

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

How Cuba's Rebel Army spread revolutionary war

— PAGES 8-9

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N.Y. building strikers put up intransigent fight

Workers take to the streets to oppose concessions

BY TAMAR ROSENFELD

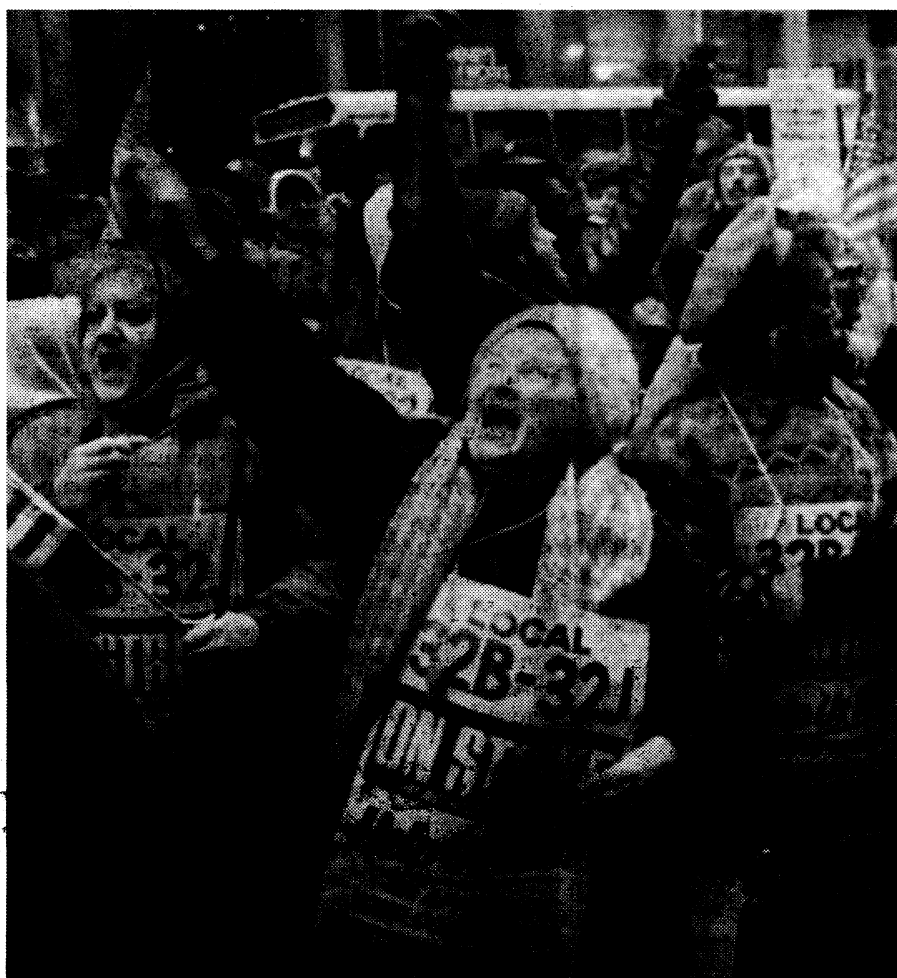
NEW YORK — In the midst of blustering winds and snow flurries, more than 400 strikers equipped with picket signs and whistles told the building owners in this city that their strike is very much alive. Members of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32B-32J marched from Rockefeller Center to the offices of the Realty Advisory Board (RAB) on Madison Avenue January 29. The RAB represents the owners and managers of more than 1,000 commercial buildings here, against whom the workers are on strike.

The marchers were disciplined and spirited. City cops, who were thick in the area, had to divert traffic as the chanting crowd of pickets wound its way through twelve blocks of midtown. Call and response echoed between the skyscrapers: "What do we want?" boomed the bullhorn. "Contract!" hundreds answered. Shouts and whistles grew to deafening levels. The strikers' energy surged as they rounded the corner and came upon the building that houses the RAB. No one from management dared address the feisty crowd. After half an hour of making their presence known, the strikers dispersed to resume their picket duty at each worksite.

Victoria Miranda carried a hand-painted sign in the January 29 rally that read, "Justice for the maintenance workers." Miranda, a member of the union for 12 years who is originally from the Dominican Republic, said the main issue for her in the strike is defending existing medical benefits.

"We want to go back to work, and we don't want two tiers," stated a defiant Lidia Guzmán, who has cleaned buildings for 15 years. Ener-

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Strikers rally January 29 outside Realty Advisory Board in Manhattan

White House, Congress push austerity, driven by interimperialist competition

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Driven by the pressure of international competition with other capitalist powers around the world, the U.S. rulers are moving, piece by piece, to implement a series of austerity measures aimed at cutting working people's social gains and expectations.

On January 26, President Bill Clinton

signed a temporary spending bill passed by both houses of Congress that will hold off another government shutdown. The measure, which extends funding for several government departments until March 15, was dubbed the "Balanced Budget Downpayment Act." It implements a number of cuts that had already won bipartisan agreement in negotiations on the federal

budget. These include slashing funds for the departments of Labor, Education, and Health and Human Services 25 percent.

Washington is leaving state and local governments much of the dirty work of implementing the social cuts. Sen. James Jeffords from Vermont said that under union contracts, "layoff notices will have to go out in March" if school districts cannot count on federal funding. Detroit mayor Dennis Archer immediately told the press the city's schools would soon lay off 419 teachers because of the cuts. The city administration in Boston is considering a 15 percent cut for its schools as well.

Probes against welfare programs also continue. Members of the House of Representatives are now considering resurrecting a bill that was approved by the Senate last year. Clinton endorsed the plan four months ago, while vetoing a slightly modified version. In his January 23 State of the Union speech, Clinton highlighted the bipartisan agreement to go after welfare. "We agree on time limits, tough work requirements, and the toughest possible child support enforcement," he said.

The president, who campaigned in 1992 on the slogan of "ending welfare as we know it," reiterated his position during the budget negotiations in January. Under his budget proposal, Clinton said, the current program of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) "would be terminated by a new conditional entitlement of limited duration."

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NATO expands war drive against Yugoslavia

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

As Washington and other capitalist powers continue to deploy their armies in Bosnia and surrounding republics, military officials are beginning to state openly that the imperialist operation will last well beyond the end of 1996. Lt. Gen. Michael Walker, British army commander of NATO land forces in Bosnia, told his aides he thinks two years is the right time frame. "Only if NATO is willing to stay longer in Bosnia will there be solid ground," wrote the editors of the *Economist*, joining the chorus for longer imperialist intervention in Yugoslavia.

"To finish this operation well, we will need the United States throughout, not just in the first act," a French senior officer told the *Washington Post*. "You must excuse me if I seem to value a real solution in Bosnia over the reelection of President Clinton," he said. When the Dayton agreement was forced on the warring parties in Yugoslavia, Clinton vowed to pull U.S. troops out of the 60,000-strong NATO military operation by November 1996.

But the imperialists' goal of overthrowing the workers state in Yugoslavia and reestablishing capitalism there will most likely not be accomplished by the end of 1996. The invading capitalist powers in Washington, Bonn, London, and Paris will meet resistance as they attempt to wipe out

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N. Ireland: 10,000 march against British rule

BY PETE CLIFFORD

DERRY, Northern Ireland — "The British government and the Unionists are running scared of the negotiating table," Sinn Féin leader Martin McGuinness told some 10,000 demonstrators here January 28. McGuinness was referring to London's rejection of the report from an international commission on arms "decommissioning" in Northern Ireland.

John Major's government had insisted that the Irish Republican Army (IRA) disarm before peace talks can proceed; Sinn Féin, the leading Irish nationalist party, disagreed. Headed by former U.S. Senator George Mitchell, the three-person commission was established November 29 at London and Dublin's initiative on the eve of President Bill Clinton's visit to Ireland. The Mitchell commission, as it came to be known, reported January 24. The *Financial Times* said it "dismissed the British demand that the IRA give up some of its arms."

Instead, the *Times* reported the commission recommended "the parties should commit themselves to a phased disarmament in parallel with talks, and to abide by six principles setting out their democratic

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Help the 'Militant' send reporters to Cuba

An international team of *Militant* reporters — including Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*; *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel; *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer Róger Calero; Seth Galinsky, a rail worker in Miami; and Brian Taylor, an airline worker in Washington, D.C. — is going to Cuba in February to cover the 1996 Havana Book Fair, one of the major cultural events in Latin America. They will also provide firsthand reports on meetings in factories and other workplaces to prepare for the April congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

To make this unique reporting trip possible, your generous contribution is needed now toward the \$10,000 necessary for it. Please send your check or money order to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, payable to the *Militant* and earmarked for the Cuba reporting trip.



Juventud Rebelde/Angelito Baldrich August 1994 Havana rally in defense of revolution



General strike hits Swaziland

Unions in Swaziland organized a general strike January 22, closing down factories and shops. During the walkout power failures occurred throughout the country. The labor movement, backed by students, is demanding legalization of political parties and the adoption of a constitution making the king a symbolic figure instead of de facto head of state in this southern African country of 1 million people. "We are not satisfied with the present government," said Muzi Mthetwa, a civil service worker in the health ministry.

Strike organizers said the shutdown would continue until three officials of the Swaziland Federation of Trade Unions arrested January 22 were released. Swaziland cops attacked a demonstration that day with tear gas and rubber bullets, killing a 16-year-old woman and injuring six marchers.

Miners in Russia demand pay

Some 800 coal miners marched in front of the government building in Moscow January 24 demanding four months' back wages. The workers planned to picket for three days in Moscow. They threatened a national strike February 1 if their demands were not met.

According to the Interfax news agency, Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin ordered \$134 million allocated to the coal industry before the end of January. Several miners said they think the government will pay them this time because of the upcoming presidential elections in June. Many miners who backed Boris Yeltsin in the 1991 elections are opposed to the Russian president now. According to the Associated Press, many miners voted for the Communist Party and other nationalist candidates in the recent parliamentary elections.

Racist Dutch exec denounced

Dutch beer giant Heineken came under fire January 19 after Justus Kos, a top executive, sent a fax to a British television company saying "there was too high a proportion of negroes" in one of the TV shows the brewery was sponsoring. "We would hope that TV programmes would seek to represent a positive image of

Black people and seek to create change in a racist Europe," Bernie Grant, a Black Labour Party member of parliament, told the press.

The London office of *Caribbean News*, a newspaper oriented to the Black community, demanded Kos be fired and Heineken donate \$1.55 million to African-owned charities and children's care organizations. Heineken chief executive officer Karel Vuursteen replied, "Proper measures will be taken to prevent recurrence but it is an internal matter."

S. Korean indicted

Prosecutors in South Korea indicted former president Chun Doo Hwan January 23 for overseeing the 1980 massacre of hundreds of protesters in the city of Kwangju. The government stated that at least 240 people were killed in the affair, but most other estimates are substantially higher.

Chun and his successor Roh Tae Woo are in jail, charged with corruption and leading a mutiny in 1979 to seize control of the army. Both could face the death penalty. "They are traitors who stole power, and I'm glad they're now getting what they deserve," said Kang Min Jo, the head of a victims' organization in Kwangju whose son was beaten to death during the bloodbath.

Colombian president under fire

Scores of workers and students marched in the streets of Bogotá January 24 demanding the resignation of Colombian president Ernesto Samper. Samper faces growing pressure to resign following former defense minister Fernando Botero's televised assertion that the presi-



Chanting "Yes to resignation! No to referendum," thousands of students demonstrated in Bogotá, Colombia demanding president Ernesto Samper's resignation. Similar demonstrations have multiplied since Samper proposed a referendum against accusations that he accepted more than \$6 million from drug traffickers for his 1994 campaign.

dent knowingly accepted more than \$5.8 million from the Cali cocaine organization for his 1994 campaign. "Samper has done nothing but lie to the world," said Enrique Gómez, a Conservative Party senator calling for his immediate resignation. Samper has denied the accusations and instead proposed a national referendum over whether he should resign.

The resignations of several other government officials have rocked Samper's regime. Augusto Galán announced January 23 he was quitting his job as minister of health. Samper announced January 25 the resignations of the ambassador to Argentina, Víctor Ricardo, and the ministers of transportation and foreign trade, Juan Gómez and Luis Alfredo Ramos respectively. Colombia's ambassador to Venezuela, Francisco Posada, left his post and returned to Bogotá January 24.

Record arrests of Mexicans

Mexico City television reported January 18 that U.S. authorities had broken the record for the number of undocumented workers arrested at the U.S.-Mexico border — more than 2,100 in one day — since Washington's new strategy to halt so-called illegal immigration went into effect. On January 17, Alfonso Primitivo Ríos Vázquez, a leader of the Labor Party in Mexico's Chamber of Deputies, called for the Clinton administration to re-

move its troops from the Mexican border. It is "a serious violation of international law and an act of open hostility," he said.

Ríos Vázquez told the Chamber of Deputies that Mexican immigrants have been victims of discrimination and human rights violations. In addition, he stated, U.S. president Bill Clinton has used the immigration issue as part of his electoral strategy to win elections in the Southern states.

Border town in crisis

The devaluation of the Mexican peso in December 1994 sent border cities like Calexico, California, reeling. After falling to half its original value overnight, the weak peso has led to a reduction in retail sales and jobs there. The peso now stands at 7.5 to the U.S. dollar, compared to the 3.5-to-1 ratio before that devaluation.

The 1995 jobless rate soared to 41 percent in Calexico, largely because of the high number of unemployed retail workers. Laredo, Texas, a border town of 163,000, had an unemployment rate of 14 percent in 1995, while Brownsville, Texas, with a population of 300,000, had a jobless rate just under 12 percent. The national average in the United States is 5.3 percent.

Interviews with inmates banned

J.P. Tremblay, a spokesperson for the California Youth and Adult Correctional Agency, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* December 28 that state prison authorities are now barring all reporters from conducting face-to-face interviews with inmates. Tremblay said the ban went into effect in October 1995 and was temporary. Some states, such as Indiana, already have such restrictive policies, prohibiting interviews if a news organization has "offended" prison officials.

Lowell Bergman, producer of the CBS News program "60 Minutes," said his request to interview California inmate Geronimo Pratt, a former Black Panther leader, was rejected a few months ago. The Department of Corrections "said he's only allowed one media interview every six months, and he had already been interviewed by Fox (television) in June," Bergman reported, according to the *Chronicle*. Pratt, who was railroaded to prison in 1972, has won broad support, and several news organizations have published or broadcast stories on his behalf.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

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Ethiopian Jews protest in Jerusalem

BY HILDA CUZCO

Thousands of Ethiopian Jews demonstrated in Jerusalem on January 28. They were outraged over the disclosure that blood they have donated had been secretly thrown out, allegedly because it might be contaminated with the AIDS virus.

The demonstrators arrived from across Israel in dozens of buses and broke through barricades to the entrance of the prime minister's office. About 10,000 men, women, and youth joined the protest holding placards that read, "Our blood is as red as yours and we are just as Jewish as you are," "Apartheid in Israel," and "This is the last drop which broke the back of our innocence," among many others.

The police, who were outnumbered, were taken by surprise and turned first water cannon, and then tear gas on the protesters, followed by rubber bullets and batons. The protesters pelted them with rocks. Thirty police officers were injured in the clash and 17 protesters were also hurt.

The Ethiopian Jews, who were brought to Israel in 1984 and 1991 in two massive airlifts, have seen this latest discrimination as a reflection of how they have not been accepted by the Zionist state as equal citizens.

When the Ethiopians arrived in their adopted country, they were brought to special "absorption centers" where, according to the state, they would be prepared to integrate into Israeli society. However, Ethiopian children are often put in segregated classes. Many Ethiopians cannot find adequate housing and remain in the trailers given to them when they arrived. The discrimination extends to the army, where there is a higher incidence of suicide for Ethiopian soldiers.

The report on the blood came on the heels of a suicide of an Ethiopian soldier, the latest of as many as 20 such deaths in the last two years. Young Ethiopian immigrants explain that they are patronized and often racially discriminated against in the Israeli army.

"I did two years in the army to become a citizen of Israel like everybody else," said Ziva Tedela, 23. "When they tell me that since 1984 they've been spilling the blood, it feels like the army means nothing, that I'll never be part of Israel, because my color is black and my blood is contaminated. It really hurts."

U.S. gov't steps up anti-Iran drive

BY LAURA GARZA

The U.S. government is stepping up its attacks on Iran and pressing to compel other competing imperialist governments to go along with its campaign.

On December 31 the U.S. Congress passed a bill that included authorization for an \$18 million covert action campaign to be run by the Central Intelligence Agency against the government of Iran. Spearheaded by Rep. Newt Gingrich, the program is included in a secret bill for \$28 billion in so-called intelligence spending.

Gingrich explained it as part of a strategy "designed to force the replacement of the regime in Iran." The White House arranged to have the language authorize actions that would cultivate opponents of Iran's government and seek to force changes in Tehran's behavior, but not directly sanction a program to overthrow the government.

The history of the U.S. government's attempts to dominate Iran include a 1953 CIA-sponsored coup that put in place the hated dictatorial regime of Shah Reza Pahlevi. The overthrow of the shah's bloody rule in 1979 by a powerful revolutionary upsurge dealt a blow to U.S. imperialism from which it has never recovered. The massive U.S. military presence ensconced in Iran during the Shah's reign was ousted. Washington has been unable to impose a similar setup elsewhere in the region, despite its attempt to open the door for establishing a U.S. protectorate in Iraq with its bloody assault against that nation five years ago.

Citing the well-known history of Washington's intervention, an opponent of Tehran and former diplomat in the shah's

The response of the Ethiopian community came as a surprise to the government. Clashes with Palestinians fighting against the Israeli occupation of their land have been common over the years, but this was something new. "The group known today as the quiet community in Israel has changed its face," reported the evening news on Israel Television.

