

Army desertions on rise as Yugoslav rulers escalate war

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

Following an open split in the federal structure of Yugoslavia, efforts by the regime in Serbia to reinforce the federal army through a partial mobilization of reservists have been met by a wave of desertions.

The eight-member federal presidency split in half October 4, with each side asserting they represent the legitimate Yugoslav government. On one side are the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, plus representatives of two formerly autonomous regions within Serbia, Kosovo and Vojvodina. On the other are the republics of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia.

The bureaucratic rulers in the various republics of Yugoslavia, using nationalist dem-

agogy to support their goals, have been engaged in a war over political power and control of resources since the federal structure began to disintegrate early last year.

When the rulers in Croatia declared independence June 25, their counterparts in neighboring Serbia began to actively support members of the Serbian minority within Croatia. The Serbian forces seized towns and villages in the region of Krajina, declaring them "independent" from Croatia.

Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic stated March 16 that "it is the legitimate right and interest of the Serbian people to live in one state — this is the beginning and the end." His course has been to extend his wing

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5,000 in New York march to defend abortion rights

BY ANGEL LARISCY

NEW YORK — Chanting "New York is pro-choice," and "Right to Life, your name's a lie; you don't care if women die!," thousands of abortion rights supporters marched through midtown Manhattan September 29. The protest was called as a counterdemonstration to the Right to Life group's annual "Chain of Life."

Two thousand people rallied near Central Park before marching down Fifth Avenue past antiabortion demonstrators. The rightists stood on the sidewalk and held identical blue and white signs reading "Abortion Kills Children."

March organizers were originally told only 200 people could march by the anti-

abortion demonstrators, but police allowed everyone to march once they saw the size of the crowd. The demonstration swelled to 5,000 as people joined along the way.

Before the march reached Fifth Avenue, large numbers of people gathered along the "Chain of Life" chanting prochoice slogans and arguing with the antiabortion activists.

One young woman was caught by surprise as she got off the subway. "I didn't even know this was going on. I'm changing my plans for the afternoon!" she added as she joined in.

Students from many area colleges and high schools organized contingents with signs and banners. Students from New Jersey, upstate New York, and Connecticut also

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Militant/Angel Lariscy

Curtis parole hearing set for early November

BY GREG McCARTAN

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has announced that the Iowa State Board of Parole has scheduled a parole hearing for the jailed unionist November 6 or 7.

In addition, a series of depositions and hearings are now under way in preparation for the November 25 trial in the civil rights lawsuit by Curtis against the Des Moines cops for the brutal beating they gave him after his arrest.

Defense committee coordinator John Studer reports that 400 individuals and organizations have written letters to the parole board urging Curtis be released. He has been in prison since 1988. Curtis was framed up on charges of rape and burglary because of his political and union activity.

The committee plans to organize a dele-

gation of prominent individuals to present the letters to the board prior to the hearing. The messages point out he has spent a longer-than-average time in prison for the charge on which he was convicted. They also stress the unionist's excellent work and conduct record while in prison.

In a major attack on Curtis, Iowa authorities transferred him to the Mount Pleasant Correctional Facility July 17. Prison officials there tried to press him to join the Sex Offenders Treatment Program. To participate, a prisoner must admit guilt to a sex crime and agree to abandon any legal appeal of a conviction.

Since his arrest Curtis has maintained his innocence and said he was framed up. Because he "refused" to join the program he was transferred to the Iowa Men's Reformatory at Anamosa.



Rally at Organization of American States meeting condemns coup

Daily actions demand end to military coup in Haiti

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Two thousand people rallied here at the Organization of American States (OAS) building October 2 as part of continuing mobilization against the September 30 military coup in Haiti. Several busloads of protesters came from New York. There were also participants from Philadelphia, New Jersey, Montreal, and Maryland. Many took off work to attend the action.

"We can't stay quiet, otherwise it would be like just accepting the coup," stated Emmanuel from Brooklyn. "We must speak out to condemn it."

As the Haitian protesters in Washington peacefully chanted slogans in opposition to the coup and discussed the latest developments in Haiti, cops dressed in riot gear and on horseback provocatively pushed the crowd away from the OAS building, out of

the streets, and into an adjacent park. The rally coincided with an address by ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

The OAS voted to send an international delegation to Haiti to urge the military junta to reinstate Aristide. Speaking before the OAS ministers, Aristide urged Haitians to "stay mobilized," but to use only nonviolent means. He said that an OAS delegation would be the best insurance against the Haitian people rising up in violent reaction to the coup.

In Haiti, press reports say most shops were closed and streets are nearly empty in major cities as working people began a

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Meat-packers in Kansas win union vote

BY KEVIN KELLOGG
AND LINDA JOYCE

LIBERAL, Kansas — Workers at National Beef Packing Co. (NBP) won a union representation election here 863 to 671 September 13. The night of the victory, hundreds of workers celebrated in the streets until dawn.

National Beef is one of the largest beef packinghouses in the United States, employing 1,900 workers, of whom 85 percent are Latinos mainly from Mexico, and 10 percent are Asians from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) organizer Terry Gash characterized the victory as a "major" one, not only for the UFCW, but for all workers. "It shows that it's not impossible to win."

The workers began organizing a union in the plant in order to improve intolerable work and safety conditions and secure better wages and health care benefits. The organizing drive grew more urgent when three workers were killed in June while on top of a 30-foot-tall blood tank. Decomposing blood consumes oxygen and produces toxic fumes. Two died in a similar incident eight years ago.

Throughout the three-month organizing drive the workers took on NBP, the Chamber of Commerce, and the mayor. Management organized an "NBP Union Busters" committee in the plant.

"The in-house union organizing committee was the real backbone of this victory," continued Gash. "Without them it wouldn't have worked." After the election, one of its key members, Jerry Hayden, was summarily fired for "stealing time from the company." Hayden had been put in an isolated part of the plant and was on light duty due to work-related injuries when the company framed him, claiming he was asleep on the job. The union is fighting this firing.

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ordered three workers reinstated after they were fired for refusing to work around toxic epoxy fumes. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is conducting a wall-to-wall safety inspection in response to the attention

drawn by the organizing drive to the unsafe conditions in the plant. One of the workers' demands is for bilingual safety instructions.

Many workers highlighted their concerns about the working conditions. Former NBP worker Maria Romo had asked to change to a less strenuous job during the last few months of her pregnancy. The company denied her request and she was forced to quit.

"I'm glad there's a union now," she said. "Before, when I complained of spilled ammonia fumes, I was told to go sit in the nurse's office. They never did anything about it. Now

we have the union to help us."

Her husband, Jesús, who works at NBP, explained that since the vote, the company has increased speed-up and harassment. For example, the line speed has increased from 280 head an hour to 340.

"Until we sign a contract," he said, "we don't know what we have — if the union will be good for us or bad. But I was for the union. The company treats us like animals!"

Salvador Regalado, a worker in the plant for 10 years, said proudly that the workers have more confidence now. They recently stopped work on a line in order to prevent the unjust firing of two workers. After 30

minutes work resumed. "I knew I had to do something," he added, "when the company instituted a rule where workers are only allowed to use the restrooms one day a week. The foreman kept track in a little notebook. That was the last straw!"

