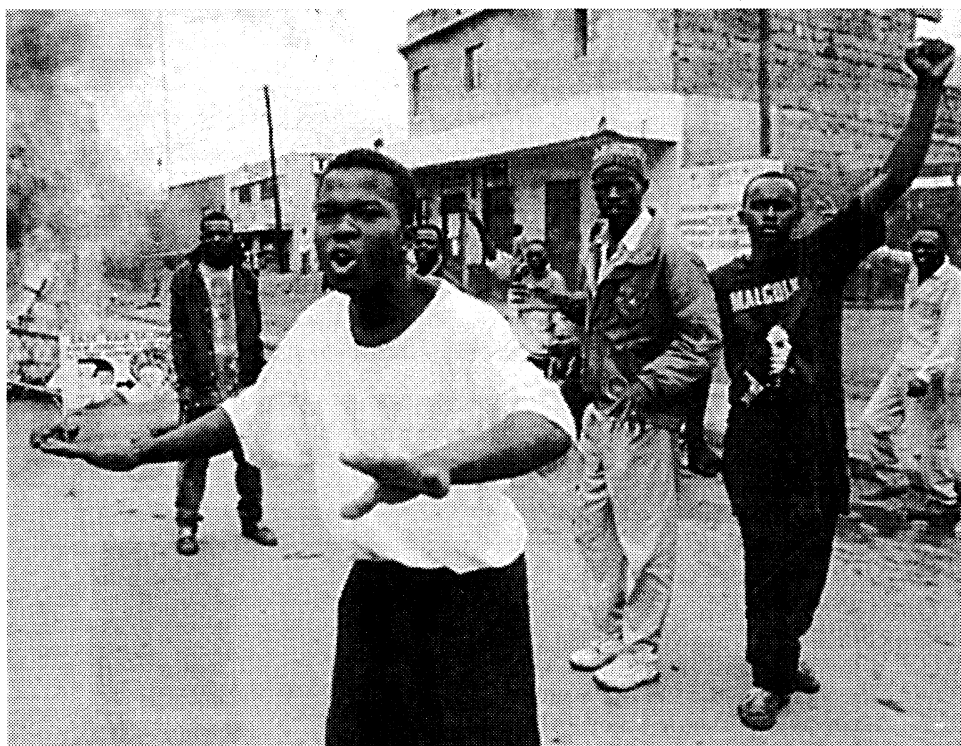
The National Convention Executive Council, a coalition of religious leaders, unionists, and student activists in Kenya, issued a call September 4 for nation wide strikes September 17-18 and October 8-9. The organizers say they also plan to mobilize 500,000 people in the capital city of Nairobi October 10. They are demanding that the regime of President Daniel arap Moi repeal laws restricting democratic rights such as freedom of assembly and expression. The government blocked a September 7 rally by the opposition forces in the city of Kisumu. Kivutha Kibwana, a leader of the coalition, said a program of "intensified mass actions" was needed to respond to the regime. Kenyan vice president George Saitoti called the opposition's approach a "recipe for chaos and civil war." A national strike was also held August 8. During mass actions in May, June, and July protesters were attacked by government forces, students set up burning barricades, and businesses throughout the country were paralyzed.

Meanwhile, Moi met with officials from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to revive a \$220 million loan package halted by the imperialist financial institution on August 1, supposedly over "rampant corruption" among government officials. Moi had balked at imposing austerity measures demanded by the IMF, but later implemented them all, including cutting funds for education and health care, laying off public employees, and removing food subsidies.

## Washington to fine Tokyo ships

Escalating trade tensions with Tokyo, the Clinton administration imposed a \$100,000 fine September 4 on every Japanese ship entering U.S. ports. Washington is pressing Tokyo to widen access to its harbors for U.S. ships. Shipping officials in Japan said the penalties could cost them up to \$50 million a year. The port of Los Angeles's main trade comes from Japanese shipping companies, accounting for \$23.5 billion in 1995.

White House officials have been squeezing Tokyo for greater market access in other industries as well, including telecommunications, aviation, and automobiles. "I'm concerned about the growing number of dis-



Protesters rally in Nairobi, Kenya, August 8 during a national strike called to demand the repeal of undemocratic laws before upcoming presidential elections.

putes," U.S. trade representative Charlene Barshefsky complained recently. She said, "It's incumbent on Japan to demonstrate goodwill" toward U.S. trading interests.

## U.S.-EU trade disputes escalate

The Clinton administration issued a letter to the European Union (EU) September 4 warning that unless the EU exempts U.S. meat exports from safety rules designed to curtail the spread of mad cow disease, it will face shortages in vital medicines. The EU meat safety rules would stop \$100 million in U.S. exports of tallow, or rendered animal fat. Washington says an additional \$4.5 billion in exports of U.S. pharmaceuticals, that include tallow derivatives would be blocked by the EU rules.

Meanwhile, on September 5 a World Trade Organization (WTO) panel rejected an appeal by the EU of an April WTO ruling that the EU's banana trade policies violated the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. On August 18 EU officials brought a

poultry trade dispute to the WTO charging that Washington was unfairly banning exports of European poultry allegedly over product safety concerns.

## Prisoners rebel in Venezuela

At least 29 inmates were killed during unrest at the El Dorado Prison in eastern Venezuela August 28. The prisoners were allegedly killed by other inmates, but there's a long history of brutality by the authorities in Venezuelan prisons. Last October, guards threw fire bombs at two cells of the La Plata Prison in Caracas, burning 25 inmates to death. Prison rebellions against bad food, overcrowding, and general abuse have erupted throughout Latin America in recent months. Riots have occurred in Bolivia, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Panama, and Peru. And in Brazil there have been 60 prison disturbances so far this year.

## Thai baht falls to record low

Thailand's currency continues to plummet, sinking to a record 37.85 baht to the U.S. dollar on September 4. The currency has dropped nearly 32 percent since it was devalued on July 2. The Malaysian ringgit, Philippine peso, and Indonesian rupiah also plunged to record lows.

The currency crisis has rocked automakers and other capitalist investors throughout the region. Goodyear PCL production costs has increased 20 percent since the baht devaluation. Raising tire prices is out of the question said William Ford, managing director of Goodyear (Thailand). "If we try to raise our prices," he said, "the market will just laugh at us." Business officials in the region are forecasting a steep economic downturn. "Other than Thailand, which is almost certainly heading into a re-

cession, willing or not, the rest of Southeast Asia is certain to head into either a period of much weaker growth or recession," wrote Daniel Lian, regional economist at NatWest Markets.

## Renault plant closes in Belgium

The Vilvoorde, Belgium, plant of the French automaker Renault S.A. shut down September 4, dismissing some 3,100 people. Bosses at Renault ignited an explosion of protests in both Belgium and France, including strikes and a factory occupation by workers, when they announced the plant closing in February. Lionel Jospin, head of the Socialist Party in France, participated in a protest against the factory shutdown in Vilvoorde prior to winning the June 1 election with a campaign promise to create 700,000 jobs. After taking over as prime minister, he said he could do nothing to prevent the plant closing by Renault, in which the French government holds a 47 percent stake. Unemployment in France — at 12.5 percent — has grown acute with more than 3 million people out of work.

## Bounty hunters kill two people

Five masked men barged into a house in Phoenix, Arizona, and killed an innocent couple August 31. The men, who bound other occupants of the house and held four children at gunpoint, carried documents showing they were "bounty hunters" searching for a man who fled a \$25,000 bail on a felony drunk driving charge in 1992.

The case, which received national coverage, has sparked outrage in Phoenix and exposed the latitude given to "bail enforcement agents" commissioned by the cops to track down fugitives. These people may use lethal force if supposedly threatened and are permitted by law to enter the residence of their prey. One of the bounty hunters in this case, Michael Sanders, was a longtime police snitch, served two years in prison for a felony conviction of "retaliation against a witness," and listed cops as his character witnesses.

## Inmates rebel in death row unit

Prisoners at the Mansfield Correctional Institution in Ohio snatched keys from guards September 5 and released all 37 inmates in one of the facility's death row units. The uprising was smashed by a tactical squad using tear gas. The rebellion occurred in the unit housing Wilford Berry, an inmate who recently expressed a desire to drop his appeals, which would make him become the first Ohio prisoner to be executed since 1963.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

# THE MILITANT

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# Brazil land activist wins support in UK against frame-up

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Twenty-five people picketed the Brazilian embassy in London September 9 to demand justice for José Rainha. A leader of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) in Brazil, Rainha faces 26 years imprisonment framed up on a murder charge. His retrial is currently scheduled for September 16.

The picket was called during the speaking tour here of two MST leaders. Rainha's wife Diolinda de Souza and Agnor Viera spoke at several meetings in London at the end of a European tour that took them to Switzerland, France, Holland, and Germany. They spoke at public meetings, met parliamentarians and government representatives, and gave media interviews.

Their August 17-27 visit to the United Kingdom was at the invitation of Christian Aid and GAMST (Friends of the MST). While here they addressed a press conference, attended the official launch by Amnesty International of a report into the Rainha case, spoke at a church-organized youth festival, a Militant Labour Forum, and a final public meeting.

According to Yara Evans, the coordinator of GAMST, some 270 people in Britain heard the two activists speak. Their case was publicized in some papers, including in *Folha de S. Paulo*, published in Brazil.

At his first trial on June 11 of this year, Rainha was found guilty of the intentional homicide of local landowner, José Machado Neto, and of a policeman during a land occupation in Brazil's Espírito Santo state. The jury verdict was passed by a majority of four to three. "All the jurors were linked, directly or indirectly, to the landowners, who themselves are linked to the big corporations," said de Souza at the final public meeting.

Rainha's lawyers had petitioned to have the trial moved to the state capital Vitória in the light of the hostility of local landowners to Rainha's activity as a campaigner for agrarian reform. The prosecution did not present a single witness placing José Rainha at the scene of the killings, while five witnesses testified that at the time Rainha was in the state of Ceará, about 600 miles away.

De Souza, 27, was herself adopted as a prisoner of conscience by Amnesty International in March 1996 when Brazilian authorities detained her in an attempt to force the MST to cease its land occupations and to persuade her husband to give himself up.

The daughter of a peasant family, with 11 brothers and sisters, de Souza always worked on the land. Her family moved from Minas Gerais to Espírito Santo where, following a 1985 land occupation by the MST, they won title to land the following year.

They have 20 acres and form a cooperative with 43 other families.

"My great dream was to train as an agronomist," de Souza explained, "but my family didn't have sufficient funds. Eventually in 1988 I decided to become an MST activist and spent five years in the north-east."

Northeastern Brazil is a relatively poor part of the country where the official number of severely malnourished children hovers at 18 percent. De Souza has participated in seven land marches and "so many land occupations I can't remember," leading to her arrest on five occasions.

Other MST activists have faced torture and death at the hands of the landowners, goons, and cops. Engaging in land occupations and marches, the MST is fighting for land for Brazil's 4.8 million landless families. "In the past 13 years, through land occupations, marches and continual negotiations, we have achieved substantial victories improving the quality of life of 150,000 families," said MST leader Viera, who was a founding member of the organization.

The MST was established in January 1984 in Cascavel, Paraná, southern Brazil. A year



Sem Terra

Demonstration for José Rainha during his trial in Pedro Canário last June.

later, the MST held its first congress, with 1,500 delegates from 13 out of Brazil's 26 states represented. Five thousand delegates attended the third congress in 1995. The Movement is committed to win land, promote agrarian reform, and fight for broader political changes. "Through land seizures we have won 7.8 million hectares [19 million acres] of land, equivalent to the area of France and Denmark combined," Viera continued.

"Through these land seizures infant mortality has been significantly reduced. Forty thousand children receive schooling in the squatter camps and settlements. The MST also organizes political education, health care, and security in the areas it controls.

"The MST is now active in 23 states, and

has established 68 cattle-raising cooperatives in six regions. We seek to make the fight for agrarian reform everyone's struggle, forging links with trade unions, student, and other organizations. The movement has really become a broad social movement with the support of millions. Meanwhile the government, the landowners and the IMF [International Monetary Fund] see us as the enemy."

Bringing the public meeting to a conclusion, de Souza said that the MST "is internationalist. We support the struggles of working people around the world. We face a common enemy, the big corporations and bodies like the International Monetary Fund. We have to support one another's struggle."

## Economic crisis worries Brazil rulers

BY HILDA CUZCO

Workers, peasants, students, and others demonstrated in hundreds of cities and towns across Brazil September 7, protesting the austerity policies of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Participants in the third annual "Cry of the Excluded" actions, which took place on the 175th anniversary of Brazil's independence, denounced "hunger, unemployment, violence, impunity, corruption, illiteracy, [and] the government's economic policy." The actions were promoted by trade unions, the Movement of Landless Rural Workers, the Brazilian National Bishops Conference, and various community groups.

Meanwhile, capitalist investors are growing nervous over the potential impact of the Asian currency crisis on the weak Brazilian economy. Since July 1 the currencies of Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, and the Philippines have fallen sharply against the U.S. dollar, with the shock waves affecting most other countries in the region. Stock prices have plunged from Bangkok to Hong Kong. Along with Brazil and a few of the other more industrialized countries in Latin America, these nations had been touted as "emerging markets" where capitalism could grow rapidly and provide above average

returns to bourgeois investors.

Like in Thailand and many of the other countries in southeast Asia, the Brazilian rulers have pegged their currency, the real, to the U.S. dollar, and are running a relatively high fiscal deficit of 4.9 percent of gross domestic product. In the weeks since the devaluation of the baht, prices on Brazil's stock market have slid, dropping by as much as 4.7 percent in a single day, and banking officials there fear there will be pressure to devalue the real.

Cautioning foreign investors not to do anything to trigger a crisis, former Brazilian finance minister Rubens Ricupero warned that the Brazilian economy is in a weaker position than those of many countries in Asia, with higher deficits and less export capacity. Speaking in Sao Paulo September 4, he stated that U.S. interest rates and fluctuations in the international stock markets influence the stability of the Brazilian economy. "So far we have been lucky," he said.

Ricupero, who is today secretary-general of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, blamed the weakness of the Brazilian economy on the government's slowness in implementing cuts in the civil service and social security system, and in

reducing the budget deficit.

The current Brazilian finance minister, Pedro Malan, tries to present a more optimistic picture, saying that Brazilian economy will avoid a crisis through the current sales of state enterprises. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* August 8, Malan denied that the real could be a candidate for devaluation and gave reassurances of the government's commitment to continue "structural and institutional reform."

The social security reforms both the current and former finance minister consider crucial include increasing the minimum retirement age and the number of years in which workers must contribute. They would also cut income and benefits for pensioners. Eighteen out of the 27 state governments have promised the federal government they will slash their budgets, and "the public administration reform amendment currently under congressional consideration would eliminate most guaranteed tenure for civil servants, limit the amount of government revenues that could be used for wages and reduce other distortions in public sector administration," Malan bragged.

Over the last several years the government has carried out a massive program to sell state enterprises, including mines, gas companies, railroads, and phone companies, to the highest bidder. In May the world's largest iron ore mine, Companhia Vale do Rio Doce, was sold to a consortium led by Companhia Siderurgica Nacional, Brazil's largest steelmaker, for \$3.1 billion. The sale met resistance in the form of protests outside the stock exchange and a lawsuit arguing the mine was sold for a pittance. The cellular telephones of the city of Sao Paulo went to the U.S. company BellSouth for \$2.4 billion in August.

In many cases the new owners continue policies of the previous management that try to squeeze more labor out of the workforce. In 1957 when the Brazil's rail system was nationalized there were 150,000 employees. This number had been reduced to 45,000 by 1995, and another 20,000 workers were laid off in 1996. Now five of the six branches of the system have been placed under private management, and the employers aim to cut personnel down to 15,000.

A plan to sell off the container terminal at Santos, the biggest seaport in Latin America, has sparked resistance from workers. As part of the scheme, the port authority decided to fire 2,300 dock workers and force them to register as "freelancers" with a new federal agency that pays by the day. The workers announced they would strike starting September 9 in protest. They postponed their work stoppage at the last minute after a labor tribunal forced authorities to delay the job cuts.

## Hundreds in U.S. say: 'drop charges against Rainha'

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — The Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) of Brazil continues to gather support in Brazil and internationally for the fight to overturn the conviction of MST leader José Rainha.

The defense effort in Brazil is presently focused on the demand to move the retrial from the town in Espírito Santo, where it is scheduled for September 16. This is the same town where Rainha was found guilty by a jury chosen from a jury pool largely made up of landowners and their supporters.

The court has twice delayed its decision on whether to move the trial and is expected to make an announcement any day. If the trial is moved it will also be delayed, possibly for several months.

The Ad Hoc Committee to Defend José Rainha from Miami sent more than 260 letters opposing the activist's conviction to the offices of the MST at the beginning of September. These letters were signed by 380 unionists, farm activists, students, and others.

The Ad Hoc Committee is based in the Miami office of the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees

(UNITE). It has put out a brochure explaining the defense effort and is collecting letters of support.

One of the petitions sent to Brazil was signed by dozens of students from Houston and another, collected at mass at St. James Catholic Church in Newark, New Jersey, contained 40 signatures. Some of the individuals that signed letters of protest were Monica Russo, the Florida Director of UNITE; Medea Benjamin, a central leader of Global Exchange in San Francisco; Gary Grant from the Land Loss Fund, a Black farmers organization from North Carolina; Angel Domínguez who signed a letter for the Committee for Dignity and Justice for Immigrants in Miami, and many others.

A letter from Gerald O'Hara, corresponding secretary of the United Irish-American Societies of Delaware Valley, states, "The prosecution called no witnesses, relying instead on reading some statements wrested from workers who were tortured in the military police barracks. Hmmm, reminds me of Northern Ireland where real evidence is ignored and statements given under torture are the sole basis for conviction."