Feeling some heat, Prime Minister Shimon Peres issued an apology, calling the blood bank policy "stupid, irresponsible, and regrettable." He promised to appoint a committee to investigate the issue and directed chief of the armed forces general staff, Lt. Gen. Amnon Shahak, to meet with a delegation from the Ethiopian community about problems in the army. According to Israel radio, a group of Ethiopian leaders met with the Parliament speaker January 29 and apologized for the damage and injury caused by the demonstration to the government.

The United Ethiopian Jewish Organization has filed an appeal against the blood donation policy to the Supreme Court, asking the resignation of Health Minister Ephraim Sneh and the head of the Israel Blood Bank, Dr. Amnon Ben David. Sneh



Police attack a crowd of thousands of Ethiopian Jews demonstrating in Jerusalem January 28. They were outraged over the news that blood they had donated was secretly discarded allegedly because it might be contaminated with the AIDS virus.

had defended the policy the previous week, alleging that the occurrence of AIDS among immigrants from the East African nation is 50 times higher than among other Israelis.

Israel's ministry ordered mandatory AIDS tests for Ethiopian immigrants over

the age of nine in 1991. Dr. Shlomo Maayan, an Israeli AIDS researcher, had pointed to the May airlift to Israel that year as the cause of an increase in the risk of that disease. Ethiopian immigrant leaders and other health officials protested and called the assertions racist.

Iraq squeezed to discuss oil sales with UN

BY LAURA GARZA

UNITED NATIONS — The government of Iraq has agreed to enter into negotiations with the United Nations to be allowed to sell oil and earn revenue, under strict UN control, to pay for desperately needed food and medicines. The talks were set to begin February 6. In the past, Baghdad has stated that the conditions set by the UN Security Council for any oil sales violate Iraq's sovereignty and has refused to submit to them.

Sanctions against Iraq, in place since August 1990, have devastated the economy and caused a dramatic rise in disease and malnutrition. The 1990-91 U.S.-led war against Iraq, ostensibly waged in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, left tens of thousands dead. Since then, Washington's successful efforts to maintain the harsh sanctions has led to the deaths of as many as 576,000 children, according to estimates of a UN agency. Over the past

five years the mortality rate for children under the age of five has increased five-fold.

The horror of what has been wrought by the imperialist-sponsored sanctions has not moved the Security Council to lift them. But in response to increased calls for easing or ending the sanctions, the Security Council passed a resolution in April setting conditions to allow the sale of some oil by Iraq. The move sought to give the appearance an effort was being made to allow the Iraqi population some relief.

At the same time Washington made it clear it would not allow a general easing of the sanctions. On January 22 the government of Jordan decided to cut in half its trade volume with Iraq, currently about \$1 billion a year, citing the failure of Iraqi authorities to pay Jordanian traders for goods supplied. In this context the Iraqi government announced it would enter into negotiations on the limited oil sale allowable under the April resolution.

The conditions set by the Security Council would permit up to \$2 billion in oil to be sold over six months. The money would go into an account under UN control. About two-thirds could be spent on food and medicine, with the proviso that \$150 million go to the Kurdish zone in the north. The remaining revenue would be taken by the United Nations to pay "reparations" to the Kuwaiti regime or to cover the cost of UN expenses in Iraq. Other conditions include the demand that the oil be transported through Turkey.

Before the imposition of the sanctions, Iraq, which sits on the world's second-largest known reserves of crude oil, earned about \$18 billion a year from petroleum sales. After the Gulf war Saudi Arabia ended up assuming Iraq's entire market share, raising its exports of oil from 5 million barrels a day to 8 million. The Saudi rulers and others in the oil market will be pressed to cut production or watch prices drop if the Iraqi oil is suddenly back on the market. A flurry of articles in the big-business press cited the worries of oil companies that have benefited from a measure that cut out a major competitor.

The opening of the negotiations coincides with the fifth anniversary of the 1991 end of the Gulf War. A spate of articles and television specials have raised the question of what the U.S. rulers gained by their bloody assault. Former president George Bush stated in a PBS interview with David Frost that he believed Iraqi president Saddam Hussein would be overthrown after the defeat in the war. "I miscalculated," said Bush. "I thought he'd be gone." But Bush also repeated he did not think Washington could have

risked going any further by ordering an advance into Baghdad, citing the problem of ending up with U.S. troops "involved in an urban guerrilla war." He emphasized, "This is not a formula that I wanted to contemplate."

In a TV special aired by CNN in January, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of the U.S. forces during the Gulf war, attempted to justify the massive U.S. bombing of the road from Kuwait City to Basra. As television pictures showed graphically the killing zone, where as many as 150,000 fleeing human beings were slaughtered by the U.S. Air Force's "turkey shoot," Schwarzkopf's comments could be seen as a transparent lie by many.

Washington is keeping the pressure on Iraq and asserting its domination in the region. In the last several months the U.S. government has once again amassed ships, jets, and troops in the area. A total of more than 20,000 soldiers, mostly on U.S. ships, are now stationed in the Middle East. A dozen Navy cargo ships with tanks, armored vehicles, and other military hardware are docked off the coast of Bahrain. The Clinton administration has not been able to secure the agreement of any government in the region for the massive stockpiling and bases it would like to have permanently in place. So the Pentagon is relying on stocks from ships docked in the area.

Washington has gathered enough to equip a full marine division and an army brigade. There are now 35 U.S. military vessels afloat in the Persian Gulf, including the aircraft carrier *Nimitz*.

OPENING GUNS OF WORLD WAR III

WASHINGTON'S ASSAULT ON IRAQ

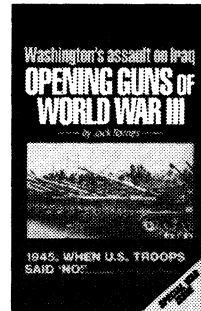
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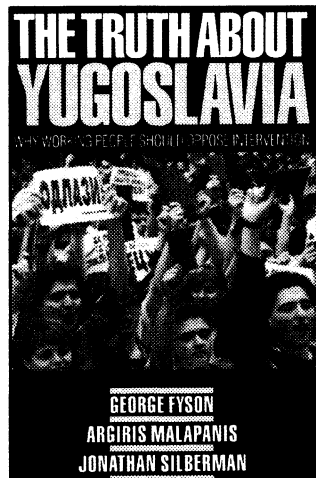
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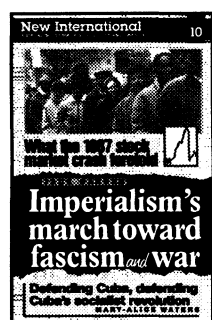
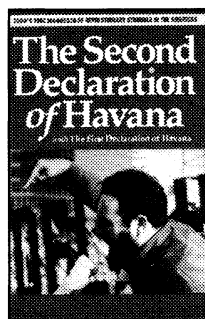
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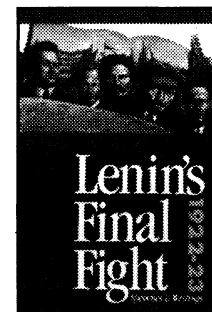
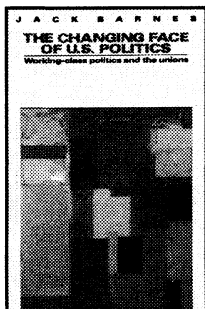
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N. Ireland: 10,000 demonstrate

Continued from front page

credentials. These included an end to so-called punishment beatings by the paramilitaries, a commitment to non-violent means, and an agreement to total and verifiable disarmament."

Sinn Fein had recommended disposal of arms to be verified by an independent body in the framework of talks proceeding.

Within hours of the Mitchell commission report, John Major announced plans for an elected forum for parties in Northern Ireland. The *Guardian* described this as a "countermove" which "boldly ignored the six principles."

Speaking to the Derry demonstration, McGuinness charged London with erecting a new precondition. "We're not going to give them a new Stormont," he said, referring to the body through which the Unionist Party ruled Northern Ireland on behalf of London from 1921 to 1972. Through support from the more privileged Protestant majority in Northern Ireland and electoral gerrymandering that often denied the minority Catholics a vote, Stormont had a built-in majority that rejected unification of Ireland and denied civil rights for Catholics. London imposed direct rule in 1972 after Stormont proved unable to quell the rising civil rights struggle.

"Major is buying the votes of the Unionists to remain in power in Westminster," McGuinness told the crowd, referring to the decline of the

Conservative Party majority in the British Parliament. "There is also another reason why Major will not move to resolve the issues at the heart of this conflict," he said. "The British Conservative Party have made it quite clear that when the next election comes they intend to fight the Labour Party on the issue of devolution for Scotland, using the argument that this will bring about the break up of their beloved United Kingdom."

Bloody Sunday commemoration

The Derry demonstration was called to commemorate the shooting dead of 13 unarmed demonstrators 24 years ago by the British Army. The marchers were protesting the internment without trial of opponents of British rule. More than 20,000 joined the 1972 demonstration, which the British government had declared illegal. As it approached the city center, British Army paratroopers opened fire on the demonstrators.

Linda Ruddy, whose brother was among the Bloody Sunday dead, told the demonstrators, "All we demand is that the truth be told and the injustice be acknowledged."

At a rally in Derry's Guildhall on January 26, Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams said, "The 1972 massacre remained an open wound because the British government had yet to own up to what happened."

This year's demonstration drew an estimated 10,000 participants, which both the *Irish Times* and the pro-Unionist *Belfast Telegraph* reported was the largest commemorative march ever for Bloody Sun-

day. More than 50 buses brought contingents from many parts of the North and from the Republic.

Many had never joined such a march before. A woman from Dublin said this was her first march in the North. She decided to come after hearing of Major's response to the Mitchell commission. A Derry man explained he hadn't been on a march for a few years but now felt he had to fight to save the peace process. A large part of the demonstration were youth.

The demonstration was led by relatives of those killed followed by a banner declaring the theme of the demonstration "Decommission Injustice." The largest contingent marched behind the banners of Derry Sinn Fein Cumann (Branch). Most of those from outside of Derry marched behind banners of Saoirse, the campaign calling for the release of all political prisoners.

A banner near the front of the march read "Don't let Paddy Kelly die in prison. Release him now." Kelly, a republican prisoner, was found in the last week to be terminally ill with cancer.

Toward the back of the march there was a banner from Derry Trades Union Council; the union body has been campaigning for the release of all political prisoners over the last year. As the march wound its way through the Catholic working-class housing areas, almost every lamppost was plastered with posters declaring "All Party Talks Now."

Major's proposal for an elected forum to carry out the negotiations got a cool response. Dick Spring, foreign affairs minis-

Continued on Page 14

NATO expands war drive in Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

the gains of the massive popular revolution that swept the country in the 1940s.

During that time, the Partisan movement united workers and peasants from all nationalities in Yugoslavia to defeat the occupying forces of Hitler's Germany as well as local landlords and capitalists. The revolutionary mobilization of the toilers enabled the new government led by Josip Tito to confiscate the property of the great landowners and take other anticapitalist measures, including instituting a state monopoly of foreign trade and expropriating the basic means of production.

Despite the degeneration of the revolution as a result of Tito's Stalinist policies, many of the gains of the workers and peasants remain in place, including the non-capitalist property forms and especially the class consciousness of millions of working people who view themselves as Yugoslavs.

Today, many people throughout Yugoslavia are opposed to the divisions wrought by the chauvinist factions in their grab for territory and resources that began in 1991. This has been most graphically demonstrated in the city of Sarajevo, where tens of thousands of citizens of Serbian origin, as well as Croatians, fought for three and a half years to defend their city side by side with their Muslim brothers and sisters against the cut-throat gangs of Belgrade-backed Serbs.

The big-business press, of course, never refers to these facts when it reports on thousands of Serbs leaving the Sarajevo suburb of Ilizda before the area comes under the control of the Bosnian government.

But even in the pages of the bourgeois dailies one can occasionally distill examples of this resistance to the "ethnic cleansing" drives led mainly by the Serbian and Croatian regimes.

"The good people here never supported what happened to our neighbors," Marko Salvarica, a farmer of Serbian origin in the rural town of Ljubinja in southern Bosnia, told the *New York Times*. He was explaining his opposition to the expulsion from the town of his Muslim neighbors by Serbs loyal to chauvinist leader Radovan Karadzic. According to the

January 18 *Times* article Salvarica said "some in the town had been misled by extremists" and that Muslims and Croats "could begin to return."

Clamor for manhunt of war criminals

The Clinton administration, meanwhile, is trying to use the widespread disgust with those responsible for the slaughter in Bosnia to justify its drive toward war in the Balkans. The latest imperialist propaganda blitz has come under the cover of organizing a manhunt for alleged war criminals. According to *Newsweek*, U.S. national security adviser Anthony Lake and UN representative Madeline Albright have "pushed hard" for such investigations. "The dead cry out; U.S. troops are headed into a broader mission," read the headline of that February 5 *Newsweek* article, which also stated that some in the military shudder "over the prospect of Somalia-style 'mission creep.'"

John Shattuck, U.S. assistant secretary of state for human rights, argued that capturing war criminals is "an essential part of the peace process." Shattuck and two officials from the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague toured areas in late January where thousands of Bosnians were reportedly killed and buried by Belgrade-backed Serbs. The tribunal was created by imperialist forces in the United Nations in 1993, when atrocities committed by the warring gangs in Yugoslavia sparked world outrage.

Using chief prosecutor Richard Goldstone — a prominent South African jurist — as cover for its so-called war crimes investigations, Washington is debating how to pursue individuals who are considered obstacles to its imperialist aims. The tribunal has indicted 7 Croats and 45 Serbs, including Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic. The *New York Times* reported that only Dusko Tadic, a Serb, has been arrested and is in custody so far.

While Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic sent Serb guards to accompany Shattuck during his investigation, Belgrade has ignored requests to arrest Mladic and Karadzic. The two have been indicted by the imperialist tribunal on charges of genocide for the massacre of thousands of Bosnians at Srebrenica.

U.S. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff John Shalikashvili is reportedly adamantly opposed to U.S. troops arresting the two indicted Serb leaders at the moment. According to the *Times*, Pentagon officials say Shalikashvili is "spooked" by Washington's military experience in Somalia, since the arrests of

Serb leaders or "even rank and file officers could bring retaliation against NATO forces." Eighteen GIs were killed in an attempt to capture one Somali during the imperialist military occupation of that country.

Meanwhile, during the last two weeks in January, more than 500 prisoners have been released from all sides in the conflict. The Dayton accord required all prisoners to be freed by January 19, but the Bosnian government said 24,000 people are still unaccounted for. A protest was organized January 29 in Tuzla, where several hundred women broke into the Red Cross office demanding the return of missing relatives.

There are about 2.5 million people who fled their homes during the three-and-a-half-year war. So far, only a few hundred have returned. On January 26, Bonn decided to begin deportations in July of the 320,000 Bosnian refugees in Germany.

Seven NATO soldiers killed so far

In other developments, three British troops were killed January 28 when a mine detonated ammunition inside their armored vehicle while traveling in northwestern Bosnia. There are an estimated 3 million mines in Yugoslavia.

A soldier from Sweden was also killed January 28 when his personnel carrier crashed in a river elsewhere in northwestern Bosnia. Seven NATO soldiers have been killed in accidents since the NATO military mission in Bosnia began in December.

The imperialist military intervention in the Balkans took another twist when the Turkish government announced January 22 that Gen. Ersim Yaltesin of the Turkish army and Bosnian army commander Gen. Rasim Delic signed an agreement under which Turkish forces will train Bosnian soldiers.

White House officials say the Clinton administration will offer Ankara about \$220,000 in military exchanges to the United States this year, to supplement the Turkish government. The estimated cost of the training program is more than \$300 million.

At the same time, Washington is demanding that the Iranian government, which supplied arms to Bosnia during the war, have no military role there. Brig. Gen. Dzamal Merdan, the head of the training and development of the Bosnian army, was instrumental in establishing the 7th Muslim Brigade of Bosnian soldiers, who were trained by fighters from Iran's Revolutionary Guards.

Despite strikes, Paris pushes austerity plan

BY ERNIE MAILHOT
AND MICHEL DUGRÉ

PARIS — The capitalist rulers of Europe are growing more and more concerned over the state of their economies.

Pointing to the sharp slowdown in the French economy Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, the former president of France, joined a growing number of capitalists and called for easing the economic requirements for the implementation of the so-called European monetary union.

The recent announcement of \$4.1 billion in losses by Daimler-Benz, Germany's biggest industrial group, served as a reminder of the depth of the current crisis in Europe. Daimler-Benz announced January 22 that it was ending all financial ties with the Dutch aircraft maker Fokker. Daimler-Benz controlled 51 percent of Fokker and its move threatens the jobs of more than 9,000 workers.

The governments of France and Germany strongly rejected Giscard's proposal. This debate illustrates the divisions in the ruling circles of Europe on how to attack the rights and living standards of the working class.

In Germany, the government is pushing an agreement with most unions that calls for no wage raises above the inflation rate in return for a vague job creation program. Joachim Fels, who follows the German economy for Goldman, Sachs Co., said that to reduce unemployment, "It would take a major overhaul of the wage formation system."

"You would need several years of con-



Militant/Derek Jeffers

Contingent of several hundred students march in Paris Nov. 24, 1995, in solidarity with workers' strikes against government austerity plan.

secutive declines in real wages," he emphasized.

Meanwhile, big business and the Elysée Palace in France are continuing their drive to roll back the gains of working people here despite the labor and student fight-back in November and December.

The French government has not given up its plans for drastic cuts in social security. On January 24 the government approved a measure taken from the Juppé austerity plan that calls for a new tax of 0.5 percent on almost all revenue. This tax is called the Reimbursement of the Social

Debt (RDS).

It was in response to the Juppé plan, announced by the government last November, that millions of French workers and their supporters carried out the biggest and most important strikes and mobilizations in France in decades.

A key part of the Juppé plan — shelved for now since the December mass strikes — was a reform of the rail workers' retirement benefits, a gain these workers have historically fought for and defended. This plan includes retirement after 37.5 years of work at 74 percent of pay. Today 353,400 people, including retired rail workers or their survivors, receive pensions through this system. The active workforce on the railroad is currently 182,350 workers.