NBP is not challenging the election. The company issued a letter this week initiating a campaign to discourage workers from joining the union in this "right-to-work" state.

The workers now face a fight to secure a contract. Workers elected six leaders of the organizing drive to a negotiating committee, including one woman and four Latinos.

Chicago pro-choice activists defend women's clinic from rightist attack

BY JEANNE LAWRENCE

CHICAGO — About 100 Operation Rescue supporters attacked the American Women's Medical Center here at 7:20 a.m. September 28. They stormed the clinic door, knocked over a policewoman, and lay down in front of the door, blocking access to the clinic. A smaller number picketed on the sidewalk in front of the clinic, displayed grotesque signs of fetuses, prayed, and yelled that women would "burn in hell" for "killing their babies."

The Illinois Pro-Choice Alliance — a coalition including the National Organization for Women (NOW), Planned Parenthood, the National Abortion Rights Action League, and others — knew a week ahead of time about Operation Rescue's plan to attack clinics in five cities, including Chicago, and organized clinic escorts. However, no one knew which clinic would be attacked and activists were deployed at 6 a.m. to seven different clinics. Only eight pro-choice activists were at the American Women's Medical Center when Operation Rescue arrived.

Two hundred abortion rights supporters arrived at the clinic following the early morning assault. They linked arms and formed a

two-column escort line into the clinic after the police had removed and arrested 28 of the rightists at the clinic door.

Two weeks earlier, a women's clinic in Aurora, Illinois, was ransacked by vandals. They destroyed equipment and painted "baby killer" and "thou shall not kill" on the clinic's walls. The clinic has since been repaired and is functioning again.

Three days after the Aurora attack, Dr. Aleksander Jakubowski, a gynecologist who performs abortions at the Aurora clinic and at a clinic in Milwaukee, found his car vandalized by paint and acid.

In response to these incidents and the vigilante attacks occurring against other women's clinics that provide abortion, about

100 people gathered in Aurora September 21 to defend the clinic against possible further attacks. Thirty opponents of the right to choose abortion maintained a counterpicket.

Kirsten Olsen and Darcy Bielema, both law students, were at the Aurora clinic defense action. For more than one and a half years they have been escorting women at clinics targeted by the right-wingers. Bielema described Operation Rescue as "terrorist."

The lease on Jakubowski's Milwaukee clinic will not be renewed at the end of October, nor will any other real estate agent there rent space for it. The DuPage County NOW chapter is trying to help secure a lease for the clinic.

New York: 5,000 demonstrate in support of abortion rights

Continued from front page
chartered buses to attend.

The demonstration, organized by the Women's Health Action and Mobilization, was built through posters put up around the city, an ad in the *Village Voice*, and word of mouth.

The Right to Life action drew a little over 1,000 participants, for below the 6,000 that organizers expected.

The antiabortion action was to have formed a human cross on the sidewalks along Fifth Avenue and 34th Street. Along many blocks, however, there were only two or three opponents of a woman's right to choose.

In addition to the thousands of bystanders who joined the prochoice demonstration, many along the march route participated in chants and showed their support for a woman's right to abortion. Three construction workers atop a crane hundreds of feet off the ground clapped and gave the marchers the thumbs-up signal.

The event was one of the largest prochoice actions in New York City in several years. The last demonstration that drew thousands was in July 1989, held to protest the U.S. Supreme Court's antiabortion *Webster* decision.

The rightist group Operation Rescue has announced plans to target New York for large antiabortion actions in the summer of 1992 during the Democratic National Convention.



Militant/Angel Lariscy
September 29 pro-choice rally in New York outmobiled rightists.

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Goal of 'new party' to increase NOW's lobbying leverage

(This is the second in a series of articles on independent working-class political action. Last week, we ran an article on the Labor Party Advocates. In following issues we will look at past initiatives toward independent political action by working people in the United States.)

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Plans to move ahead in the formation of an "independent political party" were announced by a National Organization for Women (NOW) commission at a press conference in Washington, D.C., September 15.

Founded in 1966, NOW is the largest women's rights organization in the United States, with a stated membership of 250,000.

NOW has been considering such a move for several years. In 1989, the national NOW conference set up the Commission for Responsive Democracy to look into the formation of a party that would be for women's rights and for an "expanded Bill of Rights for the 21st Century." The commission, chaired by NOW president Molly Yard, included a large number of professional women as well as leaders of anti-nuclear and environmental organizations. Most on the commission were lawyers, judges, politicians, and full-time staffers for various women's organizations.

The commission explained that it conducted public hearings over the past year in New York City, Atlanta, Houston, Tampa, Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., receiving testimony from more than 500 people on the "non-competitive nature of and corruption in U.S. politics." The result of the hearings, the commission says, was unanimous agreement that "drastic changes had to be made in the electoral process immediately."

Debate in the commission over whether or not to recommend launching a new party centered on the viability of continuing to work in the Democratic Party. The commission assessed that it has become "clear that only limited and inadequate electoral reform laws would pass without a declaration of political independence."

The commission's recommendation states that "there is a need for a new force in United States politics to ignite in the United States the revolution for democracy that is sweeping the world in order to politically and economically empower all people of the United States."

The commission's composition, documents, and official statements, such as the "Bill of Rights" on which the new party is to be formed, all aim at gathering together a

coalition of forces who have for years loyally worked within the Democratic Party, urged workers and youth to vote for Democratic politicians, and advanced lobbying as the main way to defend abortion rights and address other issues.

What would appear to be an abrupt shift from this political course is actually a continuation of the same perspective on the part of the NOW leadership, simply a chameleon changing colors.

NOW's complaints focus on the "unprecedented corruption, greed and hypocrisy in the Republican and Democratic parties." In response, the commission concludes, NOW should provide the leadership "with other constituencies, grass roots activists, and those fundamentally alienated from the current system in the establishment of a new independent political party dedicated to equality, social and economic justice, demilitarization and a healthy environment." It goes on to promise that this new party will function democratically and be accountable to its membership.

Following the September 15 press conference a working group was announced, charged with formation of a platform, searching for candidates, recruitment and voter registration, and other tasks. The working group selected six co-conveners: Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the United Farmworkers of America; Ellie Smeal, NOW president for three terms, currently president of the Fund for the Feminist Majority; Sara Nelson, executive director of the Christic Institute; Monica Faith Stewart, former member of the Illinois House of Representatives; Mel King, a former Massachusetts state representative who was associated with the Rainbow Coalition; and Patricia Ireland, executive vice president of NOW. The recommendations of the commission will be discussed at the NOW national conference next June in Chicago.

Ireland explained the organization's perspectives when she addressed the AFL-CIO-sponsored "Solidarity Day" rally in Washington, D.C., last August.

"Mobilization plans for the 1992 elections are on the drawing board," she said. Citing some of the attacks on abortion rights she added that NOW is organizing a mass action in Washington, D.C., on April 5, 1992, to kick off an expanded political movement for justice and equality," and urged all in attendance to return to the capital for the event.