Nelson Carrasquillo, the executive director of the Farmworkers Support Committee

(CATA) based in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, wrote to the Brazilian court, "As an organization committed to fighting for the rights of farmworkers, we urge you to see that the guilty verdict against Mr. Rainha be overturned immediately."

In addition to the package of letters sent to Brazil, 125 trade unionists signed protest messages during the Ask a Working Woman conference held in Washington, D.C., September 5-7. They learned about the case from union supporters of the Rainha defense effort who set up an informational table on the case at the labor meeting. Signers included rank and file members of many unions, as well as executive board members, local presidents and international union representatives. Ida Castro, director of the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor also signed a letter demanding that Rainha's conviction be overturned.

**For more information, you can write to the Ad Hoc Committee to Defend José Rainha, c/o Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), 1501 NW 29th Street, Miami, FL 33142. Tel: (305) 868-5674. Fax: (305) 633-7478.**

# 'This new Pathfinder Fund goal will make us reach out'

BY LUIS MADRID

In a confident move, consistent with their initial efforts, Seattle supporters of the Pathfinder campaign to raise \$125,000 increased their goal to \$9,000.

"This is in line with what we said we wanted to do," explained Nan Bailey. With local pledges already adding up to nearly \$7,000 of an original goal of \$8,000, the organizer of the effort in Seattle added, "This means the new goal will be a challenge, but also an opportunity, because it will make us reach out quite broadly."

The latest installment by fund supporters in Philadelphia makes that city one of three areas internationally who are on or ahead of schedule at the close of the first week of this nine-week campaign.

Local supporters will need to pay special attention in the next week to regularize the collection of contributions weekly, in order to help insure the success of the drive.

"We are in the final stages of production, and are organizing to have this book avail-

able in time for the Communist Party (CP) 'fiesta' in Spain," said Juliette Montauk referring to *Ernesto Che Guevara: Economía y política en la transición al socialismo* (Ernesto Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism) by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada. Montauk works in Pathfinder's printshop and organized production of this title. In London Pathfinder volunteers have reserved a table at the CP-organized festival in Spain, and plan to make sales visits to bookstores and libraries following the event. In addition, other Pathfinder supporters will go to Mexico at the end of September to participate in meetings on Guevara's legacy at which Tablada will be making presentations.

The book on Guevara's political legacy will be Pathfinder's seventh new title in 1997, with five more projected before the end of the year.

The fact that a special cash outlay was necessary to insure the production of this book helps to underline the importance of

the fund effort. In order to meet its editorial commitments, Pathfinder needs a steady flow of contributions, and a successful drive.

Supporters in several cities across the United States and internationally project to use fund rallies planned for the next several weekends to highlight the place of this title, as well as the complete arsenal of Pathfinder, winning new supporters to the campaign in the process.

"The theme of our meeting is *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*," said Bailey. "In addition to Martín Koppel, the editor of the Spanish-language edition of the book, we want to feature one of the leaders of the farm workers in this area," she added in a letter that was accompanied by an additional \$100 contribution.

Contributions to the fund can be made to: Pathfinder Fund, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Luis Madrid is the Pathfinder Fund director.

## \$125,000 Pathfinder Fund September 1 – November 1

CITY/COUNTRY	GOAL	PAID	%
Atlanta	3,700	500	14%
Philadelphia	4,000	442	11%
Boston	5,500	580	11%
Seattle	9,000	900	10%
Houston	5,500	350	6%
New York	12,000	510	4%
Newark	8,500	350	4%
Los Angeles	10,000	410	4%
Miami	3,000	120	4%
San Francisco	9,500	325	3%
Washington, D.C.	3,000	77	3%
Chicago	11,000	220	2%
Cleveland	2,400	30	1%
Birmingham	3,500	0	0%
Des Moines	2,400	0	0%
Detroit	4,000	0	0%
Pittsburgh	5,000	0	0%
Twin Cities	7,000	0	0%
Other	2,918	836	29%
U.S. Total	111,918	5,650	5%
Australia	750	65	9%
Canada	5,300	10	0%
New Zealand	2,370	0	0%
Sweden	700	0	0%
United Kingdom	0	75	0%
Other Int'l	0	35	0%
INT'L TOTAL:	121,038	5,835	5%
SHOULD BE:	125,000	13,750	11%

## Socialists in Minneapolis blast attack on freedom of speech

BY JEFFREY JONES

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Socialist campaign supporters in Minnesota have launched a protest campaign against an attempt to limit free speech in Minneapolis.

On August 31 supporters of Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, Jennifer Benton, were ordered to shut down their campaign table at an intersection in the Uptown area of Minneapolis. Supporters were distributing campaign literature and selling the *Militant*. Books and pamphlets elaborating the Socialist Workers Party's positions on many questions were on the table.

Minneapolis police officer J. Seidl cited Doug Jenness, campaign supporter and Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of St. Paul, for selling the *Militant* without a street vendor's permit. Officer Seidl gave Jenness another citation for taping a flier to a lamppost. The police officer tore the socialist flier down, while leaving other fliers on the lamppost.

Seidl at the time was off duty, but in full uniform and working for the Uptown Association, Inc., an organization of merchants in the area. The penalty for each citation is a \$700 fine.

Benton condemned the citations as "a flagrant violation of the First Amendment right to freedom of speech."



Militant/Jon Hillson

Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, Jennifer Benton, condemned citations for selling the *Militant* and posting a campaign leaflet.

Socialist campaigners have been petitioning, distributing and selling literature at this and other intersections in Minneapolis for many years.

Four years ago, a petitioner for Socialist Workers candidates was given a citation at the same spot by the same police officer, also employed at that time by the Uptown Asso-

ciation, for allegedly obstructing sidewalk traffic. This was subsequently dismissed. The socialists have never been told that they could not sell their newspaper at this intersection.

Socialist campaigners quickly responded to the attack by distributing a leaflet in Uptown and elsewhere explaining the facts and

calling for messages of protest to be sent to the mayor, Sharon Sayles-Belton.

A press release resulted in a September 3 article in the *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*. Jenness is quoted as urging Sayles-Belton "to use the power of her office to get the citations dismissed." He said necessary legal options are being considered.

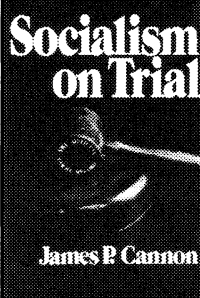
Jeffrey Jones is a member of the International Association of Machinists and the Socialist Workers candidate for St. Paul school board.

### From Pathfinder

#### Socialism on Trial

James P. Cannon

The basic ideas of socialism, explained in testimony during the frame-up trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and the Socialist Workers Party charged with sedition during World War II. \$15.95



#### The Socialist Workers Party in World War II Writings and Speeches, 1940-43 James P. Cannon

Preparing the communist workers movement in the United States to campaign against wartime censorship, repression, and antiunion assaults. \$22.95

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 to cover shipping and handling.

## SWP launches D.C. city council campaign and responds to 'Washington Post'

Socialist workers and the Young Socialists in Washington, D.C., are on a drive to collect 4,000 petition signatures to put Socialist Workers candidate Mary Martin on the ballot for city council in the December 2 election. Martin is an airline worker and member of the International Association of Machinists. Anyone who would like to help the petition drive can contact the campaign office at (202) 387-2185.

Earlier this year, Martin was the Socialist Workers candidate for city council chair in a special election called after the death of the incumbent. In an editorial endorsing the only other candidate, Democratic city council member Linda Cropp, the *Washington Post* said Martin was "out of phase with the views of most voters." The socialist replied in a letter to the editor that was published August 3 under the heading "Working-Class Campaign." Below we reprint that letter, as it appeared in the *Post*.

While I'm not surprised that The Post chose to endorse Linda Cropp rather than

me for D.C. Council chairman [editorial, July 21], I object to the designation of my campaign program as "so out of phase with the views of most voters."

In this election, the Socialist Workers Party sought to put forward a working-class alternative to the politics of austerity promoted by Democrats and Republicans alike who aim to attack and gut vital social entitlements and programs that working people and their unions have won over the decades. That's why I campaigned aggressively against cuts in education and health care and for immigrants' rights, affirmative action and women's right to choose abortion. I will continue to call for funds for schools — not for cops and prisons.

I have insisted that everyone should have a right to a decent-paying union job. This could be implemented by initiating a massive public works program to repair and upgrade the schools, hospitals, roads and bridges, and by cutting the workweek to 30 hours of work at 40 hours' pay to spread the available work around.

Throughout the campaign, the Socialist Workers Party attempted to set a modest example of the importance of working

people and their unions breaking from the parties of the ruling rich and setting upon the road of independent political action with a program that could organize and mobilize workers and farmers in defense of their rights. I'll continue to support protest actions by workers and students here in the District against the death penalty and cutbacks in funding for the University of the District of Columbia.

Yes, I plead guilty to The Post's charge of being for international solidarity. Defending the Cuban revolution and speaking out against Washington's economic embargo and travel ban on this Caribbean island will remain one of my top priorities.

The strike by 4,500 steelworkers against concession demands by Wheeling-Pitt and the militant sit-down strikes by Argentine auto workers against Fiat's attempt to bust their union are examples of how working people can fight effectively against the worldwide crisis of capitalism.

MARY MARTIN  
Washington

The writer was a candidate in the recent race for D.C. Council chairman.



SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

230 subscribe first week of drive

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The first week of the subscription drive was a success. Nearly 230 industrial workers, students, and others signed up to get the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* — slightly over where we should be. *Militant* supporters also sold at least 76 copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*. One of the highlights of the week was the AFL-CIO-sponsored Ask a Working Woman conference in Washington, D.C. “Women unionists and labor activists bought a total of 26 subscriptions and 43 single copies of the *Militant* and four subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*,” reported Maggie Pucci, a rail worker and mem-

ber of the United Transportation Union from the U.S. capital. About 1,700 people attended the gathering (see article on page 8). “Socialist workers also sold 10 copies of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes, and one copy of its Spanish-language edition. We also sold another 41 books, including five copies of *Woman’s Evolution* by Evelyn Reed.” Among the new subscribers, 10 opted for the special offer advertised on the front page. United Auto Workers member Willie Reid from Detroit sold five of the *Changing Face-Militant* subscription combinations. “I appealed to women who want to fight,” she said. “The *Changing Face* explains the challenges the bosses face today with a work-force that is made up of

prominent. They are inviting others to join them. “Members of the Young Socialists chapter in Chicago set up a sales table at a concert of Rage Against the Machine,” wrote Tami Peterson and Lief Gutthiudaschmitt. “Between midnight and 12:20 a.m. we sold nearly \$90 worth of Pathfinder literature — including three copies of *Che Guevara Speaks* — and 15 issues of the *Militant*. YS members also sold the first subscription of the

Book Sales from Pathfinder Bookstores

Countries/Cities	August			Previous months		
	Goal	Sales	%	July	June	May
ICELAND	5	26	520%	120%		
FRANCE	25	70	280%	228%	180%	308%
SWEDEN	55	123	224%	136%	115%	224%
NEW ZEALAND						
Christchurch	32	32	100%	171%	143%	77%
Auckland	49	63	129%	140%	196%	49%
Youth Festival		78				
N.Z. Total	81	173	214%	154%	173%	61%
AUSTRALIA	36	64	178%	178%	180%	128%
UNITED KINGDOM						
London	150	278	185%	168%	200%	93%
Manchester	56	63	113%	61%	0%	0%
U.K. Total	206	341	166%	139%	146%	67%
UNITED STATES						
Washington, D.C.	64	131	205%	150%	158%	386%
Boston	65	125	192%	137%	163%	260%
Newark	171	314	184%	42%	46%	132%
New York	245	448	183%	122%	96%	134%
Chicago	77	137	178%	148%	140%	219%
Miami	60	103	172%	80%	73%	251%
Birmingham	40	68	170%	75%	113%	142%
Los Angeles	120	192	160%	81%	118%	289%
Philadelphia	41	61	149%	134%	217%	124%
Des Moines	50	72	144%	154%	404%	333%
Atlanta	48	59	123%	69%	160%	277%
Detroit	54	57	106%	61%	144%	237%
San Francisco	200	188	94%	119%	175%	280%
Twin Cities	104	86	83%	108%	43%	138%
Seattle	80	64	80%	115%	113%	149%
Pittsburgh	63	46	73%	235%	194%	396%
Houston	65	39	60%	109%	103%	122%
Cleveland	50	28	56%	38%	50%	78%
U.S. Total	1597	2218	123%	95%	114%	174%
Goal/Should be	1800	1800	100%			
CANADA						
Vancouver	41	41	100%	95%	202%	285%
Toronto	80	70	88%	84%	75%	85%
Montreal	80	66	83%	65%	0%	183%
Canada Total	160	177	111%	74%	71%	165%
GREECE	13	0	0%	69%	100%	146%



Militant/Charlotte Hernández  
Sales at Washington D.C. working women conference

more Blacks, Latinos, women, and young workers. This makes us stronger in organizing resistance.” These results bode well for winning many new subscribers during the events surrounding the September 21–25 AFL-CIO convention in Pittsburgh. A number of readers from the United States also report higher sales at plant gates at factories and mills where socialists have a consistent presence every week. “We have recently changed the location of our sale at the Firestone plant to a place where we can reach a larger part of the workforce,” said a socialist worker from Des Moines, Iowa, in a September 7 note. “In the last three weeks we’ve sold four, nine, and then 11 copies of the paper there. People get their money out when they see us selling!” Sales also picked up among young people. “We did four campus teams, two of which were longer than usual, where we sold five subs,” reported Maggie McGraw, a member of the International Association of Machinists in Miami. *Militant* supporters in Miami are organizing a sales team to Puerto Rico October 16–20, during the Claridad Festival where pro-independence forces will be

sales drive here in Chicago.” They also invited youth there to a YS class on Che Guevara’s *Socialism and Man in Cuba*. Socialist workers from Birmingham, Alabama, and Pittsburgh took part in a Labor Day picnic sponsored by the United Mine Workers of America in Racine, West Virginia. The union recently won a number of organizing victories at mines in that state and in western Kentucky. Salm Kolis from Pittsburgh reported that the socialists set up a booth and sold two *Militant* subscriptions — to a laid-off miner and a high school student, who also bought *The Communist Manifesto*. Tom Alter, a YS National Committee member and meatpacker in Des Moines, said socialist workers are organizing a regional sales team to packing plants in the Midwest. Readers can join in by contacting Alter in Des Moines at the number listed on page 12. “This weekend [September 13–14] we are sending a team to the Hunter Valley #1 mine where a strike for a contract just resumed,” reported Bob Aiken from Sydney, Australia. In California, socialists are organizing a sales and reporting team in the Sacramento area September 16–20. They will participate in a joint rally of Janitors for Justice and the United Farm Workers and then do door-to-door visits and other sales. If you want to go, call the Los Angeles or San Francisco numbers listed on page 12. We urge all readers to join the effort. And continue to send us weekly reports on sales.

PATHFINDER BOOKS SOLD IN THE UNIONS

Countries/Cities	August			Previous months		
	Goal	Sales	%	July	June	May
AUSTRALIA						
AMWU	4	8	200%	200%	0%	50%
UNITED KINGDOM						
TGWU	7	8	114%	0%	29%	14%
AEEU	5	1	20%	60%	80%	80%
RMT	10	2	20%	0%	0%	10%
Total U.K.	22	11	50%	14%	27%	27%
CANADA						
USWA	18	6	33%	11%	0%	38%
IAM	8	0	0%	75%	63%	50%
Canada total	26	6	23%	31%	19%	73%
UNITED STATES						
UFCW	6	16	267%	83%	67%	583%
UAW	50	42	84%	186%	110%	93%
UTU	62	22	35%	8%	28%	103%
USWA	65	16	25%	0%	68%	107%
UNITE	24	5	21%	108%	47%	177%
OCAW	44	8	18%	61%	27%	50%
IAM	60	22	37%	48%	83%	180%
U.S. total	311	131	42%	24%	55%	136%

AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union; AMWU — Amalgamated Metal Workers Union; CAW — Canadian Auto-workers Union; EU — Engineers Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage, and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMW — United Mine Workers of America; UNITE — Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

As you can see from the chart, we did not get reports on *New International* sales from about 10 cities. Please send these by Tuesday each week, noon eastern standard time.