The French government has run the railroads here since the 1930s and estimates the rail system is more than \$38 billion in debt. The government pays approximately \$4 billion out of the \$5.4 billion yearly pension costs.

The attempts by Paris to divide off public sector workers, especially rail workers, by portraying them as a privileged few has made little progress. Nat London, a member of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) at Renault, said that since the strikes in December discussions have increased among workers in private industry on the need to win back the pensions and other benefits that were taken away from them in recent years. Signs and stickers have appeared in some plants supporting these demands.

In further fallout from last year's mass strikes, 700 members of the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT) who work on the railroad in the southeast region of Paris quit the CFDT and joined the independent union Solidarity, Unity, Democracy (SUD). SUD was founded by workers who left the CFDT in 1989. They represent mostly workers at France Telecom and the post office. The leadership of the CFDT, the second-largest labor federation in France, after the CGT, angered many workers in France when it supported the Juppé cutback plan in December.

The General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the largest workers organization in France, along with the teachers union, has called for a week of labor actions culminating in regional demonstrations on February 11. These mobilizations in workplaces and elsewhere will demand the withdrawal of all aspects of the Juppé plan. The scope and character of these actions are not clear yet.

Sales of Marxist books brisk in France

BY ROLLANDE GIRARD

PARIS — During the last week of January, the international team of supporters of the Marxist magazine *Nouvelle Internationale* set up a literature table and spoke to workers leaving their jobs at the end of the day at GEC-Alsthom, a company of some 800 workers that produces industrial transformers. A socialist who works at the plant and who has been using *Nouvelle Internationale* and the *Militant* to campaign against imperialism's war drive against Yugoslavia came out to join the team.

Three copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* no. 5, which has the article "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War," were sold. The sizeable literature table with signs and posters attracted a number of workers.

One worker, Gérard Mahé, bought a French translation of the *Militant* editorial denouncing the NATO war drive against Yugoslavia. He said he was particularly interested in the question of Yugoslavia because his wife is from that country. The next day at work he told a *Militant* supporter how much he liked the editorial and agreed with the characterization of the war as not in the interests of the workers. He expressed interest in buying a copy of *Nouvelle Internationale* no. 4, which is devoted to the Persian Gulf war, or the issue on imperialism's march toward fascism and war.

The volunteer salespeople also set up literature tables at several political meetings this week, including a Cuba solidarity activity in a suburb of Paris, a meeting of activists against homelessness, and a speaking engagement at Nanterre University for Robert Hue, head of the French Communist Party, that was attended by 800 people, mostly students.

Ernie Mailhot, a volunteer from Miami, gave a presentation on the Cuban revolution at Las Rambas Bar. Emilie Panisset had organized the conference at the bar after she attended a Militant Labor Forum on the fight for the independence of Quebec. About 15 people participated in the discussion that followed the short talk.

Some people disagreed with Mailhot's view that the Cuban road presents the alternative working people should seek to emulate. "It's human nature," that's the problem, said one, who at the end of the meeting bought *Nouvelle Internationale* no. 5 to read the article "Defending Cuba, defending Cuba's socialist revolution" by Mary-Alice Waters.

Isabel Martínez, one of the participants, said she really liked the discussion. "We started with Cuba and then talked about

communism in general," she stated. "People were really motivated."

Team members also visited a sit-in in front of the Health Ministry to denounce the attacks against the health-care system. The four protesters invited *Nouvelle Internationale* supporters to sit down for a coffee. On the basis of discussions about the social crisis, Erick Rabette and another nurse protester bought copies of *Nouvelle Internationale*.

"The government plans to close the doors of hospitals across France," explained Rabette. He said the proposed government reform plan is "the biggest attack yet against public health. No government has yet dared" to attempt such drastic cutbacks. He explained that the details are still being discussed, but a key element

of the plan is to close many of France's public hospitals by "forcing them to compete with private hospitals."

Abderrafik Zaïgouche, a student at St. Denis, stopped by a table there. He bought 540 francs (US\$108) worth of books, the entire five-issue set of *Nouvelle Internationale*, the book *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, several pamphlets on Cuba, and a book by Malcolm X. He said he really likes Che Guevara because "he was not only good in theory but in action." He said he wanted to "compare Cuba to Algeria in order to find a solution to the situation in Algeria."

These results bring totals to more than \$7,000 worth of communist literature sold since December 16, including 368 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale*.

Students in Canada set a day of protest

BY PATRICIA O'BEIRNE

MONTREAL — The Canadian Federation of Students (CFS) has called for a cross-Canada day of action to be held on February 7 against cuts to education and social programs by the federal government. In his February 1995 budget, Finance Minister Paul Martin announced his intention to reduce the transfers to provinces for health, education and welfare, as well as funding for unemployment insurance by Can\$7 billion (Can\$1 = US\$0.72).

The protest will condemn the newly-created Canada Health and Social Transfer, by which funding for health, social assistance, and post-secondary education will be merged into one lump-sum transfer. Each provincial government will then decide how these funds are spent. In Canada, provincial governments administer health, education, and welfare partly with funding from Ottawa. Many students say the new policy is in part a maneuver to decentralize protests against cutbacks.

The application of these cuts by the Quebec government could reduce by 15 percent budgets for community colleges, universities, and loans and bursary programs.

Publicity for the day of action produced by the CFS states that these latest cuts will "decrease funding gradually until it eventually reaches zero... put an end to national standards for health, post-secondary education and social assistance... deregulate and increase tuition fees," and cause students' debt load to "skyrocket."

In January 1995, some 100,000 students

protested across the country against cuts to education, the biggest student action in Canada's history.

In Montreal, over 20 student associations at universities and community colleges have formed the Student Coalition Against the Cuts to build a demonstration. The march route will pass by three of the four universities in the city. It will also pass through the financial district to highlight that banks and corporations are making huge profits while students and working people are being made to bear the burden of the capitalist depression.

One of the speakers at the Montreal demonstration will be a spokeswoman for the Common Front, a coalition of community, unemployed, women's, and union groups.

It was formed at a 500-strong conference held here January 19-21 to organize fighting back against the cuts to social programs.

Marches, teach-ins, and round table discussions are planned in Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary, Quebec City, Lethbridge, Regina, Saskatoon, Winnipeg, St. John's, Guelph, and London among others. For



Militant/Colin McKay

Student demonstration against cutbacks in post-secondary education Sept. 20, 1995, in Montreal, Quebec.

more information, call the Canadian Federation of Students at (613) 232-7394.

Patricia O'Beirne is a member of the Young Socialists and of Lodge 205 of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union at Domtar in Montreal.

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Protests to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal and an end to the death penalty are part of the fight for Black freedom today. Struggles against racism and police brutality, strikes and other labor battles against attacks on the social wage, actions in defense of abortion rights, and other protests against the employers' offensive on working people are at the center of resistance to imperialism's drive toward war in Yugoslavia.

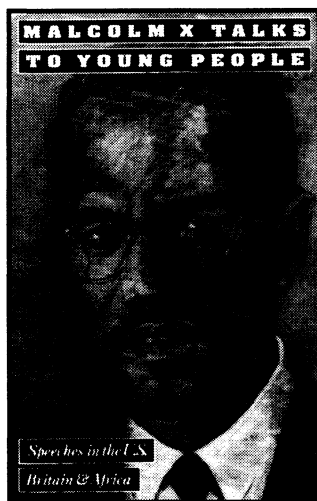
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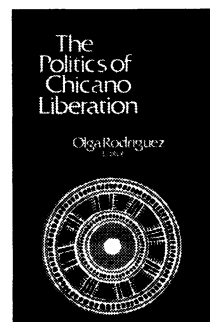
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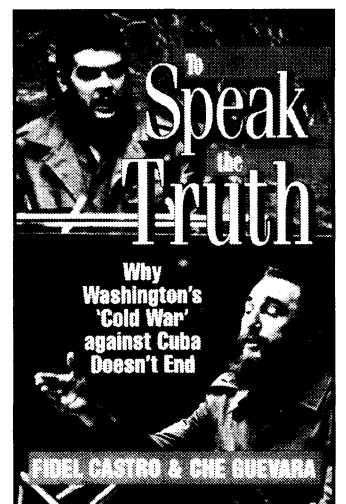


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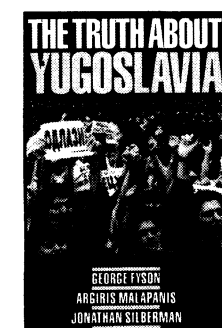
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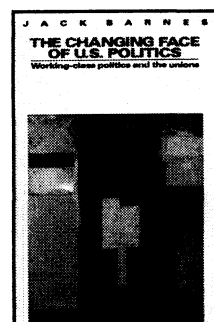
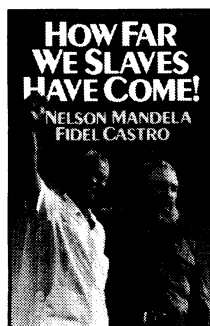
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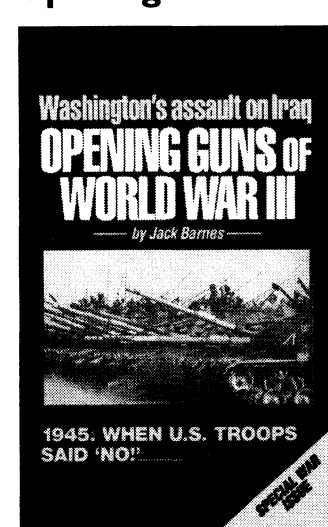
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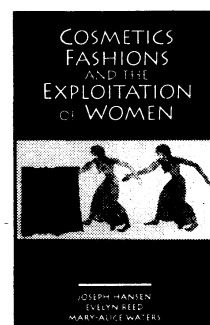
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Winning new readers after increasing bookstore hours

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, publishes books and pamphlets by revolutionary and working-class leaders. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Pathfinder supporter Ellie García reports from Long Island City, New York, that sales of Pathfinder books and pamphlets have been brisk the first three weeks on her new job. So far, three co-workers at the United Auto Work-

like others across the United States, is increasing the hours it is regularly open each week. On the first evening of the new schedule, four people came into the store in a three-hour period. One young man, who had called the night before to find out when the bookstore would be open, purchased *The Leninist Strategy of Party Building* by Joseph Hansen. The others were heading home from work or school when they passed the bookstore and noticed the window displays featuring "The Opening Guns of World War III" in *New International*, *The Truth about Yu-*

Volunteers around the world are pitching in to digitize — transfer from paper to computer files — all of Pathfinder's more than 300 titles. Storing the text for the books in this way means that new, upgraded editions of each title can be produced more quickly, with more readable type, additional annotation, and attractive designs.

Ruth Cheney and Jerry Gardner, from California, write that 14 friends of Pathfinder in San Francisco and Oakland have completed work on the first volume of *Revolutionary Continuity: Marxist Leadership in the United States* by Farrell Dobbs. After the paper pages from an old copy of the book were scanned into a computer, a process that translates the written words into a computer document, the volunteers proofread the new text, entered corrections, and proofread it again. They're ready to begin work on their next two books—*Teamster Power* and *Teamster Bureaucracy*, both by Dobbs—which have already been scanned by another volunteer. So far, 81 Pathfinder titles have been digitized. Anyone interested in participating in this project can contact Pathfinder at (212) 741-0690.

Pathfinder is on the lookout for interesting anecdotes for future columns, particularly those that highlight sales of revolutionary books and pamphlets through Pathfinder bookstores, to workers on the job, at plant gates, in working-class communities, and at political events.



View of the Dar Al Musawar stand at Beirut Bookfair during December 1995.

Write also to let us know about the efforts of local sales representatives to get Pathfinder titles onto the shelves of bookstores, libraries, and universities around the world.

Material for the Pathfinder around the World column should be marked as such and sent to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. The fax number is (212) 727-0150. Letters can also be sent via electronic mail: by CompuServe to "73321,414"; by the Internet to "pathfinder@igc.apc.org".

Don't forget to order your upgraded or new edition of *The Revolution Betrayed*, *The Communist Manifesto*, and *The Politics of Chicano Liberation*.

Pathfinder also has a limited number of posters available for Black History Month. They cost 50 cents each and will be distributed on a first come, first served basis.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

By Sara Lobman

ers—organized shop have bought a total of four titles. A worker from the Dominican Republic bought *Nueva Internacional* no. 2, with articles on "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism." Another worker, from Haiti, bought a copy of *Le socialisme et l'homme à Cuba*, the French-language edition of *Socialism and Man in Cuba*. A worker from Honduras purchased the same pamphlet in Spanish from García and then attended a Militant Labor Forum at the Pathfinder bookstore in Brooklyn on the Russian government's invasion of Chechnya, where he picked up *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in Spanish.

García has also brought several of Pathfinder's Russian-language titles in to show co-workers who recently immigrated from that country.

The Brooklyn Pathfinder bookstore,

goslavia, *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and other titles.

Pathfinder has a new Spanish-language promotional piece. The brochure features "La marcha del imperialismo hacia el fascismo y la guerra" (Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War) by Jack Barnes, the lead article in *Nueva Internacional* no. 4; *En defensa del marxismo*, Pathfinder's new Spanish-language edition of *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky; and *El socialismo y el hombre en Cuba* (Socialism and Man in Cuba) by Guevara and Fidel Castro. It also highlights *The Communist Manifesto*, titles by Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, V.I. Lenin, and more. It is available to local distributors around the world at a cost of 20 cents each.

Socialists set goals to sell 'Episodes' everywhere

BY GREG McCARTAN

Socialists who are members of industrial unions have set selling the new book from Pathfinder, Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, as a central political task over the coming months. Branches of the Socialist

Workers Party have also discussed sales goals, adopting ambitious quotas over the next six weeks (see chart below). Final goals will be printed in next week's *Militant*.

"This book presents the central question in world politics today," said Thabo Nwteng to a national meeting of socialists who are members of the International Association of Machinists held in Newark, New Jersey, January 27-28. "That of building a party capable of leading working people to power, and of opening the fight for socialism."

Written by Guevara in the early 1960s, the book is his first-hand account of the military battles and political events that culminated in the January 1959 popular insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in Cuba. Guevara, Argentine by birth, became a central leader of the Cuban revolution, the first socialist revolution in the Americas.

Socialist workers who are members of industrial unions in New York and New Jersey started showing the book around on the job as soon as it was released by Pathfinder Press. They have received a good response.

At the General Motors plant in Tarrytown, New York, co-workers of socialists purchased three copies of the new book the first week it was out. The plant is organized by the United Auto Workers. George Chalmers showed Guevara's *Episodes* to a fellow union member who is Puerto Rican. "He immediately said, 'I have to have that book,'" Chalmers reported.

Abby Tilsner sold two books, one to a long-time reader of the *Militant*, and another to a woman who joined the Pathfinder Readers Club and started purchasing books from Pathfinder the previ-

ous week. "She bought and read *Malcolm X on Afro-American History* and was interested in discussing Cuba, since Malcolm kept talking about Cuba in his speeches," Tilsner said. "I showed her the new book and encouraged her to buy it, which she did."

Lee Oleson said he has found particular interest among co-workers at the GM plant who are Dominican. One, who is considering buying the book, told Oleson that growing up in the Dominican Republic he found that "Che was widely admired. Cuba has solved many of the problems that the Dominican Republic has today."

Meeting new workers

Oleson said he and other socialists are using the new book "to get out and meet workers we've never talked to before. Some have never heard of Che Guevara, others know a lot about the revolutionary leader.

"I am presenting the book as one that raises the question of political power," he said.

"One co-worker who has worked at the plant for 20 years got right to that point," Chalmers explained. "He pointed to the recent articles about the CIA working to overthrow the government in Iran and said, 'We have to have the people take power' so Washington can't do this anymore."

Jane Harris, a member of the United Transportation Union who works at New Jersey Transit, and Olga Rodríguez, a member of the Machinists union who works at Northwest Airlines at the Newark airport, each said a co-worker of theirs bought a book just by seeing it. Harris said a railroad engineer "bought a Pathfinder Readers Club membership and a book at the same time. He was interested in it right away."

Over the coming weeks supporters are encouraged to send information to the *Militant* on how sales of the book are going, and how getting out the *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* helps the longer-term effort by socialists to increase the sales of Pathfinder books and pam-

phlets to workers and young people.

The *Militant* will print a weekly chart to track the success of the *Episodes* sales campaign. The deadline for reporting the week's results is Tuesday at noon Eastern Standard Time. Those who would like to join the sales effort can send their goal to the *Militant* and can order books from Pathfinder Press (see ad on page 8).

Sales of this book will be at the center of the effort by socialist workers and others to campaign against the imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia. Reaching out to other unionists on the job, at plant gates, picket lines, and a range of political activities with *Episodes* will pose sharply the question that the only way to stop NATO in its drive to overthrow the Yugoslav workers state is the revolutionary seizure of power by workers and farmers.

Promotional material available

Pathfinder has made available several promotional pieces that will aid the campaign to sell the book.

A color poster is available for \$.50 per copy. It is an enlargement of the book cover, and will stand out on college campuses, on the job, in retail stores, and elsewhere. New brochures advertising Pathfinder's Spanish-language titles can also be ordered for \$.20 each.

The brochure advertises *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, along with a range of titles in Spanish. Pathfinder sent out a press release on the book to 360 newspapers and journals in January. Supporters of the publishing house in many cities are sending copies of the release to local media, organization newsletters, and campus press.

Attractive displays in Pathfinder bookstores are a big aid in featuring the book.

Volunteers in the New York Pathfinder bookstore have set up an exhibit of photos printed in the book. The display was first used at a recent meeting to celebrate the life of Socialist Workers Party leader Ed Shaw. Other pictures, articles, and material published in the *Militant* can be used to prepare displays to be used at political events, on literature tables, and in Pathfinder bookstores.