Rightward shift in bourgeois politics

The economic crisis of world capitalism has produced a rightward shift in bourgeois



NOW leader Patricia Ireland. NOW encourages pro-choice fighters to look to cops, courts, and elections as way to defend abortion rights.

politics in this country. This is accompanied by a growing bipartisan approach to domestic policy as well as foreign policy. More than ever the Democratic and Republican parties openly agree on attacks on working people as the solution to the crisis. Forces such as NOW have seen their influence in the two parties of big business decline.

The continued chipping away at women's rights today is part of the broader assault on the rights and standard of living of working people as a whole. In particular, a woman's right to choose abortion — the fundamental precondition to advancing women's rights in general — has come under growing right-wing and government attack. This offensive has especially targeted the access working-class women have to abortion. Only three years after the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision legalized abortion, the Hyde Amendment was passed in 1976, a measure that prohibits women from using Medicaid funds to obtain abortions.

Several states have effectively limited access to abortion by passing laws, such as parental and spousal consent laws. For years, opponents have had a regular presence at clinics that provide abortions, seeking to harass and intimidate women as they enter. In May, the Supreme Court upheld the 'gag rule' which prohibits family planning clinics that receive federal funding from discussing abortion with patients.

Response to Wichita events

These attacks have been largely unanswered by organizations like NOW, whose forces are dominated by middle class layers of women who have benefited from the gains of the women's movement. These layers do not look to working men and women as the social force capable of changing society, but primarily as voters to be appealed to with more liberal policies.

The most recent example of this default is the ultrarightists' siege of Wichita in July and August. The aggressive street actions and political steps forward made by the forces blockading the clinics are a result not only of the rulers' offensive, but of the course of the leadership of the women's rights organizations over the past 15 years. As the assault escalated, NOW not only failed to organize a response, but actively encouraged defenders of abortion rights to stay away from Wichita. They claimed that countermobilizations would only encourage the rightists.

Five weeks after the assault began NOW finally helped organize a prochoice rally of 6,000. At the event NOW leaders encouraged participants to look to the cops, the courts, and upcoming elections as the way to defend abortion rights.

This course of carrying out "politics" within the framework of the capitalist electoral setup is the same as that of the mass rallies sponsored by NOW outside the halls of Congress over the past years. For NOW officials the infrequent demonstrations in the capital were simply a grand exercise in lobbying legislators to enact legislation more favorable to women's rights.

The massive response to each of those demonstrations shows how hundreds of thousands of youth, workers, and others want to hit the streets in defense of women's rights, demonstrating the major-

ity backing for a woman's right to choose abortion in particular.

But the NOW leadership has taken a different course; one that does not look to building a fighting movement to defend the rights of all women — separate and apart from the rulers and their parties, who represent the interests of the capitalist class.

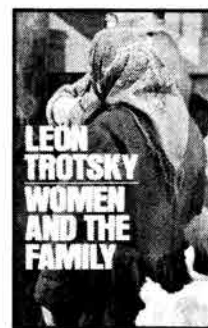
Only two weeks after the commission recommendation, the New Jersey chapter of NOW held its annual conference and adopted the plan. The conference voted to be a part of a newly formed party and to field at least one candidate in the 1992 congressional elections. At the same time, the conference recognized several Republican and Democratic politicians as "Feminist Legislators of the Year."

A few days later, New Jersey NOW announced its support for 42 candidates for the Assembly and Senate in the November 5 elections. These endorsements were for Democrats and Republicans who said they supported the Equal Rights Amendment, civil rights for gays, and defense of abortion rights.

The recent move by NOW to form a new party might give such forces some "independence" from — i.e. more leverage with — the Democratic Party. But NOW does not profess or advocate the only kind of independence that can lead the struggles of working people forward: independent working-class political action. Far from this, their plan stays within the class framework of the billionaire ruling families who run the United States.

Independent political action is needed to defend women's rights — as well as all rights in the interests of the working class. The formation of an independent political party — one independent of the ruling class and its interests — will come out of the fights of working people to defend themselves against the rulers' offensive.

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"EXPANDED BILL OF RIGHTS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY"

WHEREAS, we are determined that an Equal Rights Amendment that bans sex discrimination in the United States Constitution is ratified; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court has begun to dismantle women's reproductive rights; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court has refused to grant the right to privacy on the basis of sexual preference; and

WHEREAS, the Supreme Court has dismantled affirmative action plans that fight institutional practices of race and sex discrimination; and

WHEREAS, the original Bill of Rights was passed in the year 1789 at a time when slavery was legal and women were considered legal chattel by our revolutionary founders; and

WHEREAS, it is time to complete the promise of liberty and justice under the law for all; and

WHEREAS, our nation faces new problems of catastrophic environmental conditions which could not have been conceived of by the country's founders;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that it is time for an expanded Bill of Rights

for the 21st Century which will ensure that all citizens of the United States enjoy basic, inalienable and indivisible human rights to which must be added:

1. the right to freedom from sex discrimination;
2. the right to freedom from race discrimination;
3. the right of all women to freedom from government interference in abortion, birth control and pregnancy and the right of indigent women to public funds for abortion, birth control and pregnancy services;
4. the right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation;
5. the right to freedom from discrimination based on religion, age, ongoing health condition, or a differently abled situation;
6. a right to a decent standard of living, including adequate food, housing, health care and education;
7. the right to clean air, clean water, safe toxic waste disposal, and environmental protection; and
8. the right to be free from violence, including freedom from the threat of nuclear war.

Daily actions demand end to Haiti coup

Continued from front page
general strike October 4.

Chanting, "Down with the military dictator" and "We want constitutional government," a crowd estimated by police at 15,000 rallied in Miami October 1. "This is the largest march we've ever had," stated police Sgt. Roy Brown. Another rally October 5, the sixth in the city since the coup, drew 8,000. Asked by a reporter why people continue to protest, one woman said, "This is what we can do to respond."

In New York City, 5,000 gathered outside the United Nations October 3 as Aristide addressed the Security Council inside. Thousands of Haitians have been protesting at the United Nations every evening since the military seized power. Many are determined to remain in the streets until Aristide is restored to power and the coup plotters brought to justice.

Aristide did not address the crowd of supporters waiting anxiously for him outside the UN and OAS meetings. Instead he spent his time appealing for support from official government bodies and ruling-class representatives.

As he made the rounds on Capitol Hill, Aristide expressed his hope that he could be reinstated through pressure on the military from outside of Haiti. "It's better to think of the force of the international community than to think of other forces," he stated.

After the OAS delegation returned from Haiti, Washington began a pressure campaign against Aristide, voicing concerns over supposed 'human rights violations.'