'MILITANT' SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE September 1–October 26							
WEEK 1							
City/Country	Goal	Militant Sold	%	PM Goal	Sold	New Int'l Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA	16	2	13%	3	0	10	0
CANADA							
Vancouver	50	5	10%	5	2	20	2
Montreal	30	2	7%	10	1	30	8
Toronto	50	2	4%	10	0	20	0
Canada total	130	9	7%	25	3	70	10
ICELAND	10	0	0%	1	0	5	0
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland	30	4	13%	2	1	10	2
Christchurch	15	2	13%	1	0	5	1
Wellington	3	0	0%	1	0	1	0
NZ total	48	6	13%	4	1	16	3
SWEDEN	16	0	0%	7	0	8	0
UNITED KINGDOM							
London	50	3	6%	12	4	35	6
Manchester	25	0	0%	2	0	12	3
UK total	75	3	4%	14	4	47	9
UNITED STATES							
Washington, DC	40	14	35%	15	3	15	3
Miami	40	12	30%	22	4	25	4
Birmingham, AL	40	10	25%	5	1	15	
Detroit	35	8	23%	8	0	12	1
Atlanta	33	6	18%	12	6	15	
New York	140	25	18%	70	13	60	27
Des Moines	40	7	18%	20	2	20	2
Seattle	70	11	16%	20	5	20	
Newark, NJ	120	17	14%	40	1	60	11
Pittsburgh	48	5	10%	3	0	15	
Philadelphia	25	2	8%	8	1	8	3
Houston	40	3	8%	15	1	15	
Boston	40	3	8%	15	0	35	3
Chicago	95	7	7%	30	4	40	
Los Angeles	110	8	7%	55	2	55	
San Francisco	70	5	7%	30	2	35	
Twin Cities, MN	70	4	6%	15	0	15	
Cleveland	30	1	3%	6	0	10	
Other		6					
U.S. total	1086	154	14%	389	45	470	54
Other int'l		2			0		0
Int'l totals	1381	176	14%	443	53	626	76
Should be	1300	169	13%	400	52	600	78
IN THE UNIONS							
Country/Union	Goal	Militant Sold	%	PM Goal	Sold	New Int'l Goal	Sold
AUSTRALIA							
AMWU	1	1	100	0	0	1	0
CANADA							
IAM	10	0	0%	1	0	5	
USWA	5	0	0%	1	0	2	1
Canada total	15	0	0%	2	0	7	1
NEW ZEALAND							
EU	7	1	14%	0	0	1	0
MWU	2	0	0%	0	0	1	0
UFBGWU	2	0	0%	0	0	1	0
NZ total	11	1	9%	0	0	3	0
UNITED KINGDOM							
AEEU	5	0	0%	0	0	5	0
RMT	3	0	0%	0	0	2	0
TGWU	5	0	0%	0	0	4	0
UK total	13	0	0%	0	0	11	0
UNITED STATES							
UFCW	6	1	17%	7	2	4	1
UTU	50	4	8%	5	0	20	0
USWA	38	3	8%	4	2	22	0
IAM	50	2	4%	15	1	22	0
UAW	50	1	2%	5	0	25	0
OCAW	25	0	0%	5	0	15	0
UNITE	8	0	0%	8	1	6	0
U.S. total	227	11	5%	49	6	114	

# Maori activists and fishermen discuss how to protect fish stocks in New Zealand

BY FELICITY COGGAN

**TINOPAI, New Zealand** — Residents of this small settlement on the shore of the Kaipara Harbor in Northland voted at a meeting here August 17 to impose an immediate *rahui* (ban) on commercial fishing in parts of the harbor.

The meeting was sparked by long-standing concerns over the depletion of fish stocks. The fish that breed in the harbor, especially mullet, are a staple part of the diet for local Maori and other residents. Four local Maori communities had earlier declared their backing for the ban.

A number of commercial fishermen who work the Kaipara and are also concerned over the declining fish stocks attended the meeting and supported the ban. They expect to be able to continue fishing in other parts of the harbor.

Peter Yardley, a commercial fisherman in the area for 22 years, told the meeting, "I've never seen such a disaster as we've got on our hands now." He explained that five years ago, local fishermen drew up their own code of practice to help conserve the fishery and respect Maori fishing rights. They established a minimum fish size, increased the mesh size of their nets, and decided to avoid fishing in the areas around the Maori communities.

Another commercial fisherman pointed to the importance of the fishery resource in providing employment in the area. "We want the fishery for the kids — there's not much work elsewhere," he said. Northland has the highest unemployment rate for any region in the country — 9.8 percent compared to a national average of 6.7 percent. As in the rest of the country, the large Maori population here is especially hard hit. Nationally the unemployment rate for Maori is 16.6 percent compared to 4.7 percent for white New Zealanders.

Meeting organizer Mikaera Miru, a spokesperson for Tinopai Maori, described for the *Militant* the depression-like conditions facing working people in many parts of Northland. Substandard housing, without power or running water, is not uncommon, he said. High unemployment over recent years has resulted in a layer of Maori from the cities returning to family land in the country to support themselves, also reinforcing the need to protect access to the fishery and conserve the fish stocks. "The fish we catch here are very important in terms of supplementing our income," he said. "We've never sold our management rights or ancestral treasure — the sea has always been the richest place of sustenance for Maori people."

## Quotas favor big fishing companies

Many at the meeting tended to blame the problem on fishermen from outside the area, legally entitled to fish in the harbor, who come to the Kaipara in an effort to fulfill their quotas. Like many of the local fishermen, they supply the big fishing companies, have contracts with or lease quotas from them. One speaker said these fishers use longer nets, while others said that it was hard to know how many were fishing and what they were catching because they tend to

come at night. Some participants at the meeting also raised demands for the government to more precisely define quota areas to protect local groups of fishermen.

Underlying this situation is the devastation of the livelihoods of small fisherpeople, both Maori and white, in recent decades. A series of government moves in the 1980s transformed the catching and processing of fish into a major capitalist industry, with ownership of the fishing resource concentrated in a handful of major companies. Fish is now New Zealand's fourth largest export commodity. Thousands of independent fishermen and women were driven out of the industry, with the few thousand surviving placed in a precarious position.

The first major change began in 1978, when the government established a 200-mile Exclusive Economic Zone, bringing all fishing in these waters under the control of the New Zealand government. Prior to this, 89 percent of the total fish catch was by overseas trawlers, with the rest caught by small fishermen working the inshore fishery primarily for domestic consumption. Backed by this state protection, New Zealand-based companies began to increase investment in the fishing industry, including expanding onshore fishing facilities. Today 55 percent of the total catch inside the 200-mile limit is taken by New Zealand-owned vessels.

In 1983, a new Fisheries Act was passed which made all those who caught less than \$10,000 worth of fish the previous year, or who earned less than 80 percent of their income from fishing, ineligible to fish commercially. (NZ\$1.00=US\$0.63). Overnight about 5,500 small fishermen were pushed out of the industry, with many more leaving over subsequent years.

In 1986, a further blow was dealt to small fishermen with introduction of the Individual Transferable Quota (ITQ) system. This designates a maximum tonnage of different species of fish that each company or independent operator is permitted to catch. With the quotas being allocated according to previous catch records, the biggest companies got the largest quotas. The holder of the quota has exclusive property rights over the fish stock it covers, and can sell or lease the quota to others. Today, many small fishermen have quotas that are too small to live on. Most are forced to buy or lease quotas from the big companies, in return for selling their fish exclusively to that company.

One fisherman at the Tinopai meeting explained that he could earn only \$100 a week from his quota, and said he had been lucky to be able to set up an oyster farm to supplement his income. Prices for fish have dropped steadily also. "I get less for my fish now than I got eight years ago," he said.

The quota system has been portrayed as necessary to conserve the fish resource. The effect has been the opposite, however. In an interview in the *Sunday Star Times* July 27, Mikaera Miru criticized the quota system, which he explained forces fishermen to dump fish species they catch for which they do not hold quota. He referred to Tinopai residents finding legally sized fish washed up on rocks. "That's the absurdity of quota management — perfectly good fish are be-



Militant/Annalucia Vermunt

**Maori face disproportionately high unemployment, and overfishing is threatening a staple food. Above, Maori activists rally for sovereignty in Waitangi last February.**

ing dumped and we have nothing. It's turning the fishermen against each other too."

## Damage to fishing stocks

More lucrative but also more destructive techniques of fishing, such as the use of monofilament nets, have increased as fishermen compete. The entry of large-scale capitalist enterprises into the industry has opened new species up to harvesting, such as the deep sea orange roughy, and to their potential decimation.

The August 17 meeting formed a committee of local residents and commercial fishermen to investigate the establishment of a reserve to allow tribes to permanently protect fishing rights and control fishing in the area. This had been suggested by Labour member of parliament Dover Samuels, who attended the meeting.

But most participants in the meeting were still firmly of the opinion that some immediate action, such as the *rahui*, needed to be taken. The council for the local tribe has not endorsed the ban however. Chairman Tom Parore explained in the *Sunday Star Times* July 27 that they feel it inappropriate for restrictions to be suggested as tribes are currently negotiating for shares of the fisheries quota.

These negotiations relate to compensation awarded to Maori tribes by the government in 1992, in recognition of the loss of their fisheries, guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Treaty was signed in 1840

by the British colonial authorities and leading Maori chiefs. The compensation settlement, today worth \$700 million, includes fishing quota, major shares in fishing companies, and cash. Its allocation has since become a matter of considerable debate and is as yet unsettled.

The decline of fish stocks in the Kaipara is mirrored in other areas and for other species. Earlier this year, the government imposed a 40 percent cut in the snapper quota, needed, it claimed, to ensure survival of the fishery. Snapper is the largest commercial species in the upper North Island of the country. Scientists estimate numbers of legally sized snapper in the North Island regions of the Hauraki Gulf and the Bay of Plenty have fallen from around 100,000 tons in the 1950s to 36,000 tons today. On July 22, however, representatives of the fishing industry succeeded in overturning this decision in the Court of Appeal, claiming they stood to lose \$300 million annually and citing the threat of job losses.

Mikaera Miru has called on the government to help enforce the *rahui* in the Kaipara harbor. He points to the *rahui* of shellfish gathering already in place at other locations, but thinks that the government "is scared of the flow-on effect and wants to protect the commercial fishing industry because it is worth so much more than shellfish."

Felicity Coggan is a member of the Engineers Union.

# Marine who killed youth walks free

BY ALEJANDRA RINCÓN

**HOUSTON** — A grand jury in Marfa, Texas, decided not to bring criminal charges against Marine Cpl. Clemente Banuelos, who on May 20 fatally shot 18-year-old high school student Esequiel Hernández in the small community of Redford, Texas, 180 miles southeast of El Paso. The killing sparked controversy over the border patrols being carried out by U.S. soldiers in the name of combating the drug trade.

The other three Marines involved in the shooting of the youth testified before the grand jury in return for immunity from prosecution. They said they had received authorization to shoot, and that Banuelos had fired in self-defense after the youth opened fire on them. Investigators said they believed Hernández, who was herding goats, never saw the camouflaged marines, but may have fired his World War I-era rifle to scare off wild animals. An autopsy report indicated he was not facing them.

District Attorney Albert Valadez said, "The grand jury believes he [Hernández] might have seen movement. But the jurors do not believe Zeke was trying to injure Marines or any one else at that location."

Margarito Hernández, the brother of the slain youth, said that the grand jury's decision made it look like his brother was at fault. Hernández's father stated in a TV interview, "It seems like we aren't worth anything." According to the Texas Rangers, no one called for medical help until 22 minutes after Hernández was shot.

Redford community members, decrying

the grand jury's decision, have called for another grand jury investigation and are trying to convene a court of inquiry. The court will review the grand jury proceedings in the investigation, which did not include any Redford residents and had four of the 12 grand-jury members as either agents, former agents, or connected to the Border Patrol. The Hernández family attorney is pursuing a negligence claim against the federal government.

About 15 people attended a hastily-called protest the day after the verdict in Houston in front of Banuelos' attorney's office. Previous public protests in El Paso and other border towns reflected broad outrage in the largely Chicano communities along the border over the killing and the increasing militarization of the U.S. border with Mexico. Another incident in January resulted in the wounding of a Mexican immigrant at the border.

Although the Pentagon temporarily suspended border operations on July 29, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) initiated "Operation Rio Grande" on August 25. The INS military operation deployed 421 agents along the border between Texas and New Mexico under the auspices of preventing "the entry of terrorists, drug traffickers, and illegal aliens."

Meanwhile, the Center of Immigration at the University of Houston released a study documenting that 1,185 people, the majority of whom were of Mexican origin, died trying to cross the U.S.-Mexico border between 1993 and 1996.

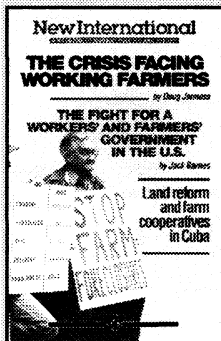
In *New International* no. 4  
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and Farmers Government  
in the United States

Jack Barnes

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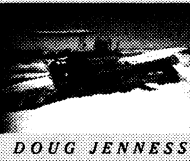
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# Iowa socialists defend ballot rights

BY MAGGIE TROWE

DES MOINES, Iowa — Socialist Workers candidates Thomas Alter for Mayor and Ardella Blandford for City Council At-Large and their supporters filed over 1,100 signatures each office August 26 — well over the 688 needed to put them on the ballot in the October Des Moines primary vote.

Alter, 23, is a packinghouse worker and a member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1149.

A national leader of the Young Socialists, Alter was part of the Iowa delegation to the World Festival of Youth in Havana, Cuba, last month. Blandford, 42, is an assembly worker and a member of the United Auto Workers Local 270.

The *Des Moines Register* reported on the Socialist Workers campaign August 28, taking particular note of the fact that Alter's entry into the race means there will be a mayoral primary prior to the general election in November. Alter was also interviewed by Channel 5 television, which aired him speaking out against police brutality.

On September 2, the lead editorial in the *Des Moines Register* suggested, "It's worth asking whether 688 signatures should be enough to get on the ballot," referring to the Socialist Workers campaign.

"The truth is that current petitioning requirements serve to restrict the free exchange of views in the Des Moines elections," responded Alter in a letter to the *Register* editors that day.

"Around the country there have been moves to make ballot status more difficult through astronomical signature counts, monetary fees, and often, efforts by election boards to disqualify or miscount signatures on petitions once turned in. The democratic rights of working people in Des Moines are attacked by any attempt to do the same here.

"My campaign brings a working-class alternative to the discussions and debates in the mayoral election," Alter continued.

He noted that the Socialist Workers candidates were the only ones who joined the Teamster picket lines at UPS, call for the prosecution of the police who killed Charles Dudley in June, and stand for equal rights for immigrants.

As of September 6, the *Register* had not published this response.

Alter, Blandford, and their supporters spent Labor Day campaigning among unionists participating in a march and rally in Des Moines. They marched with workers from the Wiese Corp. in Perry, Iowa, who won the right to be represented by the



Militant/Richard Sorrentino

Bob Miller (in tie), Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New Jersey, campaigns at Labor Day parade in Haledon August 31. The socialists had a float in the parade, and sold two dozen copies of the *Militant* to participants.

UAW in May 1996. A September 13 rally will support the Wiese unionists' efforts to get a contract and fight off a decertification petition that is being circulated.

During the five weeks gathering signatures to get on the ballot, socialists participated in an educational conference, campaigned at the Iowa State Fair, at a reggae

concert, and at the weekly farmers market.

They sold 71 books and pamphlets during the petitioning drive, and Young Socialist members who support the campaign recruited three new members to the YS.

Maggie Trowe is a member of UFCW Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa.

## 2,000 in San Francisco demand: 'free Abu-Jamal'

BY JIM ALTENBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — Under large banners reading "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal" and "Welcome Home Geronimo ji Jaga — We Celebrate Your Freedom," over 2,000 people filled the Mission High School auditorium here August 16 to demand the release of radio journalist and political activist Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Sentenced to death in 1982 on trumped up charges of killing a Philadelphia cop, Abu-Jamal has been on Pennsylvania's death row ever since. Tens of thousands of people have participated in marches and protest actions around the world demanding his freedom. Opponents of the death penalty have rallied around the case, and Abu-Jamal himself has spoken out against capital punishment on radio and in books and articles.

The rally opened with greetings from Pam Africa, representing the International Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal. She urged those present to join demonstrations throughout the country on December 6 against police violence, frame-ups, and for Mumia Abu-Jamal's freedom. A meeting to plan a December 6 action in San Francisco was announced.

Featured on the rally program was Geronimo ji Jaga, formerly known as Geronimo Pratt. Ji Jaga was a leader of the Black Panther Party who was recently released from California's prisons on bail after serving 27 years for a murder he did not commit. He was freed after it became known

that the chief witness against him, Julius Butler, had been a police informer in the Black Panthers. Ji Jaga received a prolonged ovation when he appeared on the stage. After thanking everyone for their support, he called to the stage the mother of the late rap musician Tupac Shakur; along with Ron Kovic, author of the anti-Vietnam war novel *Born on the Fourth of July*; Angela Davis, and others.

Earlier in the day, ji Jaga joined hundreds of supporters gathered in Lowell Park in the Black community of west Oakland to celebrate his release. He told the crowd that people needed to learn about their history, including that of the FBI's COINTELPRO operation that aimed to destroy the effectiveness of political movements and organizations of Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, and opponents of the U.S. war in Vietnam, among others. He urged those present to stand in solidarity with those still behind bars. "I would be remiss in not mentioning the brothers that I left behind those walls. There are many that did not get the publicity that I did."

COINTELPRO existed way before the Black Panther Party, the activist reminded the crowd in San Francisco. It went back to the 1919 Palmer Raids, where FBI cops summarily deported hundreds of immigrant workers and political activists, and to the U.S. government's campaign against Black nationalist Marcus Garvey in the 1920's.

"Mumia was an activist, a journalist in Philadelphia in the 1970s and early '80s and

a leading critic of the cops," Leonard Weinglass, Abu-Jamal's lawyer told the crowd in San Francisco. "He was threatened by the Philadelphia government for what he was saying." Weinglass said that it was no surprise that in 1981 local radio stations began to drop his commentaries, and he had to make a living by driving a cab.

It was while working as a cab driver on Dec. 9, 1981, that Abu-Jamal stopped when he saw the Philadelphia police beating his brother on the street. Before all was over, Mumia Abu-Jamal found himself laying in a hospital, brutally beaten and shot by police. Daniel Faulkner, a Philadelphia cop, had been shot dead. Weinglass explained that five people at the time told the cops that the one who shot Faulkner ran away, yet none of these people were called when Abu-Jamal went to trial for murder the following year. One woman who testified against him under pressure from the cops has since recanted, while another has been declared dead by the court, although evidence for her death is not clear.

Today, Weinglass said, Abu-Jamal is fighting for a new trial, where he would be able to present evidence contradicting the cops' story. His motion for a new trial has been denied by Judge Albert Sabo, a notorious pro-death penalty Philadelphia judge who presided over his original trial and conviction. Weinglass explained that if the Pennsylvania Supreme Court upholds Sabo's decision, Abu-Jamal would try to appeal to the federal courts, in hopes of win-

ning a new trial or getting his conviction reversed. He pointed out, however that this would not be easy to do. The 1995 "anti-terrorist" bill signed into law by U.S. president William Clinton included a part called the "Effective Death Penalty Act," which contains severe restrictions on death row inmates' right to appeal to the federal courts. Weinglass noted that some 40 percent of death penalty cases heard in federal court have been reversed.