Campaigning with 'Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War'	
Country/City	Goal
UNITED STATES	
Atlanta, GA	25
Birmingham, AL	40
Boston, MA	—
Brooklyn	100
Chicago, IL	50
Cleveland, OH	30
Des Moines, IA	32
Detroit, MI	25
Greensboro, NC	45
Houston, TX	—
Los Angeles, CA	—
Miami, FL	50
Morgantown, W VA	27
New York	130
Newark, NJ	125
Peoria, IL	20
Philadelphia, PA	45
Pittsburgh, PA	—
Salt Lake City, UT	60
San Francisco, CA	95
Seattle, WA	80
Twin Cities, MN	40
Washington, D.C.	75
TOTAL SO FAR	1,094
IN THE UNIONS	
IAM	90
UFCW	12
UNITE	40
UTU	80

IAM—International Association of Machinists; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; UTU—United Transportation Union.

How Rebel Army spread revolutionary war

'Bohemia' interview with Raúl Castro, commander of Second Eastern Front

Pathfinder Press is releasing a new edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War — 1956-58*, including material never before available in English.

To promote this book the *Militant* is running "Pages from Cuba's revolutionary history." This series features articles by and about combatants of the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, which led the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas. Many items are translated for the first time from Cuban publications.

The following is the third installment — an interview with Raúl Castro, who today is minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba, vice president of the Council of State and Council of Ministers, and second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba.

During the first 15 months of the revolutionary war, launched in December 1956, the Rebel Army was confined to a single front in the Sierra Maestra mountains of eastern Cuba. In 1958 new fronts were created in different regions of Oriente province and throughout the island. Raúl Castro was assigned to command the Second Eastern Front in that province.

The interview below, based on that experience, appeared in the March 11, 1988, issue of the Cuban magazine *Bohemia*. The Cuban newspaper *Granma Weekly Review* published an abridged version in English in its March 15, 1988, issue. The text below is taken from that *Granma* version.

Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

Bohemia: Within the general strategy outlined by the commander in chief of the Rebel Army [Fidel Castro] to take the war beyond the Sierra Maestra mountains, what were the basic missions, generally speaking, assigned to each front and invading column, not just from a military standpoint but also the political, and what were the particular ones assigned to the "Frank País" Column no. 6 and the Second Front?

Raúl Castro: I've often said that one of the things I admire most about Fidel is his



Raúl Castro addresses congress of peasants organized by Rebel Army's Second Eastern Front, in Soledad, Mayarí Arriba, Sept. 21, 1958. Behind him are Papito Seguera (standing), Vilma Espín.

foresight, and I repeat it here. It's really impressive how by late 1957 he had clearly worked out in detail exactly how he would spread the revolutionary war beyond the territory of the Sierra Maestra. Doing so was a cornerstone of his strategy, from a military standpoint, for defeating the Batista dictatorship and bringing about the triumph of the revolution.

I recall that in December 1957, at a place known as Balcón de La Habanita, we had a long talk and he explained to me that as soon as the Sierra Maestra front was consolidated, he would set up new columns and send them to different parts of the country. He mentioned at that time the Sierra Cristal area and the region east of the Sierra Maestra, near the city of Santiago de Cuba. But what surprised me most was when he said that he would also send rebel columns to the central region of the country and Pinar del Río.¹ I couldn't imagine at that time how he was going to do this.

Fidel was convinced — and this was how things turned out — that the First Front would be where the cadres and fighters

would be forged and that they would gradually leave the mother column, as Che called it, to take the war to other territories, thereby multiplying the Rebel Army and forcing the enemy to divide its forces, thus becoming weaker and more vulnerable.

Uniting July 26 Movement

In addition to this essential goal, the aim was also to unite the July 26 Movement fighters who had taken up arms and coordinate operations with people belonging to other organizations. In other words, from a political standpoint, the aim was to act as a vehicle to bring together and unite the forces opposing the regime, and to implement in the new territories the revolutionary laws and measures already in force in the First Front.

Columns left the Sierra Maestra bound for other zones in the provinces of Oriente, Camagüey, Las Villas, and Pinar del Río, each carrying both general and specific assignments, depending on where they were to operate. In the case of Che's column, for example, the "Ciro Redondo" Column no. 8 had been assigned the strategic military goal of fighting the enemy in the central portion of the country and of intercepting and paralyzing all land movement by army troops from the west to the east of the country.

Column no. 4, set up in mid-1957 under Che's command, was the first to break away. Then Fidel honored Comrade [Juan] Almeida and myself by choosing us to lead two new columns: the "Santiago de Cuba" Column no. 3 and the "Frank País" Column no. 6, respectively.

Once again we were to fulfill two similar missions simultaneously — earlier when the expedition had been militarily organized just before the *Granma* landing, Almeida and I were appointed to lead the central and rear guard platoons, respectively. The forward detachment was led by José Smith Comas, who was murdered following Alegría de Pío.²

On February 27 the commander in chief signed the orders promoting us to the rank of commander, and it was on that day that we set out with our respective columns from Pata de la Mesa, the place where Che's general headquarters was located and where Fidel went to send us off.

According to the order signed by the commander in chief, my mission was to open up a new war front in northeastern Oriente province, specifically in the mountains extending from the Mayarí municipal district to the Baracoa region. Once there he ordered me to resist and then defeat the summer offensive by the dictator's army. Later, when the final battle was under way, he ordered me to capture the enemy enclaves in the zone encompassing Cueto, Mayarí, San Luis, and Guantánamo.

Thirty years later I can say that the missions assigned to the "Frank País" Second Eastern Front by the commander in chief were fulfilled. This required dedication, courage, and even the sacrifice of many lives

— comrades who generously shed their blood to make victory possible.

Batista's offensive smashed

Bohemia: It has been said that the dictatorship's "summer offensive" turned out to be one of the most dramatic moments in the whole Second Front campaign. Can you elaborate on this? What did it mean for the rebel forces' subsequent military successes?

Castro: The time we spent fending off the summer offensive was indeed one of the most critical, not just for the Second Front but for the Rebel Army generally. Fidel once said that if we had not defeated that offensive, the war would have lasted longer.

But it must be pointed out that it was also one of the moments when Fidel's military thinking shone with particular brilliance. He guessed, with great precision, that the dictatorship would try to take advantage of the setback the revolutionary movement had suffered with the failed April strike,³ and he immediately began to take steps to counter the blow. With the dictatorship thinking that we were spread out in several territories, Fidel ordered that we strategically regroup and even brought

back Almeida and Camilo [Cienfuegos] — the former was already operating in the "Mario Muñoz" Third Front territory and the latter was waging his campaign on the Oriente plains. Thus the enemy, which had been trained and organized in battalions to fight guerrilla warfare, was suddenly forced to wage mainly a war of positions that it had not anticipated.

This brought to an end the offensive that the dictatorship boastfully called FF (Final Phase or Finishing off Fidel). It was indeed a final phase — but for the dictatorship, since, as Che put it, the Batista army emerged from those clashes with its back broken.

In the case of the Second Front, as I said before, Fidel ordered me to defend the territory in which we were operating, because although the enemy would launch its main blow in the direction of the First Front, another offensive, although not as large, would be directed against our zone.

A difficult time

Ours was actually a difficult task, for we had virtually just arrived, we were barely organized, and we were extremely short of ammunition, a situation that became worse because of the battles we waged in support of the April 9 strike.

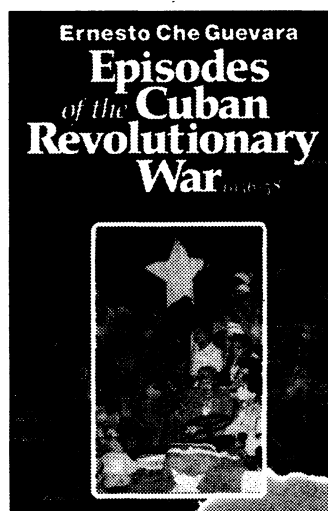
We had to be very flexible in directing the operations we carried out in May and June 1958 to be able to confront the onslaught successfully. In those days we fought very hard battles like, for instance, the battle at La Lima, which lasted three days under torrential downpours. The resistance we put up while waging a war of positions was vitally important in throwing back the enemy offensive in the Second Front. Although we didn't see it this way in the beginning, when seen together with the battles we fought after that, it amounted to a big victory.

Combining guerrilla warfare with a war of positions, tactical withdrawals with constant harassment of the enemy's rear guard, we were able to prevent the enemy from entering our territory despite its attempts to do so in different places. In particular we managed to protect the zone of our general headquarters and certain rudimentary but very important installations we had there.

By the second half of June, the army was forced to withdraw, having been unable to achieve its goals, and from that time on we entered a new stage of development. We consolidated and expanded our territory. Our forces grew during this period and we got some new weapons. This enabled us to swell the five rebel companies we had at the beginning of the offensive into five columns. From that time on until the end of the war, the initiative passed into our hands.

By the last months of the war we set up a new column and so in December 1958 we had six: the "Juan M. Ameijeiras" Column no. 6, led by Efigenio Ameijeiras, who was also second in command of the Second Front; the "José Tey" Column no. 19, led

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Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58

"Revolutions rarely, if ever, emerge fully ripe, and not all their details are scientifically foreseen. They are products of passion, of improvisation by human beings in their struggle for social change, and are never perfect. Our revolution was no exception."

—ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA, 1961

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War is a firsthand account of the military battles and political campaigns that culminated in the January 1959 mass armed insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship.

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by Belarmino Castilla; the "Abel Santamaría" Column no. 17, headed by Antonio E. Lussón; the "Nico López" Column no. 18, commanded by Félix Peña; the "Gustavo Fraga" Column no. 20, led by Demetrio Montseny; and the "Enrique Hart" Column no. 16, led by Carlos Iglesias.

By then the Second Front covered an area of about 12,000 square kilometers in the rural municipalities of Mayarí, Sagua de Tánamo, Baracoa, Yateras, Guantánamo, Alto Songo, and San Luis, and by the end of the war, Banes and Antilla as well. During the nine months that our campaign there lasted, we flew the flag of the Free Territory of Cuba all over the region.

Strong fighting tradition

Bohemia: What specific conditions contributed to the rapid development of the Second Eastern Front and made it possible for all representatives and functions of the Batista government within its limits to be replaced in a short time by Rebel Army forces under your command?

Castro: The region covered by the Second Front had a series of characteristics that helped the Rebel Army do its revolutionary work better. Unquestionably, in many ways better conditions existed there than in the Sierra Maestra.

In the territories under our control or heavy influence there were 18 sugar mills; fertile lands planted with sugarcane, coffee, and other crops; large cattle herds; and the soil was rich in minerals. Those were, in the main, the most important economic resources in the region and most of them were U.S.-owned. The United Fruit Co., for example, was the largest owner of land planted with sugarcane.

Another vitally important point to be considered is that the population there had a strong fighting tradition. Located there, for instance, was Realengo 18, where a memorable battle was waged [in 1934] against the eviction of peasants, and the place became a worthy symbol of the Cuban peasants' rebelliousness. Moreover, from Hatuey⁴ to Fidel, that is, throughout our history, few other territories in the country can boast of so much rebelliousness and so many struggles of all kinds.

All those factors, naturally, contributed to our revolutionary efforts, much more than even our military activity did.

From the time we arrived, we began to tackle many political and social problems. We set up an administrative apparatus under our general headquarters to take charge of civilian affairs.

An important step in the process of organizing the Front, particularly in connection with civilian administration, was taken in October, when we issued Military Order no. 49 putting in force the organic law whereby the Front was officially established with its own military and administrative structure.

The order described the existence and functions of seven departments: the War Department, under my direct supervision, made up of the six columns and the Rebel Air Force; plus the Justice, Public Health, Propaganda, Education, Finances, and Construction and Communications Departments. Later on, the Industrial Department was established.

We'd also set up two intermediate leadership bodies: Personnel and Inspection, and Interdepartmental; in addition there were the Agrarian and Workers Bureaus.

In our territory we levied taxes on large landowners; we gradually solved conflicts between employers and workers; we built roads and administered justice; and we even performed marriages.

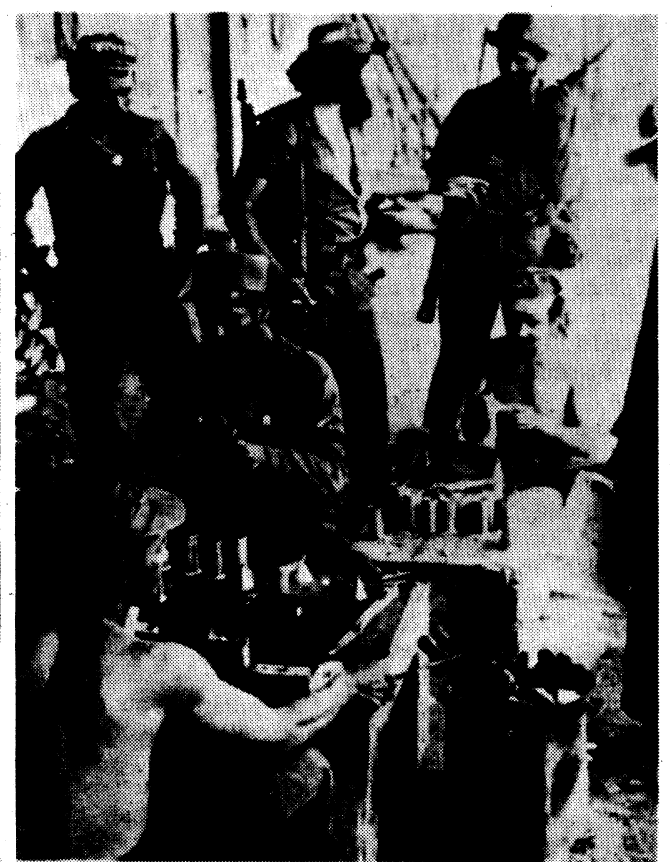
Peasant Congress in Arms

I think two events are particularly illustrative of our work with the population and both had major political repercussions. One was the Peasant Congress in Arms held on September 21, 1958; the other was the Workers' Congress in Arms, which began in the afternoon on December 8 of the same year, in the midst of the Rebel Army's final offensive that led to the complete collapse of the dictatorship.

I should stress that we did very useful and necessary work there, above all because we supplanted the old authority of the regime in that territory and made the new authority prevail. Our authority emanated from the revolutionary power represented by the Rebel Army, which exercised it on the basis of the revolution's purest principles.



Above, one of the more than 400 schools created by Rebel Army in the territory liberated by Raúl Castro's "Frank País" column. Right, Rebel Army arms and munitions factory set up by Second Eastern Front.



It is true that the incipient, rural administrative organization we created as we went along had many flaws, not to mention our youth and lack of experience. Yet looking back on it almost 30 years later, I might say that one of the biggest obstacles was posed by the rapidly unfolding events and the dynamics of the struggle itself, which gave rise to new problems, so that we would just start to implement some organizational scheme and it would become obsolete a few weeks later. Nevertheless, I believe that at all times we did the right thing in line with our possibilities, that we always concentrated on the most important questions that often arose simultaneously and with very different characteristics.

Bohemia: The mountain population has its own special characteristics. The fact that the military leaders under your command were familiar with them proved to be a decisive factor in attaining your goals. What social changes did the opening and consolidation of the Second Front represent for the population in the northern and eastern mountains of Oriente?

Castro: I believe that during the nine months the Second Front operated, we succeeded as much as we could in improving the living conditions of the population with whom we shared the hardships of war in that area. As I see it, one of the biggest benefits received by the local peasants, in the social arena, was the work we did there in health and education.

In the course of a few months we made big efforts to reopen a number of schools that the dictatorship had closed down and we built many others. By the time the war ended, we had some 400 teachers and over 450 schools.

First literacy campaign

The first literacy campaign carried out in that area was directed by our Department of Education. It was a mass campaign involving both Rebel Army fighters and local men and women who until then had lived in complete ignorance. The department was headed by Comrade Asela de los Santos, current deputy minister of education.

The rebel teachers played a vitally important role, not just in improving the education of the fighters and the peasantry but also in helping them understand more clearly why we were fighting and the urgent need for deep-going political, economic, and social changes.

As was the case with our doctors, many teachers participated frequently in military operations after school hours. The image of the future conveyed by our fighting teachers and doctors, with a rifle in one hand and textbooks or medicines in the other, proved highly encouraging for our peasants.

Right from the start, the medical personnel who took care of our troops in the Second Front also treated the peasant population that, as a rule, lacked any kind of health care and lived in areas where epidemics, malnutrition, and endemic illnesses prevailed. The death rate was extremely high, to the extent that just before our arrival, in the Mayarí Arriba area 70 to 80 percent of the children under a year of age had died as a result of an outbreak of gastroenteritis.

Our Health Department didn't skimp on material and human resources to care for the civilian population who confidently went to the rebel hospitals to see the doctors, previously unavailable in the area.

This department was made up of 160 comrades, including 19 doctors and five dentists. We also had pharmacists, X-ray and lab technicians, medical students, nurses, and helpers. We even had operating rooms, radiology services, laboratories, sterilizing units, blood transfusion and classification centers, hospital beds, and other services and facilities. This department was headed from the start by Comrade José Ramón Machado Ventura, now a Political Bureau and Secretariat member of the Central Committee of our party.

The prestige won in public health and education among the civilian population served as an incentive to collaborate with the Rebel Army and greatly contributed to increasing their respect for it. I've always thought that the overall effort made resulted in extremely valuable large-scale political and social work, which showed the population in that territory very graphically what the triumph of the revolution would signify.

'New pines'

Bohemia: You were in your twenties when the commander in chief conferred on you the enormous responsibility of constituting the Second Eastern Front. Does the Armed Forces today entrust important missions and tasks to young officers?

Castro: In the first place, to understand the circumstances in which we were given the great responsibility of constituting a front, it's necessary to put oneself in the concrete situation the revolutionary struggle found itself in, and particularly the Rebel Army, which had only a few hundred combatants.