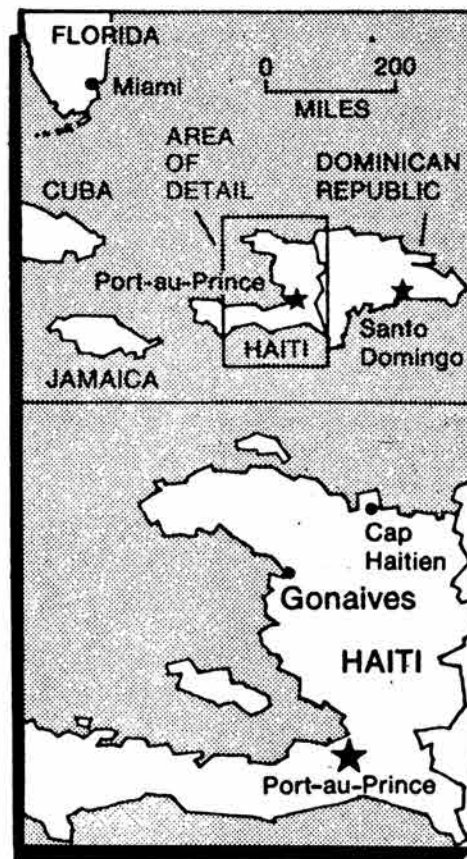
In a blatant violation of Haitian sovereignty, a State Department official said that "part of the equation for putting him back in his rightful place and reaching a solution is for him to assure all Haitians that he will not tolerate or condone the mob violence that has taken place."

To dispell any confusion that by the "mob violence" he meant the military coup, the official asserted, "There is a generalized fear down there that the mobs that sometimes act for President Aristide's Lavalas movement have been tolerated or condoned by him."

The Pentagon announced October 2 that 300-500 marines had been sent to the U.S. Guantánamo base in Cuba in preparation for a possible evacuation of 15,000 U.S.

citizens in Haiti. Washington illegally occupies this part of Cuban territory. Nearly two dozen U.S. Navy ships from destroyers to frigates are currently stationed in waters off the Haitian coast.

Washington has a long record of military intervention in Haiti and propping up dictatorships there. U.S. Marines invaded Haiti in 1915 and occupied the country until 1934, killing 15,000 Haitians resisting their



rule. Washington backed the brutal reign of François Duvalier and his son Jean-Claude from 1957 until 1986, when the dictatorship was overthrown through a massive uprising of the Haitian people.

"I am disinclined to use American force," stated Bush. "We've got a big history of American force in this hemisphere, and so we've got to be very careful about that. But I will see how others feel at the OAS. There might be some talk over there now about a multinational force of some sort."

In a meeting with Aristide October 4, Bush said that for the moment foreign mil-

itary intervention in Haiti is not an option.

Deepening repression in Haiti

In a move to consolidate its hold on power the new Haitian military junta has banned street demonstrations, all public meetings, and declared a dusk-to-dawn curfew. More than 250 people were killed in Haiti's capital city, Port-au-Prince, during the first five days of the coup.

"If we don't get Aristide back, the people will blow this country up," said a security guard working at a downtown building. "These soldiers are nothing but highway-men, thugs, and thieves."

In an attempt to win some legitimacy for the new regime, Brig. Gen. Raoul Cedras, the leader of the military junta, said that he was not the head of the government and that it would be up to the National Assembly to name an interim president.

One Haitian businessman summed up the predicament facing wings of the country's capitalist rulers and, to a certain extent, Washington and its imperialist allies as well.

"For the first time, I think civil war is a real possibility in this country," the apprehensive businessman told the *New York Times*. "If Aristide doesn't come back there will be hell. But if he does come back the people will try to burn the soldiers one by one."

Because the Haitian people are determined to defend their rights and hard-won ability to form unions and other organizations, the regime can only stay in power through continued bloody repression. But the ruling class also fears that overturning the coup would give workers, peasants, and others renewed confidence to press forward their struggles.

Aristide, a Catholic priest, became president of Haiti in February 1991 after winning 67 percent of the popular vote in an election last December. He took over a country suffering from a legacy of a century of imperialist exploitation and oppression. Haiti remains the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere with a 40 percent unemployment rate, 85 percent illiteracy, and an annual per capita gross domestic product of only \$375.

Aristide's popularity among the Haitian masses stems from his earlier campaign against the U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship. In 1988 the paramilitary Tontons

Macoutes attacked his church while he was saying mass, killing 13 people.

Upon assuming office, Aristide ordered price cuts on basic food staples like rice and flour and announced plans to raise the minimum wage from \$2 to \$3.50 a day.

He also took some initial steps toward reforming the army and weeding out the Tontons Macoutes. Aristide began replacing some senior army officers. In July, he appointed Cedras to the top position of chief of the army general staff.

He ran into further conflict with army brass as he moved to set up his own personal 300-man presidential militia outside of the army's control. At the UN Security Council meeting, Aristide appealed for economic aid for the specific goal of establishing a national police force to replace the army.

Aristide had also spoken out strongly against the slavery-like conditions under which thousands of Haitians labor on sugar plantations in the Dominican Republic. In response to the publicity about these working conditions, the Dominican government has expelled 10,000 Haitian sugar cane workers since June, claiming they were illegal immigrants. The return of these workers to Haiti where jobs are difficult to find only deepens the economic crisis there.

Warming up to Washington

In a pleasant surprise for Washington, Aristide made a point of warming up to the U.S. government and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) once he assumed office. He has "tried to present the U.S. in a positive way to the Haitian people," said U.S. ambassador to Haiti, Alvin Adams.

To build better business relations with international capitalist banking institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, Aristide had begun implementing austerity measures, with all the suffering this entails for Haitian working people.

In a bid to qualify for loans from the IMF, Aristide eliminated 5,000 state jobs. In July, Haitian officials succeeded in obtaining promises of \$442 million in new loans and aid with the help of the World Bank.

"There were worries that Aristide would set up an authoritarian socialist state and be virtually anti-American, but that hasn't happened," noted a European diplomat.

But the limited reforms carried out under Aristide's administration proved too much for a big wing of the Haitian capitalist and landowning class, who appear to back the military coup and the widespread repression carried out since Aristide's ouster.

Cable News Network reported October 7 that Aristide had flown to Venezuela after agreeing to a number of terms for his reinstatement dictated by coup leaders. These included not punishing the military for the coup, giving more decision-making power to the National Assembly, and denouncing "mob" violence. Aristide also encouraged a future OAS presence in the country.

'Nueva Internacional' on Che Guevara and Cuba now available

Nueva Internacional no. 2 is now available. Titled *Che Guevara, Cuba y el camino al socialismo* (Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism), the magazine focuses on the experiences of the Cuban revolution to discuss the fight for socialism.

The issue includes several articles by Guevara, and contributions by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, *New International* editor Mary-Alice Waters, and Socialist Workers Party leaders Jack Barnes and Steve Clark. Each discusses how working people can rid the world of capitalism — with its exploitation, wars, racism, oppression of women, and dog-eat-dog individualism — and begin a transition toward a communist society free of these horrors.

Guevara pioneered and defended economic policies in Cuba in the early 1960s aimed at organizing working people to answer in practice these giant issues in world politics.

Nueva Internacional no. 2 is available for \$12 at the Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Miami anti-coup rallies grow to 15,000

BY TOM FISKE
AND JEAN LUC DUVALL

MIAMI — "We want Aristide" was the most popular chant heard at a demonstration of more than 15,000 Haitians here October 2. The action and slogan marked a big step forward in the self-confidence of Miami's large Haitian community and its determination to thwart the military coup that had ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide from Haiti two days earlier.