Other speakers included author Alice Walker, radio commentator and activist Kulu Nyasha, and San Francisco AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Walter Johnson. Johnson urged participants to join a march in support of striking Teamsters at United Parcel Service that had been set for August 21. Rally organizers announced that the event had raised \$21,000 for Mumia Abu-Jamal's defense expenses.

## Framed-up Panther fights for new trial

BY KEN MORGAN AND STU SINGER

JESSUP, Maryland — Marshall Eddie Conway was framed up for killing a Baltimore cop and has been incarcerated for 27 years. He is currently appealing for a new trial.

In 1970 Conway was a recent Army veteran, a post office worker and was an active member of the Black Panther Party in Baltimore.

He was accused of killing one and wounding another cop. There was no physical evidence linking him to the shootings and the main testimony against him came from a cop stool pigeon. He was sentenced to life plus 30 years.

In a number of ways the case is similar to that of Geronimo Pratt, the former Black Panther who was recently released from prison in California after the frame-up against him unraveled.

In a recent visit to Washington, Pratt said, "Eddie Conway was one of a number of Black Panthers who are wrongfully impris-

oned. They are all there because of the FBI COINTELPRO, which is continuing."

On a June 24 visit with Conway and other members of the Writers Club at the Maryland House of Detention here, south of Baltimore, these reporters spent two hours discussing international politics.

The prisoners were inspired by Pratt's victory and the settlement recently won by former Attica inmate Frank Smith who was tortured by the New York cops and guards after the 1971 rebellion there.

At a June 20 Militant Labor Forum in Washington D.C., Conway supporter Nzinga explained that the most damaging evidence against Conway came from a police informer, Charles Reynolds, who was placed in Conway's cell after his arrest.

This snitch testified that Conway told him that he and two others did shoot the two police officers. Reynolds falsely testified that he was not an informer, and he received an early parole for his cooperation.

Geronimo Pratt's brother, Tim Pratt, who also spoke at the June 20 forum. He pointed

to the similar testimony of a police informer in originally convicting Geronimo Pratt.

In a phone conversation, Conway explained his latest efforts in the courts: "My lawyer has submitted a writ of habeas corpus. I am petitioning to be let out based in several key issues related to the trial. We had to get the petition in before April 24 to beat the deadline of a new anticrime bill designed to limit the number of appeals by incarcerated people."

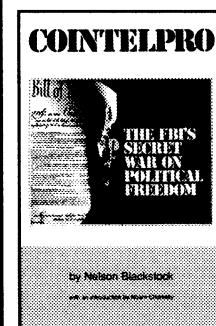
Supporters of Conway are involved in organizing a conference on political prisoners to be held October 10-12 at Morgan State University in Baltimore.

For more information, contact the Marshall Eddie Conway Support Committee, P.O. Box 41144, Baltimore, MD 21203-6144; telephone: (410) 655-4405. He can be reached directly by writing to Marshall Eddie Conway, #116469, PO Box 534, Jessup, MD 20794.

Stu Singer is a member of United Transportation Union Local 454 in Baltimore.

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# 1,700 attend working women conference

BY NAN BAILEY  
AND CHARLOTTE HERNÁNDEZ

WASHINGTON, D.C. — About 1,700 unionists — the overwhelming majority of them women — met here September 5-7 at a conference titled "Ask a Working Woman." The gathering was organized by the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) working women's department, which was created last year. Attendance at the conference far surpassed the expectations of organizers, who arranged for an "overflow room" for the plenary sessions in order to accommodate everyone who came.

In the months prior to the conference the AFL-CIO working women's department organized a survey of 50,000 working women. The results were released to the press as the conference opened and every conference participant received a summary. It reported that, responding to a multiple choice question, 94 percent said equal pay for equal work was a very important issue to them and more than one-third said they did not get it in their current job. According to the government Bureau of Labor Statistics, the median weekly pay of full-time working women was 75 percent of men's median pay in 1996.

Conference participants heard plenary speeches, and took part in discussions both in workshops and spontaneous discussions in the corridors about challenges facing working women and all unionists today.

Workshop topics included affirmative action, child care, organizing the unorganized, equal pay for equal work, the North American Free Trade Agreement and proposed "fast track" trade legislation, immigrant workers, medical and pension benefits, part-time (or "contingent") workers, welfare reform, violence against women, sexual harassment, workplace issues for gay and lesbian workers, safety and health, and women in the trades.

Most of the workshops on the final day of the conference were devoted to promoting involvement in upcoming elections. "Working Women Vote '98" was the title of the workshop chaired by Karen Nussbaum, director of the AFL-CIO working women's department. Nussbaum was a founder of 9 to 5, a group that organizes around issues of concern to working women.

Featured speakers at the conference included John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO; Richard Trumka, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; Linda Chavez-Thompson, executive vice president of the AFL-CIO; U.S. vice president Albert Gore; U.S. Rep. Maxine Waters; Ann Richards, former governor of Texas; and Alexis Herman, Secretary of the U.S. Department of Labor.

"Today the AFL-CIO launches a new campaign to make jobs better for working women," AFL-CIO president John Sweeney said in opening remarks to the conference. "One-third of the AFL-CIO's members are women. With five-and-a-half million women members, we are the largest working women's organization in the country."

## Many participants involved in struggle

While the main plenary speakers were politicians and top union officials, the

breadth of participation in the conference was reflected in some of the women who were asked to say a few words before they introduced the main speakers. One of them was Ellen Ortiz, a member of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 952 in Orange Country, California.

Ortiz introduced herself as a six-year part-time worker for UPS and a 36-year-old mother of two. "We have just won one of the greatest victories for working families ever," she said, as the audience responded with enthusiastic applause. "Thanks to what we won out on the picket line, we will one day have full-time jobs, more benefits, and higher wages. Our demands struck a chord with the American public," she said, "and I want to thank you on behalf of all of the Teamsters for your support. We got a great boost when other unionists joined us on the picket lines."

Ortiz told the conference, "The struggle isn't over yet." She described what she called company harassment and retaliation where she worked. Her job as a part-time driver for UPS air deliveries was eliminated by the company when she returned to work. She now works as a part-time loader. "The battle continues," she said, "but we will not stop until these problems are resolved. With your support, we've proven that we can win." She then introduced one of the keynote speakers, Congresswomen Waters.

Sounding a theme repeated by many of the speakers, Waters said, "We've got to not only be on the picket lines, we've got to register people to vote." She urged conference participants to "organize to keep the White House, take back the Senate, and get our own Speaker of the House."

Others who gave brief introductions included Brenda Lee Isbill, a ticket agent at U.S. Airways, who spoke on behalf of 10,000 workers at the airline who are trying to organize a union. "Injustice, disrespect, and sexual harassment," are some of the issues motivating workers to fight for a union, she said. "We are determined to get respect for the work we do."

Jorja Starr, a worker at Stemilt Growers, Inc., a fruit packing warehouse in the Yakima Valley in Washington State where workers are on an organizing drive in a campaign called Teamsters United for Change, also spoke. She described the conditions faced by the poorly paid and largely female workforce at Stemilt, where the majority of workers have expressed their support for union representation. She spoke of the problems of toxic chemicals and even the overflow of waste from toilets that drip onto workers and the cherries they pack.

Rojana Cheunchujit, a garment worker who is from Thailand, was one of the workers enslaved in El Monte, California, whose abusive treatment made national headlines in 1995. "I came to the U.S. to work and was forced to live with nine people in a room," she said. "I was freed in 1995 from a slave shop in California but conditions have not changed. By fighting for better wages, I am fighting for women's rights."

Giaconda Kline, a member of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) Local 226, noted the victory this year by 1,000 casino workers in Las Vegas who won their fight for a union contract. She described how thousands of workers and their supporters demonstrated as part of the campaign for a union.

On September 6 between 400 and 500 conference participants marched from the hotel where the conference was held to Union Station and rallied in support of a HERE union organizing drive at the Ark restaurants in the train station.

## "We need a union"

Tara Davis, a worker at Smithfield Foods meatpacking plant in North Carolina, also spoke. She described the plant as the largest hog slaughterhouse in the world, with 3,000 workers. "We're not even allowed to go to the bathroom," she said. She described a confrontation with management thugs who "beat us, spit on us, and sprayed mace on us." She looked over at Vice President Gore, who was sitting near her on the platform, and said, "Vice president Gore, come to



Militant/Janet Post

Above, conference participants picket Ark restaurant at Washington's Union Station September 6 in support of hotel workers' organizing drive. Inset, Ellen Ortiz, a former UPS striker, addresses the conference.



North Carolina." She had to pause before continuing because of the loud applause. "See what Smithfield is doing to workers and the environment. We need a change. We need a union." Davis' husband, Ray, also participated in the conference. He has been fired by Smithfield for his pro-union activities. He described some of the experiences of the organizing campaign in one of the conference workshops.

Ernestine López, a packinghouse worker from Greeley, Colorado, spoke in the "Organizing Food Processing" workshop about the victory won in a 12-year-long campaign to organize the UFCW at the Monfort beef slaughterhouse where she works. She said that one of the results of the fight has been that the line speed has been reduced from 400 to 350 cattle slaughtered per hour.

Anna Jiménez, an asbestos laborer and volunteer organizer for the Laborers' International Union, spoke at a workshop on "Women in the Trades." Jiménez is Guatemalan and lives in Los Angeles, where asbestos workers, whose job consists of removing asbestos from buildings, have been organizing for several months to win union recognition for about 3,000 workers. They are also demanding better wages, medical insurance, vacation, and pension benefits. Workers have picketed worksites and employers' homes. "I'm learning and meeting

people of all races here," Jiménez said of the conference, "and I see that we all have the same problems."

A delegation of twenty-three came from the National Postal and Mailhandlers Union Local 300 in Westchester, New York. At least ten came from United Steelworkers of America Local 8888, which organizes shipbuilders in Newport News, Virginia.

Sarita Stepney is a United Auto Workers (UAW) member who participated in the recent strike against General Motors in Oklahoma City. She has worked at the plant for 18 years. "What is hard for a working woman like myself, is deciding priorities, what to pay, child care, getting the first or second shift in order to spend time with the children. This conference makes me feel like I am not alone." Other UAW members came from Kentucky, Mississippi, West Virginia, Alabama, New York, and Michigan.

Another national gathering that will take up the issues facing women workers and the unions was publicized at the Ask a Working Woman conference. That is the ninth biennial convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), which will take place November 6-9 in Seattle.

Nan Bailey is a member of IAM Local 1103 in Kent, Washington. Charlotte Hernández is a member of the IAM in Washington, D.C.

## San Francisco rail strike

Continued from front page

car to tell them that she had to go to San Francisco and that her personal driver was going to be inconvenienced. Another rode by on a bicycle and shouted, "You're disrupting my life and you make too much money!" A young woman at the Berkeley station complained that she would have to drop out of a class, but said it did not mean she was against the strikers.

Some 2,500 train operators, station agents, maintenance and office workers shut the BART down September 7 after working without a contract for two months. On June 30 the contracts covering workers organized into the ATU, Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) expired. California governor Peter Wilson then ordered a "cooling off" period, during which BART workers were legally forbidden from striking.

Strikers told the *Militant* that BART refused to negotiate during this period, and only opened talks in the final days. The company's final offers not only extended the existing two-tier pay scale, but set up a third level, under which new hires would receive only 75 percent on the full rate of pay.

BART workers are demanding equal pay for equal work, regardless of how long anyone has been on the job. Andrew Powell, a train operator picketing with Weltz at the Berkeley station, told the *Militant* that BART had hired substantial numbers of workers over the past three years, as service was extended to outlying suburbs. "They prepared the two-tier knowing they'd be hiring," Powell said, noting that today nearly half of all train operators and station agents were on the lower pay scale. Under the expired contract, workers were to reach full pay after five years, but since the con-

tract itself only ran for three years, it was unclear how long the lower pay rates would actually last.

The unionists are also demanding a 5 percent pay hike per year, improvements in a dental plan that has not raised its coverage for 27 years, and protection from discipline for AFSCME members who honor the picket lines of other unions on BART. They also oppose the increasing use of outside and nonunion contractors on BART projects.

The strike has led to massive traffic jams, including backups from the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge back through all of Oakland to the east and 15 miles to the north. Over 270,000 people use the BART trains each weekday. Government and transit officials have tried to add more buses and ferries to make up for the rail system, but so far the strike's power has not been diluted by these efforts. Strikers reported that bus drivers on AC Transit, which runs through Oakland and other East Bay cities, are refusing to work overtime during the strike, and AC officials themselves say they have no more buses to use due to budget cuts of the past few years.

The local news media has opened a massive campaign against the BART strikers, with screaming headlines such as, "Life without BART: It stinks." News reports continually quote people opposed to the strike. BART workers are attacked for being among the better paid transit workers in the country. Strikers point out that the cost of living is quite high in the Bay Area as well, and that they make very little in comparison with the management of the system.

Markie Wilson is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1732. Jim Altenberg is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-5.

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# Cuban generals speak at youth festival

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

HAVANA, Cuba — "To be a revolutionary is the highest level the human species can attain," said Harry Villegas Tamayo, a brigadier general of Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR). "That's what Che often explained."

Villegas, also known by his nom de guerre Pombo, was addressing 1,500 young people attending the 14th World Festival of Youth and Students, which took place in the Caribbean island July 28–August 5. He spoke to the delegates along with three other officers of the FAR: division general Ramón Pardo Guerra, and brigadier generals Luis Alfonso Zayas and Enrique Acevedo González.

The four officers fought with Guevara in the Sierra Maestra mountains of eastern Cuba during the 1956–58 revolutionary war that led to the overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas.

The event took place on the evening of August 2, at the conclusion of the festival's Anti-imperialist Tribunal. The Union of Young Communists and other Cuban organizations hosting the gathering had dedicated the festival to Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of his death. The panel discussion highlighted this dedication and received media attention internationally.

An August 28 Associated Press report from Havana, for example, said, "Earlier this month, four army generals in olive uniforms strode onto a stage in Havana to speak to 1,000 young foreigners about life as soldiers for communism, loyalty to [Cuban president Fidel] Castro, and love for the revolutionary martyr Che Guevara." A slightly edited version of this article was published in the August 30 *New York Times*.

"Military officers for the first time are giving government-approved interviews to Cuban journalists for books and magazine articles, mostly about the country's revolutionary past," the AP dispatch continued. "Most notable was this year's 'Secrets of Generals,' a collection of interviews with 41 of the nation's military leaders."

Three of the four generals who spoke at the August 2 event — Acevedo, Pardo, and Villegas — were interviewed by Cuban journalist Luis Báez in 1995 and 1996. Their interviews appear in *Secrets of Generals*, which the *Militant* reviewed earlier this year (see "Cuban generals discuss record of Revolutionary Armed Forces" in May 26, 1997, *Militant*).

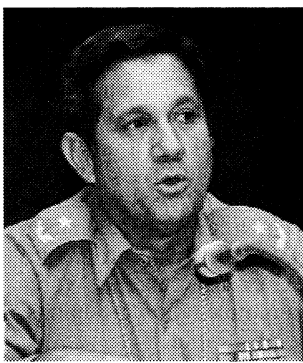
High-ranking officers of the FAR spoke at several other forums and discussions throughout the festival. Delsa Esther Puebla Viltre, for example, a brigadier general and the only woman among the 41 FAR officers interviewed in *Secrets of Generals*, spoke at the festival's Club of the Americas on August 3, on a panel that included 20 other women from the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC).

## Battle of El Uvero

Pardo Guerra, 61 years old today, was one of 18 children of a peasant family. He was born in *El Cobre*, a small village on the Sierra Maestra. He told festival delegates how he first met Che after the battle of El Uvero. A Rebel Army column of 80, led by Fidel Castro, overtook that small army garrison in May 1957 after fierce combat for nearly three hours. Fifteen guerrillas, and a greater number of enemy soldiers, were wounded in that battle, including Rebel Army commander Juan Almeida.

Che Guevara was put in charge of taking care of the wounded, organizing safe houses for their recovery, and leading their reintegration into the guerrilla units. Prior to joining the Cuban revolutionary movement in Mexico, Guevara had graduated from medical school in Argentina, where he was born, and had traveled throughout South America.

Ramón Pardo's brother, Israel, met Guevara after the Uvero battle, and led his group to the Pardo family house to get some rest and new supplies. "That's where I first met Che, Almeida, and the other fighters wounded in Uvero," the Cuban general told the delegates.



After the battle of El Uvero, Pardo said, "Che was responsible not just as a doctor, but as an organizer, opening up contacts with [the July 26 Movement in] Santiago de Cuba where some of the wounded had to be sent for treatment, creating the conditions for the subsistence of the group. That's when the second Rebel Army column was created, after Che led successfully that group of combatants to rejoin Fidel's troops and he was promoted to the rank of commander for that feat."

The July 26 Movement had been founded by Fidel Castro and other Cuban revolutionaries in 1955. It was the main political organization that led the anti-Batista movement in the cities, while the Rebel Army operated mainly in the Sierra Maestra.

Che always led by example, Pardo added. "He was the first to join each battle. He was the first in taking risks. In that way he educated all of us."

Villegas came back to this point at a forum on Che Guevara at the Club of the Americas two days later. "Che told us he dreamed of becoming a revolutionary doctor in his youth," Villegas said. But after he traveled throughout Latin America and saw first hand the miserable conditions most peasants and workers lived in, "he figured that to be a revolutionary doctor you have to have a revolution first."

Che always insisted on combining study with action, Villegas said, and on raising the cultural level of the combatants. "The very first thing Che did was try to get us to study. He liked to surround himself with youth and force us to improve ourselves."

