

Cuba: U.S. forces should leave Guantánamo base

Response to Soviet decision to pull out troops

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

Responding to a unilateral announcement by the Soviet government that it will withdraw its military forces from Cuba, the Cuban government demanded that the U.S. naval base illegally occupying the island's Guantánamo Bay also be removed.

During the visit of U.S. secretary of state James Baker to Moscow, President Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders signaled their readiness to make foreign policy deals with Washington in anticipation of cash and loans from imperialist powers.

Standing alongside Baker following their September 11 Moscow meeting, Gorbachev said that he would end favorable terms for

Cuban sugar imports and transfer relations with Cuba "to a plane of mutually beneficial trade and economic ties," removing the "other elements of that relationship."

Gorbachev made it clear that he expected a sharp drop in prices currently paid for Cuban sugar imports. An unnamed senior U.S. official told the *New York Times* that Gorbachev had also implied during the meeting that Soviet arms sales to Cuba would be ended.

Baker then met with Russian president Boris Yeltsin, who outlined an offer to return four islands in the Kurile chain to Japan. Two days later, Soviet officials returning from Japan for discussions on these proposals

called on Tokyo to come up with \$15 billion in economic aid as a "good will gesture."

Baker also met with Soviet foreign minister Boris Pankin, who agreed to the ending of Soviet weapons deliveries to the government of Afghanistan by Jan. 1, 1992. The United States would cease military aid to rebel Afghan groups by the same date, Baker declared.

Regime appeals for loans

These moves coincided with fresh appeals by the Soviet regime for aid from imperialist governments. In early September Gorbachev sent an emergency appeal for \$6 billion to \$7.3 billion of free food for the coming winter to the European Community (EC) and the capitalist governments in the Group of Seven (G7). This request, the largest ever made, followed predictions that the Soviet grain harvest this year will be at least 20 percent smaller than last year's.

Gorbachev's letter requested specific quantities of food, including 5.5 million metric tons of grain, 900,000 metric tons of meat, and 900,000 metric tons of sugar. This appeal came in the context of "increasing Soviet and Western concerns . . . that [food] shortages could lead to a breakdown of civil order" this winter, noted the *New York Times*.

The Soviet leaders' emergency food request also coincided with renewed pleas for massive, long-term financial aid from imperialist governments. "To extricate the country from its current crisis we need astronomical amounts of money," said former Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze after meeting with Baker.

Washington and some West European governments have already made food aid available this year, mainly in the form of food sold with subsidized loans. More than "aid" to the Soviets though, these credits are giant export subsidies to the grain monopolies. This year the U.S. government authorized \$2.5 billion in federally guaranteed loans, mostly for grain shipments, of which \$1.6 billion has been sent.

But Soviet authorities have still had great difficulty finding U.S. banks willing to make new loans for such food aid, despite federal guarantees.

Moscow has also failed to get results from Gorbachev's July request to the Group of Seven for massive aid. "The \$100 billion as requested recently by the Soviet Union is not on the agenda," said Germany's finance minister Theo Waigel, referring to a meeting of the group planned for September 15 in Dresden.

The move by the Soviet Union toward
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20,000 striking gov't workers march for rights in Canada



Striking federal workers on picket line. Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney introduced back-to-work legislation in parliament September 16.

BY COLLEEN LEVIS

VANCOUVER, Canada — Striking federal government employees staged a massive rally September 16 in Ottawa as they entered the second week of a country-wide walkout.

Some 20,000 chanting, singing, and horn-blowing members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) filled the area in front of the parliament building, arriving from numerous feeder marches.

Contingents from Hull, Ottawa's sister city across the river in Québec, chanted in French, "Bad mistake, you underestimated PSAC!" and "All we want is a fair deal! Negotiate, don't legislate."

On September 13, five days after some 100,000 PSAC members set up picket lines across Canada, government officials said they may legislate the strikers back to work.

The government threatened it would impose a contract with 0, 3, and 3 percent wage increases in each of three years along with the back-to-work order. Federal workers would lose the right to strike during the three-year contract. The proposed law was described by the *Toronto Globe and Mail* as "one of the toughest anti-union bills" since the federal government workers won the right to strike in 1967 after a long struggle.

The spirited rally heard speeches from various trade union officials, including Daryl Bean, president of PSAC.

Bean told the rally that PSAC members had "shown their strength" but said "we are reasonable." Prime Minister Brian Mulroney should "agree to mediation without delay."

Workers at the rally said morale is high on the daily picket lines around the country.

"We weren't used to being militant," one worker said, "but the attacks on us the last few years have led to this!"

Daily mass actions have been held in Ottawa and Hull since the strike began. A union bulletin described one this way:

"Over 8,000 members marched to Parliament Hill after several rallies in Ottawa and Hull spontaneously joined forces and took

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S. Africa: regime-inspired killings fail to block peace accord signing

BY DEREK BRACEY

Fifty-seven people have died and nearly 90 have been wounded in a series of violent attacks launched by unidentified gunmen in several Black townships in South Africa.

The African National Congress (ANC) said in a statement that the killings were designed to derail negotiations between itself, the Pretoria regime, and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The murderous assaults occurred less than a week before a peace accord was to be signed in an attempt to stem the violence responsible for as many as 2,000 deaths this year alone.

The peace accord was signed September 14 by South African President F.W. de Klerk; African National Congress President Nelson Mandela; head of the Inkatha Freedom Party

Mangosuthu Buthelezi; and 20 smaller political organizations. It commits signatories to end the use of violence and inflammatory language against their opponents, imposes a voluntary ban on carrying weapons to public rallies and meetings, and establishes a code of conduct for political parties and government security forces.

The latest string of attacks began September 8, when gunmen opened fire on Inkatha supporters on their way to a rally in Thokoza, killing 23 and wounding 18. Later that day several other attacks were reported in other townships.

In Soweto, 13 people were killed when

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Sales target week is key to success of campaign

Several areas registered progress this past week in getting on schedule in the international subscription campaign for the *Militant*. Overall, though, a major shift is needed by supporters in cities around the world in order to meet our goals in the circulation drive.

In many areas the workers and youth who help distribute the paper at industrial work-sites, on college campuses, in working-class neighborhoods, and at political events are making the kind of plans needed to get on target through the eight-day sales blitz from September 21-28.

Supporters have set goals for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *L'Internationaliste*, and *New Internationalist* that can only be met by a sustained and aggressive effort until November 2. This requires a political focus, spirit, and attention to organizational details in order to reach workers and youth who want to become readers of the socialist press.

The "International Drive to Win New Readers" column this week highlights the accomplishments of supporters who are on

EDITORIAL

or ahead of schedule. They know that in order to understand the world today and act effectively to advance the struggles of working people, fighters need to read the socialist press.

Big political developments are shaking the world — from the Soviet Union to Cuba to South Africa. Discussion and debate is taking place among working people and youth in imperialist countries on how to defend the unions and the working class from the employers' offensive.

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British youth rebel against cop brutality

BY MARCELLA FITZGERALD

LONDON — Police riots and hundreds of arrests have met rebellions of youth in towns across Britain over the last four weeks.

From Cardiff in the South West to Hammersmith, Birmingham, and Oxford in the Midlands, to North Shields and Newcastle in the North East, five thousand people have taken to the streets in running battles against the police riot squads and the militarized cops, called the Special Patrol Group.

Parliamentary leaders of both Conservative and Labour parties have condemned the youth and praised the police actions.

The sources of the rebellions are the deteriorating social conditions and accompanying cop brutality. The last major wave of such youth protests in 1981 also took place at the height of an economic recession. Government figures published September 12 recorded the seventeenth consecutive monthly increase in unemployment. The national figure now stands officially at 2.4 million. The Unemployment Unit puts the jobless total at over 3.5 million.

According to press reports, youth unemployment in the area of the most recent rebellion in North Shields averages 40 percent.

While young people face the prospect of long periods without work, they are the victims of constant police harassment. One youth who participated in last week's rebel-

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Israeli rulers seek billions from U.S. to house Soviet Jews

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The Israeli government is pressing Washington for a \$10 billion loan guarantee in order to house and settle hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jewish immigrants.

The Zionist rulers hope to use this massive influx of Soviet immigrants to forcibly replace Palestinian workers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In a letter sent to congressional leaders, U.S. President George Bush expressed "unequivocal U.S. support for Soviet Jewish immigration and absorption by Israel." He requested, however, that Israel delay their loan request for 120 days so it would occur after the upcoming "peace conference" between Tel Aviv and Arab governments in the Middle East tentatively scheduled for October.

"My point here is, defer discussion on all these matters now and let's go to this conference that's just about put together," stated Bush.

"We're on the brink of an historic breakthrough," said Bush. "My request that Congress delay consideration of the Israeli request... is about peace."

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir rejected Bush's request, pledged to continue building settlements in the occupied territories, and submitted the loan request.

The Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* quotes top Shamir aides as saying that "if it came to a choice, he [Shamir] would rather give up the loan guarantees than agree to halt settlements to which he is committed both ideologically and politically."

300,000 Soviet immigrants

During the past two years more than 300,000 Soviet Jewish immigrants have arrived in Israel. The Israeli government projects another 200,000 will emigrate next year and as many as 1 million Soviet Jews could

arrive in Israel by 1994.

Many Soviet Jews want to leave the USSR but find their only way out is to go to Israel. As a result of a little-known agreement between the Shamir government and the Soviet bureaucracy, Jews leaving the Soviet Union for Israel automatically lose their Soviet citizenship.

The specific Israeli government request is that Washington guarantee a \$10 billion 30-year bank loan to be paid out to Israel over the next five years. Israel's poor credit rating prevents it from obtaining such a loan on its own. If Israel defaults on the loan the U.S. government will be responsible for paying it back and must hold up to \$800 million in reserve to cover such losses. This loan request is on top of the \$3 billion Israel receives annually from the United States in military and economic aid and the \$400 million loan guarantee Washington granted Israel last year.

The Israeli government desperately needs these funds and is operating on the assumption that it will receive them. The 1992 budget recently approved by Shamir's government already includes the first \$2 billion installment.



Israeli settlement on the West Bank. Some 35,000 acres of Palestinian land have been confiscated since March.

Increased Soviet Jewish immigration offers the Zionist rulers an opening to drive deeper against Palestinian rights.

There are 3.7 million Jews in Israel and 2.5 million Palestinians. Some 1.7 million Palestinians live in the West Bank and the Gaza strip, territories seized by Israel in the 1967 war. About 110,000 Jews live in these two areas and the Golan Heights, part of Syria occupied by Israel. Millions of Palestinians live as refugees in Arab countries.

Over the past two decades the pace of

Jewish immigration to Israel slowed considerably. The number of immigrants to Israel reached a high of nearly 1 million from 1948-57, dropping to about 768,000 from 1958-79. From 1980-87 only 114,000 immigrants entered the country. This forced the Zionist rulers to incorporate growing numbers of Palestinian workers from the occupied areas into the work force inside Israel to serve as a cheap source of labor for Israeli capitalists.

The number of Palestinian workers from
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Seattle socialists win election law exemption

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — In a victory for democratic rights, the Washington Public Disclosure Commission (PDC) ruled August 27 that Socialist Workers candidates and campaign committees are exempt from state laws requiring the disclosure of the identities of contributors and recipients of campaign funds.

Five Socialist Workers candidates — Kathy Wheeler, Ken Kawakubo, Mark Severs, Jeff Ford, and Stuart Crome — are run-

ning for Seattle City Council. A sixth, Bob Bruneau, is running for Seattle School Board. The PDC issued a similar exemption for two Freedom Socialist Party candidates running for City Council.

"This victory for democratic rights should encourage other workers and young people to join us in challenging the billionaire families and their parties that rule this country," said Wheeler.

"Had we been forced to reveal the names, it would have given the government, employers, the cops, and rightist groups a hit list," she said. "Winning the exemption helps defend the right to organize politically and participate in electoral politics without such harassment or attacks."

Washington state law requires that all candidates and campaign committees report the name and address of each contributor or recipient of campaign funds. In addition, all campaign financial books must be open to public inspection for one week prior to each election.

In their request for a waiver from these measures, the Socialist Workers candidates pointed to rulings by the Federal Elections Commission, federal courts, and the U.S. Supreme Court granting similar exemptions. These bodies held that forced disclosure of the names would violate political and democratic rights protected by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, possibly exposing individuals to harassment and attacks.

The socialists also cited evidence of decades of government disruption of the Socialist Workers Party and its candidates, including wiretapping, burglarizing SWP offices, disruption campaign activities, and seeking to get SWP members fired from their jobs. The request documented the case of two candidates, Crome and Kawakubo, who were

recently threatened with disciplinary action by their employers for expressing their political views. They also cited harassment of Bruneau by an individual who called Seattle cops and demanded they arrest Bruneau as he was petitioning to get Socialist Workers candidates on the ballot this year.

In its unanimous decision the PDC granted a slightly broader exemption than it did in 1978, the last time the PDC ruled on Socialist Workers campaign exemptions. At that time, individuals publicly identified with the campaign, including candidates and campaign committee officers, were required to be identified and to disclose the amount they contributed or received, as did any individual contributing more than \$750.

The PDC rejected a request to grant the exemption through the 1996 elections, and made it effective only for 1991.

The socialists' request for exemption was not missed by the local big-business press.

The *Seattle Times* ran an editorial the day before the hearing attacking the request. The *Times* argued that since the Seattle elections are formally non-partisan, socialist candidates should run as individuals and not identify themselves with their party. "Watering down campaign disclosure laws with exemptions cheats voters who have a right to know the source of support of all candidates," the *Times* wrote.

The *Tacoma Morning News Tribune* ran an editorial attacking the PDC ruling. Titled "PDC paves royal road for political extremists," the editorial recognized that "minor party" campaign supporters are threatened with harassment, but argued that all candidates should have to comply with disclosure laws to provide "an even playing field" for all parties.

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Should working farmers support Washington's 'free trade' scheme?

BY DOUG JENNESS

(Third in a series)

The George Bush administration, backed by Congress, is conducting an aggressive drive for the "free trade" of agricultural commodities on the international capitalist market. This, it claims, will increase the export trade of U.S. farm products and bring in more income for U.S. farmers.

U.S. agricultural goods have dropped from 25 percent of total U.S. exports in 1974 to 12 percent in 1988, which has capitalist traders in the United States concerned. The drop is not because U.S. farm output decreased. To the contrary, it increased 1.15 times during the same period. The main change is the pileup of debts in semicolonial countries that has undermined their ability to pay for imports and the heightened competition from imperialist rivals, particularly from the 12-country European Community (EC).

Washington's "free trade" campaign aims to open up more markets for farm goods produced in the United States. In addition to expanding trade into capitalist Europe and Japan, it is attempting to make U.S.-based traders more competitive in relation to European trading monopolies and food trusts for markets in Third World countries, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union.

For several decades after World War II, North American traders dominated the international grain trade with little challenge. But just as competition between North American, Japanese, and European imperialists for profits from the sale of industrial goods has intensified in recent years, rivalry is mounting over agricultural markets.

This has been fueled by the big increase in labor productivity and worldwide output in agricultural goods. For example, farmers in the United States in 1989 produced 3.5 times more per work-hour than in 1960 and 1.36 times more than in 1980. In the face of what some government officials and journalists refer to as a "food glut," capitalist grain merchants and other food trusts are competing more aggressively to sell their buildup of commodities as profitably as they can.

Most dramatic has been the shift in capitalist Europe, which, until a decade ago, had been a net importer of grain. Now it is a major net exporter, and in 1988 its net grain exports were 22 million metric tons. During the same period U.S. and Canadian traders' net exports had slipped from 131 million metric tons to 119 million metric tons. Australia and New Zealand, traditionally net exporters, also saw their net grain exports decline between 1980 and 1988 from 19 to 14 million metric tons.

U.S. officials are also trying to expand exports into the lucrative Japanese and South Korean markets. In 1988 Japan and South Korea each bought more U.S. agricultural exports than any other countries. The figure for Japan was \$7,274.5 million and for South Korea, \$2,250 million. This includes soybean products, cotton, beef, corn, and wheat, among other commodities. Half of South Korea's food products now come from the United States.

U.S. traders want to increase their exports and are especially pressing the governments in both countries to lift their bans on rice imports. Rice is a major part of the diet of Japanese and South Koreans, and the relatively cheaper rice from the United States would give U.S. rice traders a big competitive edge. Currently, the price of rice in Japan is five times higher than the world market price.

Committed to protecting profits

The majority in the European and Japanese ruling classes are committed to protecting the property and profits of a small layer of capitalist farmers, food trusts, and monopoly traders through tariffs and government export subsidies. These subsidies make up the difference between the relatively high grain prices inside Europe and the lower world market prices, thus enabling the grain to be "dumped," that is, sold at a much lower price on the world market.

According to figures reported earlier this year, the price of wheat in EC countries was \$225 per ton, but surplus wheat "dumped" on the world market helped drive the world price down to \$75 per ton.

The U.S. government also has paid out millions of dollars in price supports and



Farmer checks corn field. Drive to enhance competitiveness of grain monopolies through free trade goes hand in hand with attacks on working farmers.

export subsidies. But both the Japanese government and the European Community pay proportionately greater direct subsidies to farmers and exporters than the U.S. government. In Japan, government support is equivalent to 70 percent of the gross income from sales; in the EC the ratio is 40; and in the United States, 20.

Moreover, according to an Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development report, European consumers paid \$85 billion for food in 1990 above what it would have cost on the world market as a result of subsidies. The comparable figure in the United States was \$28 billion.

The U.S. rulers have recently stepped up their efforts to get the EC and Japan to drastically reduce their tariffs and export subsidies in order to permit U.S. farm products, which in general can be produced more cheaply, to compete on a more favorable basis. For the past five years U.S. officials have been pressing to get acceptance for this in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT).

GATT is not a forum where working farmers can be represented, present their views, or feel comfortable. It was set up by representatives from the most powerful capitalist ruling classes in 1948 to negotiate multilateral agreements governing the conduct of international trade. Today, it provides a framework for consultation, dispute settlement, and negotiations on trade issues for more than 100 countries.

GATT is currently in its eighth round of negotiations on trade. This latest session began in 1986 at Punta del Este, Uruguay, and is the first to make agricultural commodities a central part of GATT's deliberations.