It was the largest in a series of marches against the coup that have had a broad impact on politics in this area. Some papers reported up to 20,000 attended the protest.

The demonstration, built in one day, dominated downtown Miami. Thousands

of people were in the streets all afternoon and well into the evening. The march began at the Pierre Toussaint Haitian Catholic Center and went to Bicentennial Park in the center of downtown, where demonstrators heard speakers condemn the coup.

A coalition of 10 Haitian organizations sponsored the march. Local television stations reported extensively on the protest, breaking into regularly scheduled programs to show films of the march and the crowds.

Most political figures have issued statements condemning the coup, including some counterrevolutionary Cuban organizations. The Miami city government has done some things to help the actions, such as providing the sound stage for the big rally.

The initial reaction of the city government, led by Mayor Xavier Suarez, was to launch an attack on the right to demonstrate in the streets. As news of the coup reached Miami several hundred Haitians began to gather and protest on 54th Street, a traditional free-speech center in the heart of the Haitian community. When protesters began a small bonfire in the street, Suarez mobilized a riot squad of several hundred cops.

Police dropped tear gas into the demonstration from helicopters. They arrested 25 people and finally pushed the protest off the streets by 11:00 p.m.

The big-business media was ablaze with cries of "violence" — not by the military in Haiti or the Miami cops, but by the protesters. Major political figures called for closing the street to any future rallies.

Early the next day, several hundred protesters returned and began discussing what could be done to fight the coup. The mayor again mobilized the cops to occupy the center of the street. By 5:00 p.m. the dem-

onstrators were still standing their ground. Their ranks were swelled by thousands of Haitian workers leaving their jobs. Seeing this, the city government was forced to remove the cops.

"Restore Aristide" became the central demand, this time put forward with renewed self-confidence.

Demonstrators, aware of the strong influence of the U.S. government on Haitian politics, also demanded that Washington stop economic aid to the military junta.

One point of debate has been whether or not to demand U.S. military intervention in Haiti. Some of the signs held during the rallies said "Liberty or death, remember 1915" and "U.S. hands off." In 1915 U.S. marines invaded Haiti.

Many protesters are especially angry that U.S. President Bush, speaking in Miami the day after the coup, did not say one word to condemn it. Instead, his talk centered on Washington's desire to overthrow Cuban president Fidel Castro.

In a brief speech to the October 4 demonstration Jackie Floyd, cochairperson of the Miami Socialist Workers 1991 Campaign, stressed the need to continue the mobilizations and to reach out to other working people who also oppose the coup.

"The fight to return President Aristide to power and dismantle the new military government is a fight ahead of us, not behind us. It is a fight which can be won," she explained.

"This fight can be deeply affected by actions in the streets of Miami, New York, and elsewhere. Working people in this country have a big stake in the fight by workers in Haiti. Their struggle to organize, defend their rights, and throw off decades of brutal oppression should have the support of the labor movement."

— CALENDAR —

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Free Mark Curtis! Speaker: Priscilla Schenk, national representative, Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Slideshow. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 12. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Patriotic Hall, Navy Room, 1816 S Figueroa St. Sponsor: Los Angeles Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

BRITAIN

Sheffield

Grand Opening, Pathfinder Bookshop. Evening celebration at the Burngreave Vestry Hall, opposite the Pathfinder Bookshop. Speakers: Miguel Martinez Moles, political counselor, Cuban Embassy; Tottenham 3 Families Campaign for Justice; representative, Pathfinder New York; Marcella FitzGerald, Communist League. Sat., Oct. 12. Buffet and bar 6 p.m.; speakers 7:30 p.m.; entertainment 9:30 p.m. 1 Gower St., Burngreave. Donation: £6. Tel: 0742-765070.

Target week sets the pace for successful drive

BY RONI McCANN

Militant supporters are on a real campaign footing to surpass their goal of winning 6,200 new readers to the socialist press by November 2. During the special sales blitz September 21-28, 426 *Militant* subscriptions arrived in the business office — the best week yet!

Supporters must sign up 381 new readers each week to stay on schedule. This week we received 344 *Militant* subscriptions, showing the kind of weekly momentum needed in every city.

Supporters can get ahead in every city during the all-out sales target week planned for October 19-26. The flood of sales articles received this week indicates supporters of the *Militant* are finding it the best way to reach out to coworkers, participants in political activities, and young people with a communist perspective on the world class struggle.

Chicago comes alive

The best comeback yet is in Chicago. Supporters there stood at a mere 23 percent last week. On October 3 they mapped out a 10-day action plan with the goal of selling 5 *Militant* subscriptions each day. In the first three days they sold 30 subscriptions and now stand at 52 percent of their goal!

"The work we had done during the last target week was just the beginning of the effort we needed to win 163 new readers," said Susie Winsten, sales drive coordinator in Chicago.

How did they do it? First they decided to meet with each and every participant in the sales effort to lay out the big challenge they faced and the plans to turn the drive around. Three supporters volunteered right away to take a day off work and hit the campuses and working-class neighborhoods in Chicago. Three others decided to travel to nearby Kalamazoo, Michigan, and sell at Western Michigan University, where nine new readers signed up.

"We planned sales for every day: morning, afternoon, and evening," said Winsten.

The effort mounted in Chicago and the impressive results show what is possible and what can be done in each and every city.

Below are more reports. Keep the letters coming in!

Sales to unionists

Bernie Senter from Morgantown reports: A team of *Militant* readers traveled to Ravenswood, West Virginia, where 1,700 steelworkers have been locked out by Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation for 11 months. A women married to a steelworker renewed her subscription and told the team that her daughter had introduced her to the

Militant years ago: "She told me, 'If you want to know the truth, read the *Christian Science Monitor* and the *Militant*.' It's the only way I can find out what's going on." She also purchased a copy of *New Internationalist* and Pathfinder literature on South Africa. During the week we sold 20 *Militant* subscriptions, putting us ahead of schedule.

Target week successes

Mike Shur in Salt Lake City writes: After spending four hours out on the streets *Militant* sales teams returned to the Pathfinder bookstore here to learn that they had surpassed their target week goal of 40 *Militant* subscriptions. Forty-six people signed up for the *Militant* and 3 for the *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Of these, 10 *Militant* and 2 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions were sold on door-to-door sales near the bookstore and around the University of Utah. On weeknights supporters called those who had expressed interest in subscribing, picked up renewals, and went out on door-to-door sales.

Mark Severs writes from Seattle: Supporters of the international subscription campaign in Seattle have decided to raise their goals for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in order to help reach the overall goal of 6,200. This decision came after a successful and exciting target week in which supporters sold 31 subscriptions in 7 days.

The week got off to a big start with a team that went through working-class communities in the Yakima Valley and attended the fifth anniversary celebration of the United Farm Workers of Washington State. The 300-400 farm workers present heard several speakers, including Stuart Crome, Socialist Workers candidate for Seattle City Council. The total for the weekend sales effort in the valley were 4 *Militant* and 13 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions.

Chris Remple from Des Moines: Through the course of the subscription target week supporters in Des Moines sold 31 *Militant* and 3 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and 1 copy of *New Internationalist*. We went from being almost two weeks behind to being on time.