At the August 2 panel discussion, Villegas described his first encounter with Che in the Sierra Maestra in 1957, where he joined the Rebel Army at age 17. (For a detailed description of this see Pathfinder's *At the Side of Che Guevara: Interviews with Harry Villegas*.) "Che was very honest and audacious; he was incessantly seeking the truth," Villegas said. "He was very human."

Brigadier general Zayas described how he took part in the westward advance of the Rebel Army's Column no. 8, commanded by Guevara. That march culminated in the victory over government forces in Santa Clara, Cuba's third largest city, on New Year's Day in 1959, in a battle that sealed the fate of the Batista dictatorship.

All four generals were members of Column no. 8 and fought in the battle of Santa Clara.

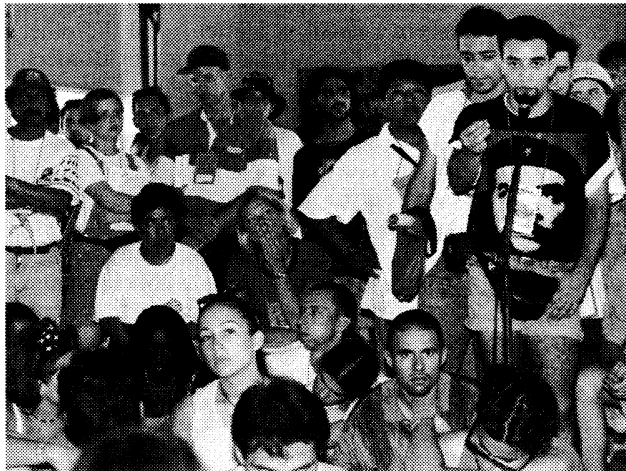
## Comradeship and friendship

The fourth panelist, brigadier general Enrique Acevedo González, 55, pointed to a book he has written on his experiences in the Sierra Maestra, called *Descamisados* (The Shirtless).

"I came from a petty bourgeois family in the north of Las Villas," in central Cuba, Acevedo told the delegates. "I went to the Sierra Maestra for two reasons. First because of my hatred for the dictatorship... and second because I had been accused of being a terrorist and faced the prospect of seven years in jail. So I felt obliged to leave for the mountains rapidly, at age 14."

Enrique Acevedo and his brother Rogelio, today a division general of the FAR who is also interviewed in *Secrets of Generals*, met Guevara when they tried to join the guerrillas in the Sierra Maestra. "That first meeting with Che was difficult," Acevedo said. "Che was responsible for making sure we were not agents of the dictatorship."

To find those who wanted to devote their lives to the revolutionary struggle and select the ones who could withstand the harsh conditions of guerrilla life, the FAR general continued, "Che had developed a mechanism, the squad of the shirtless." The recruits who were not disciplined during rigorous



Militant photos by Argiris Malapanis

Top, from left to right, division general Ramón Pardo and brigadier generals Harry Villegas, Enrique Acevedo, and Alfonso Zayas at August 2 event of 1,500 at world youth festival. Bottom, part of audience at August 4 meeting at Club of the Americas, where Villegas spoke.

training were punished by being assigned to the shirtless brigade, Acevedo said. "Sometimes this group would include drunks and future deserters. The atmosphere was bad, it was like being in a monastery. We had to march with a lot of weight up and down the slopes with little food. Many would leave quickly.... It seemed like my brother and I were permanent members of the shirtless squad for a period."

After Guevara was wounded in November 1957, the Acevedos were assigned to Fidel Castro's column. "Even though I had a rough experience as a young recruit under Che's command, a few months later I volunteered to join his column that would march toward Santa Clara," the general stated. "I did it out of ambition, at the time, to get a higher rank in the Rebel Army. My older brother was lieutenant and I wanted to become a lieutenant too."

Acevedo said he admired Guevara but never became friends with him in the Sierra Maestra. Che had a caustic sense of humor, he said. "I couldn't understand his jokes. Later, as I matured, I realized that was his way of showing affection. It was really I who lacked a sense of humor."

Years later, Fidel Castro told the FAR general that Guevara had requested that Acevedo be asked to join the guerrilla campaign in Bolivia Che was preparing to lead. Castro turned down the request, so that the two Acevedo brothers would not be separated. "I was overwhelmed when Fidel told me that story," Acevedo said. "That's who Che was. I was finally able to get rid of the shirtless syndrome."

Under discussion, Villegas came back to the question of friendship that Acevedo

touched on. There is no necessary contradiction between comradeship and friendship, Villegas said. "Comradeship exists between human beings who are fighting for the same cause, for the same principles. It goes beyond reciprocal feelings of simple friendship. Within the bond of comradeship, there is the concept of friendship. There is plenty in Che's actions toward Acevedo, some of which he pointed to, that showed Che's friendship toward him, even though there wasn't reciprocity from Acevedo back then." Che tried to instill these human qualities among the combatants, Villegas said.

Acevedo, Villegas, and the two other generals referred to their experiences in Angola, where they volunteered for tours of duty in the 1970s and 1980s to help defeat invasions of that country by the armies of the apartheid regime in South Africa and defend Angola's hard-fought independence from Portugal. "Che's internationalist example was multiplied many times as you can see from the 300,000 Cuban volunteers from this small island who

went to Angola," Villegas said. He also referred to his experiences fighting with Che Guevara to advance the national liberation struggle in the Congo in 1965 and later in Bolivia.

## In the Congo and Bolivia with Che

Villegas expanded on these points at the August 4 meeting at the Club of the Americas, which was attended by more than 250.

"Che set an example that needs to be followed by millions of youth around the world today," Villegas said, responding to a question from Andrés Guzmán, a delegate from Venezuela. Social conditions similar to those that led working people to rebel in Latin America in the 1950s and 60s, the FAR general said, exist now. "Today there is more unemployment, more illiteracy. Nearly 50 percent of the peoples of Latin America live below the official level of poverty."

It's necessary to remember what was happening in Latin America and the world when Che decided to go to Bolivia, Pombo said. "The social, economic, and political situation in Latin America was explosive. A revolutionary movement had swept Bolivia in 1952. With the triumph of the Cuban revolution peoples throughout the continent saw a way to achieve their independence, put an end to their misery and exploitation, and begin building just societies." At the same time, Villegas said, the people of Vietnam were heroically resisting a genocidal war by Washington and in Africa the anticolonial movements were gaining momentum.

"That's when Che issued his message to the Tricontinental, calling for creating two, three, many Vietnams. He thought the revo-

Continued on Page 10

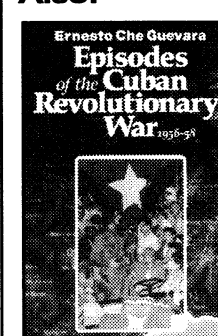
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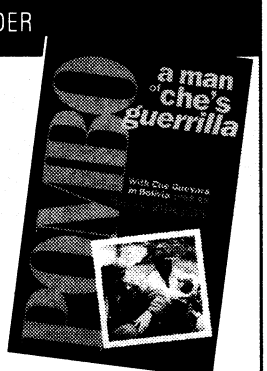
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# Dominicans protest cops in Puerto Rico

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — About 125 people marched September 4 from the police headquarters to the federal building here to protest the death of Rafael Herrera, 27, during a raid to arrest undocumented workers. Dominican groups here have charged that he died after being beaten by the police. One of the main demands of the march was a thorough investigation of the circumstances surrounding his death.

The picket line formed at noon in front of police headquarters on Roosevelt Avenue. During the picket a worker from the telephone company honked and waved in solidarity as he drove by. After chanting slogans against police brutality and discrimination against Dominican immigrants in Puerto Rico, the marchers sang the national anthem of the Dominican Republic. Then the crowd marched to the federal building.

Many protesters carried Dominican flags,

while a smaller number carried the Puerto Rican banner. The Dominican organizations sponsoring the march included the Party of Dominican Liberation, Social Christian Reform Party, and Dominican Revolutionary Party, all of which have offices in San Juan. Sponsoring Puerto Rican groups included one of the General Council of Workers, one of the main trade union groupings, as well as the Socialist Front.

Besides the call for an investigation of Herrera's death, a leaflet listed the other demands: For Solidarity without Borders, Enough of Abuses, and Break the Chains of Fear.

Hours after the march forensic pathologist Yocasta Brugal released the official cause of death. She said that there were no signs that he had been beaten. According to Brugal, Herrera had a type of anemia that can be fatal when the person does strenuous physical exercise such as running from cops.



Militant/Ron Richards

Activists in San Juan, many carrying Dominican flags, picket police headquarters September 4 demanding investigation of death of man during immigration raid.

## Oil and chemical workers union holds convention

BY PAT NIXON  
AND MICHAEL PENNOCK

LAS VEGAS, Nevada — The 22nd convention of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers International Union (OCAW) opened here August 18 just as the Teamsters strike against United Parcel Service entered its third week.

The 472 delegates decided to suspend the normal order of business on August 21 so that the convention could participate in a scheduled Teamsters solidarity rally — one of 30 planned in cities around the country. In the intervening two days, a tentative settlement was reached between the Teamsters and UPS, and the rally was canceled.

In the opening presentation to the convention, OCAW president Robert Wages described the worsening conditions facing workers. "These are the toughest times in decades, with unprecedented attacks on workers and the working class as a whole. Corporate profits and productivity are up, and real wages are down. Corporate downsizing is leading to environmental degradation, health and safety problems, and job insecurity," he said.

### Offensive by employers

One example of this offensive is the assault on oil workers by Tosco Corp. In Pennsylvania and California, Tosco purchased refineries, slashed the union work force, and began forcing operators to do maintenance work. When workers in their Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, refinery tried to resist, Tosco shut down the plant until the union agreed to the onerous working conditions and layoffs. In California Tosco's proposals were passed by union members by a narrow margin. No report or discussion on this experience was presented at the convention.

Workers at Crown Petroleum in Houston, who have been locked out for 18 months, had a table at the convention.

Wages proposed a selective strike fund assessment, which he said would prepare the union for the next round of negotiations and send a message to corporate America that the union is ready to defend hard-won gains. The \$50 assessment would be paid monthly by every member in the oil groups in addition to their regular union dues. The fund would pay members on strike or locked out \$75 per week, in addition to \$50 regular weekly strike benefits.

The proposal met widespread opposition from the delegates. An amended proposal for a system of voluntary participation at \$25 per member was withdrawn when it became clear that it also would be defeated. Cecily Feudo, a delegate from Local 1-5 in the San Francisco Bay Area, said that what members of her local would support is a "pay as you go" system to support strikes that are under way.

Anthony Mazzocchi, assistant to Wages, reported on the OCAW's efforts to advance the Labor Party. This grouping was formed last year at a conference that included officials from the OCAW and a few other unions. The Labor Party is a "long-range strategy that can contain the frustrations of our members," Mazzocchi stated. It is a party that will not yet run candidates for office, but will "develop an agenda and frame the debate around working-class solutions," he said. In the meantime, OCAW will continue to support "pro-labor" candidates, most of them in the Democratic Party.

A resolution on Nigeria was passed unanimously. In 1993 a military dictatorship seized power in Nigeria. Leading trade union and human rights leaders were jailed,

murdered, or forced into exile. The resolution demands the immediate release of all Nigerian political prisoners. It also calls on Washington to take measures, including oil sanctions, against the Nigerian government.

The delegates passed a resolution that encourages participation in "employee involvement" programs. The resolution states that the "corporate goals are...directly against the interests of OCAW members," citing attempts to diminish seniority protection, weaken work rules, expand subcontracting, and reduce the permanent work force. But it goes on to urge locals to negotiate an agreement on "organizing neutrality" — that a company would not interfere in an organizing drive at any of its nonunion facilities — in exchange for continued cooperation in such programs.

Other resolutions adopted took up environmental issues, health, and safety.

### Organizing drives

The membership of the OCAW is about 80,000, down from 90,000 in 1991. These losses are largely the result of the employers pushing for more work out of fewer people, as well as some plant closures.

The convention included workshops on OCAW organizing efforts and a talk by AFL-CIO organizing director Richard Bensinger. The workshop presenters reported that OCAW won 42 of its last 74 union representation elections, with the success rate improving. In his speech Bensinger pointed to a successful organizing drive by construction workers in Las Vegas and ef-

forts by farm workers as other examples of what is possible. Locals were urged to allocate up to one-third of their budgets for organizing.

Author Barbara Ehrenreich gave a speech to the convention about the recent "welfare reform" legislation. She expressed disappointment in Clinton for signing the bill, which she described as an attack and downward pressure on wages.

The delegates heard speeches from international guests Rich Baskin, vice president of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers of Canada, and Vasily Veryovkin, an officer of the Russian oil workers union.

Boyd Young, president of the United Paperworkers International Union also addressed the convention. He raised the hope of a merger of his union and the OCAW. A merger between the two unions was voted down by the Paperworkers' convention in 1988. Young said he was proud to be a liberal Democrat, but he was not proud of his party the last few years. "Clinton has wimped out," he said. He stressed that the OCAW's support for the Labor Party was no obstacle to a merger between the two unions.

After the convention adjourned, more than 100 OCAW members joined workers on the picket line at the Frontier Hotel, where members of the Culinary Workers went on strike in 1991.

Michael Pennock and Pat Nixon are members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union.

## Cuban generals speak to youth

Continued from Page 9

lutionary movement could inflict defeats on imperialism."

Villegas described the social and political conditions in the Latin America's Southern Cone that led the Cuban revolutionaries to pick Bolivia, aiming to build a movement of workers and peasants who could overthrow the U.S.-backed dictatorship there and open the road toward forming their own government.

Che assumed the participation and support of the Bolivian Communist Party, as a condition of success, Villegas said. "But Mario Monje, the general secretary of that party betrayed the struggle by not fulfilling the commitments made." The guerrillas were annihilated before they could reach the main area they intended to operate out of. Che was wounded and captured on Oct. 8, 1967. He was killed the next day in cold blood by Bolivian army officers after consultation with Washington. Villegas led the group of the six survivors in breaking the encirclement of the Bolivian army. Five of these fighters made their way out of the country and eventually reached Cuba. Villegas described how they accomplished this at a meeting of 50 delegates at the Middle East Club at the beginning of the youth festival.

Was the Bolivia campaign an adventure since Che and his co-fighters did not achieve

their immediate goals? one delegate asked. "We fought for a just society, you can call it a socialist society, the name is not important," Villegas said. "For a society where millions of children do not die of hunger, are not illiterate." The revolutionary upheavals in Latin America that followed for a decade after the Bolivia campaign were one confirmation of the correctness of Che's course, Villegas said.

"Revolutionaries always dream, imagine how to transform society, that's the essence of what Che fought for. You can see the fruit of Fidel and Che's ideas in the 15-year victorious struggle in Angola, as a result of which the integrity of Angola was preserved, Namibia gained its independence, and the most oppressive regime humanity experienced since Nazism, the apartheid regime, was overthrown.

"Today there are millions of human beings who can be won to revolutionary convictions, like those Che fought for. You are one example of that," he said, pointing to delegates from the United States who came to the festival despite Washington's denial of travel licenses to Cuba. "The U.S. government told you you couldn't come here, but you said it's my right to go. It's among people like you that Che's example lives in a latent stage and can be awakened by the horrible conditions capitalism offers humanity today and the struggle against them."

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# Albright backs Israeli regime in Mideast

Continued from front page

interviews with U.S. television reporters urging Albright to press the Palestinian leadership to crack down on militants.

On September 4 three Palestinians detonated bombs in a Jerusalem shopping center killing themselves and four others, and wounding more than 190 people. The Palestinian organization Hamas claimed responsibility for the attack. It also warned of more explosions unless all Palestinian prisoners incarcerated by Tel Aviv were released by September 14. The bombing had been preceded by another suicide blast by two Palestinians on July 30 that killed 15 Israelis.

Under stepped up pressure from Washington, the Palestinian police rounded up some 200 members of Hamas September 9 — on the eve of Albright's arrival. The leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) also began posturing with a measure of militancy, warning it was prepared to launch a policy of "confrontation" in a statement published in the *Jerusalem Times*, a Palestinian newspaper. They declared their refusal to bow to Israeli dictates of "100 percent security" measures, asserting that the PLO would become an "army of collaborators" and fuel a civil war among Palestinian people if they obeyed these Zionist demands.

"Arafat can throw the Islamists in jail and even torture them, but what will he get in return?" asked Abdul Abu Heir, a Palestinian shop owner in Jerusalem. "A crackdown



Palestinian man (right) is stopped by Israeli cops as he protests Zionist settlements

will cause a civil war here."

The current crisis stems from Tel Aviv's failure to implement more than 30 commitments stipulated in the Israeli-PLO accords negotiated in Oslo, Norway, in 1993. In March Israel's prime minister Benjamin

Netanyahu approved the construction of Zionist settlements in east Jerusalem, which ignited confrontations and led the Palestinian leadership to suspend all formal contacts with Tel Aviv.

Three days before the latest suicide at-

tack, the Israeli regime had announced it had no plans to pull Israeli troops from the West Bank. Palestinians control less than 10 percent of the West Bank, while being surrounded by a 100,000-strong Israeli military occupation force. According to the 1995 Oslo Interim Agreement, a second redeployment of Zionist troops was scheduled for September 7. The first withdrawal occurred in March, when the Israeli regime returned only 2 percent of the land to full Palestinian control.

Meanwhile, economic hardships for the Palestinian masses has increased with unemployment reaching more than 40 percent in some towns as a result of border restrictions imposed by Tel Aviv. The Israeli government has also withheld some \$45 million in monthly revenue owed to the Palestinian Authority, which include income tax, value-added tax, customs duties and excise taxes. The Zionist regime imposed these measures after the July 30 suicide bombing, in addition to demolishing more than two dozen Palestinian homes.

"They destroy people's houses, take land, prevent people from working," said a Palestinian shop owner referring to these policies. "Pressure leads to an explosion."