Washington's proposal was drafted by Daniel Amstutz, once a senior vice president of Cargill, the biggest grain trading corporation based in the United States. This plan calls for a 10-year program to reduce domestic subsidies and tariffs in the EC countries by 75 percent and export subsidies by 90 percent.

In exchange, the U.S. government promises to reduce its subsidies by 75 percent. As a down payment on this pledge, the U.S. Congress approved a 25 percent cut in subsidies by Oct. 1, 1995, as part of the U.S. Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990.

Also pressuring the EC to cut export subsidies is the Cairns Group, 14 countries that are significant exporters of farm commodities. It includes Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Fiji, Hungary, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Uruguay.

EC's counterproposal

EC representatives countered earlier this year with a proposed 30 percent across-the-board reduction in the next five years. This is a compromise between conflicting interests

among European capitalists. French spokespersons, backed by representatives from Spain, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, and Greece, pushed for a lower reduction. The countries where the productivity of labor in agriculture is relatively higher than in other European countries — Britain, the Netherlands, Denmark, and much of Germany — trade representatives were a little more amenable to compromise with U.S. capitalist interests.

Since 1986 the EC has reduced price supports by 15 percent, so it would have only 15 percent more to go if its proposal were accepted by GATT. There has been no comparable cut in tariffs, so the entire 30 percent would have to be made in five years.

Free trade aggression

U.S. officials — both Democratic and Republican — promote the notion of free trade

Economic statistics reveal no recovery for working class

BY DEREK BRACEY

As economists and government officials debate whether the United States is in a recession or a recovery, information on the current state of the economy shows a deepening crisis for working people. Early September reports show a continued increase in unemployment and a decline in workers' wages.

A post-Labor Day *New York Times* article put it this way: "Throughout the Reagan-Bush years, most of the nation's families have been losing ground economically, finding it harder to make ends meet, while a minority of families, those with higher incomes who are primarily Republican, have gained ground."

"This coincides with the continuing erosion of labor's membership. Only one worker in six belongs to a union today."

The average wage of production workers in July was \$10.30—6.8 percent less than 10 years ago when inflation is taken into account. Young males with a high school diploma suffered a 20 percent decline in real wages. At the same time, the average salary of chief executives of the nation's 200 largest companies doubled over the last decade to \$800,000.

The number of new unemployment claims rose to 421,000 during a four week period in August, from 406,000 in July. Business investment plans stand at a five-year low.

A study by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities states that more than 300,000 jobless workers ran out of unemployment compensation in July, the highest number in over 40 years. Nearly 2 million unemployed workers exhausted their bene-

fits in the first seven months of 1991.

President Bush recently signed a measure to extend unemployment benefits for 20 weeks. The funds can only be released when an emergency is declared, however, a step Bush has yet to take. The cost of the measure, \$5.8 billion, would "bust the budget," he said.

Another aspect of the repercussions for workers is reported in the September 9 issue of *Time* magazine. In an article entitled "Permanent Pink Slips," John Greenwald writes, "As banks, retailers, computer makers, defense contractors and other firms from Boston to Burbank slash their payrolls in the face of falling profits, experts say nearly half the 1.6 million jobs the economy has lost in just the past 13 months may never be restored. That grim prospect will further dampen what is already shaping up as the weakest U.S. upturn since World War II."

This situation is the result of an attempt by the bosses to try to raise profits through job reductions and intensification of work. International Business Machines cut its payroll by 32,000 since 1985 and plans to slash it another 17,000 this year.

Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford have eliminated 350,000 jobs since 1979 and the auto giants plan to pare 20,000 more jobs this year. Banks have chopped over 100,000 jobs since 1989, and major bank mergers have more dramatic reductions on the agenda.

A top economic analyst at the Boston Company, Allen Sinai, succinctly summed up the employers' view of working people and the bosses' drive for profits when he said, "the name of the game is to hold down the nose count."

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Cuba demands U.S. out of Guantánamo

Continued from front page

trade based on hard currency and world market prices will increase the difficulties faced by Cuba. Sugar exports amount to 20 percent of Cuba's foreign income.

But this step was not unanticipated by the Cuban government. The last long-term economic agreement between the Soviet Union and Cuba expired at the end of 1990. The former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon), which used to organize trade between the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries, and Cuba, decided as long ago as January 1990 to move toward a hard-currency trading system and world market prices.

In fact, over the last two years the Soviet Union cut back on its shipment of oil to Cuba and insisted on trade terms more favorable to Moscow. Disorganization of the Soviet economy has also resulted in erratic deliveries of products agreed to in economic pacts. Gorbachev's announcement indicates that the Soviet bureaucracy believes these cutbacks already entitle the Soviet Union to favors from Washington and its allies.

Does Soviet Union 'subsidize' Cuba?

The repeated accusation by imperialist governments and the big-business press that the Soviet Union "subsidizes" Cuba via an excessively high price paid for its sugar and other products is misleading.

First, it assumes that the world market price for such commodities is "fair." But such prices are unequal and exploitative for semi-colonial countries, which have a lower average productivity of labor than in industrially developed countries. The result of this inequality is a constant but hidden, massive transfer of wealth to the capitalists in imperialist countries.

Imperialist spokespeople in effect suggest that if the Soviet Union is not draining Cuba of some of its wealth, that is a subsidy.

Cuban leaders have many times explained the need for a non-exploitative basis for trade

between workers' states where capitalist rule has been ended. In 1965 Che Guevara, a leader of the Cuban revolution, succinctly explained the need for a new economic relationship at a conference on Afro-Asian solidarity in Algeria.

"How can it be 'mutually beneficial' to sell at world market prices the raw materials that cost underdeveloped countries immeasurable sweat and suffering, and to buy at world market prices the machinery produced in today's big automated factories?" Guevara asked.

If the Soviet Union or another industrialized country where capitalism has been overturned were to trade at world market prices with Third World countries, they, in a certain way, would become "accomplices of imperial exploitation," Guevara explained.

'World market price' a myth

Second, as Fidel Castro noted in a 1987 interview, the world market price for sugar is actually a myth. Much of the sugar sold in the United States and Western Europe is sold well above the official market price. Surplus sugar is then dumped on the world market, particularly by the European Community, resulting in artificially depressed world market prices.

It is also a fact that the Soviet Union faces a sugar shortage, as its plea to the European Community and the Group of Seven for 900,000 metric tons of free sugar makes clear. A Soviet demand for Cuban sugar can be expected to continue, particularly as Moscow's own lack of hard currency pushes it in the direction of continuing to make barter agreements, such as its long-standing exchange of oil and other products for Cuban goods.

In response to Gorbachev's announcement that Soviet military personnel would be withdrawn, the Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that the size of the force was "substantially less" than the 11,000 referred to by Gorbachev, and that it had "a symbolic character."

'Cuba will never accept being handed over or sold to the U.S.'

The following is the text of a September 14 editorial published in *Granma*, daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba. It outlines the Cuban position on the unilateral announcement by Mikhail Gorbachev that Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Cuba.

The editorial notes that the brigade of Soviet troops stationed in Cuba dates back to the "Missile Crisis." This refers to the events of October 1962, when the U.S. government brought the world to the brink of nuclear war. U.S. president John Kennedy had ordered a full military blockade of Cuba, placed U.S. armed forces on alert, and threatened military action against Cuba and the Soviet Union if medium-range nuclear missiles were not removed from the island.

The crisis was resolved when Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev reached agreement with Kennedy to remove the missiles. This was done without even the pretense of consulting the Cuban leadership.

The text of the editorial is from the unofficial English translation released by the Permanent Mission of Cuba to the United Nations. It has been checked against the Spanish original by the *Militant*, with corrections and stylistic revisions made.

Cuba will never accept being handed over or sold to the United States

The decision taken unilaterally and without previous consultation by Soviet authorities regarding their military personnel in Cuba — the so-called Instruction Brigade or Center of Studies No. 12, as it has been known to us since 1979 — has a serious political connotation which jeopardizes our security.

Of course, it is nothing new for big countries to make public certain trial balloons, to turn them into faits accomplis.

Nor should it come as a surprise to those of us who witnessed the outcome of the Missile Crisis. One of its results was precisely

the decision to maintain this military contingent, in the course of numerous talks held in Havana between our leadership and Anastas Mikoyan from November 3–22, 1962, and the corresponding agreement signed in Moscow May 29, 1963.

In keeping with the agreement the Soviet military presence was gradually reduced down to the brigade. This was known to the U.S. government despite not being publicly discussed. It became the subject of a scandal when due to demagogic and domestic political reasons, the United States raised it publicly during the Sixth Summit Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement held in Havana in September 1979, after the Motorized Brigade of the Soviet Armed Forces had been in Cuba 17 years.

Without taking into consideration our opposition to denying the presence of the brigade and while unfinished consultations were still in progress, the Soviet leadership of that time gave in to public U.S. pressure and with official statements and the sibilant indulgence of the U.S. rulers, overnight turned that combat unit that was committed to take action in case of an invasion into a supposedly harmless center of studies. One day before that brigade — which has continued to be a combat unit with all its war means and missions — will be celebrating its 29th anniversary, there is talk about its unilateral withdrawal because, it is said, its symbolic presence belongs to a past epoch. Symbolic — a word we were the first to use — has two meanings: that its forces are not numerically significant for the military defense of Cuba, but at the same time that they had a profound significance as an expression of friendship and solidarity in the face of U.S. threats.

With a great deal of respect and gratitude we recall those tense and at times very hard work-sessions with Comrade Mikoyan, coming after the painful and unforgettable experience that the U.S.-Soviet agreement regarding the crisis meant for our young revolution.

Continued on Page 13



U.S. base at Guantánamo, Cuba, shown here in 1962 with U.S. aircraft carrier *Enterprise* at anchor, has been occupied against Cuba's wishes for over three decades.

The word "symbolic" has two meanings, emphasized a September 14 editorial in the daily paper of the Communist Party of Cuba, *Granma*, (printed below). While the small size of the force meant it was not militarily significant in the defense of Cuba, it nevertheless was "a combat unit committed to take action in case of an invasion," and therefore had a "profound significance as an expression of friendship and solidarity in the face of U.S. threats."

Withdrawal without consultation

The *Granma* editorial explained how Cuba had demanded at least a minimal Soviet military presence following the removal of Soviet nuclear missiles from Cuba in 1962, recalling that the Soviet leadership had announced withdrawal of its missiles at that time without consultation with the Cuban government.

Socialist team arrived in Wichita just in time, says long-time resident

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Fighting workers around the world are beginning to confront the consequences of the deepening social and economic crisis of capitalism. As the assault and the response deepens, the opportunities and responsibilities of the communist movement become greater.

The Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund helps support the activities of the communist movement. The drive to raise \$150,000 by December 15 will enable communist workers to continue to have an impact on workers and youth participating in the struggles of today and those coming in the months ahead.

The fund enables supporters of the *Militant* and Pathfinder to reach out most effectively with revolutionary literature and to get these weapons into the hands of fighters who need them. That's exactly what the recent

The U.S. naval base at Guantánamo exists for no purpose other than to threaten and humiliate Cuba, the editorial said, noting that in his announcement Gorbachev had not even mentioned the U.S. military presence in Cuba.

The editorial concluded that the Soviet decision to withdraw the military unit, "taken unilaterally, unconditionally, and without any prior consultation . . . amounts to giving the United States a green light to carry out its aggressive plans against Cuba."

For the past 10 years Cuba has based its defense preparedness on reliance on the efforts of Cuban forces alone, the editorial emphasized, declaring that Cuba has "completely excluded every hypothesis that was not based on the willingness to pay solely with the price of our own blood for the unshakable determination to never again be enslaved by the United States."

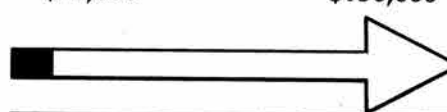
having had subscriptions several times over the years. She has subscribed once again and is "enjoying it very much."

Billings said she was "thrilled" to see the response that the Young Socialist Alliance has received in Wichita. She has just agreed to become the student adviser to the YSA at Wichita State so the youth group can become a recognized campus organization, and she plans to do whatever she can to help support YSA activities and recruitment on campus.

Billings was happy to make a \$40 contribution to the Party-Building Fund as a result of her admiration and support for the work of the SWP in Wichita. She urges the party to "keep up the good work."

1991 Party-Building Fund

Collected: \$16,000 Goal: \$150,000



three-week team to Wichita, Kansas, was able to do.

This week, I was able to speak with Dotty Billings, a long-time resident of Wichita who has been an activist for the past decade.

"The SWP came at a time when we felt very much in need of an organization that knows how to organize, to protest, and to demonstrate," Billings said.

"The women's groups here didn't organize to protest," she noted, referring to the lack of organized response to the rightist assaults on Wichita abortion clinics.

"Having people from outside come in was great. It's the best thing I've ever seen in my 23 years in Wichita," she said. "It was refreshing to have people in the know, who explained but didn't preach. It was very educational."

Billings grew up with parents who were members of the Socialist Party. She is currently an assistant professor of anthropology at Wichita State University. She explained that she was glad to see the *Militant* again,

Socialist Workers 1991 Party Building Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	% of Total
New York	16,300	3,802	23%
Salt Lake City	6,500	1,315	20%
San Francisco	10,000	1,675	17%
Detroit	8,500	1,070	12%
Houston	4,800	505	10%
Philadelphia	5,000	450	9%
Twin Cities	8,300	781	9%
Birmingham	5,500	485	8%
St. Louis	5,500	405	7%
Atlanta	5,500	325	6%
Newark	9,700	625	6%
Boston	4,100	200	5%
Greensboro	2,100	100	5%
Omaha	3,000	140	5%
Pittsburgh	5,500	285	5%
Los Angeles	15,000	675	4%
Washington, D.C.	6,000	210	3%
Des Moines	3,525	80	2%
Miami	2,400	54	2%
Chicago	8,000	50	1%
Cleveland	3,000	20	1%
Morgantown	2,800	20	1%
Baltimore	3,000	0	0%
Seattle	5,000	0	0%
Other U.S.	4,815	2528	52%
International	2,130	200	9%
Total	155,970	16,000	10%
Should be		35,292	23%

Was Soviet coup an attempt to halt 'slide toward capitalist restoration'?

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Tens of thousands of working people topped the August 19 coup in the Soviet Union. But some organizations in the United States that call themselves socialist or communist gave outright support to the coup as it unfolded.

Leaders of the Workers World Party and the Communist Party (CPUSA) argue that the coup was an attempt to slow down steps by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev that are leading to the restoration of capitalism, a fate now sharply posed with the coup's failure. Soviet workers in fact did not oppose the coup, the Workers World Party claimed.

Despite mistakes by the coup leaders "the masses on the whole accepted the coup," stated Sam Marcy, Workers World Party chairperson, in the September 5 *Workers World* weekly. He claimed the coup was "completely bloodless," dismissing the killings of three people in Moscow as accidents.

Bourgeois commentators have also dismissed the resistance put up by Soviet workers to the coup. Events as they unfolded in the Soviet Union "call into question the popular picture in the U.S. of an outpouring of Russians and other Soviet citizens resisting autocratic government and demanding democracy," wrote liberal commentator Tom Wicker, in the *New York Times*. "Only perhaps 1 percent of Moscow's population turned out for what appeared on U.S. television to be a massive demonstration," Wicker added.

Each of these analyses has a common starting point: they all attempt to conceal the nature of the class struggle in the USSR and try and keep workers around the world from seeing fellow toilers there as the only social force capable of resolving the deepening economic and social crisis into which the bureaucratic regime has led the country. A careful examination of the facts easily refutes these arguments.

Workers in Soviet Union resist coup

Masses of working people recognized that the coup's main goal was to close down the political elbow-room and democratic rights won in recent years. Refusing to return to the decades of complete suppression of these rights, workers and others held mass protests in defiance of the coup leaders' attempts to impose curfews and ban demonstrations.

In Moscow a crowd of 5,000 surrounded the Russian parliament August 19, erecting barricades and maintaining an around-the-clock vigil. By the next day the protest swelled to 50,000. Demonstrators fraternized with troops, some of whom turned their tanks around to help defend the parliament building.

Two hundred thousand demonstrated in Leningrad, now called St. Petersburg, and 400,000 in Kishinev, capital of the Moldavian republic.

"To see how people were awakening, beginning to respect themselves, almost made me cry," said Aleksander Kondrashov, a 46-year-old machinist who joined the march in Leningrad with thousands of his coworkers from the Kirov tractor factory. The Kirov plant became an important center of resistance to the coup.

Coal miners went on strike in several regions. After returning to work following the coup's failure, miners at Siberia's Kuzbass factory, the country's largest, refused to load coal for delivery until all the coup leaders were arrested.

These mobilizations also gave an impulse to actions against government officials in Soviet republics identified with the authoritarian rule of the central regime.

Georgians opposed to the autocratic government of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia organized daily mass rallies outside the Georgian Parliament. In the Chechen-Ingush ethnic region, demonstrators who had been blockading the Parliament for 15 days demanding the resignation of parliamentary leaders for their support to the coup finally stormed the building, forcing the chairman to resign.

Through their actions on the barricades and in the streets working people have widened the political space open to them and gained greater confidence for the struggles to come.

Was coup attempt to avert capitalism?

"The fact of the matter is that the Emergency Committee was attempting to return to the course of socialist construction and to abolish, to the extent possible, the ruinous and chaotic consequences of Gorbachev's introduction of capitalist relations," wrote Sam Marcy in the September 5 *Workers World*.

"These eight men," he added, referring to the members of the short-lived State Committee for the State of Emergency set up during the coup, "knowledgeable and fearful of the consequences of bourgeois restoration, decided it was the only course to take."

Gus Hall, chairman of the CPUSA, said after Gorbachev was returned to power that the coup "was an attempt to deal with real problems, but in a wrong way." In the wake of the coup Russia's President Boris Yeltsin "becomes the biggest danger," Hall added.

These statements fly in the face of the fact that the coup leaders pledged to continue Gorbachev and Yeltsin's economic and social course, based on the vain hope of integrating the Soviet Union into the world capitalist market through introducing progressively greater use of market mechanisms in the economy.