We sold 6 *Militant* subscriptions the first week of the drive, 8 the second week, and 10 the third week. The highlight of the week was a two-day team to Cedar Falls and Waterloo, focused on the University of Northern Iowa. The team sold 13 *Militant* subscriptions, 13 copies of the *Militant* and one *New Internationalist* no. 7. Four members of Students for Peace, a campus antiwar group, bought subscriptions. We are raising our subscription goal for the *Militant* from 126 to 136 and for *Perspectiva Mundial* from 17 to 25.

YSA backs drive

Tony Lane from the Twin Cities reports: Supporters here sold 30 subscriptions to the *Militant*, two to *Perspectiva Mundial* and 11 copies of *New Internationalist*. In addition, two Twin Cities *Militant* supporters are part of a sales team in Wichita.

The YSA has been a big part of the sales effort here. YSA members have already sold 43 units toward their goal of 65. During the target week, as well as getting out to campuses where the YSA has set up tables before, teams went to Normandale Community College. The YSA also took part in a panel discussion at Armstrong High School on "The Political Spectrum." Supporters here have raised their *Militant* goal by 20 to a total of 165.

New Zealand reports

Just in from Brigid Rotherham in New Zealand: From university students to striking seamen, more workers and young people decided to subscribe to the *Militant* during a successful target week here. Over the eight days we sold 60 subscriptions, along with seven copies of *New Internationalist*!

Ten students subscribed at Waikato University and four at Canterbury University. The highlight of the week was the team that went to the university town of Dunedin where 13 people subscribed and two bought copies of *New Internationalist*.

Deborah Liatos in Newark: On October 5 supporters of the *Militant* joined hundreds of protesters in East Orange, New Jersey, demanding an end to the military coup in Haiti and the reinstatement of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.



'Militant' sales team in Sydney, Australia.

Militant/Bob Andrews

Three subscriptions to the *Militant*, 2 subscriptions to *L'Internationaliste*, and 2 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* were sold. In Elizabeth, New Jersey, in addition to going door-to-door, *Militant* distributors went to a protest against police brutality. That night 35 people attended the Militant Labor Forum in New-

ark to hear a talk on the coup in Haiti and its lessons for working people.

Thirty-one subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold overall this past week, which puts Newark ahead of schedule. Supporters of the *Militant* here have raised their goal once and are discussing another raise.

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											
Salt Lake City *	150	96	64%	24	10	54	5	2	0	230	111
Philadelphia	65	37	57%	20	8	35	5	2	0	122	50
Miami *	100	56	56%	30	15	44	22	5	1	179	94
Newark, NJ *	150	84	56%	50	25	70	12	5	2	275	123
Detroit	102	57	56%	10	2	30	13	2	0	144	72
Seattle *	95	52	55%	35	23	27	12	3	0	160	87
Twin Cities, Minn.	165	90	55%	18	13	55	23	2	0	240	126
Los Angeles *	170	92	54%	100	54	107	17	3	0	380	163
New York *	250	134	54%	80	48	110	27	10	4	450	213
Pittsburgh	75	40	53%	3	4	30	6	2	0	110	50
Atlanta *	121	64	53%	12	1	56	7	2	0	191	72
Cleveland	85	43	51%	10	3	25	0	2	0	122	46
Birmingham, Ala.	110	55	50%	5	0	43	0	2	0	160	55
Washington, DC	100	48	48%	18	13	55	23	2	0	175	84
Greensboro, NC	55	26	47%	10	1	14	3	1	0	80	30
St. Louis	115	51	44%	5	1	30	7	2	0	152	59
Boston *	125	54	43%	40	8	53	24	7	4	225	90
Baltimore	85	36	42%	12	3	40	7	3	1	140	47
Morgantown, WV *	90	37	41%	3	2	30	3	2	0	125	42
Omaha, Neb.	86	35	41%	12	5	25	10	2	0	125	50
San Francisco	160	65	41%	65	16	72	18	3	0	300	99
Anamosa	10	4	40%	2	0	0	0	0	0	12	4
Des Moines, Iowa *	136	55	40%	25	10	40	6	2	0	203	71
Portland	15	6	40%	0	0	10	6	0	0	25	12
Louisville	6	2	33%	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	2
Cincinnati	17	5	29%	2	0	6	0	0	0	25	5
Houston	75	22	29%	20	4	30	4	2	0	127	30
Chicago	163	38	23%	40	5	70	8	2	0	275	51
Wichita	10	2	20%	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	2
New Haven, Conn.	18	3	17%	2	0	5	0	0	0	25	3
Denver	6	3	50%	3	0	2	0	0	0	11	3
National teams	25	21	84%	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	21
U.S. TOTAL	2,935	1,413	48%	656	274	1,168	268	70	12	4,829	1,967
AUSTRALIA *											
BELGIUM	27	13	48%	7	1	15	8	1	0	50	22
BRITAIN	4	1	25%	1	0	7	1	10	1	22	3
London	100	44	44%	7	5	70	27	3	0	180	76
Manchester	60	18	30%	3	1	40	4	2	0	105	23
Sheffield	60	16	27%	3	1	40	0	2	0	105	17
Other Britain	10	3	30%	0	2	0	0	0	0	10	5
BRITAIN TOTAL	230	81	35%	13	9	150	31	7	0	400	121
CANADA											
Vancouver *	80	44	55%	15	10	30	11	5	1	130	66
Toronto	75	41	56%	15	12	35	24	5	3	130	80
Montreal	65	32	49%	20	10	50	21	30	19	165	82
CANADA TOTAL	220	117	53%	50	32	115	56	40	23	425	228
FRANCE	5	3	60%	5	2	20	17	15	7	45	29
ICELAND	20	7	35%	0	1	4	1	0	0	24	9
MEXICO	0	0	0%	15	0	5	0	0	0	20	0
NEW ZEALAND											
Christchurch	53	40	75%	2	0	12	3	1	0	68	43
Auckland	75	40	53%	9	0	25	7	1	0	110	47
Wellington	50	23	46%	3	0	14	10	1	0	68	33
Other N. Zealand	4	7	175%	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7
N. Z. TOTAL	182	110	60%	14	0	51	20	3	0	250	130
PUERTO RICO	2	0	0%	6	2	6	5	0	0	14	7
SWEDEN	45	24	53%	20	15	15	9	3	2	83	50
TOTAL	3,670	1,769	48%	787	336	1,556	416	149	45	6,162	2,566
SHOULD BE		1,825	50%		394		778		75		3,076
DRIVE GOALS	3,660			800		1,600		140		6,200	

*Raised goals.