## Netanyahu regime in permanent crisis

The Netanyahu government has been engulfed in one crisis after another. Nurit Peled-Eichanan, whose daughter was killed in September 4 bombing, blamed the Netanyahu government saying, "They sacrifice our children for their megalomania — for their need to control, oppress, dominate." Peled-Eichanan is the daughter of former Zionist military commander Maj. Gen. Motti Peled.

Most recently, a debate has broken out among the Israeli rulers over their occupation of southern Lebanon, fueled by the killing of 12 Israeli soldiers from an elite commando unit during a botched raid there September 5. This unit was responsible for assassinating Palestinian leaders in Beirut in 1973. The bungled operation was preceded by another military fiasco in Lebanon, when four Israeli soldiers were burned to death August 28. They died from a fire that was ignited by artillery shells from their own forces during a gun battle with Hezbollah guerrillas.

"What happened was a grave defeat for Israel and a major moral and human loss for Israel's military establishment," said Hezbollah leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, at a September 5 news conference in Beirut.

"These are the worst losses in combat Israel has suffered since 1985," reported the September 6 *Financial Times*. Four of Netanyahu's cabinet members — including Infrastructures Minister Ariel Sharon — publicly called for withdrawing troops from Lebanon. Sharon was the Israeli defense minister who led the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. In a September 7 interview with *Yedioth Aharonoth*, an Israeli newspaper, the rightist politician said, "Lebanon has become a real burden to Israel."

# Washington fosters bombings in Cuba

Continued from front page

resort area, which caused property damage and some minor injuries. A second unexploded bomb was found in the Meliá-Cohiba Hotel, the site of the first blast.

On September 10 Cuban authorities announced that a man carrying a Salvadoran passport had been arrested and confessed to the most recent bombings, as well as two in July. A statement by the Cuban Ministry of the Interior said that the man, identified as Raúl Ernesto Cruz León, is a U.S.-trained Salvadoran army veteran who was paid \$4,500 for each bombing. It said the operation was linked to the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), a counter-revolutionary group based in Miami. CANF leaders denied this charge.

A September 5 statement by the Ministry of the Interior, which was published in the Cuban daily *Granma*, pointed out, "Since the first of these actions the Cuban government has, on the basis of well-founded information, categorically affirmed before national and world public opinion that these repugnant acts were planned, financed, and organized in the United States.

"For decades U.S. authorities have encouraged, covered up, and tolerated terrorist activity against Cuba," the statement continued. "These acts have never been investigated with necessary rigor, despite the provision, through various channels, of information on the plans of and concrete actions carried out by murderers who enjoy complete liberty and impunity in U.S. territory....

"Our people confront these cowardly, brutal attacks with firmness, serenity, intelligence, and full confidence of victory."

U.S. State Department spokesman James Foley asserted that Washington had no knowledge of who was behind the bombings, and said the Cuban government had not presented "substantive information or evidence to support that contention" that U.S.-based forces were involved.

Echoing the State Department line, the big-business press has repeatedly suggested that the bombings are the work of forces in Cuba. For example, a September 5 article the *Miami Herald* cited an unnamed "foreigner living in Havana" as saying, "With each bombing the argument grows that this must be the work of insiders, who know how to slip in and out of hotels."

## An attack on the Cuban economy

Oscar Ochotorena, an activist in the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community (ATC) in Miami, explained that he thought there were different reasons for the bombings. "But number one," he said, "this is an attack on the Cuban economy. It is an attempt to hurt tourism, which is so important to Cuba and which is advancing."

Tourism is one of the most important sources of hard currency for Cuba. According to the *Miami Herald* the 1.2 million visitors expected in Cuba this year could bring in \$1.75 billion in gross income.

Opposition to the bombing campaign is so overwhelming in Cuba that even the so-called dissident groups, many of whom receive money from U.S. government agencies, have come out against them. One such group, the misnamed Cuban Commission for Human Rights and National Reconciliation, called the bombings "blind, cruel and irresponsible."

In the Miami Cuban-American community very few groups have come out publicly in support of the bombing campaign. Among those that have are Alpha 66, an avowed terrorist group, and the Cuban American National Foundation. An Associated Press dispatch on September 4 stated, "The militant Cuban exile group Alpha 66 in Miami has said that it was not responsible for the blasts, but that it was in contact with 'clandestine cells' inside Cuba that were responsible."

Ninoska Pérez, a representative of the CANF who hosts a local Spanish-language radio show, has said that while deploring violence, the foundation supports what she described as all forms of resistance by the Cuban people.

## Protest called in Miami

While individual rightists in Miami have supported the bombings, discussions in workplaces and on the streets point to the big majority of Cuban-Americans opposing the terrorist acts.

At a meeting of about 50 members of the ATC a few days after the September 4 blasts, Walfrido Moreno, president of the ATC, got a rousing standing ovation when he denounced the U.S. government and counter-revolutionaries in Miami and called for everyone to come out for a protest of the bombings later in the week.

A press statement put out by the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group that supports the Cuban revolution, stated, "The Antonio Maceo Brigade energetically condemns the criminal campaign of terrorist bombings in Cuba against the Cuban people by their traditional enemies."

After pointing to the right-wing elements as being behind the blasts the statement went on, "This can occur and continue to occur only as long as the U.S. government maintains its policies of aggression and genocide against the Cuban people."

A statement put out by the Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba referred to rightist bombings in Miami last year against travel agencies that deal with Cuba and against the Centro Vasco restaurant where Cuban singer Rosita Fornes was

to perform.

The coalition explained, "While right-wing elements in Miami and elsewhere have a history of involvement in such acts the ultimate responsibility for this terrorism is the U.S. government. Whether directly organizing these attacks or not, Washington's refusal to seriously investigate both the bombings in Miami and the links to those in Cuba gives the green light to violent rightist organizations.

"Furthermore, evidence now being investigated by an international commission from 74 countries indicates that Washington is using biological attacks against Cuban agriculture. Among the proofs are photos showing a U.S. plane spraying a substance over an area of Cuba where a deadly insect infestation of crops later developed. Reminiscent of previous denials by Washington before the Bay of Pigs invasion and other U.S. sponsored terrorism the authorities here say the plane was spraying smoke to alert a nearby plane of its position."

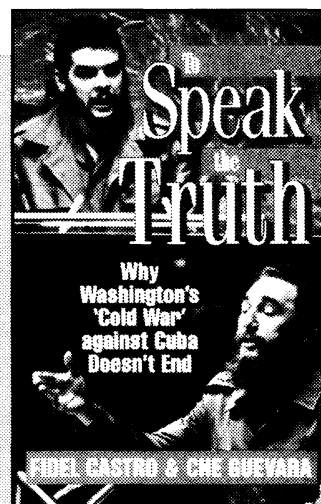
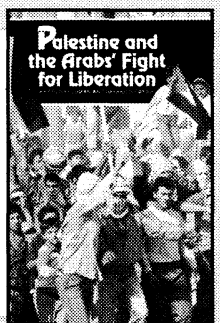
The Miami coalition along with the Antonio Maceo Brigade and the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community called for a picket line to protest the bombings to be held outside the offices of Congresswoman Ileana Ros-Lehtinen on September 16.

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# Sinn Fein leaders speak to thousands

Continued from Page 16

cal prisoners would be an important means to build public confidence in the negotiations. Meanwhile, he said, "everyone should move to assist the prisoners in their hour of need."



BY MAGGIE PERRIER

CHICAGO — Some 400 people heard Sinn Fein leader Caoimhghin O'Caolain speak here September 6 on the struggle for a united Ireland. O'Caolain was elected to a seat in the Irish parliament June 6.

The Chicago leg of the Friends of Sinn Fein sponsored tour was held at International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Hall. It

began with a welcome by Margaret Blackshere, head of the Irish American Labor Coalition and a representative for the Illinois State AFL-CIO.

During his speech O'Caolain said, "Sinn Fein enters the negotiations as an Irish Republican party," and "the route to the negotiations should be through restoring the right of national self-determination to the people of Ireland."

After his presentation, the Sinn Fein representative took questions from the audience. One person asked if the process in South Africa showed the way forward for Northern Ireland. O'Caolain answered that members of the negotiating team had visited South Africa just five weeks earlier as

a guest of President Nelson Mandela in order to learn from their experiences. The group included David Trimble, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party.

Another person asked what Sinn Fein is doing about "the total apathy" of people in the Irish Republic toward supporting the fight for an end to British rule in the six counties of Northern Ireland. O'Caolain pointed to censorship laws against Sinn Fein that existed in Ireland from 1922 to 1994. He said that his recent electoral victory shows that "when people hear the truth, many thousands are prepared to embrace the fight."

He pointed out that he had run for office as a Sinn Fein candidate in the past, but it

was only after the lifting of Section 31 in 1994, a censorship law that forbade the media from transmitting interviews with Sinn Fein candidates, that he was able to win.

Another participant asked what kind of guarantees the negotiating team could give to those fighting against British rule. O'Caolain said "We must recognize that the British government never has, and never will, give anything willingly" but "will only move through the efforts of the Irish struggle."

He said the negotiations "guarantee nothing" and that "we must all redouble our efforts to vocalize, activize and get out and do the work."

## Funeral spurs debate on monarchy

Continued from Page 16

dard is flown over the palace, and not lowered even for the death of a reigning monarch. By September 3, Blair appeared on the steps of the prime minister's residence in Downing Street to defend the monarch, insisting that the royal family shared "our grief."

Concessions followed. The Union Flag was flown at half mast at the royal residence at Windsor Castle, the route of the funeral procession was lengthened, and the royal family agreed to return earlier than planned to London. The queen made her first live television broadcast to the nation in 38 years.

These concessions, however, had little effect in stemming the tide of debate, which by Monday was lapping the shores of the monarchy's very future.

"I think the royal family just responded to public pressure in the end," said Keith Brand a production worker at Ford's main assembly plant in London. Brand watched the funeral on TV.

Ray Wood, another worker at the factory agreed. "I think it was just a front, because of what the public wanted them to do. They were obligated — they are already under threat. I don't think they felt any real remorse" over the princess's death.

Commenting on Charles Spencer's remarks, Wood said, "I think there should be a change, like Earl Spencer said, the two boys need to see how it really is — homelessness and everything."

Wood thought Charles Windsor, an "adulterer," should be passed over and William be the next king.

"They should do away with them altogether, or at least only have one, like other countries have done," commented Darryl Sigler.

"The people don't listen to the queen anymore, the queen has to listen to the people," said Gayle Kermin, another worker on Ford's production line. "They've been behind that wall too long. They're unpopular. They won't ever get a funeral like that!"

Following the funeral Blair flew to Scotland to meet with Elizabeth Windsor to discuss the future of the monarchy.

Responding to questions over the very existence of a monarchy in the UK in a TV interview prior to the visit, Blair said, "I personally believe that the monarchy is a

tradition which we want to keep. But the monarchy adapts and changes and will change and modernize with each generation." He also expressed his personal support for Charles, saying he would make a good king. In a poll carried out among crowds mourning Diana Spencer, ICM reported 72 percent of respondents thought her son William should be the next king.

Ian Grant is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union at Ford.

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## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Boom and Bust on the Stock Market: What It Means for Working People.** Speaker: Jay Ressler, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 87A Halsey St. (1 block west of Broad St., 2 blocks north of Raymond Blvd.) Donation:

\$4. Tel: (973) 643-3341.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**Workers' Resistance and the Global Economic Crisis: A Report on the International Trade Union conference in Cuba.** Speaker: Betsy Stone, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists, Lodge 1427 at O'Hare Airport, and conference participant. Sat., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. Dinner: 6 p.m. 1103 E. Carson St. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

### NEW ZEALAND

#### Christchurch

**Secret Witnesses: An Attack on Democratic Rights.** Fri., Sept. 19, 7 p.m. 199 High St. (Corner High and Tuam). Donation: \$3. Tel: (03) 365-6055.

## — CALENDAR —

### AUSTRALIA

#### Sydney

**Pathfinder Fund Celebration.** Speaker: Patrick Brown, Communist League, New Zealand. Sat., Sept. 20, 7 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$5.

**Class on Politics in New Zealand.** Sun., Sept. 21, 2 p.m. Pathfinder Bookshop, 19 Terry St., Surry Hills.

For more information on both events, call (02) 9281-3297.

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## CORRECTIONS

A sentence in the article "New gov't does not quell unrest in PNG" in *Militant* issue no. 31 was accidentally garbled in editing. The sentence that began on page 6 and ended on page 7 should have read: "But the last-minute decision to back the government by prominent activist leaders of the March revolt who stood for Parliament as Independents and won, such as Melanesian Solidarity (Melsol) leader Peti Lafanama and Father Robert Lak, who defeated Wingti, shocked many according to John."

In the same issue, the article titled "Diana Spencer's death spotlights troubles of British monarchy," on page 16, incorrectly stated that Spencer's bodyguard was injured in the auto crash. The injured man was working as a bodyguard for Emad Mohammed al-Fayed.



**UPS, a win for all** — “About 35 million Americans now hold ‘non-standard’ jobs — part-timers, independent contractors, temp workers, the self-employed — and represent



**Harry Ring**

a distinct and disadvantaged class within the U.S. work force...” — *Los Angeles Times*, August 31.

**Mark it down** — The previous item was based on a study by the Economic Policy Institute, which found that part-timers, on average,

get 73 percent less than full-time workers — \$10.38 an hour for male part-timers, and \$9.52 for women. At the bottom of the ladder, day laborers, who average \$6.24 an hour — \$4.99 for women, \$6.96 for men.

**Grim, dirty secret** — Paul Carr, 30, a leading voice in demanding British action on the Gulf War Syndrome, died last month. A Desert Storm veteran, he suffered rashes, swollen joints, liver disorder, and a brain tumor. His two daughters, born since the war, have rare heart disorders.

**What a nice jackal** — In Northern Ireland, media classes have been organized for spokespeople for the Ulster Unionist Party and the Or-

ange Order, running dogs for British imperialism in its ongoing war to hold back the Irish freedom movement. The classes aim to teach them to present their case in human terms, like the independence fighters do.

**A splendid society** — British psychiatrists note an alarming increase in the number of children, as young as eight, suffering depression and other emotional disorders. And, with no adequate support system, doctors are increasingly turning to prescription drugs. It’s feared that Britain will follow the U.S. example where more than 600,000 children are taking Prozac and other antidepressants.

**The school yard pushers** — Eli Lilley has asked the feds to okay the

sale of Prozac for children. Actually, the decade-old approval of the drug already leaves children’s prescriptions to doctors’ discretion. Prozac is already peddling a mint-flavored variety.

**Welcoming the 21st Century** — The Republican candidate for governor of Virginia won Democratic support for a proposed measure to bill prison inmates for the cost of their stay. And a Florida court upheld a sheriff’s plan to charge prisoners for meals, including those being held for trial, even if found innocent. The sheriff reasons that if you’re in jail, it means “a judge found there was reason to hold you.”

**‘To the free market!’** — “Russians are drinking themselves to

death at a rate unparalleled anywhere in modern times. Life expectancy for men fell by 6.2 years and for women by 3.4 years between 1990 and 1994 and a major reason was heavy drinking, according to *The Lancet* [British medical publication]” — Associated Press.

**That’s odd** — In Gloucester, England, Andrew Whyte, a Rastafarian, faces rape charges which he denies. Two alleged victims identified him in a police video lineup in which everyone else was wearing makeup and wigs. The cop who produced the video said he couldn’t get any lineup volunteers with dreadlocks. “The situation,” he explained, “is that Rastafarian-type persons do not wish to cooperate with the police.”

# What’s at the root of stock market turbulence?

As the New York Stock Exchange hits new highs — and sets records for one-day gains and losses — it’s good to take a look at what’s behind the ballooning prices. The articles in issue no. 10 of the Marxist magazine *New International* are particularly useful. The excerpts below are from “Imperialism’s March Toward Fascism and War,” a report by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes that was adopted by the party’s 1994 convention. *New International* is copyright © by 408 Printing and Publishing Corp., reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

## BOOK OF THE WEEK

BY JACK BARNES

The biggest threat to the stability of the capitalist economy right now is not inflation, as it was fifteen or twenty years ago, but the possibility of accelerating deflation. Many prices are actually going down, and the overall inflation rate—some 3 percent annually (or lower) in much of the imperialist world—is the lowest for any extended period of time since the 1950s through the early 1960s.

The prices of what Wall Street calls commodities—oil, farm products, base metals and other raw materials for industry—have been at very low levels, dropping by more than half since 1980. Despite an increase during the opening months of 1994, these prices are still in the low range historically.

Commercial real estate prices plummeted by half in the late 1980s and early 1990s, too. Capitalists who couldn’t make what they considered satisfactory profits by investing in expansion of manufacturing capacity poured their excess capital, among other places, into a massive overbuilding of skyscrapers, shopping centers, and office complexes.

By the opening of the 1990s, however, vacancy rates in downtown areas of major cities were at extraordinarily high levels. Big commercial landlords stopped demanding rent payments from hard-pressed business

tenants, competing to hold onto lessees until conditions turned up. I’m not talking about your landlord or mine; our landlords will bounce us out if we don’t pay the rent. But that’s not what businesses face. This collapse in real estate prices is true not just here in the United States, but in Britain and Japan as well.

### Deflationary trends

Economic collapse lurks behind such deflationary trends. This is what a business cycle upturn is like in a depression — high levels of unemployment and of part-time and temporary work, even in periods of renewed hiring; downward pressures on prices.

The deflation affects our class in a particular way. Our real wages and family income have been declining since the opening of the 1970s, as our take-home pay failed to keep up with rising prices, even as inflation slowed after 1982. In recent years, however, employers have often simply been freezing our wages or cutting our hourly wage rates outright. They can’t use inflation to rob us these days as easily as they did in the earlier period; that’s not what’s happening.