The coup leaders also promised to hold a "nationwide discussion" on the treaty Gorbachev had negotiated with top officials of most



One of numerous mass outpourings against coup. U.S. Communist Party and Workers World Party argue that coup leaders wanted to return Soviet Union to "socialist course." Liberal columnist Tom Wicker says protests had little to do with coup's failure.

republics of the Soviet Union. They claimed they would solve problems of food and housing through an immediate return to "labor discipline and order," thinly disguised code words for the intensification of labor under the threat of the whip.

Advertising one or another wing of the ruling layer in the Soviet Union as the "real" defenders of socialism is the stock-in-trade of Stalinism and its adherents around the world. The "eight men," Gorbachev, and Yeltsin represent different wings of a petty-bourgeois social layer — best described as a caste — that through force and violence usurped power from the working class allied with the peasantry. This counterrevolution was led by Joseph Stalin beginning in the early 1920s. By the mid 1930s the rising bureaucratic layer had consolidated its hold on power, reversed many of the social gains of the October 1917 Russian revolution, and driven working people out of political life.

By presenting the accomplishments of the working people as its own and draping itself with the mantle of the first victorious socialist revolution, the bureaucratic regime convinced many fighters around the world that it was a progressive force. But, as the legacy of Stalinist rule comes to the light of day, the fact that it is 100 percent counterrevolutionary is clearer to millions.

Arguing that a "socialist course" can be advanced by the methods of the coup leaders negates the fact that socialism can only be achieved by a politically conscious and mobilized working class progressively taking on more and more of the decision making and administration of all aspects of economic and social life.

Because this would mark the death knell of the bureaucratic regime, the caste organizes to prevent any motion in that direction.

Is capitalism on the agenda?

A September 5 editorial in the *Workers World* says capitalism has already been reintroduced in Eastern Europe. "Look at the

destruction left in Eastern Europe. The introduction of capitalism has been a tyranny as bad as any terror."

The statement released by the CPUSA following the coup's failure said: "Developments have quickly moved to a new stage. Processes are now in motion that inflame anti-Semitism and nationalism, seriously threaten the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the dismantling of socialism, and push the country in the direction of capitalism and wholesale plunder of the USSR."

But nationalized property relations — the central conquest of the Russian revolution — remain in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Top officials in the Eastern European and Soviet workers states, many with overtly procapitalist and proimperialist views, have repeatedly announced ambitious "market reform programs" and their intentions to sell off basic industry to private capital. But each has backed off when faced with deep-going opposition from working people to each concrete step needed to reintroduce private ownership of industry and banking.

Resistance by working people has proved to be the major stumbling block to any "peaceful" transition to capitalism.

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Gorbachev, in a September 11 meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, "stressed that he hoped to press ahead with making the ruble a convertible currency in order to attract foreign investment."

The exchange rate of the ruble today is 3.6 cents. Many workers earn about 300 rubles, or about \$10.80, a month. Since the ruble is not a convertible currency this does not translate into comparable prices for goods purchased by workers.

But it does give a picture of the implications of any attempt to make the ruble convertible for workers' standard of living. Clearly such a move would provoke colossal social explosions.

A section of the leadership of the U.S. Communist Party that aligns itself with the Gorbachev wing of the bureaucracy took the position that the Soviet coup should have been clearly condemned.

"Some in the leadership of our party reacted to this coup differently than the Soviet public," said an article in the September 7 issue of the *People's Weekly World*, the newspaper published by the Communist Party. The article was signed by James Jackson, Charlene Mitchell, and Danny Rubin.

"Having identified Gorbachev as the source of all of the crisis developments in the Soviet Union, they tended to welcome his removal" the CP leaders wrote. This "led to the CPUSA National Board vote to 'neither condemn nor condone' the coup. The authors said the coup "dealt a body blow to perestroika."

Public rift in CPUSA

A similar line marking the growing public rift in the CP, was carried in an article by Mark Solomon in the same issue of the *People's Weekly World*. Solomon argued that Gorbachev's policies have resulted in "giant strides for peace" and "began to put an end to the stifling identification of socialism with totalitarianism."

That Gorbachev's course, rather than that of the coup leaders, represents some progressive thrust forward for working people is also the position of others on the "left."

"The delicate, evolutionary process, painstakingly put together by President Mikhail Gorbachev, was beginning to bear fruit," wrote Fred Weir in the *Guardian*, a weekly newspaper. "The coup attempt blasted it all out of the arena," he added.

But there is nothing progressive about Gorbachev or Yeltsin's pragmatic policy decisions. Both are today responsible for organizing the defense of the privileges and prerogatives of the caste, a task that places them as point men in the assault on the rights and standard of living of working people. Working people can and should oppose the coup and identify with those in the streets without having to extend one iota of political support to Yeltsin or Gorbachev.

In hopes of ameliorating its deep-going economic and social crisis, the regime in

Continued on Page 12

Israeli rulers seek billions from U.S.

Continued from Page 2

the West Bank and Gaza with jobs in Israel grew from about 5,000 in 1968 to more than 180,000 in 1990.

The original goal of the Zionists when they founded the state of Israel in 1948 was to drive the Palestinians out and set up a state with an entirely Jewish work force. The growing dependence on Palestinian labor from the occupied territories marked a move away from this goal.

Rulers want to replace Palestinians

Since the rise of the Palestinian revolt known as the *intifada* in 1987, many in Israeli ruling-class circles have been calling for replacing Palestinians with immigrant workers.

In May 1989 the Israeli government announced measures aimed at "reducing the number of Palestinian workers and adopting new economic procedures against them," according to then defense minister Yitzhak Rabin.

The recent influx of Soviet Jews opens the possibility of reversing the trend of reliance on Palestinian labor and has come as a boon to Tel Aviv. The Israeli rulers are taking advantage of the new immigration to take steps against the Palestinian work force.

Severe blows were dealt to Palestinians

living in the occupied territories during the course of the U.S.-led war against Iraq. As soon as the bombing of Iraq began the Israeli government prohibited the overwhelming majority of Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip from going to their jobs in Israel. Strict round-the-clock curfews were imposed on Palestinians for weeks. Many farmers lost their livestock and crops.

These attacks on Palestinians have continued since the end of the war. According to the September 23 *Nation* magazine, more than 35,000 acres of Palestinian land have been confiscated by Israeli authorities since the beginning of March. Unemployment among Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza has skyrocketed — reaching more than 70 percent in some areas.

Many Soviet Jews who recently arrived in Israel also face deteriorating living conditions and difficulties finding work as well.

As the economic crisis deepens, Israeli rulers will deepen their attacks against Palestinians and all working people in Israel. To answer this assault, greater solidarity must be won to the Palestinian's just struggle for a homeland and unity forged between Jewish and Palestinian workers in the fight to replace the Zionist state of Israel with a democratic, secular Palestine.

Canadian unionist wins victory over secret police harassment

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO — An important victory for the labor movement has been won over police and government harassment of airport workers.

Joe Young, an aircraft cleaner at Air Canada in Toronto, was accorded a permanent security pass September 10, 22 months after starting work at the airline. Young is a member of Local Lodge 2323 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM).

As with other workers at airports across the country, Young had been denied a permanent security pass while under investigation by Canada's secret police, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS).

CSIS uses provisions of the Airport Restricted Area Access Program as its excuse for interrogation and undercover police investigations of airport workers to determine their "reliability" and "loyalty to Canada." The federal Ministry of Transport (MOT) then decides whether or not to issue a security pass.

Workers under investigation are placed under a cloud of suspicion by being forced to wear a highly visible temporary pass indicating they require an escort at all times while working. A negative decision by MOT would likely result in the investigated worker being fired.

Young decided such investigations represented an attack on his union. Over the course of fighting for his security pass he won support from his coworkers and union local.

Young is a union and political activist. He helped build solidarity with Machinists on strike at Eastern Airlines and other labor struggles. He joined protests and discussions opposing the war against the Iraqi people and is currently the Communist League candidate for mayor of Toronto.

The importance the employers and their government attach to the CSIS harassment program was evident in the response to a court challenge to it by the IAM in early 1990. The union argued against the program both on technical grounds and because it violated basic civil liberties spelled out in Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The court supported the IAM on the technical arguments but rejected the civil liberties claims. The federal cabinet in Ottawa immediately

reinstated the program with a few technical adjustments.

Young's winning a security pass has provoked a discussion among his coworkers. "They shouldn't discriminate against one person because of their beliefs. The McCarthy days are over," said Dale Malonowic, summing up the opinion of many workers.

Bob Carroll, an aircraft cleaner with 24 years seniority added, "I think a guy's political opinion and religion are his business. It's nobody's business how I vote, or what church I go to."

"You did the right thing by fighting for your rights," coworker Amir Din told Young. "If you're right you must fight."

"You have your right to privacy. You have the right to your opinion. It's a free country," Maria Garcia said.

IAM shop steward and aircraft mechanic Axel Riek added that Young's victory showed the importance of having a union to defend workers' rights.

Victory strengthens union

In an interview, Young said the victory strengthens the IAM and should give other union members encouragement to demand their passes without delay as well. Any fight around this would weaken the government's ability to use the threat of interrogation against the union or to create a "suspect" section of the workforce.

If the program is politically exposed and fought by the union, he said, it will help expose the real purpose of the government program and make it easier for workers to organize against the employer-government offensive against the labor movement today. "Under cover of 'protecting passengers' from 'terrorism' the CSIS harassment program seeks to legitimize cop interference in the lives and organizations of working people," Young said.

CSIS interrogations are centered on questions dealing with unionists' political beliefs, activities, and personal lives. The government's security net has had an impact on thousands of IAM members.

For example, just after the security program was implemented, Trevor Bickerstaff who is today the vice president of IAM Lodge 2764 at Canadian Airlines in Toronto, was unable to work for 10 months because he refused to sign forms required for security clearance on the grounds that to do so meant "giving up all your rights."

Other CSIS files reveal a similar line of questioning. Those on Al Cappe, a former IAM Air Canada worker in Montréal, note he had "openly" signed a petition in support of Mohawks fighting for their rights.

A coworker of Carole Caron, another former IAM member under investigation at Aeroservice in Montréal, was asked by a CSIS agent if Caron was a lesbian or involved in pornography.

CSIS agents have also asked workers if they have traveled to "countries hostile to Canada," such as revolutionary Cuba, or whether they support "Third World liberation movements."

During his interrogation a year ago, Young was asked if he was in favor of the system of government in Canada. He was also asked questions about his sexual orientation, debts, gambling, and use of drugs or alcohol. With an IAM representative present he refused to answer the questions dealing with his political views or personal life.

Second interrogation

In response to the violation of Young's rights by CSIS, Local Lodge 2323 President Bill Shipman wrote to Huguette Labelle, the Deputy-Minister of Transport in early March, demanding action on Young's pass.

Finally on September 4, Young was obliged to meet C.A. Webster, Director, Security, Personnel Intelligence and Security Training of Transport Canada (MOT). Webster flew from Ottawa for the meeting. Young was accompanied by Shipman and a lawyer.

Webster asked Young to express agreement with the government's airport security program.

"I told Webster the Ministry of Transport program had nothing to do with 'passenger safety,'" Young said.

"Firstly, the MOT has shown a continual disregard for passenger safety by refusing to overrule the airline companies' cost-cutting

measures or to itself hire anywhere near the number of air traffic controllers that are needed," the IAM member said. "It is these irresponsible actions which are by far the single biggest threat to airline safety, not the actions of airport workers and our unions who have consistently fought against these policies."

"Secondly," Young said, "the Ministry of Transport works closely with the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. Agent provocateurs of CSIS and its predecessor, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, have been proven in court and through Royal Commissions to be responsible for the majority of terrorist actions in this country over the past two decades."

"Two notorious agents of the government's political police, Robert Samson and Marc Boivin, were both convicted of planting bombs in order to carry out anti-union frame-ups against striking workers. Other agents have carried out kidnappings, blackmail, break-ins, and various other illegal and violent acts as part of their campaign against the unions, Québec independence and anti-racist fighters, native and women's rights groups, and socialist and other political organizations," Young said.

IAM lodge 2323 president Bill Shipman said Young's victory reinforced the union's official policy. "Although we are obligated to adhere to legislation on security passes one should not allow oneself to be intimidated by needless inquiries by CSIS into our private lives, and to this end union representation should be secured for any interviews," with CSIS.

Swedish youth show interest at communist campaign table

BY DAG TIRSEN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Communist League candidates and their supporters found a ready audience among students of the Rudbecks school just north of here.

At the candidates' campaign table up to 30 young people at a time gathered around to ask questions, many about the attempted coup in the Soviet Union.

"Are you communists?" one asked. "Now? After what happened in the Soviet Union?" Others wanted to discuss what the Soviet events showed about the differences between a nationalized economy and a capitalist economy. There were a few hostile questions as well.

"Working people around the world face a declining world capitalist order," Maria Hamberg told the students. "This is the source of the wars, racism, and assaults on the rights and living standards of working people."

A worker at the Konsum Chark packing-house here, Hamberg said the only way to fight the employers' offensive was for working people to rely on their collective power and chart a course of independent political action.

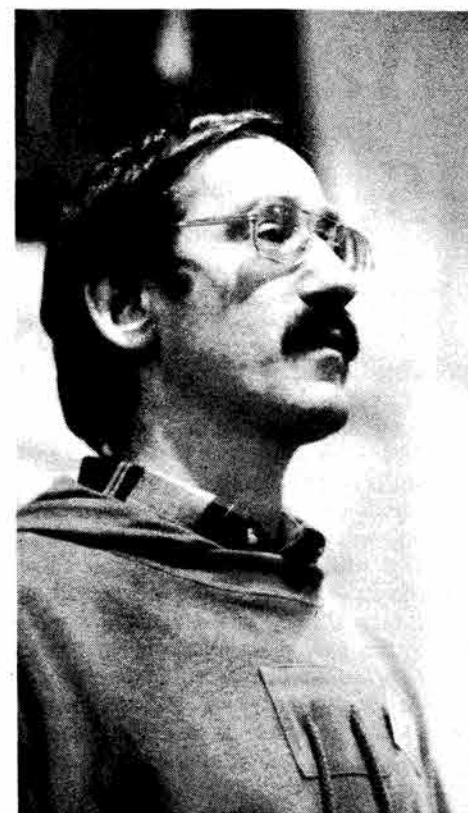
After the campus event Hamberg and Communist League candidate Lars Johansson, who works at the SAS-owned Aeroengine maintenance shop, held a press conference to further explain their campaign.

Noting the serious nature of the recession in Sweden, Hamberg said unemployment is hitting women, youth, and immigrants the hardest.

"Our election program demands affirmative action in hiring, education, and housing," she said. "The employers will attempt to use divisions among working people to weaken the entire labor movement. Affirmative action is one essential way to unify the working class in face of the bosses' offensive."

Hamberg said the recent bankruptcy of Eric Penser, the owner of Bofors and Nobel, is one sign of the crisis facing Swedish capitalism. The bankruptcy forced the government to put up nearly \$1 billion to avoid the collapse of Nordbanken, a large state-owned bank.

Working people have to stick together "to defend ourselves against the impact of the world capitalist economic crisis," Johansson said. "The labor movement must not start with what is good for 'Sweden,' but from the



Militant

Machinist member Joe Young

The CSIS files of Nancy Walker, a Vancouver IAM member who has been fighting for her security pass, reveal CSIS is concerned about the union opposition to its activities.

"The Bulletin Board at Canadian Airlines International (VIA) now displays a sign that all persons approached by CSIS should contact the union," reads Walker's file, secured under the Privacy Act.

John Steele is a member of IAM Lodge 2754 at Canadian Airlines and is currently fighting for his permanent security pass.

250 attend Chicago rally to defend abortion rights

BY JEANNE LAWRENCE

CHICAGO — "Defend abortion rights; we won't return to back alley abortions," and, "Stop the gag rule," were the themes of a march and rally held here September 7. Two hundred fifty people attended the demonstration, called by the Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition (ECDC).

The overwhelmingly young crowd gathered at the headquarters of Aid for Women, a bogus clinic that dispenses anti-abortion propaganda. After a rally the demonstration proceeded through Chicago's Loop.

Susan Charon, Assistant Administrator of the Fargo Women's Health Organization in Fargo, North Dakota, was visiting Chicago that day and saw a leaflet about the demonstration. She decided to attend with her two sons.

Charon ended up speaking at several rally points during the march. "Every day when we go to work it's like a war, and we don't know if we'll have to go into battle," she said of conditions at the Fargo clinic due to assaults by rightists there. "Operation Rescue has put leaflets up in Fargo and we think they may target us next." Operation Rescue organized a sustained right-wing mobilization at three clinics in Wichita, Kansas, during July and August.

ECDC has planned a second "Rally to Support Abortion Rights" for October 12 to continue the fight. It is co-sponsored by the Chicago National Organization for Women, American Civil Liberties Union, Planned Parenthood, National Abortion Rights Action League, and others.

For further information call Chicago NOW at (312) 922-0025, or ECDC at 528-0042.

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism

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National Secretary of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party

Sydney, Australia

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Young people rebel in Britain against police brutality

Continued from front page

lion in Elswick said, "It's all about them and us — the police."

A case of wanton cop brutality triggered the social explosions. Residents of Telford, Shropshire, responded to the August 12 gunning down of a young Black worker, Ian Gordon, by the police. "The people who threw the bricks were protesting about more than one person's death. They got sick of being the underdogs and now the dam has burst," said a woman on the demonstration the following week.

Since the Telford rebellion, there have been confrontations with the police in four major cities. Smaller incidents have occurred elsewhere.

Protests in North Shields were also set off by cop killings: Dale Robson, 17 years old, and Colin Atkins, 21, were killed following a high speed car chase by the police. The police say the two crashed into a lamppost with the police car a half mile behind. "Scanners," youth in North Shields who monitor the police messages by short wave radio, say that the two were murdered when police deliberately rammed the car Robson and Atkins were driving.

As one youth explained of the street fighting three days later: "We did it for the two who were killed. What happened to the bizzie cruiser [police car] that hit them? The police have hidden it."