While it's true that we were young, some of us had already been through certain experiences and some degree of tempering, acquired from the first clandestine efforts, the Moncada, prison, exile, the *Granma*, and the difficult first fifteen months in the Sierra Maestra. By midnight on March 10, 1958, as we were crossing the Oriente plains en route to the mountains of what would

become the Second Front, exactly six years had passed since Batista's coup d'état. In that time we had learned some things; for example in prison we studied and read intensively; in Mexico we continued preparing ourselves. But to be truthful, looking back on it after so much time, I now conclude that faced with the gigantic task in front of us, we were mere novices as political and military leaders.

But the fact is that we were the only ones Fidel had at that concrete time. He had already set aside other more difficult and important missions for Che and Camilo, even at the time when Almeida and I were selected to head the Third and Second Fronts respectively. He could have chosen others from among those of more or less the same age and similar experience. But what he could not do was wait patiently for us to grow older and gain more maturity.

I'm sure that the great bulk of our young officers in the FAR today, of the same age as we were then, under similar circumstances in the Sierra Maestra in that concrete situation at the beginning of 1958, would have been capable of fulfilling the mission assigned to me, and even do it better...

Personally, I am convinced of the correctness of the policy of opening the way for the "new pines" in all spheres of society. I am absolutely certain that our young officers, sergeants, and soldiers are up to the high task of belonging to the Revolutionary Armed Forces at this historic and difficult moment of building a new society.

1. Cuba's westernmost province.
2. The first battle of the revolutionary war in December 1956, in which the rebels were taken by surprise and dispersed.
3. The July 26 Movement called a general strike on April 9, 1958. Lacking political preparation, the strike failed.
4. Chief of the indigenous population in Cuba who led resistance to the Spanish colonial invaders. He was captured and burned at the stake in 1513.

FROM PATHFINDER

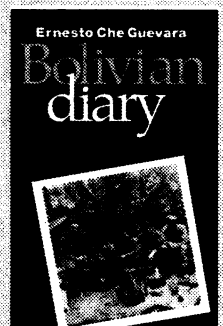
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Caterpillar workers face attacks on union

BY DAVID MARSHALL

PEORIA, Illinois — Returning to work after more than 17 months on strike, some 9,000 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) face tough restrictions on union rights under Caterpillar Inc.'s "temporary moratorium" limiting expressions of union solidarity and any mention of the bitter strike.

Since beginning to recall workers in mid-December, the company has disciplined 128 former strikers, discharging 14 and suspending others for periods ranging from a few days to "indefinitely," according to the *Fox Valley Labor News* in Aurora, Illinois. The paper also reports the union has asked the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to seek an injunction against Caterpillar's restrictions.

Under the "temporary special moratoria," as Caterpillar calls its new rules, workers are prohibited from using the word "scab," as well as wearing T-shirts or displaying other materials that refer in any way to the strike. While Caterpillar spokesman Keith Butterfield has called the rules "common-sense basic guidelines everybody can be comfortable with," union members see the restrictions as harassment and intimidation at a time when they need to be discussing how to fight for a contract.

Terry Orndorff, bargaining committee chairman for Local 786 at the York, Pennsylvania, plant, was given a two-week suspension for wearing a "Families in Solidarity: UAW" T-shirt to the orientation meeting where company officials explained the new rules to returning union members.

"It's like going to prison when you go in there," Barry Koichuba, president of Local 786, told the *Wall Street Journal*. York union steward Joe Doubles was suspended on his second day back for an "intentional slowdown," when a foreman charged he had not made enough progress towards the production rate established during the strike. Steward Jim Gross was suspended for "wasting company time." The company later elevated both suspensions to discharges.

While UAW officials declined to comment on the suspensions and discharges, it is clear that the company has taken such actions in plants throughout the system. The union has filed 26 new "unfair labor

practice" charges with the NLRB since the strike ended in December.

Caterpillar suspended one union member at its Mossville facility, just outside of Peoria, for having a sticker on his tool box that said "Fighting for Justice — Not Just Us." According to a union member at the Mossville plant, the suspended worker tried to remove the sticker, and was permitted by his supervisor to soak the area with oil to aid in this during the holiday shutdown. Upon returning, he was suspended. A week or two later he was called back to his job.

A union committeeman in Local 751 at the Decatur plant, who asked that his name be withheld, said his plant has seen 14 disciplinary cases, including five discharges, since workers have returned. "There may be some targeting of the activists," the committeeman said, "but basically they're just cracking down in an attempt to intimidate everybody."

The Decatur committeeman as well as union members at Peoria-area plants report that the atmosphere of intimidation the company imposed in the first weeks after the strike has eased up in the past couple of weeks. "They laid the law down pretty hard," he said. "You weren't supposed to mention the strike, you couldn't talk to a scab in any way that the company thought might be 'intimidating.' It's loosened up a bit now that the biggest part of the scabs Cat brought in as temporaries are gone."

A number of strikers reported that thugs from Vance Security, a strikebreaking firm that the company hired to harass union members during the strike, were patrolling the shop floor in the first days after their return to work. Union members also reported that the company had brought in a number of additional "administrative assistants" who acted as "spotters" to observe and intimidate workers as they resumed the jobs they had been away from for almost 18 months.

"It was pretty intimidating," one



Demonstration in support of Caterpillar workers in Peoria, May 1994. One returning striker in York, Pennsylvania, got two-week suspension for wearing "Families in Solidarity" T-shirt to work.

Mossville worker told the *Militant*. "I was one of the first called back, and for a couple of weeks Vance was posted at the gate, you had to show a special pass just to get in the parking lot, and they had a rough-looking Vance guard posted at the door with that 'Where's the fight?' look. But it's eased up quite a bit," he said. "In fact," he reports, "people are talking a lot about the strike and what to do next, and you're beginning to see more union caps and insignias in the plant."

"I've even begun talking more to some of the union members who crossed the picket line," he commented. "We have to look to the future, and it's self-defeating for us to ignore them forever. We're going to have to think about how to get everybody to stick together as things develop."

"Sure they're a lot of hard feelings towards the guys who crossed the line," says Bill Hiatt, a member of Local 974 who has returned to work in East Peoria. "But I'm

finding that a lot of them want to talk about all the things the company was doing that they couldn't talk about during the strike," he said. "We have to see this experience as an opportunity to begin building the union from the bottom up."

"I've come to it in my mind that this will be a long struggle," said Duane Burlingame, a Local 974 member and one of the "illegally terminated."

While Caterpillar restructures the work rules in its plants and continues to restrict union activity, an NLRB judge in Peoria ruled on January 29 that the company had illegally discharged four union members, and illegally suspended two others in the months leading up to the strike. It was in response to these attacks and the firings of over 50 other workers that the union began its "unfair labor practices" strike in June 1994.

NLRB administrative law judge James L. Rose also ruled that Caterpillar unlawfully interfered with the internal election of union officials at one plant when company supervisors

stated their preferences among candidates and removed posted material of candidates they didn't favor.

Rose ordered Caterpillar to reinstate with back pay Mossville employees Richard Stolz, fired after participating in a UAW rally in 1994, and Larry Recar, fired for refusing overtime in protest of other discharges. The judge also ordered back pay for Local 974 grievance committee chairman Ron Logue, whom the company suspended in 1992 for hanging union T-shirts in his car in a company parking lot, and Pontiac Local 2096 vice president John Hammil, who was suspended for verbal exchanges. Two other workers were unlawfully dismissed for pronoun activities at a bar.

Rose ordered the company to "cease and desist" from further discrimination against union members. In dismissing two workers, the company disciplined them more severely than it would have if they hadn't been active in the union, the judge said. The judge also dismissed eight complaints against the company including one about the in-plant surveillance of and restrictions on union committeemen.

Caterpillar lost an effort to block laid-off workers from collecting unemployment benefits in Illinois. The Illinois Department of Employment Security has ruled that those workers not recalled as of December 10 are eligible for jobless benefits. In Pennsylvania, UAW members at the York facility have been denied unemployment compensation by the state.

David Marshall is a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 1156 in Lincoln, Illinois. John Staggs, a UAW member in Philadelphia, contributed to this article.

Cuban congress invites U.S. workers

BY CINDY JAQUITH

DETROIT — The Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC) has issued an invitation to workers around the world to attend the 17th congress of the CTC, to be held in Havana April 25-30, 1996.

The U.S. delegation to the congress is being sponsored by the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange, based here in Detroit. The trip offers trade unionists from the United

States the opportunity to exchange experiences with Cuban unionists, learn about their revolution, and gain a better understanding of the effects of the U.S. government's policies designed to strangle that revolution.

In addition to attending the CTC congress, workers on the U.S. delegation will attend a seminar sponsored by the CTC that includes visits to schools, farms, factories and hospitals, and meetings with Cuban workers and union officials. A highlight of the trip will be attending Cuba's annual May Day march along with thousands of Cuban trade unionists.

Ignacio Meneses, coordinator of the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange, reports that a 500-piece mailing on the delegation has gone out to unionists across the United States. "We are inviting trade union leaders, rank-and-file workers, and unorganized workers, too, to be part of this delegation," he said.

"U.S. workers will see how workers in Cuba are confronting new challenges to their revolution, particularly the economic problems after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and the tightening of the U.S. blockade through the Helms-Burton bill," Meneses said.

"Workers from the United States will also learn firsthand how Cuba terminated racism, uniting Black, brown, and white workers to carry out a revolution and accomplish gains, some of which we in the United States are still fighting for, such as health care and education."

Amber Marie Arellano, a member of the Newspaper Guild on strike against the Detroit *Free Press* and *News*, visited Cuba in the fall of 1995 on a U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange delegation. "For me, going to Cuba opened up new ideas and perspectives," she said. "I went with skepticism,

but I was impressed with how sincere the people were and how interested they were in the strike."

Participants in the U.S. delegation to the CTC congress may choose between a one- or two-week trip. The one-week trip (April 24-May 2) costs \$650, flying from Cancun, Mexico. The two-week trip (April 20-May 4) costs \$950, also flying from Cancun.

To receive an application for the trip, write to: U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange, P.O. Box 39188, Redford, MI 48239. Telephone or fax: (313) 836-3752.

National Network on Cuba to hold meeting in Los Angeles

BY THABO NTWENG

LOS ANGELES — The National Network on Cuba (NNOC) will hold a nationwide meeting here February 10-11. The NNOC is a national coalition of some 70 groups throughout the United States that organize activities in opposition to the U.S. economic war on Cuba and for the normalization of relations between the two countries.

Affiliates will report on and discuss upcoming projects and tours to Cuba. These include the U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange trip to attend the 17th congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC) April 24 to May 2, the Venceremos Brigade trip to Cuba around the same time, and a U.S. youth brigade to Cuba in July hosted in the Caribbean island by the Union of Young Communists (UJC). The meeting will also evaluate the NNOC-initiated demonstrations last October, which took place in Chicago, New York,

and San Francisco to protest the U.S. government's policies toward Cuba.

The Los Angeles Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba is hosting the gathering. In conjunction with the NNOC meeting, the coalition has organized a week-long speaking tour of José Ponce, the first secretary of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.

Ponce will speak at campus and community meetings in Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Barbara during the tour that runs February 5 to 11.

Sergio Martínez, the third secretary for the Cuban Interests Section, will travel to San Francisco at the same time. Both representatives will attend a reception hosted by the Los Angeles coalition and will speak at a public forum at Loyola Law School the evening of February 11. For more information contact the Los Angeles coalition at (213) 383-9283 or 383-4052 or the NNOC at (212) 227-3422.

Be a Part of a Labor Delegation at the

17th Congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC)

April 24-May 2, 1996

Havana, Cuba

The U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange is sponsoring participation in a seminar and tour to Cuba to learn more about the CTC, the Cuban Revolution, and the U.S. blockade.

One-week trip: April 24-May 2, 1996. \$650. Flying from Cancun, Mexico.

Two-week trip: April 20-May 4, 1996. \$950. Flying from Cancun, Mexico.

For more information and to get an application contact:

U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange
P.O. Box 39188
Redford, MI 48239
Phone and Fax: 313-836-3752

Washington pushes social cuts

Continued from front page

The bill being reconsidered in Congress would end the 60-year-old guarantee of cash assistance that currently goes to the families of more than 9 million children. Instead, each state government would receive a lump sum to allocate for such programs. As with the cuts in education funding, most of the implementation is left up to the state governments.

In presenting a state budget proposal January 29, Christine Todd Whitman, the Republican governor in New Jersey, called on Clinton to "give New Jersey the green light to end welfare as we've known it — now." Her scheme calls for forcing those receiving welfare payments to work at low-paying jobs and puts a five-year limit on receiving benefits. It would also require mothers under age 18 to live with their parents and disclose the name of their child's father in order to be eligible for assistance. In December, the official unemployment rate in New Jersey shot up to 7.3 percent, from 6.1 percent.

Imperialist competition drives cuts

Clinton and company aren't carrying out this program of cuts simply out of meanness, only because they are greedy. They are compelled to follow this course by the economic laws of capitalism in today's world. They are forced to compete

fiercely with their imperialist rivals because of the 30-year-long steady decline in their average rate of industrial profit and because of the particular conditions of depression the entire capitalist system has been mired in since the early 1990s.

The capitalist rulers in the United States are several years ahead of their rivals in Europe and Asia in restructuring industry and increasing labor productivity as a result. They've gone further in downsizing, cost cutting, extending the workweek, intensifying speedup on the job, imposing multitier wage scales, and making inroads into the social wage.

But all their competitors — from Bonn to Tokyo to Paris — are pushing to impose similar conditions on working people in those countries. In Germany, for instance, where unemployment has reached nearly 10 percent, the employers and government are demanding cuts in social security totaling \$10 billion a year, "wage restraint," and greater labor "flexibility," claiming that's the only way to preserve jobs. The U.S. bosses and their government in Washington must try to find a way to match each move like this, or they lose ground in the scramble for profits.

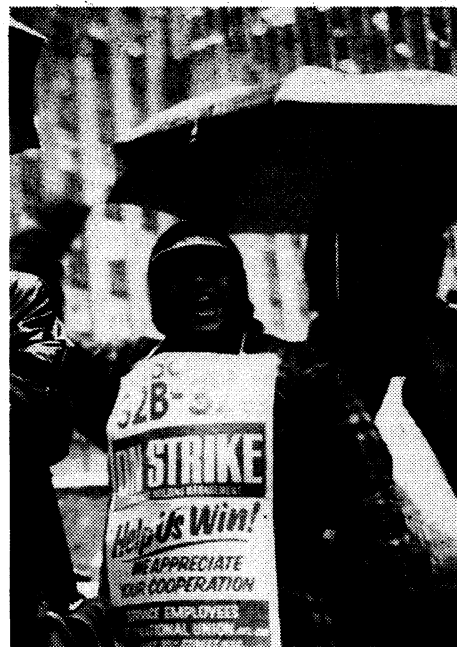
The budget cuts are not just directed at what the employing class can take away right now, but also at getting workers to internalize the idea that "it's hard times

and we need to sacrifice." They're also aimed at dividing the working class by convincing workers to blame one or another portion of the class — those who receive welfare or immigrants, for instance — for the economic and social crisis caused by capitalism.

AFDC and other welfare programs make up a minuscule proportion of government spending. But the ideological campaign against them helps lay the groundwork for future attacks on such entitlements as Social Security. Faced with these bipartisan assaults, the only answer for the labor movement is to lead a fight for jobs for all that can unite working people across borders.

In a warning to the government as a whole to get its priorities straight, Moody's Investors Service threatened January 24 to lower its quality rating on \$387 billion in U.S. Treasury debt. The Wall Street credit evaluator was responding to the possibility Washington could default on bond payments and other obligations if the government debt ceiling is not increased before March 1.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich hastily reassured the employing class on a TV news show, "There is no question that we are committed to not having a default." Not making the payments on time would be too costly in shaking confidence in the



Militant/Eric Simpson

New York strikers resist concessions

almighty dollar and in Washington's creditworthiness around the world. But the negotiations over a bill to raise the debt ceiling will be used as another pretext to push through some of the cuts in Clinton and Gingrich's plans.

The events of the last few weeks have made it clear that neither Clinton nor the main Republican contenders in the presidential race offer any vision for a solution to the long-term crisis of capitalism. Instead, much ink and television and radio time is spent on the wrangling among Democrats and Republicans over Hillary Clinton's testimony in front of a grand jury investigating the so-called Whitewater affair.

Clinton did appear to gain some mileage in the media after his State of the Union speech, because he essentially laid out what most in the ruling class agree are the next steps they need to impose, and he is the sitting president.

Sen. Bob Dole, who has led in the polls in the Republican campaign, got panned for his response — a tougher-talking version of the same basic program Clinton laid out.

The Republican Party doesn't have a clear candidate for the November presidential elections. Most, like Dole, present only tactical disagreements with the Clinton administration.

The only bourgeois politician who presents a real alternative perspective and program to the Clinton-Dole duo is Patrick Buchanan, who is using his campaign for the Republican presidential nomination once again to build an incipient fascist movement. But the class struggle hasn't gotten sharp enough for the ruling class to want or need him now as a major contender for the White House.

— YOUNG SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD —

Young Socialists join anti-Klan rally

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists, an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS, write P.O. Box 2396, New York, NY 10009. Tel: (212) 475-6482, Fax: (212) 388-1659.

BY TOM ALTER

FORT WAYNE, Indiana — On January 13, members of the Young Socialists from Muncie and Bloomington, Indiana, along with another student from Indiana University and members of the Socialist Workers Party in Chicago, traveled here to take part in two demonstrations opposing a rally on the same day by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Around 30 Klan members and 80 supporters gathered at the Allen County courthouse and held what they termed a First Amendment Free Speech Rally to protest the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday, celebrated January 15.

A week before the Klan action, members of the Detroit-based Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) came here and called for a counterdemonstration at the Klan rally site in order to stop the rightist group "by any means necessary."

The local chapter of the NAACP also called for a separate action for "racial harmony and unity in honor of Rev. Martin Luther King" to be held at the time of the KKK rally. The NAACP, though, in all its press statements said its rally was not a counterdemonstration to the Klan demon-

stration.