Selling the socialist press to unionists

Union	Militant*		New Int'l	
	% Sold	(Goal)	Sold	(Goal)
UNITED STATES				
ACTWU	26%	34	9	10
IAM	37%	127	47	44
ILGWU	36%	25	9	8
IUE	26%	65	17	18
OCAW	26%	38	10	25
UAW	35%	82	29	28
UFCW	37%	100	37	25
UMWA	52%	25	13	9
USWA	52%	91	47	25
UTU	30%	105	31	45
TOTAL	36%	692	249	237
SHOULD BE	50%		346	119
BRITAIN				
AEU	10%	10	1	6
NUM	29%	14	4	9
RMT	23%	26	6	13
TGWU	15%	20	3	8
TOTAL	20%	70	14	36
SHOULD BE	50%		35	18
CANADA				
ACTWU	0%	6	0	2
CAW	60%	10	6	3
IAM	8%	12	1	4
USWA	6%	16	1	8
TOTAL	18%	44	8	17
SHOULD BE	50%		22	9
SWEDEN				
FOOD WORKERS	0%	6	0	3
METAL	78%	9	7	3
TOTAL	47%	15	7	6
SHOULD BE	50%		8	3

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

Federal workers in Canada dealt setback

BY ROBERT SIMMS

OTTAWA — Officials of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) requested some 100,000 striking members return to work October 3, a few hours after the Canadian government adopted back-to-work legislation.

The union's officials backed off from a fight despite the union membership's determination to take on government wage controls and the fact that none of the union's demands had been won.

With the collapse of any pretense that the officialdom would lead a fight, Ottawa was able to impose its main concession demands. Accepting the back-to-work legislation meant agreeing to a wage freeze the first year, a 3 percent increase the second, openings for contracting out work, and refusal to give women equal pay.

PSAC is the main union organizing federal government employees.

This was the first national PSAC strike. "We got the right legally to become a union in 1967, but we became a union in 1991," said Joyce Handy, a Toronto strike leader.

"As far as our demands were concerned, we didn't win, we probably lost," said Danielle-Marie Rouleau, who works in a Montreal Employment and Immigration office, as she returned to work. "But we did succeed in raising our dignity and our pride."

The overwhelming majority of PSAC workers participated in the strike. More than 70,000 signed up for daily picket duty. Mass pickets of dozens and at times even hundreds of workers marched in front of government offices.

Strikers closed ports and bridges, slowed down air traffic, and paralyzed government ministries and services.

On the last day of the strike, PSAC workers shut down the multiservice federal building in Edmonton, Alberta. Police sprayed cayenne-pepper-based gas at strikers to clear a path for managers. Three workers were hospitalized.

Strikers attended two rallies of more than 15,000 on Ottawa's Parliament Hill, a highlight of which was the unity between workers from Quebec and from elsewhere in Canada.

On October 2, while the government was putting the final touch on its back-to-work law, strikers came to Ottawa in busloads from towns in Ontario and Quebec, some from as far as 500 miles away. "Zero for wages, zero for pay equity, zero job security, and fat bonuses for managers," read one placard. "Mulroney, candidate for dictator," read another, referring to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

The effectiveness and potential of these actions were blunted at each stage by the conduct of the entire trade union officialdom in Canada. They viewed the strike as a way to simply pressure the government, rather than utilizing union power to lead a fight and organizing the walkout to shut down work sites and force the government to back off its demands.

Top officials of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), for example, called off the strike of some 46,000 postal workers on the eve of the PSAC strike deadline, despite the fact that Canada Post had not backed off on its demands for concessions. This move prevented the two strikes from reinforcing each other. Talks between CUPW officials and the government-appointed mediator have gone nowhere so far.

Before the PSAC strike began, PSAC top officials accepted federal legislation keeping 46,000 members out of the strike on the grounds that these workers provided "essential services." This kept one-third of the 155,000 PSAC members on the job during the strike.

Demand for a mediator

Throughout the walkout, PSAC officials concentrated their focus on the demand that the government agree to appoint a mediator. On September 18 they called off the strike the first time, without discussion or vote by the membership, based on a promise that the government would reopen negotiations and suspend efforts to pass its back-to-work legislation. The government never retreated from its main demands.

Nine days later, PSAC officials called the members out on strike again. However, it was hard for workers to see what had changed. Many workers felt like pawns in this battle.

Union officials made it clear they would not lead the membership to simply ignore back-to-work legislation.

PSAC first vice-president James Mac-



Federal workers showed fighting spirit; officials submitted to government demands.

Ewan told reporters that returning to work would be decided by individual members, whose decisions, he said, would be governed by their conscience "and their pocketbooks." Having bowed to Ottawa, union officials are making the defeat of the Conservative Party in the next elections a major part of their strategy. At the October 2 Ottawa rally, Canadian Labour Congress president Shirley Carr, PSAC president Daryl Bean, and CUPW president Jean-Claude Parrot told strikers the next big battle was to defeat Mulroney at the polls. "PSAC members have shown their unity and their determination,"

said Parrot. "And they will be much stronger when Brian Mulroney has to face the voters."

On October 3, as PSAC members prepared to return to work, many condemned the government actions, but most thought there was no choice but to return.

Kass Sunderji, a Toronto PSAC worker, said, "I don't know that there's much of a choice. We could only stay out if everybody was ready to stay out."

A PSAC striker in Quebec City described the end of the strike as "a victory for Mulroney and Bean."

Another striker, who is from Kingston and

Salt Lake socialist wins hearing in mayor campaign

Continued from Page 16

in an interview. "I discuss with coworkers why the real criminals are the big businessmen who organize and profit off our labor, and off drugs, prostitution, and so on. Their system perpetuates crimes against humanity: cop brutality directed at Blacks, Mexicans, and working people; wars, the spiraling debt crisis in the semicolonial world; and union-busting at home."

"Many coworkers, their friends and relatives, have experienced cop harassment and they know that what happened to Rodney King in Los Angeles wasn't exceptional. My defense of abortion rights has also been very well received."

Socialist campaign literature is up on many of the bulletin boards at the Phillips oil refinery where Grogan works. All the articles about the campaign and the answers to the questionnaire in the *Salt Lake Tribune* have been posted up and are discussed by her coworkers. One OCAW union officer from another oil refinery called Grogan at home after one of the TV debates to congratulate her on how well she did. A coworker commented, "I like how you get right to the working class in what you say."

Grogan was also able to blast the "good business practices" that would supposedly bring jobs for working people. "These candidates are talking about giving McDonnell Douglas Corp. \$500 million in incentives to locate a factory here."

"They say, 'Come to Utah. We have low wages, weak unions, and poor environmental standards.' This kind of blackmail against working people is part of the big problem that we face today. McDonnell Douglas laid off thousands of workers in California and Missouri this year. They're not interested in 'providing good jobs'; they're interested in 'making good profits' on the backs of working people," she said.

Talking to young people

At a speaking engagement with 40 Highland High School students Grogan was able to address the environmental concerns of people in this area. One student asked, "What would you do about corporate pollution and the workers who will lose their jobs if we try

to clean up the environment?"

"Working people are the most victimized by bad environmental and weak safety policies," Grogan said. "Utah's giant industrial polluters — oil refineries, Kennecott, Geneva, MagCorp, Hercules, and the rest — must be forced to clean up. These companies should use the tens of millions of dollars they make in profits every year to make the environment clean and their workplaces safe. There is no need for any workers to lose their jobs. Biological and chemical weapons testing which is done at the Dugway military facility should also be halted immediately," Grogan stated.