"Police are murderers. Dale and Colin, we won't let them get away with it," is the message painted along the wall of the Collingwood community center on the Meadow Hall housing estate in North Shields. Youth on the estate are excluded

from the community center. It was the first building to be set afire September 9 when 400 youths severed telephone lines to the police station and cut down trees and telegraph poles to make barricades in preparation for a confrontation with the "bizzies," as the police are called.

The government responded to the rebellions by blaming the victims of police brutality and promising greater repression. Home Office minister John Patten described the actions of the youth as "mindless hooliganism and robbery for which there can be no excuse." Prime minister John Major dismissed the widespread nature of the outbursts as "copycat effect" and praised the police for doing a magnificent job.

Labour Party spokespeople have sought to outbid the government. Turning reality on its head, Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock described the citizens' actions as a "criminal attack on the community" and defended the actions of the police. Doug Henderson, Labour Member of Parliament, said, "Law and order has broken down and crime is out of control in many parts of the region."



Youth rebellion in Britain stems from deteriorating conditions and cop brutality. Response of British government is to promise even greater repression.

20,000 strikers march in Canada

Continued from front page

over the streets and bridges. . . . Major work locations such as the tax data center and the Energy Mines and Resources headquarters were shut down, and a determined picket line at Vanier Towers turned away 200 scabs."

PSAC organizes 150,000 food inspectors, government clerks and counsellors, employ-

ees of national parks, environment and weather departments, federal fisheries and airport runway maintenance workers. This is their first national strike. Customs officers, federal prison guards, and national defense employees are also members of PSAC.

The strike halted exports of grain from ports on the West Coast and in Thunder Bay, slowed flights at airports, and significantly curtailed shipments across the U.S. border, affecting auto and other industries maintaining low "just-in-time" inventories with parts imported from the United States.

Some 46,000 members of PSAC, designated "essential" by the government, have continued to work with the agreement of the union officials. Many of these workers cross picket lines each morning singing "Solidarity Forever" or wearing buttons produced by the union that say "My heart is with you."

When the government announced it was considering back to work legislation, Shirley Carr, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, said she was stunned by the proposed strikebreaking law, which she described as "absolutely horrendous." "How can they do this?" she asked.

Bean had said, "They may be able to legislate us back to work, but they sure as hell can't legislate how we work and it sure as hell won't do anything for morale." He had previously insisted that "any legislation they pass means nothing to me" and vowed to go to jail for defying such a law if necessary.

The strike started only four days after the National Executive of the Canadian Union

of Postal Workers called off a 13-day rotating strike of its 46,000 members on the recommendation of a government mediator. The officials of the two unions had initially pledged to support the other union's strike.

Dan, a striker at Environment Canada, said he thought the two strikes "could have shut the whole country down." Other workers argued that their best hope was for PSAC to go into negotiations as well.

Government clerk Robert LaFrance explained the main issues are the government's wage freeze and job security. "All the rent is going up, all the food is going up, but not our income," he said. Government contracting out work currently done by union members is one of the other main issues in the strike.

The federal government first proposed a wage freeze on federal government workers in its February budget in order to "set an example" for the employers' efforts to force down wages of both industrial and government workers. Six of Canada's ten provincial governments followed suit by introducing wage-control legislation.

Grant Morrison, a Vancouver picket captain, said workers' salaries in the public sector have been falling behind the cost of living for 10 years. "Zero percent is simply unacceptable," he said.

Jean Allan, another picket captain who was leading the strikers in blocking the entrance to her work place here, said, "We're strong enough to say no to the government." Workers' success in closing down several government office buildings across the country brought government threats of court injunctions.

There were about 100 picketers at Environment Canada in Vancouver on September 13, including many clerks from the Surrey Taxation Center who had come to help shut down Environment Canada. Workers there explained that another key issue in the strike is equal pay for women.

While 46 percent of the members of PSAC are women, they comprise 75 percent of the lowest paid workers. Many are among the 750,000 workers in Canada who are forced to work part-time because they can't get full-time jobs.

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney tried to justify the government wage freeze by arguing, "We have an economic recovery which is under way; it is fragile." He warned the striking workers, "We will take all the means necessary to ensure that the recovery continues."

However, Anthony, a grain inspector at the Alberta Wheat Pool in Vancouver, rejected the argument that the strike threatened the interests of other working people. "This fight is important for all labor," he insisted, "because if the government imposes a wage freeze, then who is next?"

Transit system workers launch strike in Toronto

BY GARY WATSON

TORONTO — Transit workers here went on strike September 12 after rejecting a company contract offer recommended by the union's executive board.

Drivers, mechanics, and other workers belonging to Local 113 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) turned down the Toronto Transit Commission's (TTC) contract offer by a 56 percent margin. The walkout involves 8,600 workers.

TTC had proposed wage increases of 4.95 percent in the first year and 4.75 percent in the second year of a two-year contract. A new clause allowing the company to hire temporary replacement workers during the summer months is one of the key issues in the strike.

A 45-day work slowdown stopped a TTC attempt to hire 450 workers on a part-time basis in 1989. This time around, the company is seeking to hire from a pool of 80 to 85 retired union members for ten weeks each summer.

TTC general manager Allan Leach blames the strike on a faction of "labor terrorists" who he says are vying for posts in union elections this November.

Union president Ray Hutchinson said he was "not pleased" about the vote results. He said that the part-time worker issue was being misrepresented by a "group of subversives" within the union. Hutchinson favors the current offer, arguing it does not open the door to the company hiring more part-time workers.

Others in the union disagree. "Part-timers are not going to work here or give the public the kind of service they deserve," streetcar operator June Bridges said. "We went on slowdown two years ago over the same issue. We still haven't changed our minds."

Some see that signing the agreement would weaken the union and open the door to future job losses. They note that part-time workers would have limited rights and benefits.

Union steward Jack Seffen explained that "they should give younger people a chance at a job. We believe everybody should have a full-time job."

Because the transit system carries up to

1.4 million people each day, the strike led to major traffic delays here.

Past strike actions by Local 113 have been the target of government intervention. The union ended strikes after back-to-work legislation was imposed in 1974 and 1978. In the 1974 fight ATU members defied the return-to-work order for four days.

The current New Democratic Party provincial government has made it clear it does not rule out back-to-work legislation.

"Our decision has got to be based on what's in the best interests of the people," said Labor Minister Robert Mackenzie, formerly a long-time United Steelworkers of America official. Ontario Premier Robert Rae, when asked if he was philosophically opposed to back-to-work legislation, added "We don't face a philosophical situation. We face a very practical one."

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30-year U.S. embargo of Cuba aimed at isolating revolution

BY SETH GALINSKY

For three decades Washington has imposed a draconian embargo on virtually all U.S. trade with Cuba.

From the early economic dislocation caused by the embargo to the shortages, increased costs, and out-and-out sabotage the measures entail today, the Cuban people have taken on the challenges of meeting their needs and increasing production. With the severe drop in trade with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that began two years ago, Cuba faces even greater difficulties.

The *New York Times*, however, claims that economic difficulties in Cuba are the result of the Cuban people's fight to break the chains of foreign domination. Fidel Castro, the *Times* claimed in a September 8 editorial, "has painted himself into his own corner."

"Slogans," the daily paper said, "can no longer conceal Cuba's poverty, isolation and humbling dependence."

Unable to conceal their glee at the drop in trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, the *Times* editors state that "Fidel Castro's reign deserves to end in home-grown failure."

The *Times* editorial appears in the midst of moves to strengthen the embargo. The U.S. Congress is currently considering legislation that would substantially tighten the blockade by reimposing rules that make it illegal for foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations to trade with Cuba.

Cuba, meanwhile, has asked the United Nations General Assembly to discuss and help take steps toward ending the embargo at its next meeting. The UN body will convene September 17.

Internationalism irks Washington

It is not Cuba's proximity to the United States that is the main cause of irritation to the U.S. ruling class. Washington is deeply hostile toward and has driven for 30 years to isolate, and if possible, overturn the Cuban revolution because Cuba is an example to tens of millions of workers and peasants around the world. The revolution's internationalist actions, from supporting revolutionary struggles in Latin America to backing the fight against apartheid in South Africa, to condemning the U.S.-led war against Iraq, are just a few examples of why Washington sees Cuba, and the road forward it represents for working people, as a threat to imperialism.

The almost complete prohibition on even sending medicine and medical equipment to Cuba reveals a key motive behind the embargo: punishment of the Cuban people for making the revolution, expropriating the holdings of the imperialists and local capitalist class, and refusing to abandon their internationalism.

"No. Never," said U.S. Office of Foreign Assets Control spokesperson Robert Levine in an interview when asked if the U.S. government had granted a single request for sales of medicine or medical equipment to Cuba by U.S. companies since 1964. Nor have many requests by any non-profit organization to donate medicine to Cuba been approved,

Levine stated.

As a result, Cuba is forced to buy medicines and medical equipment at a much higher price elsewhere.

The hostility shown by the *Times* reflects the consistent policy of eight consecutive Democratic and Republican U.S. presidents from Dwight Eisenhower to George Bush. The embargo is not only economic. The U.S. government has also tried to maintain an information and cultural blockade to keep people around the world from knowing the truth about the Cuban revolution.

A few examples show the thoroughness of the U.S. policy:

- In 1962 U.S. law prohibited importation of books, magazines, newspapers, records, or cassettes from Cuba, except for individual copies for personal use. This thought-control aspect of the embargo was eased in 1988.

- Although a regulation barring travel to Cuba on U.S. passports was struck down by U.S. courts in 1967, Washington still has another way to limit visits to the island: travel is allowed, but it is illegal to spend money there, except for journalists and a few other exempt categories of people. In other words, for most U.S. citizens travel to Cuba is still illegal.

The financial restrictions on travel were lifted in May 1977, under the administration of James Carter. Hundreds of U.S. citizens took advantage of the opening to see the gains of the Cuban revolution for themselves. But this "liberalization" was short-lived. New regulations adopted April 20, 1982, once again effectively shut the door to most visits.

- Washington even organizes the disruption of phone service to Cuba, refusing to allow AT&T to install the technology currently available virtually everywhere else in the world.

An AT&T request to install fiber optic cable that would permit 80,000 simultaneous phone calls was denied by Washington. Replacing decaying analog cable laid in 1949 with more modern fiber optics, would violate U.S. policy against "upgrading" the lines. In 1990 AT&T was allowed to put in analog cable that would permit only 143 simultaneous calls, but because of the ongoing dispute it has not yet been put into service.

AT&T representative Vincent Salas said in a September 10 phone interview that as a result of the antiquated equipment in use, out of 60 million attempts to call Cuba from the United States each year, only 500,000 are successful.

The embargo is not simply a vindictive policy on the part of the U.S. government, but a thought out, calculated decision to do everything possible to raise the price Cuba must pay for having decided to embark on the road to socialism.

Prerevolution Cuba: U.S. sugar colony

To understand why the U.S. government continues to back the blockade and tighten its restrictions, a brief look at the history of the Cuban revolution and its prior dependency on the United States is necessary.

Cuba before 1959 was a U.S. protectorate — for all practical purposes a sugar colony.



Militant/Selva Nebbia

In spite of three decades of draconian embargo by Washington, Cuban people have taken on challenge of meeting their needs and increasing production.

Sugar made up 80 percent of Cuba's exports and paid for most of its imports. The sugar industry employed about 25 percent of the labor force and owned 70-75 percent of the arable land. Sixty-one of Cuba's 165 sugar mills, the source of 50 percent of Cuba's sugar production, were owned by U.S. capitalists.

U.S. imperialism benefitted by keeping Cuba in a state of total dependence: a supplier of raw materials for the United States and a market for finished goods. This situation lined the pockets of U.S. capitalists and impoverished the Cuban people.

The dependency fostered by Washington took extreme forms. Rich in agricultural potential, Cuba imported most of its rice and beans from the United States; famous for its tobacco, Cuba imported cigarettes from the United States; an exporter of sugar, Cuba imported candies; tomatoes, grown in Cuba, were sent to the United States to be processed, and returned to Cuba — at a higher price, of course, to allow for capitalist profit — as tomato paste, puree, and sauce.

According to *Cuba Update*, in 1958, 70 percent of Cuba's imports came from the United States and 80-90 percent of Cuba's industrial machinery were of U.S. origin. Some 67 percent of Cuba's exports went to the United States.

Winning real independence

In January 1959 working people in Cuba, led by the July 26 Movement, overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and began a course of winning real independence and sovereignty, opening the door to the fight for socialism.

The revolutionary government outlawed racial discrimination, reduced electric rates and rents, began a thoroughgoing agrarian reform that distributed land to small peasants and confiscated the holdings of capitalist landowners, and created militias, incorporating thousands of workers and peasants to defend the newly won gains. The new government also sought to diversify the Cuban economy and seek a myriad of trading partners, to end its dependence on U.S. imperialism.

Upset at the course of events, especially at the expropriation of U.S.-owned sugar plantations, Washington sought to pressure the Cuban revolutionaries to defend U.S. capitalist interests. On June 7, 1960, U.S.-owned oil refineries refused to process a shipment of crude bought from the Soviet Union. In response the Cuban people mobilized in their tens of thousands, leading to the nationalization of the refineries.

In retaliation for Cuba's active defense of its sovereignty, U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower cancelled Cuba's sugar quota for the year — the amount of sugar it was allowed to export to the United States. The quota was eliminated permanently by U.S. President John Kennedy. Ending the sugar quota was the beginning of economic warfare by Washington.

But the Cuban people would not be intimidated. In August and September, 1960, 26 U.S. companies and all U.S. banks were nationalized.

Start of the embargo

On Oct. 19, 1960, the United States banned all exports to Cuba except for some food and

medicine. It banned even sending technical information. This was followed on Jan. 3, 1961, by the U.S. government's breaking of diplomatic relations. That same month the first travel ban was imposed.

The full economic embargo was begun in 1962, a year after the U.S.-organized invasion at the Bay of Pigs failed in its attempt to overthrow the revolution by force.

President Kennedy issued a proclamation Feb. 2, 1962, embargoing all trade with Cuba. He extended the embargo to include "the importation into the United States of all goods of Cuban origin and all goods imported from or through Cuba." This was combined with other measures designed to force other countries around the world to back the U.S. economic war.

Everything was made in U.S.A.

Latin-American novelist Gabriel Garcia Márquez put it this way:

"That night, the first of the blockade, there were in Cuba some 482,550 cars, 343,300 refrigerators, 549,700 radios, 303,500 TV sets, 352,900 electric irons, 288,400 fans, 41,800 washing machines, 3,510,00 wrist watches, 63 locomotives and 12 merchant ships. All these, except the watches which were Swiss, were made in the United States."

The blockade caused shortages in everything from pencils to erasers, razor blades, and spare parts. Whole factories at times were shut down due to the lack of one \$25 custom-made part only available from the United States. It wasn't until the mid-1970s that Cuba had its first toilet paper factory.

Within a few years, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe replaced the United States as Cuba's main trading partners. The Soviet Union bought Cuban sugar, nickel, citrus, fish, and tobacco. In exchange they sent oil, machinery, rice, and beans.

The Cuban government adopted revolutionary measures to more equitably distribute scarce resources. Food rationing was instituted in the early 1960s to make sure that no one was malnourished as a result of the embargo.

Washington uses blackmail

Washington was not satisfied with cutting off trade between Cuba and the United States. It used its economic and military weight to try and blackmail governments around the world to follow suit.

In the early 1960s the U.S. government launched a successful campaign to further block Cuban trade and to get every Latin American country to break all relations with Cuba. All but Mexico complied.

To back up its diplomatic campaign with economic threats the U.S. Congress amended a 1961 law to prohibit U.S. assistance "to any country which furnishes assistance to the present government of Cuba."

Under such pressures, the Organization of American States voted in January 1964 to expel Cuba from the OAS and require its members to break trade relations with the island.

The U.S. Commerce Department took another step in 1962, adopting regulations that any ship making a call at a Cuban port was prohibited from making deliveries or picking up shipments in the United States in the course of that voyage. In the following year

Continued on Page 12

CUBA: Challenges facing the revolution in a changing world

Hear: Mary-Alice Waters

Editor of *New International*, recently returned from three weeks in Cuba.

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Iranian workers protest austerity moves

BY SAMAD SHARIF

Government austerity measures and cutbacks in subsidies on food and other necessities have sparked protests by working people in Iran that are unprecedented in recent years.

In the working-class neighborhood of Bagherabad in south Tehran a clash with the police occurred in late July. A municipal demolition crew had begun to tear down shacks that workers had erected without obtaining building permits. Tehran papers report residents stoned the police and set 13 cars on fire in response. Several demonstrators were wounded in the incident.

The demolition came after the government eliminated funds allocated to municipalities. City officials, trying to find ways to generate funds, were enforcing payment of building permits as a major source of revenue for local government.

Residents of Bagherabad also complained that officials demanded exorbitant bribes to stop demolishing the shacks, but few could afford to pay.

Many residents of the districts in south Tehran are newcomers from the countryside who used to be peasants. Constantly pushed out by the capitalist crisis in agriculture and seeking work, the peasants go to the cities, where unemployment is already high. In the summer of 1977 similar trends triggered a mass confrontation with the U.S.-backed regime of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi's police, signaling the beginning of the revolution that led to the overthrow of the monarch.

The deteriorating conditions in the countryside were summarized last spring by Reza Abdollahi, representative of the town of Mahneshan. He told delegates in the Majlis that peasants receive 55 percent of their calories from bread which costs at least twice as much in the villages as in the cities.

In the cities, however, working people are not faring well either. The price of bread recently jumped 50 percent and poultry prices have increased sixfold. The cost of gas for cooking and heating has risen 150 percent, while the electricity rates have climbed by 250 percent.

These are among the basic necessities that are controlled and subsidized by the government at the cost of approximately \$4 billion per year. Due to the cutbacks in government subsidies under the guidelines set out by the International Monetary Fund and the World

Bank, prices have increased sharply since April.

Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani told Friday Islamic worshippers in Tehran August 16 that the austerity measures are necessary in order to maximize productive investment and revive the economy. He said that it was a report on the conditions of a devastated economy which finally convinced Ayatollah Khomeini to agree to a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq war in 1988. At the time Khomeini compared the cease-fire agreement to taking a cup of poison, prompted by very grave considerations which he said he could not then disclose.