The day of the rally, the RWL and its side group, the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition, failed to show up and lead the counterdemonstration it had called.

Still, around 250 people did turn out to protest the Klan at the courthouse. The counterdemonstrators were a diverse group of mainly young people, the majority being high school and university students.

The young people I talked to said they came to this mobilization rather than the NAACP rally because they wanted to be part of a counterdemonstration. Many agreed with the NAACP's call for racial unity but disagreed with its tactic of not directly confronting the Klan politically.

Drawing on lessons in the Education for Socialists bulletin *Countermobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks*, Young Socialists members explained that the issue at hand was not the Klan's right to free speech but the working class defending its rights against the racists. A few young people were attracted to the ideas of the YS, asked to be sent more information about the Young Socialists, and requested to have YS members speak on their campus.

A young African American said he came to the rally to protest the death of his cousin who was killed by Fort Wayne police a few days earlier. About 400 police officers were present at the rally, equipped with riot gear. Many patrolled the streets in body armor and wielding shotguns.

U.S. gov't steps up anti-Iran drive

Continued from Page 3

repository for U.S. government funds. The Senate also voted to penalize companies that invest in Libya.

The European Community's mission in Washington, D.C., sent the U.S. State Department a formal protest after the bill was introduced in December, saying it "maintains its strong and unequivocal opposition to the extraterritorial application of U.S." measures that "would restrict EC trade with third countries as a matter of law and policy."

The stepped-up moves against Iran are accompanied by a high-pitch campaign to label it a terrorist nation and justify more aggressive action against the population there.

Gingrich stated that Iran is "the most dangerous country in the world" and "a permanent, long-term threat to civilized life on this planet." Clinton joined the effort to demonize Iran, saying the trade em-

bargo would "demonstrate our resolve to compel Tehran to pay a price for continuing its threatening activities."

A January 31 article in the *New York Times* cited senior Pentagon officials who said the Iranian government has increased its military power in the Persian Gulf within the last year and a major U.S. military presence in the gulf would continue to be necessary to deal with possible threats.

The officials reported that Tehran had tested a Chinese-built cruise missile and raised the specter of Iran gaining the capability to close the gateway to the Persian Gulf — the Strait of Hormuz.

Last August, U.S. military cargo ships carrying arms for 20,000 soldiers were sent to the gulf. The U.S. government already has more than 20,000 troops stationed in the Middle East, along with tanks and heavy armor for 5,000 soldiers stored in Kuwait.

Come to the

Young Socialists First National Convention and Organizing Conference

April 6-7 Minneapolis, Minnesota

The Young Socialists (YS) invites students and young workers involved in or interested in planning activities to:

- Oppose US-NATO imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia • Defend the Cuban Revolution • Fight for Black freedom and against racist attacks on immigrants • Defend abortion rights • Support striking workers • Oppose police brutality • Defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, Leonard Peltier, Mark Curtis • Oppose cutbacks in education and affirmative action



Imperialist governments around the world, led by Washington, drive towards war in Yugoslavia, while their assaults on working people continue. But these attacks meet increasing anger and resistance from the factories, streets and campuses of France to the picket lines of newspaper strikers in Detroit and maintenance workers in New York and defenders of affirmative action in California. WE CAN FIGHT BACK! JOIN US!

Clip and Mail to Young Socialists, P.O. Box 2326, New York, NY 10009 Tel: (212) 475-6482.

- ☐ I am interested in attending the YS convention
- ☐ I am interested in joining the Young Socialists
- ☐ Enclosed is \$10(US) for a 12-week subscription to the *Militant*

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Curtis remains active while he awaits parole

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

FORT MADISON, Iowa — In a January 15 interview with socialist and union activist Mark Curtis in the Iowa State Penitentiary here, he described the many messages he has received since the decision last November of the state parole board granting him release. Curtis is awaiting the approval of corrections authorities in Illinois, where he has requested to be paroled, before he will actually be released from the prison. He and his supporters have waged an eight-year fight to win his freedom since he was framed up and imprisoned in 1988.

"I have received numerous expressions of congratulations, handshakes and back slaps since the parole board voted to release me," Curtis said. "A number of inmates have exchanged addresses with me so that I can keep in touch when I'm on the outside. Others have told me that they see my victory as a victory for everyone behind bars."

Curtis continues to participate in political activities while waiting for his release. Illinois authorities have informed Curtis's attorney, Jed Stone, that they expect to reach a conclusion on his application by the end of January.

"I just received a letter from an inmate who is in lock-up," Curtis said. "This prisoner, who is interested in socialist ideas, is reading a copy of *Lenin's Final Fight*, a recent publication from Pathfinder Press."

Curtis also reported on a recent incident in the prison which demonstrated the power of solidarity.

"In early January, George Goff, a prisoner and 'jailhouse lawyer' known and respected for his defense of prisoners' rights, learned that his mother had died in Des Moines," Curtis said. "Under prison regulations, inmates are permitted to leave the prison to attend the funeral of a direct family member, provided the inmate pays the cost of transportation in a state vehicle and pays for prison guards required to travel along."

"However, the prison authorities told George that he would not be allowed to leave the prison to attend his mother's funeral. They said he was being denied per-

mission because he is currently being held in lock-up," Curtis said.

"George immediately filed a legal objection to this discriminatory action and won an injunction overruling the prison authorities and upholding his right to go to the funeral," he stated. "Then prison officials told him that he still would not be allowed to go, claiming he did not have the \$600 needed to finance the trip in his prison account."

"In response, inmates organized an immediate collection drive and raised over the \$600 needed to cover George's travel expenses. Around 100 inmates participated in raising the funds. As a result, George was allowed to attend his mother's funeral."

Curtis, who was one of those who contributed to the effort to collect the money, said, "inmates saw this as an act of solidarity with George and were real proud of what they had accomplished."

"It was seen as a victory over mean spiritedness and dehumanizing treatment by the prison authorities. The victory we

won also raised our morale," Curtis noted.

He also described another recent development inside the prison. The Department of Corrections imposed an arbitrary December 18 deadline banning smoking in all the prison cell houses.

"Inmates responded by congregating in the exercise yard," Curtis said. "Some 100 or so participated in the action. A delegation from the group went in to meet with the prison authorities to express their opposition to this latest attack on prisoners' rights. They presented a letter asking that the policy be rescinded. Since then, the authorities have not victimized anyone for smoking."

While no word about the protest action was covered by the media, the *Des Moines Register* did report that prison authorities at Fort Madison had decided to allow a period of "adjustment" to the new smoking ban policy.

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, which has campaigned since 1988 to win his freedom, is in the process of moving from Des Moines to Chicago. It has just

gotten a new address there.

When Curtis is freed and moves to Chicago to begin working and engaging in politics outside prison walls again, he will face new challenges and attacks on his rights. He will face parole restrictions, a new set of "sexual predator" laws on the books in Illinois which make inroads against the rights of those who have served time in prison on sex-related offenses, and an \$80,000 civil judgment against him held by the parents of the young woman he was framed on charges of attacking.

The defense committee is organizing to be in Chicago by February 1. To help complete the move, the committee is asking for contributions, which can be sent to the MCDC at the address listed below.

MCDC new address:
P.O. Box 477419, Chicago, Illinois 60647-7419. The new phone number is: (312) 829-2950, fax: (312) 829-2950. The committee can be reached by e-mail via CompuServe at "75543,1440".

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

At the Militant Labor Forum you can express your opinion, listen to the views of fellow fighters, and exchange ideas on how best to advance the interests of workers and farmers the world over.

FLORIDA

Miami

Free Leonard Peltier! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Video showing of Incident at Oglala. Speaker: Representative of the Young Socialists. Fri., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. 137 N. 54th St. Translation into Spanish. Donation: \$4. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Defend Abortion Rights. Fri., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m.
The Fight for Black Rights Today. Fri., Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m.
Both events will be held at 545 W. Roosevelt. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Why Leonard Peltier Should Be Free. Speakers: Bruce Gurwitz, president of Council

for Native American Solidarity; Mary Ann Russo, member of Young Socialists. Fri., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Blacks in America's Wars: Vietnam to Yugoslavia. Speaker: Kibwe Diarra, Vietnam-era veteran, member of United Auto Workers. Fri., Feb. 9, 7 p.m.
The U.S. War Against Iraq: Five Years Later. Speaker: Mark Gilsdorf, Young Socialists. Fri., Feb. 16, 7 p.m.
Both events will be held 7414 Woodward Ave. (one block north of Grand Boulevard). Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

New York Sedition Trial: An Attack on Democratic Rights. Speaker: Lee Oleson, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Auto Workers. Fri., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond Blvd.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Support the East High Gay-Straight Alliance! Speakers: Carol Gnade, Executive Director of the Salt Lake ACLU; Connie Watts-Ewards, representative, NOW; Kelli Peterson, president, East High Gay-Straight Alliance; Jacquie Orcutt, East High student and member of Young Socialists; Rachel Bachman, West

High student; Holly Peterson, West High student. Fri., Feb. 9, 7:30 p.m. 147 East 900 South. Donation: \$4. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Strike Wave in France! Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Nathan Simms, a member of Young Socialists from Christchurch, New Zealand. Simms joined an international team that participated in the December strike actions in France reporting for the *Militant* newspaper and selling socialist books. Sat., Feb. 10, 7 p.m. 66 Albion St. (Old Children's Court bldg. off Elizabeth St. near Central Station). Donation: \$4. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN

London

All Party Peace Talks Now! Speaker: Julie Crawford, member, Rail, Maritime and Transport Union and Communist League. Crawford participated in Bloody Sunday commemoration in Derry on January 27. Fri., Feb. 9, 7 p.m. 47 The Cut (nearest tube: Waterloo). Donation: £2. Tel: 0171-401-2409.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Chechnya's Fight for Independence. Speaker: Brendan Gleeson, Communist League. Fri., Feb. 9, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (09) 379-3075.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Fight the Right March and Rally/National NOW Spring Action. Sun., April 14. For more information, call (818) 769-2035.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Living Wage Jobs Rally. Sat., Feb. 24, 10 a.m. Teamster City 300 S. Ashland (at Jackson). Presented by The Chicago Jobs & Living Wage Campaign. For more information, call Brian: (312) 939-7488.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Class Series on War and Revolution. The roots of the conflict in Yugoslavia and a perspective on how to fight against imperialist war. First Class: Sat., Feb. 10, 4 p.m. Subsequent classes: each Saturday at 4 p.m. (except February 24).

Class 1: The Truth About the War in Yugoslavia. **Class 2: The History of the Yugoslav Revolution.** **Class 3: Lessons of the Working-Class Campaign Against the Imperialist War in Iraq.** **Class 4: Emulate the Cuban Revolution.** All readings available at Pathfinder Bookstore.

All classes will be held at 7141 Woodward Ave. (one block north of Grand Blvd.) Sponsored by the Young Socialists. For more information, call (313) 875-0100.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Teach-In! Speaker: Ramona Africa, MOVE member and only adult survivor of the 1985 bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia. Mon., Feb. 26, 6 to 9 p.m. Wayne State University Student Center Bldg. (main campus - room 289). Sponsored by Pan African Student Union, WSU Chapter of Refuse and Resist! endorsed by the Coalition to Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. For more information, call (313) 275-8979.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Jonny Gammage and the Fight Against Police Brutality. An Action Oriented Conference. Speakers, workshops, and poetry reading. Sat., Feb. 10, 1 to 6:45 p.m. Gregg Hall (Porter Hall 100). For more information, call (412) 521-7966.

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MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100. E-mail: Compuserve 74767,1050.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel:

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NEW ZEALAND

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

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

SWEDEN

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

Sorry about that — Washington apologized to the Austrian government for neglecting to tell them, over the years, about the 79 arms caches secretly stashed there by the CIA in the early 1950s. The



Harry Ring

weapons and explosives, they said, were to support an underground "partisan" movement in the event of a Soviet invasion.

Seems economy-minded —

Adm. Richard Macke, recently forced into retirement, is under investigation for having his air crew fly him across the Pacific on trips to visit his girlfriends. He's the guy who caused a furor when he said the two GIs charged with raping a girl in Okinawa could have hired a prostitute for the price of the car they rented to kidnap the girl.

Unfair! Breach of trust! — Procter & Gamble canceled a slated hike in the price of disposable diapers. A spokesman charged that rival companies had failed to follow suit.

The jollies sheriff? — A bill in the New Hampshire legislature provides for public, bare-bottom

spanking for youth, 12 and over, convicted of vandalism. The event would be announced in local papers and a sheriff would administer the penalty.

Nothing's perfect — More than 400,000 gallons of water have leaked into the newly opened tunnel under Boston Harbor. And respirator masks have been issued to toll collectors, who have been experiencing sore throats, headaches, and nausea from fumes of unknown origin. Officials said the water is not a safety risk and the fumes, while unpleasant, are not dangerous. Extra collectors have been put on for more frequent breaks and to replace those who become ill.

A thought — Will respirator

masks be issued to the motorists who use the Boston Harbor tunnel? And maybe boots?

Light a candle? — After major breakdowns in the Chicago air traffic control system, the feds did a study that found that the Federal Aviation Authority was ill-prepared to cope with the antiquated computer system. It said most of the breakdowns posed little risk of accident, but admonished that controllers should get more training on what to do when the system suddenly crashes.

The human-face society — The Los Angeles Parking Bureau sent a letter to Dorothy Trowbridge declaring she had not paid a 1995 parking ticket and warn-

ing, "This is a very serious matter and requires your immediate attention." Provided with documentation that Trowbridge had died in 1992, the bureau sent a second letter snapping that if she did not request a hearing in 15 days she would forfeit her right to one.

Did better on the beat — In our neighborhood, when someone was doing well cash-wise, the saying was, "He's making money like a cop." Somehow, we were reminded of this by the report that Rep. Frederick Heineman (R-North Carolina) considers himself lower middle-class with an income of \$183,500 a year (his Congressional wage plus pension money as a New York ex-cop and former Raleigh police chief).

Minneapolis editor stands up for press freedom

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — "On behalf of the staff of the *Daily*, we respectfully decline to comply with the order," a determined Michele Ames, editor-in-chief of the University of Minnesota student newspaper *Minnesota Daily*, told Hennepin County district judge John Stanoch January 25. She refused to turn over unpublished negatives sought by prosecutors to buttress trumped-up felony charges against Kieran Knutson, a young antiracist activist here.

Moments later, Ames was cited for contempt of court, and fined \$250 a day for the remaining two days of Knutson's trial.

But in a stunning rebuke to prosecutors, and a victory for defenders of democratic rights, Knutson was found not guilty of both charges after an initially hung jury concluded its third day of deliberations January 28.

Stanoch's contempt citation and fine capped months of legal confrontations between attorneys for the *Minnesota Daily*, one of the country's largest student newspapers, and local government prosecutors. Hennepin County attorney Mike Freeman pushed hard to force Ames to turn over the film. Stanoch originally ruled in favor of the *Daily*, but was ordered by an appeals court to enforce the original subpoena. The Minnesota Supreme Court then refused to hear the *Daily's* last appeal, setting the stage for Ames's defiance of the court order.

"This is a sad day for citizens of Minnesota," Ames said in an interview. "The First Amendment [protecting freedom of the press] is under assault. The contempt citation and fine sealed that assault." But, she added, "I wouldn't change anything. We can't back down on this important principle."

The *Daily's* lawyer, Marshall Tanick said he hoped that "other journalists will follow this principle," of refusing to turn their material into evidence.

Ames, a 26-year-old journalism graduate student, and a former teacher and athletic coach on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, was the third editor-in-chief to refuse to fork over the negatives.

Antiracist mobilization

The film in question was taken by a *Daily* photographer at an antiracist demonstration on the University of Minnesota campus in October 1993. The action was called by the Progressive Student Organization in response to a leaflet promoting a "white power" demonstration called by the "University Nazis."

Openly racist mobilizations, and antiracist counteractions, had occurred on the campus the previous two years.

When two young people garbed in Nazi-skinhead regalia approached the edge of the protest as it ended, Kieran Knutson, a member of the antiracist marshaling team, approached the duo.

Daniel Simmer then reached into his pocket, and pulled out what were later determined to be brass knuckles. Knutson swung a flashlight to protect himself from what he thought was a knife, he testified.

In the ensuing altercation, the ultraracist was arrested for disorderly conduct and carrying the brass knuckles. But after Simmer met with the cops and told them his story, they dropped the charges.

Several weeks later, after a further po-

lice "investigation," Knutson was arrested on two felony assault charges, facing 10 years in jail and \$20,000 in fines if convicted. For the following two years, county prosecutors sought the contested negatives to press their frame-up of the antiracist fighter. Simmer's claim of being assaulted was the core of their case.

As a condition of his release from custody prior to the trial, Knutson was barred from the University of Minnesota campus.

Knutson's day in court was postponed a dozen times as county attorney Freeman, a Democrat, sought to gain the negatives from the *Daily*, violating the activist's Sixth Amendment right to a speedy trial.

When the proceedings finally began in January, Knutson pleaded not guilty based on his right to self-defense.

Staunch resistance by Ames

Ames, backed by the 200-member *Daily* staff, remained staunch in her resistance to Freeman's fishing expedition, despite facing potential jail time and fines for affirming the newspaper's rights.

"I am willing to go to the wall," Ames explained, before the contempt citation, "to stand up and say 'no,' because this is a question of principle, a question of the First Amendment."

Surrendering unpublished material, she said, makes newsgathering organizations "an arm of law enforcement. Who would trust us? Who would believe us?"

In fact, it's common practice, Ames said, "that you publish the most illustrative photos," indicating there could be no trial-worthy information in the negatives, since the *Daily* had already printed "the best picture."

Thus, Freeman's attack on the *Daily* could be viewed as "a good place to start a test [of press freedom] because it's only a 'student paper,' up against the government and the courts," she said.