What is happening? Banks aren’t very interested in your or my money right now. Have you tried to open up a bank account lately? What do they offer on an interest-bearing checking account—one and a half percent or something? Or on a savings account—two to two and a half percent? Less than the rate of inflation. They don’t want our money. They’ve even begun closing more and more neighborhood branches.

Banks these days aren’t much interested in banking—that is, what we think of as normal banking business, attracting deposits and making loans. There are some 2,500 fewer banks in the United States today than there were in the middle of the 1980s. And the trend continues toward bigger and fewer. Banks grow wealthier by borrowing cheap from the government and then buying bonds from the same government that pay them a higher interest rate. (Talk about welfare queens!) And they engage in the ever-expanding international currency speculation.

That’s what your friendly local bankers have been doing. And that’s what they will keep doing so long as the dollar remains strong, inflation and long-term interests rates stay down, and there’s not a political explosion somewhere in the world that upsets the apple cart.

But if not much money has been created by banks loaning money in recent years, it has been created in another, hidden way — by the massive floating of securities. Up until February of this year, when the stock market began another slide, the 1990s had witnessed an explosion of stock prices in the United States. Stock markets in most other advanced capitalist countries soared in 1993 as well. The notable exception was the three-year-long collapse of the stock market in Japan, which has turned back up a bit for the first time this year....

Holders of capital even start buying up paper

claims on future business activity—not ownership of stocks or bonds themselves, but claims on what might happen to the price of these pieces of paper in the future. And capitalists borrow massively to do all this, on the premise that the market value of this paper can only go up.

So, on the one hand, a massive bubble grows on the stock market—a hidden form of inflation embedded in enormous amounts of money tied up in stocks held by the bourgeoisie and better-off middle classes, and more and more leveraged by gigantic borrowing. On the other hand, disinflation threatens to turn into a deflationary collapse. This explosive contradiction builds up.

### Stock market bubble

Peasants throughout the history of commodity circulation have developed a social intuition that senses these speculative bubbles and the dangers of their collapse. They take what small savings they have out of currencies and start buying up gold jewelry, pieces of jade, hunks of valuable metal—anything they might be able to sell someday—and stash it away. A similar mentality may soon start growing among many owners of capital in imperialist countries, with special urgency among relatively smaller and more vulnerable holders:

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



September 22, 1972

**NORWOOD, Ohio** — On April 7 some 4,000 members of United Auto Workers Local 674 walked off their jobs at the General Motors Assembly Division plant in Norwood, Ohio, a suburb of Cincinnati. “This is the longest strike in General Motors history,” I was told by Richard Minton, president of Local 674, in a recent interview.

Like the recent strike by UAW workers in Lordstown, Ohio, the Norwood strike also stems from the replacement of two managements — Fisher Body and Chevrolet Division — with a single management, the General Motors Assembly Division (GMAD). The goal of GMAD is to increase “efficiency” in the plants, and this was done by laying off 749 workers without decreasing the assembly line speed.

In addition to the speedup, management is trying to use the negotiations for a new GMAD contract to get rid of certain pay scales, seniority rights, and other provisions favorable to the workers in the old Fisher Body and Chevrolet contracts.

Minton thought morale among the strikers was “awfully good.” He said, “I’ve talked to a majority of the people, and they still main the same position as they did April 7. They say, ‘We’re not going back under the same conditions in the plant.’”

Another Local 674 member had a somewhat different evaluation. “It depends on who you talk to. I know some fellows whose morale is pretty high, and then again among some it’s pretty low. There are fellows who are hard hit, let’s be honest about it. And they have children, families, school’s starting.”



September 22, 1947

A new revolutionary upsurge is convulsing Italy. Grinding hunger and poverty, coupled with alarm over the swift growth of armed fascist bands, are driving the workers and farm laborers into action against the deGasperi government.

On Sept. 1 some 1,000 partisans marched into Casale Monferrato, a city of about 30,000 inhabitants in Northwestern Italy. Together with 1,200 local partisans they took over the government. They then called a general strike, which lasted a number of days.

This demonstration was occasioned by the Government’s freeing of six local fascists who had been condemned to death by Popular Tribunals after the fall of Mussolini.

On Sept. 8, an estimated 600,000 to 1,000,000 agricultural workers went out on strike at the height of the harvesting season. They demanded (1) jobs for the unemployed; (2) wage increases; (3) regulations to prevent unjustified dismissals; (4) cost-of-living and family bonuses.

The recent swift growth of the fascist danger has alarmed the workers. There are more than 60 underground fascist-minded military formations. They are armed to the teeth in preparation for civil war. The number of armed fascist forces far exceeds the number of working-class partisans still in possession of arms.

The most powerful of these groups are the ECLA (Clandestine Anti-Communists Liberation Army), the “Fascist Italian Social Movement,” and the FAR (Fascies of Revolutionary Action). These groups are closely interlinked.

**New International**  
A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

**In issue no. 10**

- Imperialism’s March toward Fascism and War  
BY JACK BARNES
- What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold  
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY RESOLUTION, 1988
- Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba’s Socialist Revolution  
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# Socialists: protest terrorist bombings against Cuba!

The statement below was issued by Janet Post, Socialist Workers candidate for Mayor of Miami, and Rollande Girard, Socialist Workers candidate for Miami Commissioner, District 1.

The Socialist Workers candidates join defenders of democratic rights and those who support the sovereignty of nations in condemning the September 4 bombings of three hotels and a restaurant in Cuba, in which an Italian man visiting the country was killed by shrapnel. These attacks follow several other such bombings since April.

We urge those who oppose these cowardly and deadly attacks to join us at the September 16 picket line called by the Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba, the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community.

The labor movement, working farmers, and youth involved in social protest actions have a direct interest in defending Cuba against these assaults and in exposing the U.S. government's complicity in them. We face a common enemy: the U.S. capitalist class. At home the bosses are pushing for lower wages, more speed-up, and harsher working conditions, while their government is chipping away at hard-won social benefits. It's these same employers who have been striving to overturn the socialist revolution in Cuba for nearly four decades.

Washington has a well-known record of organizing, encouraging, and covering up terrorist acts against Cuba ever since working people there made a revolution and took their destiny in their own hands.

Since the Cuban people made a mighty popular revolution in 1959 that overturned the U.S.-backed regime of Fulgencio Batista, Washington has used every means at its disposal to turn back the course of history: armed invasion, threat of nuclear annihilation, assassination attempts against leaders of the revolution, a 35-year economic embargo, diplomatic isolation, economic sabotage, slander campaigns, and the list could go on. The fact that Cuban workers and peasants

pushed forward their revolution, overturned capitalism, threw out the imperialist exploiters, and set on a course to advance the struggle of working people worldwide has been greeted with incessant hostility from the largest economic and military power on the face of the earth.

Having failed in these attempts, Washington is ratcheting up the pressure on Cuba's economy, hoping to force workers and peasants to cry "Uncle!" They are tightening the screws on the embargo through the cynically titled Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, or Helms-Burton law, seeking every avenue possible to force an end to any country trading or establishing commercial relations with Cuba. Now the U.S. Congress is considering a raft of additional legislation aimed at further tightening the Helms-Burton noose.

Washington acts against Cuba because the wealthy rulers of the United States view Cuban working people and their leadership as the front line in the struggle against exploitation and oppression, against the devastating impact of the world capitalist economic crisis. The imperialists also see big battalions of working people entering into wider struggle from Brazil to France to the United States, and know that Cuba's example can and will spread. They know that Cuban workers and peasants will give everything they can — as they did in the Congo, Angola, Vietnam, the Middle East, and across Latin America — to help advance battles for national liberation and against imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

Standing together with our brothers and sisters in Cuba will strengthen the struggles of workers and unionists here, and advance the fighting power of those taking a stand against exploitation and oppression. Such actions can maximize the political price the U.S. rulers pay for these attacks.

The socialist candidates encourage all to join the Cuban people as they stand up to demand from Washington: Stop the bombings against Cuba!

Apprehend and prosecute all those responsible for these cowardly attacks!

End Washington's economic war!

Normalize relations with Havana now!

# U.S. provocations mount against north Korea

BY NAOMI CRAINE

In a provocative move against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), the Clinton administration announced August 26 that it would grant political asylum to two north Korean diplomats and their families. U.S. officials openly state that they organized the defections of Chang Sung Gil, who was the DPRK ambassador to Egypt, and his brother Chang Sung Ho, a trade official at Pyongyang's mission in Paris.

The U.S. State Department made this announcement one day before scheduled negotiations between Pyongyang and Washington on weapons sales. The north Korean government canceled the talks in protest, demanding U.S. officials turn over the two men, who it said defected to escape charges of embezzlement and leaking state secrets.

Just a week earlier, the Clinton administration announced that it had imposed new economic sanctions on the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for alleged "missile technology proliferation activities." Washington already has a complete trade embargo against north Korea.

Meanwhile, a tidal wave hit the western coast of the DPRK in late August, flooding some 265,000 acres of farmland and leaving nearly 29,000 people homeless. This will exacerbate the already serious food shortages in north Korea, the result of two years of flooding followed by drought. Washington has provided only token food aid, and actively worked to stymie Pyongyang's requests for international assistance.

Printed below are excerpts from a message by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes to the Korean people responding to these provocations by Washington.



On behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, I send communist greetings to the Korean people on the occasion of the 49th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Our party... continues to demand that Washington get its troops and nuclear weapons out of Korea; sign a peace treaty ending the state of war the U.S. rulers and their allies have maintained despite the failure of their destructive campaign in the early 1950s to occupy the entirety of your country; and normalize diplomatic relations with the DPRK.

We condemn the recent provocations by Washington and its agents, engineering the defection of two former north Korean diplomats to coincide with the scheduled resumption of U.S.-DPRK negotiations.... As the U.S. rulers continue their beligerent course in Korea, NATO forces, with U.S. officers at the helm, are threatening to use "lethal power" to enforce their occupation of Bosnia and other Yugoslav republics, an occupation whose aim is the reimposition of the domination of capital in that country....

The currency crises sweeping southeast Asia today — from Thailand to Malaysia, Indonesia, and beyond — is another sign of the volatile consequences of decelerating capitalist growth and sharpening financial instability worldwide. As the exploiting classes in semicolonial countries use such crises to demagogically demand greater "sacrifice" from workers and farmers, however, they are meeting labor resistance....

Within the imperialist centers themselves, the working class is resisting the bosses' demands for more "belt-tightening." The victory of the recent 15-day strike by 185,000 Teamsters members against United Parcel Service is an example. In San Francisco, Korean workers joined Teamsters picket lines, beating their drums in solidarity with the strikers....

It is among fighters such as these that the Korean people will find their best allies. The Socialist Workers Party pledges to continue joining with the broadest layers of working people and youth to fight efforts by the U.S. government to maintain the division of your country.

Jack Barnes  
SWP National Secretary

# Why do tax rates vary in Europe?

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — In a letter published in last week's issue, Janet Post referred to the article "Kohl backs down over German budget," (Sept. 1, 1997, *Militant*). "The article," she stated, "seems to say that corporate taxes are significantly raised in France, on hold in Germany, and cut in England. Is this differentiation solely due to the pressures of the projected European Monetary Union or are there other factors?"

To answer the question it's useful to look at the relationship between these rival imperialist powers as described in "Imperialism's march toward fascism and war" by Jack Barnes, published in issue no. 10 of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. Under the subheading "U.S. gains an edge on imperialist rivals," Barnes writes, "With the partial exception of the United Kingdom, the capitalist powers throughout Europe are three to four years behind the U.S. rulers in 'downsizing,' cost cutting, and

## DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

imposing what the employers call 'labor flexibility.' They are behind their U.S. rivals in extending workers' hours. They are behind in slashing wage rates, implementing multi-tier wage agreements, and gutting the social wage."

Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, former U.S. president and UK prime minister respectively, led the capitalist offensive in the imperialist countries in the 1980s, dealing major blows to the labor movement. They succeeded to some degree in cutting the social wage and shifting further the distribution of income between better-off middle-class layers and the working class. Large numbers of professionals and other petty-bourgeois layers prospered while the capitalist rulers dealt devastating blows to broad layers of working people.

The aggressive "free market" capitalism à la Reagan and Thatcher included some cuts in taxes on corporate profits and increases of regressive levies that shifted the tax burden further on working people. By the end of the 1980s, these tax increases, combined with rising interest and mortgage rates, began hitting broad sections of the middle class as well as workers and working farmers.

Although this went the furthest in New Zealand, the United States, and the United Kingdom, it was a pattern throughout Europe too. In Sweden, for example, a social-democratic government in the 1980s carried out "reforms" that shifted the tax burden on workers by making taxes flatter. Value-added taxes and assessments on alcohol, tobacco, and gasoline were raised. At the same time, the government lowered taxes on corporate profits and capital gains. The government of former premier Carl Bildt of the conservative Moderate party continued this course at the beginning of this decade. The current social-democratic administration has raised taxes that affect workers and the middle class.

In Germany the administration of chancellor Helmut Kohl considerably raised taxes after German reunification, reversing pledges in the 1990 election campaign to do the opposite. In July of that year the government imposed a 7.5 percent tax surcharge on personal and corporate income — dubbed the "solidarity tax" and justified as part of Bonn's efforts, unsuccessful thus far, to swallow the workers state in East Germany. Kohl also imposed higher levies on gasoline and the use of telephones.

Advocating cuts in taxes on income from capital, supposedly to spur economic growth, has been the stock-in-trade mainly of conservative and, to a lesser degree, of liberal politicians in Germany and Sweden recently — the countries I am most familiar with. Social democrats in these countries, however, are less outspoken about tax reductions. Bildt's Conservatives have recently gained some support among working people in Sweden by campaigning against high taxes — in the latest polls his party ranked higher than the social democrats.

Other workers, duped by arguments from social democrats, identify proposals by capitalist politicians to reduce taxes with lowering taxes for the rich and gutting social services.

Under capitalism, the entire tax system is set up to obfuscate how workers are exploited, to confuse the toilers. We are made to think that everybody has to "contribute" toward fixing roads and building schools. But workers, working farmers, and other exploited producers are the classes who, along with nature, produce all wealth — including the portion that is used to build bridges and do other public works. The wealthy minority that rules, and doesn't work for a living, expropriates the lion's share of the value workers add to commodities through their labor.

Value-added and sales taxes, which assess the richest capitalist and the poorest worker equally, are the most regressive form of levy and adversely affect the working class. Class-conscious workers advocate a sharply graduated tax on income in order to shift the tax burden off working people. As the *Communist Manifesto* explains, communists are for the abolition of all taxes and their replacement with "a heavy progressive or graduated income tax." This includes taxing wealth from capital and other income of middle-class layers — from opera singers to well-paid athletes and other professionals — as long as the threshold is high enough to exclude workers and other exploited producers.

The differences in the rates of taxation between France and Germany on one hand, and the United States and the UK on the other, reflect the progress the respective ruling classes have made in shifting income distribution further in favor of the upper middle classes and the capitalists. Kohl would also like to cut taxes on profits and gut social services as part of the German rulers' efforts to shore up the weakening deutsche mark and declining profit rates. Resistance to such proposals from the social-democratic opposition in Germany, as well as some of the policies of the new social-democratic regime in France, reflect the degree of labor resistance in these countries over the last decade to capitalist austerity. The recent strike by the Teamsters against UPS in the United States and other labor battles, though, point to growing problems for the bourgeoisie within the strongest imperialist power and prove that the Reagan-Thatcher course was ultimately a failure for the rulers.

Post also asked whether capital gains taxes in France were raised from 19 percent to 41.6 percent. The answer is yes. These taxes apply to the profits investors make on selling their stocks, real estate, or other assets.

— CARL-ERIK ISACSSON



# UPS workers discuss outcome of strike

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

CHICAGO — Although workers at United Parcel Service have not seen the new contract negotiated by their union, most are back on the job sorting, loading, and unloading trucks. After a 15-day nation-wide strike, 185,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters scored a victory against the largest package handler in the country.

UPS workers interviewed by the *Militant* say the battle that began on the picket lines continues inside their worksites. "Both sides are working by the book," said Earl Romero, 24, a full-time package driver from Chicago and a member of Teamsters Local 705. "The company is nit-picking every little detail of the dress code and is following drivers to see if we spend extra time on our routes." On the other side, Romero said, "The union is asking us to enforce the rule that we get help on lifting packages over 70 pounds. Prior to the strike we had the right to call for help on these packages but nobody really did."

"Things are pretty ugly," said Michael Martin, 32, a UPS driver and member of Teamster Local 728 in Atlanta. "The volume has picked up but there are layoffs. I'm working 11 hours every day." At the same time UPS is recruiting part-time workers, putting in appearances at the Dekalb, Georgia, State Department of Labor on August 29.

"UPS has instituted a policy they call 'zero tolerance,'" said Martin. "For example we can't wear T-shirts under our uniform shirts to absorb perspiration." The company's real concern is union T-shirts, he said, noting that the company "has banned the 'We were forced to strike' T-shirt."

Martin explained that workers who played "a vocal role in the strike have been taken aside" by UPS management. "There are threats of warnings, write-ups, and suspensions. But why should we back down now? Why should we give up rights that we fought for on the picket line?"