Declining buying power

According to Rafsanjani, although the buying power of working people has been reduced to half of what it was at the beginning of the 1979 revolution, the economy nevertheless grew by 10 percent in 1990. But the Iranian president glossed over the fact that his figure was not adjusted for inflation. The actual growth rate is closer to 2 percent. In either case, the lowering of workers' buying power, along with rising growth rate, indicates an increased rate of exploitation of working people while a minority of the population reaps huge profits.

To revive the capitalist economy and make it profitable for domestic and international capitalists to invest, the regime is determined to continue its drive against the standard of living of working people.

This offensive is generating the protests and signs of resistance.

Two hundred textile workers in Tabriz demonstrated after the plant where they work was shut down due to lack of raw materials. Some workers were arrested. In Tehran, in the well-known Sabze Maydan square near the bazaar, some 40 men, marching with the linings of their empty pockets hanging out of their trousers, brought traffic to a halt August 11. They left the scene before police arrived.

Earlier in August hundreds of students at the Open University in Tehran and in Karaj held sit-in protests against the doubling of the school's tuition. Some students at the university, which has a national enrollment of 200,000, were charged with instigating disorder.

Another sign of protest was the arrest of



Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani says austerity measures are necessary to revive economy. Working people have clashed with police in a series of protests against cutbacks.

300 people, late in July in Isfahan, when they rushed to help a woman who was resisting arrest. The woman had been charged with not wearing her veil properly. She was being dragged into a van by the Komiteh, the regime's secular police, and by women of the Anti-Vice Squad.

Retreat on bus fare hike

In some cases the regime has been forced to back down on its drive to cut subsidies.

To cut back on subsidies to the government-controlled bus transportation system in Tehran, which reportedly amounts to some 75 percent of the fare, a new "luxury line" from Tehran airport to the city was introduced. The fare was increased five-fold. Seeing this as a move towards a broader fare hike, hundreds of people spontaneously blocked traffic in three major squares of the city for one hour.

Demonstrators shouted slogans demanding all price increases by the government be rescinded. The regime retreated. Blaming the bus company for its unilateral decision to raise the fares, the cabinet ordered the "luxury line" terminated. This was the first time that the government had reversed a rise in ticket prices.

Rising social tensions are evident in a series of costly fires that have razed hundreds of shops in the Tehran and Isfahan Bazaars. In the month of August the congested Tehran Bazaar suffered extensive fire damage on five different occasions, resulting in the loss of tens of millions of dollars. On August 11, a bomb exploded at the bazaars in Rasht and damaged some shops.

Some of the fires are attributed to arsonists targeting the shops of the very rich bazaaris, or merchants, who are known as consistent supporters of the regime. The attacks are aimed at discrediting the Rafsanjani leadership in the eyes of bazaar merchants. Instigators have based their actions on the unpopularity of bazaaris in general. For the last 10 years people have been blaming the bazaar merchants for hoarding goods and raising prices. During the war with Iraq calls by workers' councils for opening the books of bazaaris and prosecuting the hoarders as saboteurs went unheeded by the regime.

Yet, some factions in the government periodically and demagogically call for hanging trials of bazaaris, without pointing to the capitalist system whose laws the bazaar follows.

The protests signal a shift in the thinking of many working people who no longer believe government promises. Their resistance to further impoverishment and their actions to safeguard gains made through the revolution are being legitimized to a degree. As a result, more space is opening up to exercise democratic rights.

Writers, poets, and filmmakers have been more able to express themselves and address larger audiences. Some have come under attack by those in the regime who want to continue harsh suppression of freedom of expression in the name of the "Islamic code" and the "struggle against blasphemy."

Members of Iran's Writers' Union were viciously attacked as a "Vietcong cafe crowd" in the pages of the mass-circulation, government-controlled daily *Kayhan*. They were dubbed as leftists and anti-Islamists who need to be silenced. So far, two of the

writers and poets, Reza Baraheni and Simin Behbehani, have written rebuttals in their own defense. *Kayhan* published Baraheni's rebuttal at the request of the author and in accordance with the press code that allows the right of rebuttal in the press.

In his article Baraheni came out against press censorship, which is conducted by the Ministry of Guidance. Such a criticism has not been seen in the official press in recent years.

Baraheni is mostly known in Iran and around the world as a prominent writer and poet. As an ex-political prisoner of the Shah's regime, he extensively campaigned in defense of the prisoners in the Shah's jails after he was released and able to travel abroad.

Alongside Baraheni's rebuttal, *Kayhan* printed another attack on him. Among other things, the paper quoted from his earlier writings on freedoms of nationalities and women. The paper attacked him for being anti-Islamic and antiregime.

Irish activist is denied bail

BY MARC LICHTMAN

NEW YORK — The Second U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals here rejected Irish Republican political prisoner Joe Doherty's appeal for bail by a vote of 2-to-1 August 27. The decision upheld a November 1990 decision by a federal judge to refuse Doherty bail while he awaits a decision on his application for political asylum.

The majority ruling stated, "An alien's right to be at liberty during the course of deportation proceedings is circumscribed by considerations of the national interest." It added that "governmental conduct that may be considered 'shocking' when it serves to deprive the life, liberty or property of a citizen may not be unconstitutional when directed at an alien."

In 1984, Doherty and his attorneys defeated an attempt to extradite him to the British-occupied north of Ireland. But since then the U.S. government has attempted to accomplish the same thing through deportation proceedings. If deported, he faces a life sentence for his role in an armed encounter between the Irish Republican Army and an elite British unit, in which a British officer was killed.

On October 16, the U.S. Supreme Court will hear a U.S. government appeal against a lower court decision that granted Doherty the right to apply for political asylum. A friend-of-the-court brief on Doherty's behalf has been filed by 132 members of the U.S. House and Senate. The national AFL-CIO is also on record as supporting his right to bail and to apply for political asylum.

Joe Doherty was transferred from the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York to the Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary in Pennsylvania in mid-August. This move came at his request, since he has been held for more than eight years in a prison only intended to house prisoners for several months while awaiting trial. He will now be able to get some outdoor exercise.

A sign reading, "Joseph Doherty Corner," erected by the New York City Council outside his former prison remains.

New International

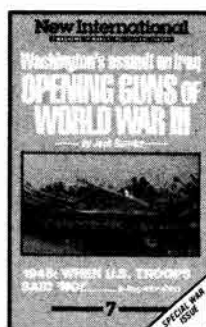
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This issue of New International also assess capitalism's slide toward a world depression in the 1990s and explains why the capitalist rulers cannot bail out the crisis-ridden Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union.

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CHE GUEVARA, CUBA, AND THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM

Ernesto Che Guevara's conviction that socialism is not only possible — but that any other course will lead humanity toward destruction — remains under debate as Cuba's working people seek ways to advance their revolution.

The issues posed are particularly timely in light of the crises shaking the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe today.

New International no. 8 presents four articles that are part of a discussion both in Cuba and worldwide on the lasting importance of Guevara's political contributions. Also included are two articles by Guevara from the early 1960s.

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'This paper tells it like it is—I like that!'

BY RONI McCANN

Militant supporters from Stockholm to San Francisco are gearing up for the September 21-28 sales target week. During the sales blitz they plan to maximize their efforts to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *L'internationaliste*, and *New International* as part of an international drive to sign up 6,200 new readers by November 2.

The goal is to put the international circulation drive — which is behind by 487 subscriptions — on schedule by the end of the special sales days. We urge every *Militant* reader to join in this big effort!

From results sent in this week the chances of turning the subscription drive around look good if supporters in cities who are ahead of schedule keep up the pace and others map out a determined and spirited plan to catch up. Out of the target week we want to close the gap in the goals taken by local areas and the national goal as well. If supporters in each U.S. city, for example, raised their *Militant* goal by 8 subscriptions we would have the 3,660 we projected.

Successes This Week

The results of a weekend team to southern New Jersey September 14-15 bodes well for supporters in Newark. Duane Stilwell and Argiris Malapanis report:

"We stopped in Camden, New Jersey, on our way to a convention of the Farm Workers Support Committee (CATA) in Vineland. One woman who was Black bought a *Militant* subscription and said she loved the headline on the back page: 'Company greed kills 25 workers in N.

Carolina poultry plant fire.'

"I know it was greed that killed those workers. This paper tells it like it is. I like that," she said. We told her some of the history of the *Militant*, to which she replied, 'I wonder why I've never seen it before. It's too bad. . . I would have gotten it sooner.'"

The next day more than 300 people, mostly farm workers, attended the CATA conference. One young Mexican farm worker from upstate New York belonged to a group called La Raza. He invited the Young Socialist Alliance to speak to his group. "I hate what capitalism does to people," he said. "When a child is born it has no prejudice or greed but capitalism turns people into animals. . . I know it's wrong and it has to be replaced, it can't just be fixed."

The team's results? Five subscriptions to the *Militant*, 9 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 2 copies of *Nueva Internacional*.

From Detroit Lea Sherman reports: "We had a wonderful Saturday! We sold 7 *Militant* subscriptions and 1 to *Perspectiva Mundial*." Five of the subscribers were won at a National Organization for Women rally in Lansing, Michigan.

At the hog slaughterhouse where she works, Sherman said she got involved in a discussion with a subscriber who had just read the coverage of the social explosion in Crown Heights, Brooklyn. After listening in, another worker decided to subscribe to the *Militant*.

Elizabeth Swenson from St. Paul, Minnesota, called in this report: "A three-member sales team of Twin Cities YSA members went to Carleton College in

Northfield September 13 and sold 8 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 2 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 1 copy of *New International*.

"The YSA set a goal of winning 65 new readers and this puts us way ahead!"

The team also collected three pages of names of students interested in the revolutionary youth organization.

Hot Off The Fax

From Vancouver, British Columbia: "We sold a *Militant* subscription to a striking Public Service Alliance of Canada worker and another one to a striking union postal worker."

From Seattle: "One bright spot in our sales efforts this week was two teams we sent to sell at the pier where the aircraft carrier USS *Midway* was moored for a few days. The team sold 9 copies of the *Mili-*

tant and one GI decided to subscribe."

From Our Mailbag

Mike Shur from Salt Lake City writes: "Another 15 *Militant* subscriptions and 3 to *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold during week two of the drive."

"Nine of the subscriptions we have so far were sold by a supporter on the railroad who said that many of his coworkers had been reading the *Militant* for a while but recent events including the coup in the Soviet Union convinced them to subscribe."

"While most of the major college campuses in the area don't open for several weeks, we have signed up 4 new readers at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, and 6 at Idaho State University. . . Two young people subscribed at a counter demonstration to a neo-Nazi march."



Militant/Michael Carper

Militant supporters reach out to grain inspectors in Vancouver, British Columbia

Killings fail to block peace pact

Continued from front page

Inkatha supporters retaliated after a grenade was thrown at them. They clashed with neighborhood residents, firing guns, and smashing windows. Thirteen people died there. The government declared a state of unrest in Thokoza, Voslooros, Tembisa, and Katlehong, after fighting also took place.

Three commuters were killed and four wounded just outside Johannesburg by attackers who shot them and then threw them from a train. Mandela said the attack was a "deliberate provocation" intended to derail the peace process. "It is clear to us that the people who launched the attack may not belong to any particular organization," he stated.

"The ANC views the escalation of the violence sweeping Natal, the Reef, and other parts of the country with great concern," a September 11 ANC statement said. "It is increasingly clear the purpose of this horrific violence is to create a climate in which signing the Peace Accord appears futile."

The peace accord is the result of negotiations mediated by church and business groups.

Bringing top officials of the government and Inkatha to the table to sign the accord is one of the accomplishments of ANC initiatives to stem the violence over the last months. The ANC leadership has narrowed Inkatha's ability to maneuver as an ally of the regime through a range of local, regional, and national meetings. It has also exposed the government's role in funding, arming, and training Inkatha members and secret squads of police to attack the ANC and others fighting for a South African republic.

While the regime and the big business media has portrayed the violence as fighting between the ANC and Inkatha, the ANC has explained the attacks are organized by security forces directed by the Pretoria government. The campaign to expose this has led to important revelations.

On July 18, a former South Africa Defense Forces sergeant gave evidence of SADF forces carrying out attacks in the name of Inkatha. His unit was responsible for the massacre of 26 people on a Soweto-bound train in September of last year.

ANC leaders targeted

The ANC statement reported on an attempt

to assassinate ANC National Executive Committee member Gill Marcus and Department of Information and Publicity officer Nat Serache.

They arrived at Marcus' home on the evening of September 10. As Marcus entered, she noticed that her lock had been tampered with.

As Serache was leaving, he encountered an armed man who signaled for other men in a van. These men also left it and began to approach him. Serache managed to escape by pretending to have a weapon and distracting his would-be attackers.

The statement by ANC Secretary General Cyril Rhamaphosa said, "Within this seemingly random violence against the communities, there is a consistent pattern of attack and elimination of ANC and community activists, including those holding responsible positions within the organization."

Selling the socialist press to unionists

Union	Militant*		New Int'l	
	% Sold (Goal)	Sold	(Goal)	Sold
UNITED STATES				
ACTWU	6%	34	2	10
IAM	18%	127	23	44
ILGWU	20%	25	5	8
IUE	9%	65	6	18
OCAW	8%	38	3	25
UAW	19%	75	14	28
UFCW	6%	100	6	25
UMWA	16%	25	4	9
USWA	12%	91	11	85
UTU	4%	105	4	45
TOTAL SHOULD BE	11%	685	78	297
	20%		137	59
BRITAIN				
AEU	0%	10	0	6
NUM	21%	14	3	9
RMT	8%	26	2	13
TGWU	10%	20	2	8
TOTAL SHOULD BE	10%	70	7	36
	20%		14	7
SWEDEN				
FOOD WORKERS	0%	6	0	3
METAL	0%	9	0	3
TOTAL SHOULD BE	0%	15	0	6
	20%		3	1

* Also includes subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* and *L'internationaliste*.

Sales Drive Scoreboard

Areas	The <i>Militant</i>			<i>Perspectiva Mundial</i>		New Int'l*		L'inter*		Total	
	Goal	Total Sold	% Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES											
Miami	86	26	30%	30	5	44	9	5	1	165	41
Salt Lake City	135	31	23%	24	5	54	4	2	0	215	40
Cleveland	85	17	20%	10	0	25	0	2	0	122	17
Los Angeles	160	32	20%	90	18	107	10	3	0	360	60
Seattle	80	16	20%	30	2	27	7	3	0	140	25
New York	225	44	20%	80	14	110	4	10	0	425	62
Washington, DC	100	18	18%	25	5	45	0	5	0	175	23
Cincinnati	17	3	18%	2	0	6	0	0	0	25	3
Louisville	6	1	17%	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	1
Boston	125	19	15%	30	3	53	2	7	1	215	25
Atlanta	90	13	14%	12	1	56	3	2	0	160	17
Philadelphia	65	9	14%	20	3	35	3	2	0	122	15
Morgantown, WV	80	11	14%	3	1	30	0	2	0	115	12
Omaha, Neb.	86	11	13%	12	1	25	0	2	0	125	12
Detroit	102	13	13%	10	0	30	0	2	0	144	13
San Francisco	160	19	12%	65	8	72	4	3	0	300	31
Birmingham, Ala.	110	12	11%	5	0	43	0	2	0	160	12
Newark, NJ	140	14	10%	50	5	70	2	5	0	265	21
St. Louis	115	10	9%	5	0	30	0	2	0	152	10
Des Moines, Iowa	126	8	6%	17	1	40	0	2	0	185	9
Chicago	163	9	6%	40	0	70	0	2	0	275	9
Twin Cities, Minn.	145	8	6%	18	2	55	0	2	0	220	10
New Haven, Conn.	18	1	6%	2	0	5	0	0	0	25	1
Baltimore	85	4	5%	12	0	40	0	3	0	140	4
Pittsburgh	75	2	3%	3	0	30	0	2	0	110	2
Houston	75	1	1%	20	2	30	0	2	0	127	3
Greensboro, NC	55	0	0%	10	0	14	0	1	0	80	0
Denver	6	3	50%	3	0	2	0	0	0	11	3
Wichita, KS teams	25	21	84%	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	21
U.S. TOTAL	2,740	376	14%	621	76	1,158	48	70	2	4,589	502
AUSTRALIA	20	3	15%	4	0	25	0	1	0	50	3
BELGIUM	4	0	0%	1	0	7	0	10	0	22	0
BRITAIN											
London	100	18	18%	7	2	70	9	3	0	180	29
Manchester	60	10	17%	3	1	40	3	2	0	105	14
Sheffield	60	8	13%	3	0	40	0	2	0	105	8
Other	10	1	10%	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	1
BRITAIN TOTAL	230	37	16%	13	3	150	12	7	0	400	52
CANADA											
Vancouver	70	19	27%	15	5	30	10	5	0	120	34
Toronto	75	8	11%	15	3	35	4	5	1	130	16
Montreal	65	2	3%	20	4	50	10	30	3	165	19
CANADA TOTAL	210	29	14%	50	12	115	24	40	4	415	69
FRANCE	5	1	20%	5	1	5	0	15	1	30	3
ICELAND	20	0	0%	0	0	4	0	0	0	24	0
NEW ZEALAND											
Auckland	75	13	13%	9	0	25	3	1	0	110	16
Wellington	50	10	6%	3	0	14	7	1	0	68	17
Christchurch	53	6	6%	2	0	12	1	1	0	68	7
Other	4	5	75%	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5
N. Z. TOTAL	182	34	10%	14	0	51	11	3	0	250	45
PUERTO RICO	2	0	0%	6	0	6	3	0	0	14	3
SWEDEN	45	13	29%	20	5	15	1	3	1	83	20
TOTAL SHOULD BE	3,458	493	14%	741	97	1,534	91	152	8	5,877	697
DRIVE GOALS	3,660	694	20%	800	148	1,600	312	140	30	6,200	1,184

* Single copies of *New International*, *Nueva Internacional*, and *Nouvelle Internationale*; subscriptions to *L'internationaliste*

Young Socialists win new members in Wichita

BY ELIZABETH SWENSON
AND MARY ZINS

WICHITA, Kansas — In response to the rightists' assaults against the abortion clinics and democratic rights, supporters of the *Militant* fanned out in the area, winning new subscribers to the socialist press.