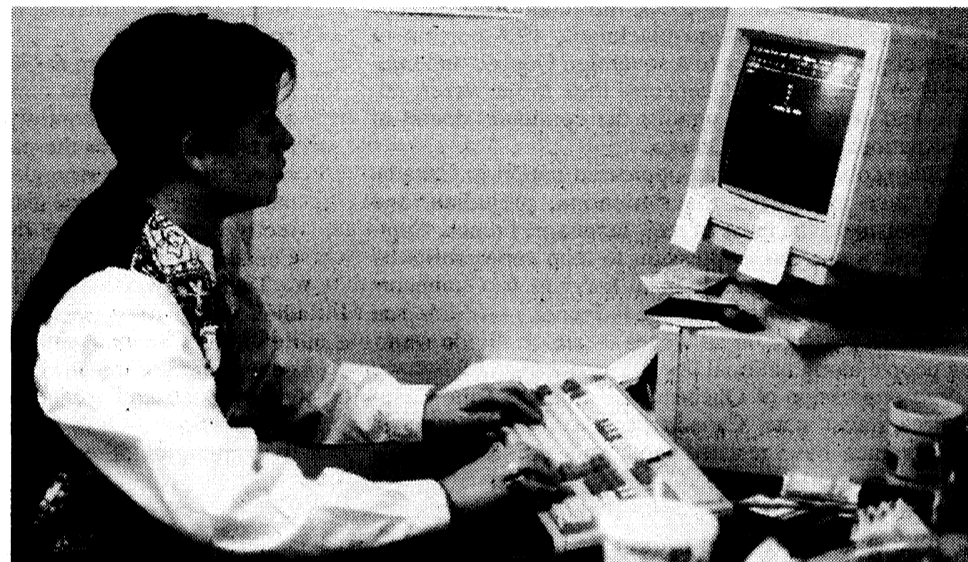
At the same time, Hennepin County's top prosecutor was determined to make a chilling example of Knutson, sending a message to antiracist fighters and foes of ultraracist and fascist outfits.

In her stand, Ames indicated that the "ideologies" of those involved in the Knutson trial were "unimportant. If the roles were reversed, if Simmer were on trial, we would have exactly the same position: they will never, ever get the negatives." This firmness won widespread support among many journalists and media organizations here. Over 500 reporters across the state signed a petition initiated by the Newspaper Guild, the media workers labor union, supporting the *Daily*. The Guild is also raising money to offset court penalties and legal fees.

A "friend of the court" brief filed along with the *Daily's* appeal was backed by a dozen outlets, including local television stations, newspapers, the local chapter of the Newspaper Guild and its parent organization, the Association of American Publishers, and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press.

Michele Ames believes that despite the pressures "it has been worth the cost, for the *Daily*, and the citizens of this state, who I am trying to protect and serve by what I've done."

Local reporters saluted the young journalist for her uncompromising stand. Minneapolis *Star Tribune* columnist Doug



Militant/Jon Hillson

'Minnesota Daily' editor Michele Ames at University of Minnesota, Minneapolis campus, early January. She refused to turn over film to government prosecutors.

Grow noted, "To her everlasting credit, Ames carried out her pledge." But, the contempt citation, he stated, "should cause every Minnesotan who values independent newsgathering to shudder."

"They tried to put us on trial for being active, aggressive antiracists," Kieran Knutson said after his verdict was announced to courtroom cheers. But "the jury wasn't convinced that was a crime."

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
February 12, 1971 Price 10¢

PHILADELPHIA — High school students throughout this city are waging a major campaign to win their basic democratic rights. As part of this struggle, over 350 participated in a student rights demonstration on Jan. 14. The predominantly Black demonstrators demanded that all cops get out of the schools, that school administrators end the victimization of political activists, and that the student bill of rights recently passed by the Philadelphia Board of Education be implemented immediately for all students, junior high, elementary, parochial, and suburban included.

The militant tone of the rally was expressed by several speakers who tied in the concept of student rights with Black control of the Black community. Bobby Stewart, a student who was suspended and transferred from a predominantly Black high school for his political activity, expressed the view that the bill of rights, although vague and inadequate, could be used as a stepping-stone. Stewart stated that it is necessary for students to make the document more than just a piece of paper, to turn it into a vehicle for struggle.

The idea of the Jan. 14 rally for student rights was initiated by a November conference of the Philadelphia SMC [Student Mobilization Committee]. The SMC, together with high school presidents and members of student governments, students from parochial schools, the *Free Press* (a local radical paper), and other individuals formed a group called the Students Rights Coalition for the Jan. 14 Action. Although this group represented

many diverse views, students came together on one issue, the issue of student rights.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
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February 9 1946

SANTIAGO, Chile, Jan. 29 — The capitalists last night opened a brutal offensive against the people of Chile, an offensive characterized by extreme violence. At eight p.m. in the heart of Santiago, the government of the Democratic Alliance (Popular Front), headed by the bourgeois Radicals, stained its hands in workers' blood.

Nation-wide workers' demonstrations were called to protest the anti-democratic measures of the bourgeois Radical party, which a few days previously had dissolved the Nitrate Workers Union in the province of Tarapacá. The demonstrations were called in support of the strike of 12,000 nitrate workers in the North of Chile.

These workers in turn had struck because the government in addition to dissolving two of their unions also declared a state of siege in the province and placed the area under military rule, taking over a number of union headquarters with armed troops.

The nitrate workers had demanded the lowering of the prices of food, clothing, etc., which have been skyrocketing in the company stores despite an agreement with the unions fixing prices at a lower level.

The five-day strike of these workers in the North brought out the rest of the workers in the entire nitrate industry.

When the demonstration began in Santiago, the Carabineros (National Police), after openly provoking the crowd, began firing with rifles and machine-guns. The workers replied with stones, sticks, fist blows and angry shouts.

Champion Quebec independence

Working people should reject the reactionary campaign by Canada's capitalist rulers and their government in Ottawa to partition Quebec if it becomes independent. This campaign is a direct attack against the right of the Quebecois to self-determination. It is aimed at intimidating Quebecois from fighting for their rights and dividing working people by whipping up anti-Quebecois chauvinism. The rulers hope to use this as a tool to weaken the growing resistance by working people across Canada to stepped-up government attacks against social services, jobs, working and living conditions, and democratic rights.

"If Canada is divisible, then Quebec is divisible," said Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien January 29. His remarks came after similar statements by other government officials. On January 21, speakers at a reactionary rally of more than 1,000 people in Montreal called for the partition of Quebec. This followed a month-long campaign by rightist Reform Party leader Preston Manning for military intervention against Quebec if Quebecois push through independence.

Canada's exploiters are trying to recoup the blow they suffered in the Oct. 30, 1995, referendum in Quebec when, despite threats and blackmail, 49.4 percent of those eligible voted yes to a sovereign Quebec and hundreds of thousands of Quebecois took to the street, rallied, and demonstrated against the continued denial of their national rights by Ottawa.

Quebecois constitute an oppressed nation in Canada. They face systematic discrimination, prejudice, and chauvinism on the basis of their language, French. Capitalist rulers use this oppression to reap superprofits by paying lower wages and social services to Quebecois and others whose first language is French — which puts downward pressure on all wages — and to divide working people along national lines.

The oppression of Quebecois is a pillar of the Canadian capitalist state. Canada's landlords, bankers, and businessmen have resisted tooth and nail every single

attempt by Quebecois to redress the injustices they face. In doing so they have convinced a growing number of Quebecois that breaking Quebec loose from the Canadian prisonhouse is the only way to put an end to their oppression.

Ottawa denies the fact that Quebecois are oppressed. It tries to turn the tables by painting English-speaking residents of Quebec as victims of discrimination. Contrary to Ottawa's claims, those whose first language is English are not oppressed in Quebec. While 80 percent of the population is French-speaking, speaking English in Quebec is a source of relative privileges. English-language education and health services are superior.

In Canada as a whole, anglophones earn more than francophones. This privileged status is used to try to get English-speaking people in Quebec, including workers, to identify their interests with the federal Canadian capitalist state against Quebecois.

The campaign by Canada's rulers to call for partitioning an independent Quebec is an appeal to these layers in Quebec — to whip up anti-Quebecois chauvinism and hysteria. The ruling rich will try to use these people, if necessary, as a battering ram against a Quebec independence movement.

The support given to Ottawa's campaign by some Native spokespersons has nothing to do with defending Native rights. To the contrary, Native misleaders who parrot rightist calls for the partition of Quebec align themselves against the struggles led by other oppressed people with the very capitalist politicians and exploiters directly responsible for the oppression of Natives in Canada.

The only way all working people in Canada can free themselves of oppression and exploitation is to tear down the Canadian capitalist state and replace it with a government of the workers and farmers. The just struggle by Quebecois for independence strengthens the hand of all working-class fighters — English-speaking, Native, immigrant, French-speaking — in this fight.

Sell 'Opening Guns of WW III'

Five years after the U.S.-led war against Iraq, Washington is keeping up its persistent squeeze on Baghdad and stepping up its attacks against the Iranian government in Tehran. This underscores what the Pentagon was not able to accomplish in the slaughter: imposing a protectorate in Baghdad with its war against Iraq and shifting the relationship of forces against the toilers in the region.

The U.S. rulers had sought to use military might to install a reliable regime subservient to their interests. They aimed to secure more control over oil reserves in the Gulf in order to deal economic and political blows to their imperialist rivals in Japan and Europe, who are heavily dependent on Mideast oil.

After the hated client regime of Shah Reza Pahlavi was overthrown in 1979, the U.S. capitalist class never recovered from blows dealt by the revolutionary upsurge of workers and peasants in Iran. While Washington continues to howl about the "terrorist" state in Iran, its competitors in France and Japan have refused to comply with the sanctions it seeks to impose on the regime. Tokyo is not about to turn its back on a major oil supplier. Nor is Paris willing to surrender a source of hefty profits at Washington's behest.

This political situation reflects the heightened competition between the world capitalist powers in a period of deflationary pressures on the rulers' profit rates and narrowing access to markets. As the imperialists battle among themselves for domination of large chunks of the globe — for the right to superexploit billions of human

beings — capitalism is marching toward another world war.

Today NATO, with Washington at the head, is embarked on a war drive in the Balkans, with the goal of overthrowing the workers state in Yugoslavia. All of the conflicts among the imperialist powers that began to surface in Iraq are sharper this time.

To help lay the political ground for Washington's latest probes against Iraq and Iran, as well as Yugoslavia, a flurry of features in the U.S. media have played up the fifth anniversary of the Gulf War. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, who took direct control of the slaughter, and others have tried to justify what was done there. But the TV images of the killing zones where tens of thousands of fleeing Iraqis were massacred don't sit well with many working people.

That's why vanguard fighters and youth must take advantage of the heightened interest to broadly sell *New International* no. 7, featuring the article "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq." This magazine tells the truth about Washington's murderous actions, and the reasons behind them. It explains how socialist workers and youth responded, campaigning first against Washington's war drive, and continuing once the bombing started, among co-workers, at factory gates, on picket lines, and in the streets. And the *New International* points the road forward for working people today — building a communist movement that can lead the struggle for the working class to take power out of the hands of the warmakers.

The racism of the Zionist state

The January mobilization of 10,000 Ethiopian immigrants in Israel, outraged over the government's secret policy of throwing away their blood donations, puts a spotlight on the racism that is inherent to the Zionist state in Israel.

The state of Israel has its roots in the desire of the imperialist powers to have a colonial outpost in the Middle East to counter the rising struggles of the Arab peoples for independence from British, French, and now U.S. domination.

Following World War I, the British government backed the plan of the World Zionist Organization to colonize Palestine with Jews from Europe. This was done through the forcible dispossession of some 700,000 Palestinians living there at the time, and through bloody wars against the neighboring Arab countries.

Hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were killed or driven into exile in the following decades. To this day the Arab population of Israel is denied equal rights and faces segregation and discrimination. Palestinian workers, both within the borders of the Zionist state and in the West Bank and Gaza, serve as a pool of cheap labor for the bosses in Israel.

The racist attitudes and ideology bred in order to maintain the Zionist state against the Arab population extend to Jews of a darker skin color, who face discrimination and make up a disproportionate share of the country's wage workers. The decision to reject Ethiopian blood — for many the final straw in a litany of abuse — brings this fact home.

This is the particular form that capitalist rule has taken in Israel — with the national oppression and superexploitation of the Palestinians allowing the employers to divide and weaken the entire working class. The fight by Ethiopian immigrants for equal rights in Israel is a boost to the Palestinian struggle. It is another blow to the strength and stability of the Israeli state.

The historic demand of the Palestinian liberation movement for a democratic, secular Palestine where Jews and Palestinians — regardless of skin color — can live together without discrimination shows the way forward for all working people and oppressed nationalities in the area. It is the road to unite toilers of different nationalities and religions, get rid of the Zionist state that breeds and depends on racist oppression, and open the door to the fight for socialism.

New York strike

Continued from front page

gized by marching through the streets of Manhattan shoulder-to-shoulder with her fellow strikers, Guzman exclaimed, "We rally because we want to fight for justice. Today we feel very strong. Tomorrow we should do this again!"

Spontaneous demonstrations by the strikers, ranging from hundreds to a few thousand, have become frequent, both in midtown Manhattan and in the financial district around the World Trade Center. Strikers march through the streets picking up reinforcements from one picket line to the next.

Utility porter James Audiffred, who has worked for the Port Authority for over 12 years, described some of the actions he has been a part of around the World Trade Center. "At least 200 people start out. We just take a group and go," he said. Strikers from the various buildings join in as they see the procession march by.

Samy Riad, an Egyptian porter for 10 years who gives his job description as "doing everything," said that when they staged their first march, "the city police surrounded us." The strikers were not provoked. "Nothing happened," Riad explained.

A thousand strikers chanted, "Contract, contract" January 31 outside the Sheraton Hotel, where negotiations between the union and the RAB resumed. It was the first official strike rally. Another one is scheduled for February 5.

U.S. labor secretary Robert Reich addressed both sides before the negotiations, urging continued talks.

Walkout against concession demands

More than 30,000 maintenance workers, janitors, elevator operators, and cleaners who work in 1,300 commercial buildings throughout New York City are striking members of SEIU Local 32B-32J.

Their walkout began January 4, days after the old contract expired. Workers are fighting an attempt by management to impose a two-tier wage system, starting new hires at \$352 per week in place of the current \$573 per week. According to the employers' plan, it would take the lower tier six years to reach full pay, and the new workers would not receive health benefits for their first six months on the job.

The last contract, signed three years ago, included concessions that increased workloads and productivity. In a full-page ad carried in the *New York Times* January 30, Local 32B-32J president Gus Bevona stated that this time around, "We are still willing to make concessions for financially troubled buildings. We simply ask for proof that the buildings are in the red."

The employers have not backed off from their demands. Many strikers say the RAB is out to bust the union. Real estate executives say they have hired more than 15,000 temporary replacement workers to keep the buildings running — the largest use of scabs in the city in recent history. Union officials stated January 29 that the strike may soon expand to office buildings on Long Island and in New Jersey.

Big-business newspapers are either ignoring the strike or running articles designed to sow divisions between the membership and officials of the union. The *New York Times* and *Daily News* have devoted columns of space to the high salary of local president Bevona but barely cover the issues in the strike.

The January 30 SEIU ad in the *Times* was headlined, "Please help." The union letter pointed out that cops are "interfering with strikers' lawful right to picket peacefully by restricting them to areas convenient for the building owners." In addition to soliciting financial contributions that will go directly to the strikers, the union is urging other workers to get their unions to give support. Strikers welcome other unionists stopping by the picket lines to offer solidarity.

N. Ireland march

Continued from Page 4

ter of the Irish Republic, accused London of employing "divide and conquer tactics." John Hume, the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) MP for Derry, called on Major to set an immediate date for all-party talks "rather than the 17 months you have wasted up until now."

The *London Times* reported that "Dublin shares the concerns of the SDLP and Sinn Féin that an elected body would hand Unionists a veto over political developments in Northern Ireland."

Support did come to Major from Tony Blair, the Labour Party leader, who the *Financial Times* reports "underlined his bipartisan approach to the conflict."

London's response also indicated divisions with Washington. The U.S. Congressional ad hoc committee for Irish affairs issued a statement that described Major's call as "detrimental to the Irish peace process."

On January 28, London's Northern Ireland minister Sir Patrick Mayhew defensively claimed, "The proposed new forum would not be a return to a Stormont-style administration," and requested meetings with the leaders of Sinn Féin, the SDLP, and the Dublin government.

Speaking to the Bloody Sunday demonstrators, Martin McGuinness charged, "The failure in all of this is the failure of a weak British prime minister." He argued the last 18 months since the IRA cease-fire have been "a sign of strength of nationalists; we have achieved the moral high ground and the British government found wanting."

Oil workers rally, demand pay raise in contract

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or

carried signs with such slogans as "Dump the Lump." They were joined by contingents of workers from other unions representing craft workers in the plant, a group of 27 Chevron workers from Chevron's El Segundo refinery and Unocal's Wilmington refinery in the Los Angeles area, and other OCAW-organized refineries in the Bay Area.

No national contract exists in the oil industry per se. Instead, the

Wages announced December 4 the adoption of a selective strike strategy. If a contract agreement is not reached with the oil companies, the union will call out on strike only selected locations from seven "targeted" companies: Amoco, Shell, Chevron, Mobil, Texaco, Unocal, and ARCO. In the past, all workers covered by expiring contracts went on strike when no agreement was reached.

Negotiations are also ongoing on local issues, such as seniority, work rules, and work schedules, on a location-by-location basis. Many union locals have already reached tentative local agreements with the oil bosses. But in a number of instances, such as Mobil in Beaumont, Texas, and Crown in Pasadena, outside Houston, the companies have demanded deep cuts, particularly aimed at rolling back seniority rights. Workers at the Crown refinery here responded on January 10 by marching 200 strong to the refinery administration building. They waved signs and chanted, "We're not going to take it," at a rally held in the building lobby. Company officials called in local police but there were no arrests.