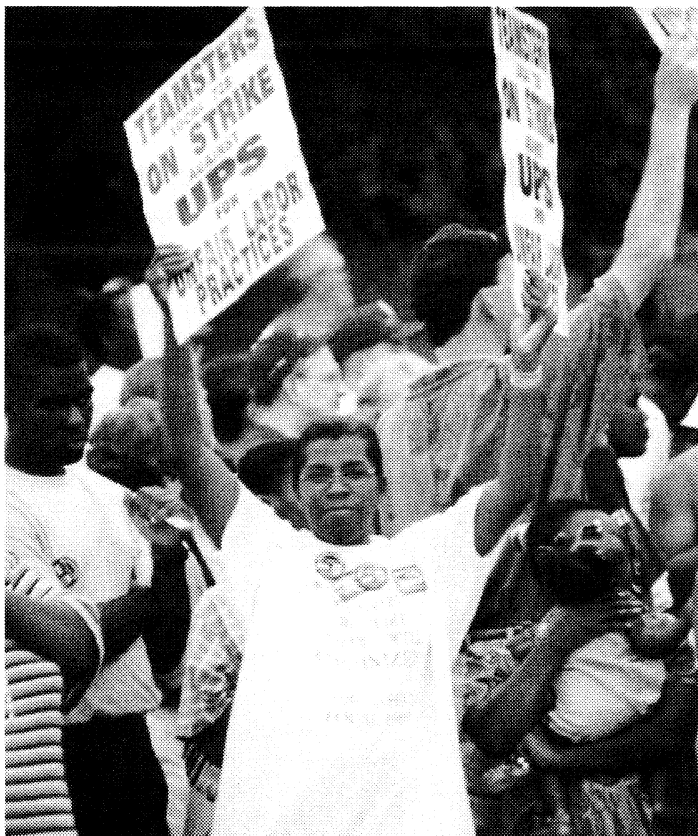
The company is "saying it has the right to determine if you need a union representative when they call you into the office — whether it's going to be disciplinary or just a discussion."

A summary copy of the contract will be mailed out September 9, Martin said. "We know that a lot of part-time jobs here should go full-time. So we are waiting and watching."

During the Labor Day parade in downtown Pittsburgh, where tens of thousands of unionists marched, a couple of UPS workers marching in their uniforms told the *Militant* that they did not want to give their names because of the tense situation inside their work sites.

These workers, members of Teamster Local 249, reported that about 60 workers had been fired and others suspended at both the Thornburg and Beaver UPS facilities. Most were accused of strike-related activities that included talking too much to the media during the walkout.

To prove this the company had video taped the picket lines. One UPS worker said that a supervisor had bumped into him while he was on picket duty. The supervisor then reported this as "violence" on the picket line,



Militant/Rich Stuart

**Teamsters rally August 14 in Atlanta during strike against UPS. The workers won a victory for entire labor movement. Back at work, many Teamsters say the battle continues on the job.**

and the worker was given a five-day suspension.

"It's too early to tell what the working conditions will be like under the new contract," said Eugene Phillips, 43, a feeder driver and Local 705 member in Chicago. "For one thing, until we vote to ratify this contract, we are working under the old work rules."

## 'Use momentum from UPS to organize'

Phillips, who has worked at UPS for 25 years, commented that "people are more interested in the union now because of the strike." The unionist said he is concerned about subcontracting and would like to see what is said about this in the contract. According to one union summary, which was circulated just after the strike, "UPS is prohibited from using subcontractors except for peak season feeder work, and then only if the local union agrees." Phillips noted that he is "seeing more and more subcontractors and independent truckers. If these guys are in the union, that's all right. If they're not, they should be encouraged to join. We should take a hard-line stance on that."

Phillips noted that RPS, a \$1.3 billion shipper from Pittsburgh, is the fastest growing nonunion shipping company. It employs 5,000 — 6,000 drivers who own their own trucks. Phillips said the Teamsters "should use the momentum of the UPS victory to organize these workers, as well as the drivers from Federal Express." In the Chicago area, seven of 13 local Federal Express stations have asked for Teamster representation, covering more than 800 workers.

"Our victory will have an effect at other companies," said Michael Douglas, a full-time UPS driver from Chicago and member

of Local 705. "Like Federal Express workers. They have a lot of part-timers who would like to be full-time, who want benefits. These workers are looking at us, thinking maybe they can get the same thing."

"After the strike they staggered our start times so we couldn't all walk into work proud of our victory," said Stuart Miller, a full-time driver and shop steward, from Local 728 at the Stone Mountain Center in the Atlanta area. "We all have different staggered times so management can bring us into rooms and try to intimidate us individually."

"They have convinced some workers that the wage package we won through the strike was inferior to the company's 'final offer,'" Miller said, saying this was rewrit-

ing the facts.

## Government intervention in Teamsters

In the days after the strike UPS "jumped on the government's intrusion into our union," Miller said, referring to the recent government ruling to void the reelection of Ron Carey to the Teamster's presidency. "The company is trying to keep the workers distrustful of the union," said Miller.

Phillips, too, was concerned about government intervention into the union's internal affairs. "We are hung up by this reelection," he said. "Every time we take a couple of steps forward, you're held up. This will kill the momentum we had coming off the UPS victory."

The federal board that oversees the Teamsters union was created to purge "corruption" out of the union as part of the settlement of a federal "antiracketeering" suit in 1989. "We want to say that the government is neutral," Phillips said. "But why at this particular time do we see the government giving so much help to companies during organizing drives?"

"The power should be given back to the union members," he stated. "We were elected as delegates to represent the members, but we are not in charge of the convention or the new elections. It is these government officials and they were not elected by anyone."

James P. Hoffa, who Carey narrowly defeated in last year's election, is campaigning to delay the new ballot until next spring. The December 1996 election was overturned a few days after the strike victory by court-appointed monitor Barbara Zack Quindell, who has called for a new vote in November.

Quindell announced that all candidates must identify the source of campaign contributions, including those of less than \$100.

Meanwhile, the National Mediation Board said it would prevent the UPS pilots from striking until early next year, thus assuring UPS that shipments would not be disrupted during the company's peak season.

Bob Miller, head of the Independent Pilots Association, denounced the board for taking UPS's side. "I believe it's extremely unfortunate that the board chose to take this stand at this time and create what could be a backlash against their actions," he said.

The pilots played an important role in supporting the Teamster strike. "When the pilots honored our picket lines, we knew we were going to win," said Earl Romero. "If UPS doesn't give the pilots what they want and they strike, the Teamsters will back them. We will cover their backs."

Contributors to this article include: Arlene Rubinstein from Atlanta; United Auto Workers member Cappy Kidd, International Association of Machinists (IAM) member Betsey Stone, and Danny Booher from Chicago; and IAM member Edwin Fruit from Pittsburgh.

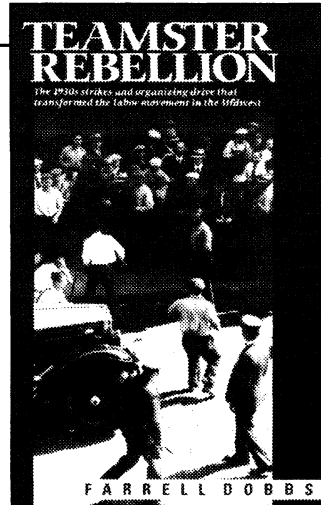
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## LETTERS

### Airline safety

On August 7 Fine Air Flight #101 crashed at the Miami Airport killing all four people on board and one person on the ground. Several weeks prior to the crash the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) suspended 29 of the company's 59 pilots for flying with dangerously heavy loads. To date the FAA has not taken any action against the company.

In the days following the DC-8 crash facts came to light concerning Fine Air's practice of overloading cargo on its planes, falsifying flight records, and cutting corners on aircraft maintenance. On August 14 the Miami *Herald* reported on Fine Air's practice of overloading airplanes and its systematic method of overloading airplanes. Interviewing several former employees, the *Herald* reported that while the FAA and Fine Air have maintained that the final call on whether or not to



fly a plane rests with the pilot, planes were often (over) loaded at the last minute without the pilot's knowledge.

On August 25 Miami *Herald* reported that since the crash of Flight 101, Fine Air pilots have met with representatives of the Teamsters

union in Miami to discuss unionization of the flight crews.

Captain John Truman, senior pilot at the cargo airline explained, "We've been talking about this for some time, but the accident really brought it to the forefront."

Truman explained to the *Herald* that the pilots' chief concern has always been overloaded planes. Other problems at the airlines include worn cargo netting that could allow the freight to shift in flight.

A representative from the Teamsters explained that the pilots were satisfied with their pay and the move to join the union was "the result of dissatisfaction ... with safety [issues]."

Rachele Fruit  
Miami, Florida

### Free elections?

Uncle Sam claims he believes in free elections. Oh? I have three

questions to prove Uncle Sam to be the liar he is.

First, why not let the people of Okinawa vote on the issue of an American military presence?

Second, why not let the people of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia vote on establishing a multi-party democratic government?

And third, why not let the Hawaiian people vote on whether they want the Hawaiian or American flag over Hawaii?

Afraid of something, Uncle Sam? J.L.  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

**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.**

## Sinn Fein leaders speak in U.S.

BY MEGAN ARNEY

NEW YORK — "Disunity, division, domination, and partition in Ireland has failed. The only solution is to unite the people of Ireland, and end British government rule," said Sinn Fein's chief negotiator Martin McGuinness, speaking to a rally of 2,000 here September 5. Also on the platform were Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams, and Sinn Fein member of the Irish parliament Caoimhghin O'Caolain. The three were on a U.S. speaking tour that also took them to Chicago and San Francisco.

The tour came just days before Sinn Fein, the leading political party fighting for a united Ireland and the end of British rule in the north, meets for talks with the British government on September 9. Announced August 29, the talks are the first time that republicans will meet with the British government in formal negotiations since London imposed the division of Ireland in 1921.

The New York rally drew people from a dozen states, including three carloads from Pittsburgh. They included youth who had come to hear Sinn Fein representatives speak for the first time.

"I've read what Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams had to say and now I am here to hear what they say," commented Mark Braddock, 24. Mary Shoemaker, 23, said she agrees with the call for British troops to get out of Ireland and "came here to show my support."

The fight to free political prisoners in Ireland and defend Irish activists who face de-



Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams speaks in New York City on September 4

Militant/Naomi Craine

portation from the United States was a prominent feature of the meeting. Sandy Boyer spoke on behalf of Róisín McAliskey, who is fighting extradition from Britain to Germany on allegations that she was involved in an IRA bombing there. Boyer announced a September 25 meeting at Hunter College around this fight.

Erin Riley and Pauline Kirby spoke on behalf of the H-Block Four political prison-

ers, three of whom still face deportation from San Francisco. Interviewed after the event, Rosaleen Doherty, from NORAID's prisoners of war department, said "Political prisoners are an integral part of the peace process. There is still a lot of work to be done."

Registering one victory on this front, the Clinton administration announced September 9 it was suspending deportation proceedings against six Irish activists, five of them

in New York and Matt Morrison in St. Louis.

Several Democratic and Republican party politicians spoke on the platform both at the public rally and at a \$500-a-plate fund-raising dinner the night before, attended by 500 people.

The Irish leaders encouraged those in the audience to become more involved in the struggle and to reach out to others. "Because we're going into negotiations doesn't mean the struggle is over," said Sinn Fein president Adams. "This struggle wasn't about us going into negotiations. This struggle has always been about justice, about freedom, and an end to foreign involvement and interference in the north of Ireland. And negotiations are a phase of this struggle."



BY JIM ALTENBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — "The British couldn't keep us out of the talks because of the people of the Falls Road, of Coalisland, of Belfast, of Derry, and also because of the power and influence of people in the United States. That's how we got into the talks," said Martin McGuinness. He spoke to over 600 people gathered at the Russian Center here September 6.

"Sinn Fein is a party moving forward," he said, noting that he and Gerry Adams were recently elected to the UK parliament from Belfast and mid-Ulster. Significant electoral victories were scored by the party elsewhere in the north and south of Ireland.

Sinn Fein, McGuinness said, will be entering the upcoming talks with confidence. "Sinn Fein's not afraid of the British government, not afraid of the Unionists. The Unionists are afraid to come to the talks. If they don't come, the nationalists will just have to negotiate with the British government. I hope they will come. I want the Unionists to face the reality that the northern state has been a failure."

Earlier in the day, McGuinness met with Pól Brennan, Terence Kirby, and Kevin Barry Artt, three Irish political prisoners now being held in the Bay Area for deportation back to Northern Ireland. The prisoners had been part of a larger group who escaped from the notorious H-Blocks of Long Kesh prison in 1983. Along with Jimmy Smyth, they became known as the H-Block Four. Smyth was deported in 1996.

The Sinn Fein leader had also held meetings with the party's leadership in Irish prisons. The Long Kesh prisoners' leaders support Sinn Fein's course, McGuinness explained. He expressed his hope that London would recognize that release of politi-

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## Funeral spurs debate on UK monarchy

BY IAN GRANT

LONDON — The weakness of Britain's capitalist class, and its divisions in the face of mounting pressures to reform the institutions of their rule in the United Kingdom have been highlighted in the aftermath of the funeral of Diana Spencer.

On September 5, Elizabeth Windsor, Britain's reigning monarch and head of state, made a live broadcast in which she called for Spencer's funeral to be an occasion "to show the whole world the British nation united in grief and respect." The statement was widely seen as a belated attempt, instigated by the government, to deflect public criticism of the royal family as cold and aloof following the death of Spencer, divorced wife of Charles Windsor, next in line to the British throne.

More than a million people were estimated to have participated in the funeral of Diana Spencer the following day.

In a funeral oration, Diana Spencer's brother Charles — an earl and godson to the reigning queen Elizabeth — made what was widely seen as a direct attack on the royal family. He pledged his "blood" family to bring up Diana's sons so that they are "not simply immersed by duty and tradition, but can sing openly as you [Diana Spencer] planned."

The statement drew applause from crowds listening outside Westminster Abbey, from those watching on screens in central London's Hyde Park, and from those in the funeral service themselves.

His attack culminated a week in which the stability of the British monarchy was severely undermined. The British monarch, as head of state, holds limited but significant powers under the British Constitution. The country's prime minister is chosen by the king or queen, and all bills passed by the British Parliament must be forwarded to them for approval.

In an attempt to paper over the cracks that are beginning to appear in the United Kingdom, the Labour government of Prime Minister Anthony Blair is committed to modernize the monarchy and reform the unelected chamber of Parliament, the House of Lords. His government's moves to set up parliaments in Scotland and Wales aim to assuage growing nationalist sentiments, fu-

eled by widening regional disparities. Along with England and Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales form component parts of the imperialist state structure.

Blair hoped to strengthen his hand vis-à-vis the "traditionalists" in the state machinery by turning Diana Spencer's death in a car accident into a celebration of her "modernity." On August 31, just a few hours after Spencer's death, Blair kicked off the week-long media hoopla. "I feel like everybody else in this country today," he declared. "She was the People's Princess and that is how she will stay, how she will remain in our hearts and memories forever."

Downing Street was immediately involved in preparations for what Blair termed a "people's funeral," with some of his top aides on the funeral arrangements committee, which met at Buckingham Palace.

Blair's lauding of the "People's Princess,"

and plans to mobilize thousands of people to celebrate her life and charitable works quickly began to get out of hand. Spencer, who was part of the wealthy nobility her entire life, cultivated an image of a public figure who campaigned against land mines and supported AIDS charities — a facade in stark contrast to the royal family.

The failure of Charles Windsor, heir to the throne, and Elizabeth Windsor, the reigning monarch, to leave the royal family's residence in Scotland where they were vacationing with Diana Spencer's children, William and Henry, was widely criticized. The formalities of the funeral — Spencer lost the title of "Her Royal Highness" after her 1996 divorce from Prince Charles — likewise created an uproar. Buckingham Palace at first refused to fly the Union Flag at half mast — traditionally only the Royal Stan-

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## Debate grows as vote on Scotland nears

BY ANNE HOWIE

MANCHESTER — Following a one-week suspension for the funeral of Diana Spencer, campaigning for the referendum on devolution in Scotland and Wales resumed September 8. Labour prime minister Anthony Blair, leader of the Conservative and Unionist Party William Hague, and former Conservative prime minister Margaret Thatcher were all in Scotland in the days prior to the September 11 vote.

In his address to the Trades Union Congress in Brighton September 9, Blair projected devolution as part of the drive to "modernize" the institutions of the state. "Decentralizing power is an idea whose time has come," Blair said. "Democracy has matured.... Let Scotland not be presented with a choice between separatism and no change. There is a better modern way."

He added, "Wales too deserves a strong voice of its own within the United Kingdom — the chance to take its own decisions over schools, hospitals and other services." The referendum in Wales is scheduled for September 18. A posi-

tive vote would lead to the establishment of an elected assembly, without law-making or tax-raising powers, as is intended in Scotland, but which would essentially legislate rules and regulations for the implementation of laws passed in Westminster, and advise on proposals to be put to the UK parliament.

Thatcher's intervention into the debate, in which she said the proposals were a "negation" of shared history and would awaken a "resentful English nationalism," had been actively discouraged by "No" campaigners. The general hatred of Thatcher in Scotland, as the person who introduced the Poll Tax and cuts in social spending, is so great that her visit was seen as a boost for the "Yes," rather than the "No" campaign.

Explaining the widespread support for a Scottish parliament, retired shipyard worker Jim Morgan told the BBC radio September 10, "People have become restless and want to see change."

Tam Dalyell is the only Labour MP openly opposing devolution. According to a report in the *Financial Times*, "Mr. Dalyell's principle message was that the Scottish parliament would raise expectations

in fields such as health and education that could not be fulfilled."

Marcella FitzGerald, a leader of the Communist League, said the CL "has called for a vote in favor of a Scottish parliament, although not in favor of granting it the right to tax workers even more, and for an assembly in Wales." The league is "in full support of Scotland's fight for independence," she explained. "Working-class unity in the fight to do away with the injustice, inequality, and daily brutalities of capitalist society, and forge a new one built on real human values, can only be strengthened through the self-determination of all oppressed nationalities and the break-up of the institutions of the imperialist state."

Polls indicate a narrow margin in favor of devolution in Wales, a substantial turnaround from the last referendum in 1979, when a similar proposal was defeated by four to one. In Scotland, polls are showing a much wider majority in favor of the creation of a Scottish parliament, but a much closer vote is likely on the right of the parliament to vary the basic rate of tax by as much as 3 percent.