Team members helped to build the August 24 rally against the right-wing mobilizations and got out the truth about the stakes for the labor movement in responding to the street actions organized by Operation Rescue.

Over the course of the past several weeks 10 young people joined the Young Socialist Alliance, a nationwide revolutionary organization of students and young workers. The new members include six college students, three high school students, and one young worker. Some 1,143 copies of the *Militant* and 58 subscriptions have been sold by the team since August 16.

On September 5 the YSA hosted two showings of the slide show, "30 years of struggle against imperialism and capitalism: The history of the YSA" at Wichita State University. Twenty people attended the noon showing and 10 were present at the evening presentation.

Michelle Allen from the Omaha YSA chapter chaired the meetings and YSA leader Greg Rosenberg narrated the slide show. He explained that the history of the YSA is intertwined with the major social struggles and political developments in the United States and the world of the past 30 years. The YSA was involved in every major class battle from the civil rights movement in the late 1950s

and 1960s to the fight against the imperialist war against Iraq.

Rosenberg was asked during a wide-ranging discussion about how the YSA differed from the Democratic Socialists of America and social democrats. He explained that social democratic organizations seek to reform capitalism for the "good" of the working class. Because they do not chart a revolutionary road forward they end up supporting capitalist assaults on the working class and imperialist war. They have helped lead workers into imperialist slaughters from World War I to the war against Iraq. The YSA has always joined with working people in all countries to fight our common enemy — the imperialists and their capitalist collaborators around the world.

Jennifer, a new member of the YSA in Kansas, said she learned a lot at the slide show. "I didn't realize the YSA was so involved internationally," she commented. Robert Johnson encouraged other young fighters to join the new YSA chapter in Wichita, as he had.

The next day YSA members were



Militant/Kate Kaku

Three of 10 youth who recently joined YSA in Wichita, Kansas.

amongst the thousands attending the Phil Donahue show featuring a debate on the fight in Wichita. TV Channel 3 interviewed Greg Rosenberg as a leader of the YSA. Rosenberg explained that the rightists had laid siege to this city, violently attacking the abortion clinics and demo-

cratic rights. "It's essential," he said, that "the labor unions, pro-choice groups, and all supporters of democratic rights organize effective countermobilizations to politically isolate the rightists and make them think twice about taking to the streets to attack our rights."

Student paper: YSA has 'bold ideas'

The following article appeared in the September 4 issue of *Sunflower*, the campus newspaper of Wichita State University.

BY ANGELA REED

A new group on the Wichita State University campus, the Young Socialist Alliance

(YSA), is an active group with bold ideas on current issues in today's society.

Representatives of the group say approximately 37 members of YSA from across the country have come to Wichita in the past two weeks to help in the fight against Operation Rescue.

"We are here because we think what went on at the clinic is of national importance," said Juliette Montauk of Detroit, Mich., a union activist and member of YSA. "If they get away with shutting down the clinic, it's going to affect all of our democratic rights."

The YSA works to defend the rights of Americans, including women's rights and the rights of working people to defend themselves in unions, and strongly opposes the ideas of capitalism and fascism. Montauk said the group speaks out against fascism in specific instances where people try to organize a new kind of society based on a higher morality.

"Capitalism creates divisions among working people," said Mary Zins, national leader of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA representative.

Recruiting has been attempted at WSU and at factories here in Wichita, as well as in

other cities around the U.S. Page said 12 students have joined YSA since the group arrived in Wichita two weeks ago.

"The thing that really interested me about the YSA organization is that it's aimed at young people and it's an active organization, unlike most political organization groups of intellectuals just discussing," said Tom Page, a freshman and new member of the YSA. "They also have a wide base platform."

YSA members on campus plan to go before the Student Government Association within the next couple of weeks and be recognized as a chapter.

"We must unite to defend our democratic rights," said Robert Johnson, a new member of YSA. "We have to begin to make choices for ourselves."

YSA was started in the early 1960s by a group of young people inspired by the civil rights movement, said Cynthia Killion, a student from Metro-Meridian who is a member of YSA.

The YSA will meet at noon Thursday in the Kansas Room of the CAC. Students wanting further information should contact Cynthia Killion at 942-5204.

Lawsuit challenges write-in ballot restrictions in Hawaii

BY DEREK BRACEY

A lawsuit challenging Hawaii's ban on write-in ballots is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The case is important for the rights of workers and others to run for public office and could affect 34 states where bans or restrictions exist.

The suit reached the court after the U.S. Court of Appeals Ninth Circuit rejected rehearing *Burdick vs. Takushi* June 28. The court ruled March 1 that Hawaii's ban does not violate the U.S. Constitution.

Hawaii, along with Louisiana, Nevada, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, does not allow write-in voting. Alan Burdick, a Honolulu lawyer, sued the state in 1986 after being informed that he could not cast a write-in vote. A district judge ruled in 1986, and later in 1990, that the Hawaii law violated the First

and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. constitution.

This decision was overturned by a three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit which ruled that Burdick has no fundamental constitutional right to a write-in vote.

In part, the ruling says: "The fact that a voter may want to say that no candidate is acceptable does not mean that he has a fundamental right to say that on the ballot. Although the voter has a protected right to voice his opinion and attempt to influence others, he has no guarantee that he can voice any particular opinion through the ballot box."

One of the factors the ruling points to is that "Hawaii election laws provide candidates with considerable ease of access to the ballot. If Burdick desires to vote for a particular candidate, that candidate need only be qualified for the office being sought and demonstrate a minimal amount of support to be placed on the ballot."

Mary Blaine Johnston, Burdick's lawyer, noted that independent candidates have a difficult time getting on the ballot for the general election in Hawaii. A candidate must get 10 percent of the vote in the primary election, or as much as the least successful partisan candidate.

The ruling against Burdick directly contradicts a 1989 decision by the Fourth Circuit that struck down a Maryland law requiring write-in candidates to pay a \$150 fee to have their votes counted. In that case, Judge Harrison Winter wrote in his decision, "if the power to choose is not according to the will of the elector, but limited to the choice of the candidates whose names are printed on an official ballot, the voter's choice is no longer free."

The American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to argue Burdick's case before the U.S. Supreme Court should they decide to hear it.

This case has significant ramifications for voting rights. In addition to the five states that ban write-ins, 29 more restrict them in some way. Four states — California, Nevada, Washington, and Arizona — filed friend-of-the-court briefs in support of Hawaii.

For further reading

Education for Socialists Series

Countermobilization: A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks, by Farrell Dobbs. \$5.

What is American Fascism? Writings on Father Coughlin, Mayor Frank Hague, and Sen. Joseph McCarthy, by James P. Cannon and Joseph Hansen. \$6.

Fight Against Fascism in the U.S.A.: Forty Years of Struggle Described by Participants, by James P. Cannon et al. \$7.

By Leon Trotsky

Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It. 31 pp. \$2.

The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany. 479 pp. \$27.95.

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014. Please add \$3 for postage and handling for first title; \$.50 each additional title.

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The September issue of PM features a section of the 1990 Socialist Workers Party World Political Resolution on the roots of the political and economic crisis of the regime in the Soviet Union.

In addition, read articles on the historic conference of the African National Congress celebrated last July in South Africa and on Cuba's response to the challenges it faces in the world today.

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Aims of Soviet coup

Continued from Page 5

Moscow has staked its fortunes in the last few years on earning expanding investments and massive loans, trading privileges, and entry into imperialist financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund. It has attempted to accomplish this through political concessions to Washington and other imperialist powers.

In craven pursuit of this, Gorbachev's regime threw its support behind the U.S.-led onslaught against the Iraqi people. So much for "strides for peace."

The same economic and political considerations lie behind other foreign policy moves by Moscow such as growing diplomatic relations with Israel and trade with the apartheid regime in South Africa; its open endorsement of the "two Koreas" policy long advocated by the capitalist regime in Seoul and its masters in Washington to block the aspirations of the Korean people for national reunification; and its steps towards rapidly implementing trade relations with Cuba at world market prices paid for in scarce hard currencies.

These facts help to answer Gus Hall's argument that "the USSR has also been a strong force for the rights of third world countries and against racism."

Class-collaborationism

Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union have followed a class-collaborationist course with imperialism for decades. This has led to the betrayal of many revolutionary opportunities the world over.

Following the Stalin-Hitler pact in 1939 the Soviet regime cynically carved Poland in half in a deal with German imperialism and turned over thousands of revolutionaries to the Nazis. Following World War II the Kremlin and its supporters in Stalinist parties organized the betrayal of revolutionary opportunities in Greece, France, and Italy, and joined with French imperialism in bloodily suppressing anticolonial rebellions in Indochina and Algeria. The Soviet bureaucracy has always been the agent of imperialism inside the workers state.

This is the opposite of the internationalism of the Bolshevik party that sought to aid workers' struggles in other countries and extend the revolution.

As a result of the weakening of the bureaucratic apparatus in the Soviet Union the Stalinist misleaders are less able than ever before to disorient and betray revolutionary workers who look to them under the illusion that their policies point the road out of oppression and exploitation and towards socialism.

The CPUSA's claim that the Communist Party in the Soviet Union has been an instrument in the fight of socialism is also utterly false.

The Bolshevik Party, renamed the Communist Party after the October 1917 Russian revolution, was destroyed by Stalin's counterrevolution and turned into an instrument of brutal repression.

The party's internal democracy was abolished and tens of thousands of communist workers in the party were killed, jailed, or exiled. By the mid-1930s all those who led the party in the early years of the revolution had become victims of or capitulated to Stalin's terror.

Since then the CP, along with the secret police (the KGB), has for many decades been an integral part of maintaining the rule of the bureaucracy.

Gorbachev and Yeltsin, who both back the recent measures banning the CP, are simply registering the fact it is no longer a useful tool for maintaining the caste's rule over working people.

Gorbachev and Yeltsin, though, are acting against what they consider to be a political party. Any moves against current or former members of the CP by the central government in Moscow or the various regimes in the republics that restrict the right to form political parties should be protested by working people.

Working people in the Soviet Union are now taking the initial steps back into political life. Out of their struggles, over time, they will develop class consciousness and an internationalist outlook. Out of these fighters and revolutionaries will come a communist party capable of leading the toilers in a political revolution that will sweep the bureaucratic caste from power.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Youth, the Working Class, and the Crisis of Capitalism. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Birmingham. Sun., Sept. 29, 5:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles
Labor Movement Under Attack — How Can Working People Fight Back? Panel of unionists who participated in Solidarity Day '91 march on Washington. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven
Right-wing Assault in Wichita: The Fight for Democratic Rights Today. Speaker: Estelle DeBates, national cochairperson Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 5, 7:30 p.m. Dwight Hall Common Room, Yale Campus (High St. bet. Elm and Chapel). Tel: (203) 772-3755.

FLORIDA

Miami
Employer/Government Attacks on Job Safety. Lessons of the North Carolina Poultry Plant Fire. Panel discussion with unionists. Sat., Sept. 21. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: Dinner, \$3.50; program, \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta
Protest Imperial Food Products Disaster. Speaker: Adjua Adams, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Ma-

Shabazz, Pathfinder settle with Alkalimat, Writers and Readers

NEW YORK — Dr. Betty Shabazz, widow of Malcolm X, and Pathfinder Press have signed an agreement with Writers and Readers, Inc., and Abdul Alkalimat granting them permission to reproduce portions of writings, speeches, and interviews of Malcolm X in a book titled *Malcolm X for Beginners*. This resolves the problem created by the publication of that book in late 1990 without acknowledgement of the copyright held by Dr. Shabazz and without permission of the publisher.

"We believe this agreement advances the interests of all those, holding many points of view, who want to promote the dissemination and discussion of the works of Malcolm X," said Dr. Shabazz and Steve Clark, editorial director of Pathfinder.

Since the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965, Dr. Shabazz has collaborated with Pathfinder Press to get in print, keep in print, and make accessible in accurate form the speeches, writings, interviews, and other works of Malcolm X.

A federal court action for copyright violation filed by Shabazz and Pathfinder in July has been withdrawn.

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

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

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

KENTUCKY: Louisville: P.O. Box 4103. Zip: 40204-4103.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 605 Massachusetts Ave. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

chinites. Sat., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago
The Fight Against the Rise in Police Brutality: A Life-and-Death Question for Working People. Speaker: Al Duncan, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MICHIGAN

Detroit
Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Internationalist Ideas Today. Speaker: James Harris, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Sept. 29, noon. 5019½ Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro
The Fire in Hamlet: Company Greed Kills 25 — Lessons for the Labor Movement. Speaker: Robert Dees; Bill Schenck, leader of Eastern Airlines strike by International Association of Machinists. Sat., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.
Wichita/Iowa City: Opening Battles for Women's Rights and the Working Class Against the Right Wing and the Government. Speakers: Nell Wheeler, Young Socialist Alliance, member International Association of Machinists; others. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh
Police Anti-drug Dagnet in Pittsburgh: Attack on Democratic Rights. Speaker: Sarah Button, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston
Eyewitness Report from South Africa. Speaker: Sebileto Matabane, African National Congress, attended recent historic conference of ANC in South Africa. Sat, Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Alameda. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

U.S. embargo aims to isolate Cuba

Continued from Page 8

the government set up a blacklist of all foreign ships which had ever called in Cuba, effectively prohibiting them from U.S. trade.

There have been some relaxations of the embargo's restrictions. In 1975 foreign-based subsidiaries of many U.S. corporations were allowed to sell to Cuba. But Washington has not given up on its attempts to make other governments toe the line as legislation pending in Congress today reinstating these restrictions indicates.

A report in the September 9 *Wall Street Journal* highlights the extent of the U.S. government's continuing drive to block

BRITAIN

London
Inner-City Rebellions, Police Brutality, and Police Frame-Ups. Speakers: George Sillcot, Tottenham Three Families Campaign; Audrey Adams, Rolan Adams Family Campaign; Marcella Fitzgerald, Communist League. Sat., Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Manchester
Crisis, Conflict, and Class Struggle in the Soviet Union: What the Workers' Victory Over the Coup Means in the Fight for the Communist Future. Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, executive secretary, Communist League. Fri., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield
Far-Right Mobs Attack U.S. Abortion Clinics: The Stakes for Working People. Speaker: Jo O'Brien, Communist League. Fri., Sept. 20, 7:30 p.m. 1 Gower Street, Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Montréal
The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speakers: Michel Prairie, Communist League candidate in provincial by-election riding of Anjou; Katy LeRougetel, Communist League candidate in Montréal District 6, Notre-Dame-de-Grace, municipal by-election. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 6566 boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Forum ouvrier militant. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto
Stop Right-Wing Attacks on U.S. Abortion Clinics: The Fight for Democratic Rights Today. Speaker: Juliette Montauk, U.S. Socialist Workers Party. Sat. Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Cuba and the War in Angola. Video presentation. Sat., Sept. 28, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W, Suite 400. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver
Communist League Candidates in the British Columbia Provincial Elections: For a Fighting Independent Labor Movement. Speakers: Nancy Walker, Communist League candidate in Vancouver Kingsway; Robert Demorest, Communist League candidate in Port Moody Burnaby Mountain. Sat., Sept. 28, 7 p.m. 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-3314.

Cuba's trading efforts. Washington sabotaged two recent attempted business deals with Cuba, one with a state-owned tobacco company in Spain, and one with a private airline in Brazil.

After Washington threatened to embargo the Brazilian VASP airline's purchase of U.S. planes, the company broke off negotiations on entering an operating partnership with Cuba's state airline.

In spite of its 30-year campaign, Washington has not succeeded in its objectives: forcing the Cuban people to give up their principles, abandon their internationalism as part of the worldwide fight for socialism, and return to subservience to U.S. imperialism.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills, Sydney NSW 2010. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 71-401 2293.

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

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

CANADA

Montréal: 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Postal code: H2S 3C6. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto: 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Postal code: M5V 1S8. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver: 1053 Kingsway, Suite 102. Postal code: V5V 3C7. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klapparstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: 157a Symonds St. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 793-075.

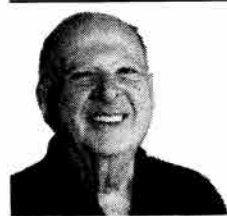
Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

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

Law of supply and demand repealed? — "Gasoline prices inch up: Gasoline prices rose



Harry Ring

slightly the past two weeks, reflecting weakening motorist demand and a dip in wholesale prices." — News item.

Knows his way around the block — Peter Kalikow, New York real

estate shark and publisher, filed for personal bankruptcy. He asked the court for a tad under a half million to get him through the end of the year (upkeep on four homes, a yacht, etc.). He says he's still "worth" \$491 million more than he owes, but if he pays one bank on time, all the others will expect the same.

Condomnation — Protesting his gay-bashing opposition to measures to cope with the AIDS epidemic, activists inflated a 15-foot replica of a condom on the roof of Sen. Jesse Helms' home.

Smart-bomb dep't — In a test firing from a Navy ship in the Gulf

of Mexico, a Tomahawk missile landed 100 miles off target. It was the fourth such miss in the area since 1985. But the Navy plans to proceed with new test launchings across northern Florida. Communities there take a dim view of this.

That's different — Boy Scout officials may bar atheists and gays, but until a recent protest (from a Southern white Scout), it did permit various Southern Scout troops to display the proslavery Confederate flag.

Distilled capitalism — According to the San Francisco *Chronicle*, some Mexican bus

companies instruct their drivers to make sure any pedestrians they hit are dead, even if they have to back over them. It's explained that the companies find it easier to deal with police charges than damage suits by surviving victims.

Remember, drive safely — Federal engineers are probing brake failures in 1991 Chrysler minivans, corroding door hinges on Isuzu Troopers, sticking throttles on the Ford Explorer, and speed control failures in the '91 Honda Acura Integra.

Volunteer labor — Queries about using a state helicopter to

view a Gulf war parade, California's secretary of business, transportation, and housing explained he was checking how his department handled the traffic congestion. His wife, his son, and a friend of his son's joined in the effort.

Bigger and buster — The companies going bankrupt today are, typically, 50 times the size of those that went under a decade ago. One reason is the scarcity of bank money to bail out the big-time debtors. An expert predicted that the 90s "will yield a bankruptcy increase in an unbroken line and at a record pace."