Strike preparations are evident, particularly in the San Francisco Bay Area, where, in addition to the demonstration at Chevron, small plant-gate rallies have been held at most refineries. Workers at Chevron set up an information center staffed by rank-and-file members and are planning leafletting in surrounding areas. The OCAW has called for a demonstration on February 1 when the

president of Chevron speaks in downtown San Francisco.

New Zealand unionists picket Sheraton

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — "Five-star hotel pays two-finger wages" read one of the placards, as workers here mounted a noisy picket line outside the Sheraton Hotel January 27, to force the hotel management to negotiate a new contract. The previous contract expired in December. Since then the company has offered a two-year contract, with only a 2.5 percent wage rise for the first year.

Shouts of "Two-point-five — TOO LOW! Two years — TOO LONG!" and a lot of noise from banging saucepan lids rang out all morning. Workers were particularly incensed at the company's insistence on a two-year contract. They don't believe the company's predictions of continuing low inflation, and want the chance to negotiate again at the end of a year, when the present government may have been thrown out.

Evana Belich, an advocate for the Service Workers Union, which organizes around 140 of the 300 wage workers, told this reporter the action reflected a recent strengthening of union organization at the hotel. Prior to the passing of the antiunion Employment Contracts Act in 1991, the Sheraton had been a relatively well-unionized hotel, with workers holding a sit-in in the 1980s.

Like many workplaces, it had

suffered a decline in union membership in the face of a concerted antiunion drive in the 1990s. The company had set up a parallel structure of "staff representatives," who enjoyed paid meetings and other privileges, in an effort to undermine the union delegate structure.

"Today on the picket line, many of those 'staff reps' are joining with us," Belich said. She pointed out that a petition in support of the union's claims had been signed by 240 out of 300 staff, union members and nonmembers alike.

Several participants reported instances of company victimization of workers who support the union actions. Among those receiving threats and warnings are a few who are working under "individual contracts," but who have joined the actions in defiance of the Employment Contracts Act provisions forbidding such solidarity. "We're affected by the outcome of the Collective Contract too, indirectly," one of them told me.

The strike was due to end on January 29. "But we will be meeting again then, and looking at more actions if the company doesn't move," one worker said in an interview.

Jerry Freiwirth, member of OCAW Local 4-367 at Shell Oil in Pasadena, Texas; Cathy Gutekanst and Susan Zárate, members of OCAW Local 1-5 in Richmond, California; and James Robb, member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland, New Zealand, contributed to this column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

HOUSTON, Texas — Collective bargaining agreements between nearly 40,000 union refinery workers and the major oil companies expire on January 31.

These workers are employed at some 300 refineries and other facilities around the country and are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW).

As of this writing no agreement has been reached.

On January 25, 400 union members and supporters demonstrated at the main gate of the Richmond Chevron refinery, located in the San Francisco Bay Area. Workers are particularly angered by the companies' offer of a lump sum in lieu of a pay increase. Many of the 200 Chevron refinery operators who attended

OCAW conducts "pattern bargaining." Once an agreement is reached with a selected major oil company this serves as the pattern for bargaining with all other employers in the industry. A weak alternative to a national contract, pattern bargaining is nevertheless one of the union gains the oil giants would like to take away.

The pattern setter this year, as in past years, is the negotiation with Amoco. The company's original offer of a \$500 signing bonus and a 1 percent pay increase per year was rejected by the OCAW. The union's negotiation position calls for a \$1.25 per hour pay increase each year (as opposed to one-time bonuses or incentive pay), an increase in pension benefits, and "job security" language. Amoco subsequently increased its offer to 1.5 percent per year. This, too, was rejected.

OCAW president Robert

ing on that day as part of Allende's "welcoming committee" at the airport. The *Gazette*, however, left it to the reader to assume that Fidel was best friends with this butcher. Very astute — for a small newspaper! *Juan C. Chirgwin Montreal, Quebec*

New York strike

Along with a fellow member of the United Auto Workers, I went to the World Trade Center in downtown Manhattan January 24 to show solidarity with striking maintenance workers of the Service Employees International Union. As is often true on union picket lines today, the mood of the 30 or so picketers was subdued but stubborn and determined. A Polish-born worker stressed that their resistance to the employers' two-tier demand was a fight for all workers.

He was explaining his view of the NATO occupation of Bosnia (he thought the official reason for the occupation — "peacekeeping" — was not the real one) when a shout went up "The people from the World Financial Center are marching on City Hall!" About 30 sign-carrying workers chanting "No contract! No peace!" came by. They waved and shouted for the Trade Center pickets to join them and many did, including us.

The marchers wound through the downtown streets, pulling picketers from one giant building after another. Although some picket groups left one behind and a few were reluctant to come along, most came running to join, waving their picket signs and shouting enthusiastically, "No contract, no work!" I began to get a very different feeling for the scope of this strike than one gets greeting a few pickets at one or another building.

By the time we got to the Wall Street area, the cops — who had



insisted we stay on the sidewalk — were now allowing the marchers to take the streets. As we wound through the narrow streets past double-parked rows of limousines waiting for late-night stock traders and bond dealers. I looked behind me and saw that the march now stretched at least three blocks behind me and one block in front. Traffic was beginning to jam up on all sides. A television report later estimated the spontaneous march at 1,200, which sounded right to me.

The march continued for well over an hour. It concluded, I was told, with a rally addressed by union officials.

While it's true that frustration builds up among strikers during a grinding, uphill struggle against employers who are using scab labor to try to bust a union, I didn't experience this march as an expression of frustration. It showed the creativity, enthusiasm, and confidence of fighting workers who gain an added sense of their power and ability to win broad solidarity when they take their

strike to the streets while maintaining determined picket lines.

We weren't venting frustration (and I've been on some union marches where frustration was the dominant mood). *We were fighting and enjoying it too.*

The wave of labor and student battles in France has no counterpart here yet. But the same combative spirit, solidarity, imagination, and confidence in the power of our class that we see in Paris and Marseilles are growing in the United States, even as the attacks of the capitalists and their government grow more savage.

Fred Feldman Brooklyn, New York

Fish kill protest

Boaters, fishermen and environmentalists from around North Carolina formed a motorcade with their boats, pick-up trucks and cars on the Raleigh beltline on December 9 to protest massive fish kills in North Carolina's rivers. They proceeded to the State fairgrounds for a rally. George Beckwith, a fisherman from New Bern and organizer of the event, said, "We want clean water now and we can have it, but we've got to demand it. A sleeping giant is about to wake up, the people of North Carolina."

Several million fish died in the state's coastal waters this year. Speakers explained that hog waste, wastewater treatment plants and fertilizer combine with airborne pollution to choke the rivers and creeks. Excessive nitrogen and phosphorus are triggering algae blooms that use up the water's oxygen and kill fish. About 364,000 acres of water have been permanently closed to shellfishing due to high bacteria levels. Toxic substances have caused fish and shellfish diseases, fish kills and health advisories. Some anglers have reported sores on their bodies resembling those on the fish.

Part of the problem is the in-

crease in hog waste flowing into the rivers. Since 1990, as large slaughterhouses fled Virginia's harsher environmental laws for friendlier ground, there has been an explosion of hog farming and processing in North Carolina. Hog farmers store the waste in lagoons, then spread the waste onto their fields. Until recently, most hog operations here had never been inspected.

After big rain storms last summer, millions of gallons of hog manure from broken farm lagoons flowed into the rivers. The Iowa Beef Processors (IBP) is proposing to build a slaughterhouse on the banks of the Tar River in Edgecombe County, which has also been the focus of protests. Rick Dove, the Neuse River Keeper, said that the state's hog industry, second largest in the country after Iowa, puts more fecal waste into the environment than the entire human population of North Carolina.

State government officials now say they are studying the problem, but rally speakers said it's past time to do more than launch another study, of which there have been many. They called for a moratorium on new hog farms, an end to spraying of fields with hog waste, regulations on wastewater treatment plants, and restrictions on land use. The fishermen and others at the rally explained that this has to be the beginning, that the demonstrations need to get bigger, and that the people of North Carolina need to take back the waters so they will be safe for their children and grandchildren.

Pat Leamon Raleigh, North Carolina

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.

LETTERS

Malcolm X library

Pathfinder representatives participated in the grand opening January 5-6 of the new Malcolm X Library and Performing Arts Center in San Diego, California, in the heart of the city's Black community. Some 1,000 people attended, including Malcolm X's widow Betty Shabazz and San Diego's mayor. Pathfinder, as the publisher of the majority of Malcolm's speeches, was invited to participate. We were part of the program and set up a large display of a variety of Pathfinder titles. Several teachers were interested in classroom adoptions, especially *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

Mark Friedman Los Angeles, California

Cuban revolution

Congratulations for your excellent series on the Cuban revolution. My family and I left Santiago, Chile, after the fascist military take-over in 1973. If only our overthrown president Salvador Allende had listened to Fidel Castro's warnings (Castro visited Chile in the early 1970s), Chileans may have been able to protect the gains of that socialist government and avoid the military regime's 17-year legacy of terror.

I especially liked Mary-Alice Waters's reply to the editor of the *New York Times* (December 1995). However, it is not only the BIG newspapers that continuously try to smear Cuba's image.

In 1984 I remember an astonishing photograph appearing in the *Gazette*, a Montreal newspaper. An article on Cuba was accompanied by a photo showing Fidel Castro standing next to Chilean dictator and traitor Augusto Pinochet, a well-known murderer. The photo, probably 13 years old, was taken when Fidel visited Chile and Pinochet was still an ordinary general, function-

Ottawa threatens partition of Quebec

Move aims to derail growing sentiment for independence from Canada

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien has raised to a new level the stakes in the drive by Canada's rulers to deny the Quebecois nation the right to self-determination and eventual independence. Speaking in Vancouver on January 29, Chrétien confirmed that his government would no longer consider the borders of Quebec inviolate should a majority vote for independence at some future date.

"If Canada is divisible, then Quebec is divisible," he told reporters who asked him to explain a similar statement by his newly-appointed Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, Stéphane Dion, four days earlier. Government officials were in Vancouver for a strategy session on how to defeat the Quebec sovereignty movement. Canadian immigration minister Lucienne Robillard added, "I think that if one day Quebec is an independent country, [Quebec premier Lucien] Bouchard must understand that perhaps he will have a separatist movement in his country."

On January 25, Chrétien had presented a newly reorganized cabinet in which most ministers who had responsibility in Quebec for the referendum campaign were replaced. "Make no mistake, this is a war cabinet... for the life and death struggle against Quebec separatism," commented Montreal *Gazette* columnist William Johnson.

The threat of partition of Quebec, unprecedented in modern Canadian history, is part of a series of measures that Ottawa and the biggest Canadian corporations have launched to try and retake the political initiative following their near defeat in the Oct. 30, 1995, referendum.

At a press conference on January 22, Justice Minister Alan Rock said the government would be introducing new laws to challenge the legality of a future sovereignty vote. CBC Radio reported on January 30 that one such measure will be to require a vote higher than 50 per cent plus, perhaps as high as two-thirds, in order to be considered legal.

Welcoming that news, Montreal member of parliament Warren Allmand said, "You don't let a country go down the drain... on a 51.5 per cent vote or on an ambiguous question."

Launching a salvo on behalf of Canada's banks, Matthew Barrett, president of the Bank of Montreal, the country's third largest, told the bank's annual meeting in Calgary, Alberta, on January 15 there would be "economic chaos" in Quebec should an independence vote pass. He warned that his bank would move its head office to Toronto and many other companies would pull their operations out of the province.

The Quebecois are a nation within Canada who are oppressed and discriminated on the basis of their language, French. They make up 6 million of Quebec's population of 7 million.

Chrétien and Dion's statements came

on the heels of an unprecedented right-wing rally of more than 1,000 people at McGill University in Montreal on January 21. The audience there cheered one speaker after another calling for partition of Quebec along language lines.

"The time for equivocation and appeasement is over," McGill University professor Stephen Scott told the crowd. He called partition the "Quebec national-

government, it says, should use police and military force as needed to enforce partition or any other "Canadian" interests.

If such rightist options are now merging into the mainstream of Canadian politics, it is because the federal government has given the lead. Ottawa denies the existence of a Quebecois nationality, still less its second-class status.

Partition is also promoted by most offi-

columnist Don MacPherson on January 23. He called partitionists "would-be Ian Paisleys who would express their love of Canada by giving it a Northern Ireland of its own." Many other newspaper articles, letters to the editor, and radio reports reflected similar sentiments in the days after January 21.

Pro-Quebec sovereignty spokespeople were largely silent on the escalation of attacks until new Quebec premier Lucien Bouchard spoke out on January 27. Responding to Stéphane Dion's statement the previous day, Bouchard said, "In Quebec we are a people, we are a nation, and as a nation we have a fundamental right to keep, maintain and protect our territory."

Bouchard was sworn in as Quebec's 27th premier on January 29. He replaced Jacques Parizeau who resigned after a referendum night comment blaming the narrow loss of sovereignty backers on "money and the ethnic vote." Bouchard disavowed the remark.

"Canada is divisible," Bouchard said, "because it is not a real country. There are two people, two nations, and two territories, and this one is ours."

Bouchard claimed that all three main political parties in Quebec — his own Parti Quebecois, the sovereignist Democratic Action, and the anti-independence Liberal Party — were united in upholding the territorial integrity of the province. But Liberal Party leader Daniel Johnson replied the following day that his support for territorial integrity applied only insofar as Quebec remained within Canada. "Once there is a vote for secession," he said, "no one can guarantee anything as to borders, citizenship, or currency. It would be a complete adventure."

Bouchard recently resigned as leader of the prosovereignty Bloc Quebecois delegation in the Canadian parliament to become leader of the governing Parti Quebecois. He has declared that in his new capacity as Quebec's prime minister he will prioritize government spending cuts by as much as Can\$1 billion (Can\$1 = US\$0.72) through austerity measures that will affect social programs, as has been the case in other Canadian provinces. Bouchard said he will not call another vote on sovereignty until he can carry through some of his economic program.



Prosovereignty demonstration in Montreal, June 1990. Signs read: "Our true country is Quebec." Since then, sentiment for Quebec independence has grown stronger.

ists' ultimate nightmare."

Globe and Mail columnist Andrew Coyne told the crowd the federal government should boycott any future Quebec referendum in order to better challenge its legality. Another speaker was Quebec lawyer Guy Bertrand who won a court injunction to block the 1995 referendum (the judge then declared he had no power to enforce it).

The rally was organized by the Equality Party, a right-wing "English rights" group formed in 1988. The organization has been in sharp decline for several years.

Like-minded capitalist politicians in Pontiac County, along the Quebec-Ontario border west of Ottawa, have already won votes in 14 of the 20 municipalities in the region in favor of resolutions "affirming and guaranteeing" their status as part of an "indivisible Canada." The campaign has deeply divided the population there, 54 per cent of whom are Quebecois. Many residents work for the federal government and 87 percent voted no to sovereignty in the 1995 referendum.

Partition is among the measures promoted by the rightist Reform Party, the third largest party in the Canadian parliament. Reform's platform on the issue, released in mid-January and entitled "Twenty Realities of Secession," proposes that the government redraw borders to accommodate any region in Quebec where a majority petition to remain in Canada. The

cial of Native Indian organizations in Quebec and Canada. They present the breaking away of Native territories from Quebec in order to remain in Canada as acts of self-determination. Natives are the most deeply oppressed of all the minority nationalities in Canada.

The English-speaking and Native Indian population voted overwhelmingly against Quebec sovereignty on October 30. A large majority of most immigrant communities voted likewise.

But extremist options like partition have far less support. "If it comes to a choice between living in a sovereign Quebec or in a loyalist enclave... taking one's chances with the sovereignists starts to look pretty good," wrote Montreal *Gazette*

International conference on Cuba to be held in Montreal

BY CAROLE CARON

MONTREAL — The main trade unions in Quebec, the Canadian Labour Congress, and other nongovernmental and church organizations have called an international conference on solidarity with Cuba to be held in Montreal March 15-16. One of the keynote guests will be Pedro Ross, general secretary of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC). Other representatives of the CTC executive committee and of the Cuban Women's Federation will also attend.

Organizers say that labor delegations are expected from various countries in Latin America. A delegation is also organized from Detroit, as well as buses from New York City and Toronto. Similar conferences took place over the last two years in Toronto and Windsor, and drew up to 300 labor, Cuba solidarity, and other activists.

The conference starts on Friday night March 15 and goes through Saturday. There will be workshops and plenary sessions. The themes for the workshops are: economics, civil society and participatory democracy, labor, women, and the church. Following debates and discussions, a statement will be made by conference participants on solidarity with Cuba. A concert will close the event on Saturday night,

with Emilia Morales and Gerardo Aguilon, two Cuban artists.

Interest in the event has begun to build. Some workers on strike against the Kenworth truck company and against Bridgestone-Firestone — both located near Montreal — have shown interest in going to a conference that will discuss the role of workers in building a socialist society. Many students building the February 7 cross-Canada day of protest against cuts in education have also expressed interest in participating. (See article on page 5.)

Translation will be provided into French, Spanish, and English. The conference is open to everybody interested. Registration goes till March 8, 1996. Registration fees are Can\$20 including lunch on Saturday. To receive a brochure on the conference or for more information, please contact Alternatives, phone: (514) 982-6606, fax: (514) 982-6122; or CISO, phone: (514) 356-8888, fax: (514) 356-0475. The mailing address is CISO — CONFERENCE CUBA, 9405 Sherbrooke St. East, Montreal, QC, H1X 6P3, Canada.

Carole Caron is a member of the International Association of Machinists at Canadair in Montreal, and of the Carrefour culturel de l'amitié Québec-Cuba.

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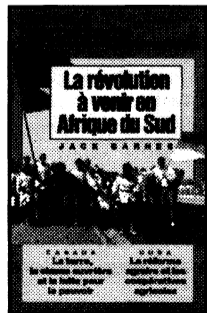
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The article "Land, Labor, and the Canadian Revolution" also appears in English in *New International* no. 6