Should farmers support 'free trade' schemes?

Continued from page 3

elevator or processor in their local area. The product, then, is no longer theirs. It either directly or soon, through further exchanges, becomes the property of one of the giant monopolies that dominate trade in grain and other farm exports. For example, Cargill and Continental together handle half of all the grain exported from the United States. It is not coincidental, then, that a former Cargill officer, who is also a former USDA official, prepared Washington's proposal for the GATT talks.

These international traders maintain grain

"pipelines" through their control or ownership of grain elevators, railroad cars, trucking lines, and port terminals. They have their own communications networks and armies of espionage agents. Their monopoly over speedy information about the constantly fluctuating market and their secrecy are key to their vast power.

Through their monopoly leverage in the grain market, the big grain merchants are able to keep market prices paid to farmers far below the value of the labor they have put into producing their products. They are *price makers* and keep working farmers in

the role of *price takers*.

Farmers want to make enough from selling their commodities to meet their production costs and have enough to live on, whereas grain traders buy cheap and sell dear, getting their margin on every bushel regardless of price. They can make a profit from price declines as long as inside information enables them to accurately predict how the market will behave. And the massive volumes they deal with guarantee their profits will be substantial.

Far from benefiting working farmers, the grain monopolies' intensified drive to en-

hance their competitiveness through free trade makes them even more ruthless in forcing working farmers to take a lower price for their commodities. Free trade aggression also goes hand in hand with moves to cut government-financed relief measures for working farmers, as meager as they are, and to add more restrictions on cheap credit for the most needy farmers.

As the free trade campaign gathers steam, so will the attacks on workers and farmers. If the U.S. rulers are successful in getting Japanese and European capitalists to break down protectionist barriers, it will not guarantee workers jobs or prevent working farmers from being forced to foreclose on their mortgages and lose their farms. These are problems resulting from the workings of the capitalist system itself and will worsen as the crisis facing that system deepens.

Pitting farmers against farmers

One of the most perfidious features of the free trade assault is that it demagogically attempts to unite U.S. working people with "consumers" and "taxpayers" in Europe and Japan against working farmers in those countries.

"European taxpayers pay huge sums, more than \$100 billion each year," the *New York Times* editors wrote on Nov. 12, 1990, "to support a handful of inefficient family farmers."

A few weeks later the *Wall Street Journal* editors declared that Japan and Europe "must quit molly-coddling farmers."

"European farmers, particularly France's wheat farmers," the *Journal* added, "live in a happy world: They can sell as much produce as they can grow to national governments that pay them triple world prices."

Working farmers will immediately recognize these arguments, because they are the same ones that the mouthpieces for big business use to rail against "inefficient family farmers" in the United States. And it is no wonder because the exploitation of working farmers by the handful of families that own the commercial monopolies takes place worldwide. Working farmers in France, the United States, Canada, Japan, Argentina, and every other country throughout the world face the same problems. And none of them live in a "happy world." They live in an insecure world of sudden price fluctuations, high interests and rents, recessions, increasing production costs, and the mounting likelihood of joining hundreds of thousands of others who have been forced off their farms in recent years.

In France, for example, the proportion of the employed population engaged in agriculture declined from 9.5 percent in 1975 to 7.3 percent in 1985 as hundreds of thousands of farmers, burdened by debts, were forced out of farming. In the United States during the same period the proportion employed in agriculture dropped from 3.9 percent to 2.9 percent.

Just as government programs in the United States enrich a small number of capitalist farmers, food trusts, and exporters, 80 percent of the funds in the EC's subsidy program goes to only 20 percent of these recipients. Working farmers, deemed too "inefficient" by capitalist standards, are cast aside like so much chaff.

The next article will take up why capitalist protectionist schemes are contrary to the interests of working farmers.

'Cuba will never be handed over to U.S.'

Continued from Page 4

The withdrawal of nuclear missiles was decided without the participation of Cuba, who for the sake of strengthening the socialist community's defensive capacity — above all that of the USSR — risked the perils of nuclear extermination. The great risks we accepted for the security of all and the violation in those days of existing agreements gave us the right to demand at least a minimal Soviet military presence, which was accepted.

Much was said afterwards and much is still to be said, but nobody can ignore the drama, the swiftness of events, the unparal-

cupation of the Cuban territory where the United States keeps a military base — totally obsolete for its strategic defense — against the manifest will of our people? To what epoch does it belong? What is that base good for, other than to humiliate and threaten Cuba?

Are we to believe that the anti-Cuban policy of the United States — sick with hatred, arrogance, and impotence — has no ideology?

In the crusade against the Cuban Revolution carried out by George Bush and his envoys, they have gone as far as conditioning their cooperation and assistance to the Soviet Union on breaking Cuban-Soviet ties, some-

so-called complementary confidence-building measures related to Cuba that were alluded to by the Soviet foreign minister are secondary and do not deserve any comment for the time being.

According to the head of Soviet diplomacy, the information on the withdrawal of the Instruction Brigade's military contingent was given to the U.S. side in advance — even before the Cuban government learned about it through the wire services — due to the idea that this decision would serve as encouragement to the United States and with the hope that it, in turn, would respond with reciprocal steps.

In Minister Pankin's understanding and, therefore, that of the Soviet authorities, everything is grounded in extremely modest hopes and expectations, considering the inventory of steps that could presumably be taken by the United States if such hopes were not unfounded: like the reduction of military personnel in Guantánamo and other equally insignificant measures. Such steps would always be subject to the will of the United States and could be cancelled at any moment, as is traditional in U.S. behavior, especially now that they feel like they are the owners of the world; meanwhile the steps the Soviet Union is ready to take are irreversible and unconditional. It is evident that negotiations were conducted and concessions made to the United States regarding Cuba, giving into U.S. demands, without exchanging a single word with our country.

For many reasons we are fortunate it is not October 1962 but almost October 1991 and the defense of Cuba rests solidly upon a doctrine, and a preparedness, that for more than 10 years has completely excluded every hypothesis that was not based on the willingness to pay solely with the price of our own blood for the unshakable determination to never again be enslaved by the United States.

In the light of the ongoing processes and our experiences, a concept is taking shape of the much touted new international order that entails a logic of submission to the dictates of the United States. With the maturity and realism we have acquired in more than 30 years of confronting the aggressive designs of U.S. imperialism, we try to figure out how the historical, political, and moral responsibilities of the USSR will be fulfilled in the future. We add into this reflection our own experience. With loyalty to clear principles that cannot be renounced without ceasing to be who you were when you adopted them, we rejected all pressures and even the offers made by several U.S. administrations in exchange for our renouncing and breaking our close ties with the Soviet Union. We were

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What is symbolized in the illegal occupation of Cuban territory where the United States keeps a military base? What is that base good for except to threaten Cuba? . . .

leled tensions the Soviet leadership was subjected to, and the gigantic responsibilities which, in those crucial hours, overwhelmed Khrushchev and his capacity as a statesman, regardless of his good faith.

If at least the withdrawal of the Yankee naval base at Guantánamo — from among the five conditions that our party and government presented as a solution to the crisis — had been defended with the intelligence and strength that the situation called for, there would not be U.S. or Soviet troops in Cuba today.

It is in fact extremely difficult to avoid some questions that arise from the same honesty with which we wish to understand what is happening at present, when the East-West confrontation is considered to have ended with the vanishing of one of the blocs and when, in the name of a renewed way of thinking in international relations, it seems that the deplorable practices that took place at some very difficult moments in bilateral relations between Cuba and the USSR are being repeated.

On the other hand, what does the inhuman and criminal blockade the United States has imposed on Cuba for more than 30 years symbolize and to what epoch does it belong? The harassment, the hostility, the implacable efforts aimed at strangling our economy; the ferocious pressure on governments, international institutions and even U.S. entrepreneurs with investments abroad; the efforts to isolate and break our country by politically slandering it with unparalleled hypocrisy and starving it into submission: What does this symbolize and to what epoch does this belong? What is symbolized in the illegal oc-

thing they have demanded with unrestrained hysteria, at the top of their lungs, at all times, in all places, and with the clumsiest of pretexts. Is this crusade devoid of any ideological contamination?

The disclosure of the decision to withdraw the military contingent stationed in our country, made during the joint press conference that capped the bilateral negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States, clearly appeared to be an unconditional concession in the eyes of international public opinion. Upon making the announcement, President Gorbachev omitted any reference to the U.S. military base in Cuba as did Secretary of State Baker, who, with the benefit of prior knowledge, had enough time to find the exact words he later used when it came his turn to speak. The bitter intuition that a startling concession had been made was not lacking among the clashing feelings the news provoked in our people, especially after having seen the president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, skillfully handle the topic of relations with Cuba on U.S. television a few days before.

On September 12, a few hours after the Cuban ambassador in Moscow handed over to President Gorbachev's office an official note in connection with the announcement of the withdrawal, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Boris D. Pankin, gave a press conference. Both in his initial statement and in his answers to journalists, Pankin gave enough facts with which to form an opinion so that we can establish and advance publicly, using the style chosen by the Soviet authorities, the Cuban stand regarding the question of principle that is involved. The

U.S. forces out of Cuba!

With the unilateral decision by the Moscow bureaucracy to withdraw Soviet troops from Cuba, Guantánamo Bay in Cuba becomes one of the most dangerous borders in the world.

The pledge to withdraw the Soviet military unit, made to U.S. secretary of state James Baker by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and then announced by Gorbachev following their meeting, gives Washington the green light to press ahead with its aggressive plans against Cuba. The presence of this Soviet combat unit, while small, has been a deterrent to U.S. military action against Cuba.

Following Gorbachev's announcement, stepped-up provocations against Cuba can be expected. In the past, shots have been fired at Cuban sentry posts from the Guantánamo base, which has also been used as a staging post for aggressive naval maneuvers by Washington and its allies off the Cuban coast.

Despite repeated demands by the Cuban government that the U.S. Navy abandon Guantánamo, Washington arrogantly declares that a 1903 treaty allows it perpetual use of the base. This violation of Cuba's sovereignty is one of the many ways U.S. imperialism places pressure on the Cuban revolution. Another is the criminal trade embargo which Washington is now moving to tighten.

As an editorial in the Cuban Communist Party newspaper

Granma points out, the continuing aggressive stance of Washington toward Cuba is an example of why this is not the dawning of an age of mutually "peaceful" world relations. Instead it is a world of imperialist hostility toward working people around the world who stand up and fight against exploitation and oppression.

The Cuban people have demonstrated their determination to stand up to Washington's threats on many occasions over the last 30 years. As *Granma* declares, their decision not to bow to Washington's dictates or be swayed by the maneuvers of the Soviet regime are grounded in their belief "in the peoples of the world and in the future."

Cuba's military and economic defenses have been based on reliance on no force other than the political consciousness and mobilization of the Cuban people themselves. Cuban workers and farmers, in their millions, are organizing to confront the economic difficulties and military threats facing them.

Working people the world over have an interest in defending Cuba. The revolution there stands in the front lines of the struggle for human emancipation from the economic crises, wars, exploitation, and oppression that world capitalism visits on the world. Support for Cuba's demand that U.S. forces be pulled out of Cuban territory is central to this. U.S. out of Guantánamo! U.S. hands off Cuba!

Support PSAC strikers

The determination and fighting spirit exhibited by striking federal workers in Canada demonstrates the potential to mobilize working people in a fight against the employer and government offensive.

Having never gone on strike before, the members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) are now holding rallies, organizing protest actions, and setting up picket lines. Their struggle deserves the solidarity of the entire labor movement.

Ottawa is seeking to impose a wage freeze on PSAC members in order to aid the billionaire families that run the country. Keeping wage increases low will strengthen the capitalist owners of industry, transport, and communications in their drive against all workers' wages and conditions on the job.

In an effort to justify its concession demands and win the support of working people for its strike-breaking efforts, the federal government is claiming that its actions are necessary "to protect a fragile economic recovery" and "combat the deficit."

This argument flies in the face of the fact that the economic crisis is not a product of workers' efforts to win decent wages or improved government services. Instead, it is a result of a deep-going crisis of world capitalism.

The capitalist rulers seek to resolve their crisis on the backs of working people by attacking wages, working

conditions, and democratic rights. But the unions, the mass organizations of the working class, stand in the way of the employers' drive. As a result the ruling rich must take on the labor movement.

Labor can only effectively fight to defend the interests of all working people by refusing to support any of the efforts of the capitalist rulers to convince us to make sacrifices and concessions in the interests of their economy, their deficit, their companies, and their government.

The assault on the federal workers could be pushed back by exercising real union power and mobilizing the ranks of labor to stand shoulder to shoulder with the PSAC strikers.

But the calls by the PSAC's top officers — like the officials of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers before them — go in the opposite direction of that kind of fight. Rather than pointing out that a government document saying a strike is "illegal" only ends the walkout if the PSAC union leadership agrees to it, they call for "mediation not legislation."

Joining with the strikers on the picket line and in the streets is how fighting workers and youth everywhere can show their support for the walkout.

Circulating the *Militant* as widely as possible is another way to join in the struggle. It gets out the truth about this battle and those like it around the world.

Target week key to campaign

Continued from front page

Many want to learn about and discuss the flash points in politics — from the ultrarightist mobilizations in Wichita, Kansas; to the question of how to stop police brutality; to the need for independent political action on the part of the labor movement. Subscribing to the *Militant*, a paper that prints the facts about the struggles occurring around the globe, is the only way to get a working-class perspective on these and other issues.

The supporters around the world who are doing the best in the subscription campaign have one thing in common: they are putting the drive at the center of their political work. With each event they attend, meeting they help organize, or struggle they reach out to they seek to convince those they meet to buy a subscription to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *L'Internationale*, or a copy of *New International*.

Getting on this kind of footing now — a real campaign footing — is what is needed to reach our goals on time and in full. By catching up to schedule around the world, supporters will be in a position to raise their goals in line with what is needed to reach the overall 6,200 mark and the goal for each periodical.

Reports received so far show that by focusing on winning new subscribers supporters can maximize the political im-

pact of the socialist movement today and politicize all of their work.

Sales at Militant Labor Forums and Pathfinder bookstores have increased by making them attractive centers for discussions about politics today.

Some cities have made Saturdays into the most important political day of the week. Supporters turn out in force to have a short meeting reviewing the contents of the new *Militant* and the areas where sales will take place. Staying out for a number of hours, and having backup places arranged in case of rain or other unexpected problems, result in the kind of sales needed to make the drive.

Distributors are also organizing to set up sales each day of the week for all supporters who can help out. In this way the socialist periodicals get out to the widest numbers of working people and youth looking for answers to the big social and political questions today.

Making these kind of sharp shifts will not only result in winning 6,200 new readers by November 2. It will help give all supporters the experience needed to sustain a high level of sales activity on a year-round basis. Establishing a broader readership base of unionists, students, and other working people and youth through regular weekly sales all year long is the road to widening the influence of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *L'Internationale*, and *New International*.

'Cuba will never be handed over to U.S.'

Continued from Page 13

always firm and loyal to our commitments. No state big or small, much less a big power, can fail to live up to its historical and legitimate agreements and commitments, no matter who its leaders happen to be.

It is startling and infuriating that we may be heading for an international order in which small Third World countries like Cuba, whose social system is not to the liking of the United States, have no other choice but to submit or risk disappearance, and where — ideological loyalties aside — there is no room for even the most elementary ethical principles without which our civilization will face the threat that a new barbarism, based on the technological power and hegemonic delirium of the United States, may ultimately prevail.

Nevertheless, we continue to believe in the peoples of the world and in the future. What our country represents today is not the result of hesitations or wavering. In the face of the arrogance of the empire and the difficulties in our relations with the USSR, we chose dignity and self-respect without fooling ourselves: We know how limited our material resources are and that we will be forced to make truly heroic and superhuman efforts, but we are prepared to face the consequences of a principled position.

It would be unjust to equate the Soviet troops in Cuba, continuers of a tradition of solidarity and internationalism who made such an important contribution when it was indispensable to the building of our Armed Forces, with the Yankee soldiers in Guantánamo. Likewise, it would be immoral and unjustifiable to accept the presence of a Yankee base and its aggressive troops in Cuba's national territory now that the withdrawal of that Soviet military unit will take place, especially given the deification of speeches about the end of the Cold War, when no one can use the pretext of communist expansion or claim the reduced Soviet military contingent is dangerous. We would be willing to accept the withdrawal from our country of the Soviet military personnel simultaneously with that of the U.S. military personnel. This would be the only equitable, just, and honorable solution in the present circumstances. Moreover, these are topics that have to be discussed with us, as one of the interested parties.

The Bush administration is awash in a triumphalist orgy and looks at us through a lens distorted by the catastrophe, above all ideological and political, of the European socialist experience; the Bush administration thinks it sees Cuba abandoned and on the verge of being sacrificed; it smacks its lips imagining the feast after the defeat of the Revolution.

Meanwhile, the fortunetellers and the stateless people with hyena-souls have moved their lair from Miami to Moscow. Led by State Department-redeemed Batista supporters, they knock impatiently at the door of the leaders of the Russian Federation, trying by all means to persuade them to join the Yankee blockade. There they were on the front row to hear the latest news flash.

If the process of reaching agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States has reached the point where matters such as this one can be solved without suspicions and fears, the only thing that can be done following the USSR's statement is to negotiate the withdrawal of the Soviet brigade that we had welcomed with fraternal hospitality and gratitude, as well as the withdrawal of the Guantánamo naval base, just as we propose to do.

Cuba is willing to be part of an international agreement, guaranteed in the presence of the United Nations, for this purpose.

In that agreement, those confidence-building measures found to be mutually satisfactory could be incorporated with all the guarantees, including of course the cessation of the practice invasions against Cuba that have been systematically carried out in the region by the Yankee high command.

Then it would be possible to talk, in the case of Cuba, about the relevance of the new political thinking in international relations. Cuba can be counted upon, as was clearly shown in the case of Angola and Namibia, to contribute to the best of our ability to a political, negotiated solution to a regional conflict.

Cuba can be counted upon, as has been proven historically and is demonstrated every day at the United Nations, to seek constructive and viable solutions to the great contemporary issues ranging from peace, which is of vital interest to all people, a new international economic order, and the solution to the Third World's foreign debt, to the struggle against drug trafficking and for nuclear safety.

Cuba does not threaten any country or government on earth.

No one should harbor the least hope of counting on Cuba to renounce its principles, submit, or seek any advantage at the expense of the interests of others.

The decision taken unilaterally, unconditionally, and without any prior consultation by the USSR to withdraw its military unit, amounts to giving the United States a green light to carry out its aggressive plans against Cuba. This is what, from the moral point of view, the withdrawal of that symbolic military contingent would mean. Any other explanation or interpretation is meaningless.

Cuba will never accept being handed over or sold to the United States, and we are prepared to fight to the death to not become slaves again.

Abortion: Is it the 'killing of unborn babies?'

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

In April, Municipal Court Judge Michael Noonan heard a trespassing case against Alexander Loce and 14 other antiabortion activists in Morristown, New Jersey. Loce and the others had staged a sit-in at a doctor's office, attempting to stop Loce's fiancée from having an abortion. The judge, while convicting the 15 of trespassing, also ruled that life begins at conception and described abortions as "legal executions."

The trespassing conviction was upheld on September 6 by Superior Court Judge Reginald Stanton, who said he

AS I SEE IT

found the arguments about when life begins "interesting and thought-provoking." Judge Stanton did not uphold the ruling of Noonan on this question, but made clear he could be convinced to do so in the future. He stated that he thinks it is a question of practical, ethical, and legal importance that should be addressed by the courts, legislatures, and policy-makers.

The defendants said they will again appeal the trespassing convictions in the New Jersey courts in hopes of getting the case to federal court. Lawyers will argue that a fetus is a person entitled to the right to life and to equal protection as guaranteed in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. Far from trespassing, they will argue, the defendants were attempting to prevent the killing of another person.

The notion that life begins at conception is at the center of the rightist propaganda against abortion. While I was in Wichita, Kansas, during the rightist mobilizations organized by Operation Rescue, this was the main theme in the antiabortion literature as well as in speeches given by their leaders.

"Please don't kill your baby!" was shouted at women who attempted to get past the blockade of the clinic. Brochures distributed by these forces wrapped the claims in a "scientific" cloak. I picked up several brochures that stated, "Before you even know you're pregnant, your baby's heart begins to beat." Aside from this crude appeal to a woman's nurturing instincts I had to wonder what "science" these rightist cadre employ in determining whether or not they are pregnant.

Randall Terry says the main reason he founded Operation

Rescue is "to save children who are scheduled to die." The rightists claim to have saved nearly 30 "babies" in their assault on Wichita.

Contrary to what was portrayed in the big-business media, I found that in Wichita, as across the United States, a majority support a woman's right to choose abortion. However, ultrarightists and other opponents of this hard-won right erode this support when their arguments are not answered. The labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights must clearly respond to the host of arguments against abortion and politically counter the anti-woman propaganda. Doing so is a necessary part of building countermobilizations to rightist offensives like the one in Wichita, and protesting government assaults on abortion rights.

Opponents of a woman's right to choose often refer to abortions as the "killing of unborn babies." A baby is a small child or an infant. There is no such thing as an unborn baby; to be a baby you must be born. A fetus is not a baby.

A fetus is also not, as some pro-choice advocates argue, a clump of cells. A fetus, unlike any other clump of cells, is an embryonic human life. If a woman chooses to carry a fetus to term it has the potential to become a baby. This is why it is also ineffective to argue that abortion is simply a medical procedure. Having an abortion cannot be compared to an appendectomy or any other operation. The decision to have an abortion is a difficult one for many women precisely because it does involve potential human life. Moreover, arguments such as this have a *proabortion* character that can actually play into the hands of opponents, driving away potential supporters of a woman's right to choose.

Defenders of women's rights should be clear that abortion is not preferable to safe and accessible contraception. We should fight to advance this for all women as we defend the right to abortion.

The question of when life begins is not and cannot be the framework to discuss the issue of abortion. Rather, the fight to defend abortion rights is one aimed at guaranteeing that all women are able to choose if and when to have children. This must include the right to abortion, since unwanted pregnancies are a fact.

From this starting point the claim by outfits such as Operation Rescue that they are "saving lives" can be squarely addressed. The reality is that the actions of those who oppose abortion rights are in callous disregard for *the lives of women*. Their aim is to make abortion illegal, forcing women to bear children or have illegal abortions. This is a



Militant/Kate Kaku

Antiabortion pickets at clinic in Wichita, Kansas.

brutal denial of a woman's humanity and dignity.

The right to abortion is essential to advancing women's equality. Without this right — the fundamental right to control their ability to bear children — women are limited in making gains toward equality. As long as women are vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, then breaking down economic and social barriers on the job, in education, and in the home becomes a much more difficult task.

The right to abortion was won as a result of the increased number of women entering the work force over the 1950s and 1960s along with the massive social upheavals at the time that resulted in gains for the working class.

The right to abortion, like all the civil and democratic rights won in that period, helped strengthen and unify the working class and should be defended. Any undercutting of the right to abortion undercuts women's ability to advance toward equality with men, and thereby advance the rights of all working people.

LETTERS

Soviet coup-I

I disagree with your headline dated September 6, 1991, which reads, "Soviet workers win giant victory by defeating coup."

Now, nearly two weeks later, it is clear that there was a *successful* coup in Moscow. It was the Yeltsin/Gorbachev grouping backed by imperialist might — not the Soviet workers — that made a big power grab. In the coming weeks you will see increasing repression by the pro-capitalist government against the Soviet workers. And as cold weather approaches and the rulers fail to deliver food, heat and medicine to the Soviet population, you will see that any pretense of a worker's victory was a sham.

Lois Lenius

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Soviet coup-II

The *International Socialist Review* supplement reviewing and projecting working-class interests consequent to the dissolution of the Soviet Communist Party is an inspiring masterpiece that cuts through and disposes of the current "official" capitalist crap.

Howard Mayhew

Whiting, New Jersey

Soviet coup-III

The *Militant* once again proved its value to working people in your September 6 issue. Your analysis of the thwarted coup in the Soviet Union is the only one in the press that correctly shows that Yeltsin & co. do not represent workers' democracy. Their Russian chauvinism proves it. At the same time, recent events in the Soviet Union are a defeat for imperialism, not a welcomed change.

Similarly, your analysis of the importance of the current thuggery by rightists against abortion rights in Wichita points to the growing dangers of right-wing activism. As you say, a fight-back program led by labor can countermobilize against

these offensives.

Only the *Militant* brings these important views to the people of America.

Albert Fried-Cassorla

Melrose Park, Pennsylvania

Editor's note — The September 6 issue of the *Militant* featured an *International Socialist Review* supplement on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It contained major excerpts from the political resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party convention in August 1990. Additional copies are available for \$2.00, including postage. Write to: The *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Police 'family'

After reading the letter from Union Activist Mark Curtis to L.A. County Police Victim Rodney King I was inspired to write to you.

What really got my attention was Mr. Curtis' statement that the Police are a "family." I have been incarcerated now for four-and-a-half years and I have heard all too many stories about brutality by police officers at the Des Moines Iowa Police Station.

Has it been noticed that incidents of police brutality are not rare nor isolated? Take Rodney King in California and then the black children in New Jersey and then Mark Curtis in Iowa.

People should stop protesting outside of those police departments and make demands that the President find US a new Attorney General of the United States. His office should defend those people who are victims of the police. Instead, you are left to hire your own attorneys or pay for a court appointed one if you lose or if you can afford partial fees.

I thought the attorney general of each state was supposed to defend victims not the accused. It becomes all too clear how tight a family the police — law enforcement agencies — are when a citizen is beaten by those appointed to serve and protect



and then the attorney general's office of that particular state defends the accused police officer instead of the victim. They protect themselves and those who are a part of the "family."

A prisoner

Anamosa, Iowa

Justice for Jeffries

Attempts to hold Prof. Jeffries responsible for the recent violence in Brooklyn represent the usual tactics employed by the racist ruling class in this country as it continues to try to hide its responsibility for the horrendous oppression that Africans have suffered under particularly for the past several hundred years. *Nothing* should keep us from raising our demands for justice and everything else that we are due. By analyzing and focusing on the historical, racial, and class conflicts which have taken place, we will be better able to understand the true colors and intentions of our enemies.

Professors who disagree with Jeffries should openly challenge him according to academic protocol, and if they possess an ounce of intelligence and integrity they will not

hide behind a rag such as the *New York Post*. Demands for his ouster without allowing him to go through the proper procedural hearings sound like a hysterical yet determined effort to destroy him and railroad him out of his profession.

Right now it may appear to be Prof. Jeffries versus the system; but what is at stake is not just his right to make statements that may offend some people. Anyone who cherishes academic freedom and who does not wish to see this country become any more anti-intellectual than it already is ought to be expressing their outrage over the injustices being heaped upon this man.

Those academicians who lack the guts to demand fair treatment for Jeffries or who silently stand by while the anti-intellectuals try to make a public example out of him ought to be reminded: If they come for him in the morning, they will come for you at night!

Naima Washington

Washington, D.C.

Never heard of Wichita

I found the headline article in the Aug. 30, 1991, *Militant* about

attacks on abortion rights very useful and drew it to the attention of other people. This reporting is especially useful in Britain where attacks on abortion rights are happening in a stealthier way than in the U.S. and with less debate and open struggle.

But the headline itself didn't help much: "Justice Dept. sides with Wichita rightist assault." I've never heard of Wichita and don't really know what the Justice Department is. How about "Attack on abortion rights: Government supports intimidation?"

Your recent headlines from S. Africa have been great. "ANC: 'South African gov't must step down'" is an attention-getter if I ever saw one.

Chris Morris

Manchester, England

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.

South Africa unions fight layoffs

Unemployment from recession brings rising malnutrition among Blacks

BY GREG McCARTAN

Faced with a steep recession, workers in South Africa are fighting against massive company layoffs in mining, auto, steel, and other industries.

In a first for the labor movement, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) forced auto and tire manufacturers to adopt an interim no-layoffs agreement in the two industries.

Gavin Hartford, NUMSA's national organizer for the auto and tire industries, said in a telephone interview from Port Elizabeth that workers in auto assembly plants waged a three-week strike in August to secure the agreement. A concurrent one-month national strike in the tire industry won a similar pact.

"There is a groundswell of militancy on the part of the working class as a whole," Hartford said. "Faced with retrenchment [layoffs], many are saying, 'Now is the time to defend our jobs or say goodbye to them forever.'"

The strike and the determined fight among other unionists against job losses come in response to worsening economic conditions for working people. The growing social impact of layoffs are compounding the already miserable conditions faced by the country's majority Black population due to apartheid.

Malnutrition among Blacks has risen sharply according to Operation Hunger, a private relief agency in South Africa. The organization says some 2 million are expected to seek emergency food aid this year as a result of layoffs due to the recession. Last year 1.6 million out of 35 million Blacks sought aid from Operation Hunger.

Rural dependency on city wages

Only 8 percent of Blacks who live in rural areas are self-sufficient; the rest depend on the families' wage earners working in the cities.

Ina Perlman, director of the relief agency, told the Johannesburg *Star* that "every gold miner who is laid off has an average of nine dependents. So the 27,000 miners laid off last year means an extra 240,000 extra people to feed."

Twenty-six percent of all Black deaths are children under the age of five. Most die from



William Mattala

June rally of unionists for "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom" and release of political prisoners. Recent strikes in auto and tire industries have won no-layoff agreements.

malnutrition. In KwaZulu, one of the ten impoverished Bantustans where Blacks are forced to live, one hospital reported a 400 percent increase in malnutrition.

The National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) annual report cites other statistics on the conditions of Black workers and peasants. Some 3-5 million workers are unemployed, making the unemployment rate nearly 50 percent.

In industrially advanced South Africa, there is a shortage of 600,000 homes. Eighty percent of Black South Africans have no electricity in their homes.

NUMSA organizer Hartford said that out of 30,000 auto workers, 1,200 had been laid off by one company and others were threatening similar moves before the August strike. The disastrous consequences of being laid off put pressing the companies to end the practice at the center of the fight.

The union also won an agreement that the

companies and government would fund child-care facilities in Black communities. "We see parental rights as important and believe the employers should help pay the cost of rearing children," Hartford said.

A wage increase was also won through the strike, and a joint management-union industry training board established. Educational training will include literacy classes through a range of technical and administrative skills.

Decline in gold mining

For the 750,000 mine workers in South Africa the current recession is compounded with a longer-term decline in the gold mining industry.

Apartheid's overriding purpose is to organize and perpetuate the superexploitation of African labor by South Africa's capitalist class. In order to provide the massive work force needed in the mines, Africans were driven off the land and

stripped of their tools and cattle.

The giant gold mining companies rely on migratory labor, workers who live in the Bantustans and in neighboring countries in southern Africa who must travel to the mines. There they live in single-sex barracks, called hostels.

Of the 356,000 miners belonging to the National Union of Mineworkers, 240,000 earn 532 rand (\$186) a month. In addition to the 50,000 miners who have been laid off in the past two years, union leaders expect the companies will dismiss tens of thousands more this year alone.

Jerry Majatlati, the NUM's press officer, described the lack of safety in the mines in an interview in Johannesburg. "The mine bosses are responsible for a host of criminal practices over the last decade," he said.

High number of mining accidents

In 1989, 735 workers died in mine accidents and 10,097 were seriously injured. The following year 675 died and 9,858 were injured even with a decline in the overall work force. "One worker dies and 14 are injured for each ton of gold produced," Majatlati said.

"The capitalists are pressing a smaller number of workers" to produce about the same amount of gold, the NUM leader explained. Many mine workers "feel more united through this period because only through the union can these problems be addressed."

The NUM has scored some gains in its campaigns around pay, safety, layoffs, and the hostel system. The union is demanding that "workers must be a part of the decision-making on what is to be done if the industry is to be restructured," Majatlati said.

This includes signing 10 health and safety agreements with mining companies and a drive to secure a union say in how to "avoid job losses and ensure that the energy needs of all our people are met," the NUM biennial report states. Any program should "ensure minimum job losses and the creation of a better trained and paid work force."

"The removal of the migrant labor system is critical to the transformation of the mining industry," the document says. "It has been the seedbed for the destruction of family life and conflict in the mines." Noting that little has been done to date by the companies along these lines, the union report states that "we fully realize that it will not be dismantled at once. It has to be linked to the provision of family accommodation," for mine workers' families.

Iceland protest demands: 'U.S. bases out!'

BY GYLFI PALL HERSIR AND SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — Two hundred people marched 50 kilometers (30 miles) in a mid-August protest against the U.S. military base located at Keflavík airport near here. At the end of the march, 1,000 people gathered in downtown Reykjavík for a rally and music.

Organized by the Campaign Against Military Bases, march demands included the closing of the base, "No more Hiroshimas and Nagasakis," and an end to the presence of nuclear weapons in the North Atlantic ocean.

Demonstrators arrived at the base early in the morning to start the 13-hour march into Reykjavík. Four previous marches with up to 15,000 participants had been organized over the last 15 years. A group of young men and women in their teens led the final part of the march shouting, "Iceland out of NATO — the army out!"

Sighrúður Gunnarsdóttir, a student from Reykjavík, spoke at the demonstration. "Our demand is what it was 40 years ago. We want the army out. We want no part in what they do. We don't want their polluted waste." Oil and toxic wastes have been leaking into the ground from the base.

As a founding member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Icelandic government was committed to

make a piece of its territory available for a so-called defense force. The U.S. military base was built in 1951 at the outbreak of the Korean War. Today, the base is a strategic center in the area with 5,000 soldiers and personnel.

The base encountered organized opposition from the outset, stemming from the presence of U.S. troops in Iceland during the Second World War.

Iceland became a member of NATO in 1949. At the time the trade unions organized a demonstration to protest this move. Demonstrators stood up to assaults by the police and rightists during those actions. Several were injured in the clashes.

Before the NATO treaty was signed, Washington declared that "during peace-time there shall be no foreign army or army base in Iceland." In 1951, at the outbreak of the Cold War and the Korean War, the U.S. army returned here.

According to polls, a majority of the population has opposed the base at various times. In the early 1970s, the largest capitalist political party organized a countercampaign against an attempt by the Campaign Against Military Bases to hold a national referendum on this question.

For decades the base has been relatively closed off from the 250,000 inhabitants of the country. But today soldiers and their families can get a permit to

leave the base during the day. The base employs a few hundred Icelandic workers, ranging from teachers and office workers to cleaning and contract construction workers.

1000s of Iraqis buried alive by U.S. Army

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The U.S. Army buried thousands of Iraqi soldiers alive in their trenches during the murderous Desert Storm assault in February.

From February 24-25 three brigades of the army's First Mechanized Infantry Division used Abram tanks equipped with plows and Armored Combat Earthmovers to fill in with sand and dirt 70 miles of six-foot deep trenches defended by more than 8,000 Iraqi soldiers on the Saudi-Iraqi border.

U.S. soldiers involved in the assault report that many Iraqis were buried alive beneath tons of sand while still firing their weapons. Two thousand Iraqis surrendered, but the rest of the dead, wounded, and those unable or unwilling to surrender were entombed in the carefully planned and rehearsed assault.

"Once we went through there, other than the ones who surrendered, there wasn't anybody left," stated Captain Bennie Williams to *New York Newsday*. Bennie was awarded the Silver Star for his role in the assault.

"A lot of guys were buried in bunkers, I'm

sure. We just drove over them or backed into them to make the walls collapse," said Williams.

Col. Anthony Moreno, commander of the Second Brigade that led the assault, stated, "What you saw was a bunch of buried trenches with peoples' arms and things sticking out of them."

The U.S.-led assault involved 8,400 troops inside 3,000 vehicles. Because the Iraqi soldiers had only light weaponry not a single U.S. soldier was killed in the attack.

"I don't mean to be flippant, but there is no nice way to kill somebody in war," stated U.S. Defense Department spokesperson Peter Williams.

Some 100,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed during the six-week bombing and the four-day invasion of Iraq.

Reports on U.S. military operations were highly censored during Desert Storm. Reporters and photographers were prohibited from witnessing this murderous assault.