After the meeting 10 students signed up for more information on the campaign and the Young Socialist Alliance.

While campaigning at the high school later that week a student who was given a leaflet said, "I've already made up my mind, I'm going socialist, I'm voting for Grogan." An older woman who got a flyer from Grogan said, "My daughter told me I should vote for you."

At a meeting at Brigham Young University Grogan discussed the changes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and their relation to the fight for socialism.

"What existed in those countries wasn't socialism because they were based on oppression. In Cuba, on the other hand, you will find a people who are both trying to resolutely fight against imperialism and build socialism," the SWP candidate said. "While the island has many economic problems due to the U.S. embargo and the drop in trade with the Soviet Union, Cuba continues to make advances in many areas."

"Young people can also look to the revolutionary struggle led by the African National Congress to bring down apartheid in South Africa, to see that a fight for a better world is possible today."

In the interview Grogan said she has explained "throughout this campaign that Washington will drag humanity into more wars. The economic crisis of world capitalism threatens to become a depression. The fight for a decent standard of living for working people, abortion rights, affirmative action, an end to war, and a clean environment are examples of the struggles that will unfold as the old imperialist world order brings

works at the Royal Military College, noted, "They can't put 100,000 of us in jail." He said that defiance is "not going to happen," however.

Michel Prairie, the Communist League candidate for Quebec National Assembly in the upcoming Anjou by-election, attended a Montreal PSAC rally of strikers before they returned to work.

"Mulroney wants to set the trend for Canadian bosses in general," Prairie said in an interview. "The labor officialdom's dismal betrayal of this fight should send a warning to all working people: only through our mobilization and determination can the employer-government offensive be pushed back."

The Communist League candidate pointed to the government's success at implementing its wage-control package as a setback for the entire labor movement. "This victory for the ruling rich will make it harder for CUPW workers to win their demands and will embolden the employers to assault the unions as a whole," he said.

"The strike could have succeeded. Starting the strike with virtually no experience, union ranks quickly forged considerable strength, unity in action, and built enormous support among workers across Canada."

"The so-called back-to-work legislation with its \$100 million-a-day fines," Prairie said, "is simply a piece of paper. Exercising real union power and standing up to this threat would have called Ottawa's bluff."

"But the strategy of top labor officials in Canada is one of striving for a 'good working relationship' with the bosses, not seeking to advance the interests of all working people."

"Working people need a strategy independent of the capitalists and their government," he said. "Rather than making deals with the bosses, we should reject the idea that the government or the opposition parties or the courts or the mediators will 'give' us anything."

"Discussing the lessons of the PSAC strike in the unions, factories, mines, and mills is essential to prepare for the battles to come."

increasing devastation to working people. The ultimate aim of workers in these battles is to replace the government of the billionaire ruling families with one that represents the class interests of workers and farmers the world over.

"These struggles continue 365 days a year," she said. "When this campaign is over October 8, the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party will continue to be a part of these fights for the future of humanity. I'm urging working people and students to join us."

Newark to investigate complaint that cops harassed socialists

NEWARK — The city government says it will investigate a complaint that police harassed supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates for New Jersey State Senate and State Assembly.

On August 26, three cops surrounded an SWP campaign table outside the socialists' offices here. They blocked access to the table and headquarters for more than half an hour. The officers made provocative threats; one even suggested that the literature table be overturned.

On behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey, attorney William Volonte sent a letter September 7 to Glenn Grant, corporation counsel for the city of Newark. Volonte wrote that the cops' behavior "clearly contravenes the First Amendment to the United States Constitution" as well as the New Jersey state constitution.

"The City of Newark is strongly urged to refrain from any further conduct that violates free speech protections of the federal and state constitutions," Volonte concluded.

Grant replied in a letter dated September 19, stating that his office "will investigate the complaint."

The socialists have continued to set up a Saturday literature table outside their headquarters as well as to campaign and circulate the *Militant* newspaper throughout the city and other parts of the state.

International Socialist Review

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The Cuban revolution and the world fight for socialism

BY GREG McCARTAN

One hundred and seventy people crowded into the New York Militant Labor Forum September 21 to discuss a talk by *New International* editor and Socialist Workers Party leader Mary-Alice Waters in defense of the Cuban revolution and the fight for socialism.

"Cuba: Challenges facing the revolution in a changing world," was the topic that drew students, unionists, young political activists, members of a range of political organizations, and others to the meeting.

The New York gathering was one of a series of meetings sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum in the United States and internationally where Waters is speaking on Cuba — in Montreal, London, Reykjavik, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other U.S. cities.

Waters spent two-and-a-half weeks in Cuba in July and August on a reporting trip for the *Militant*. She attended the annual July 26 celebration where African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Cuban president Fidel Castro shared the platform at a mass rally in Matanzas province. The event commemorated the 38th anniversary of the 1953 attack on the Moncada barracks in Santiago de Cuba, an action that opened the revolutionary struggle that in less than five-and-a-half years would bring down the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

Developments in world politics

Waters pointed to recent developments in world politics as the starting point to understand the prospects before the Cuban revolution today and the weight of its importance for working people around the globe.

"When U.S. imperialism began its brutal war against the Iraqi people," Waters said, "the feature article in *New International* called it the 'Opening Guns of World War III.' We in the Socialist Workers Party said the onslaught did not herald a new world order. Instead, it signaled growing conflicts arising out of the declining and crisis-ridden old, imperialist world order."

The guns of war are now booming over the European continent. Yugoslavia, as we have known it for almost a half century, has ceased to exist. A full-scale conflict between the armed forces of the republics threatens to tear the country apart, as antagonistic wings of the bureaucratic regime try to drag working people there into an ever-widening war; a war that is not in the toilers' interest, and that is being resisted by them.

"Working people in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are being drawn into struggle and political life for the first time in decades," the SWP leader noted. "Not since the last of the demonstrations by revolutionary workers in Leningrad and other cities in the 1920s could it be accurately said that independent actions of working people have been a factor deeply affecting politics in the Soviet Union."

In Japan the government recently announced the most sweeping proposal since the end of World War II to end the ban on sending Japanese military forces abroad. This draft legislation to provide troops to United Nations-supervised forces dispatched to areas of armed conflict around the world, marks another step toward the economically strong Japanese ruling class utilizing its sizable military to advance its foreign policy goals, she said.

Because of sharpening interimperialist competition, the war against Iraq accelerated the drive by Japanese and German imperialism to deploy troops abroad in an attempt to counterbalance Washington's ability to use its military superiority to the detriment of its competitors.

"In the United States social conflicts and class polarization are also sharpening," Waters said. The deaths of 25 workers in a fire at a poultry plant in North Carolina; the continuing mobilization of right-wing forces in the streets of Wichita, Kansas, to close down abortion clinics and intimidate defenders of democratic rights; fights against police brutality from Los Angeles to Newark; and the social explosion by Black workers in Crown



Trabajadores/Roly Montalban



Militant/Rich Stuart

Mass rallies in Havana May 1, 1990, (left) and on July 26, 1990. Cuban people are confronting challenges before their revolution, determined never to return their country to capitalism and domination by imperialism.

Heights, Brooklyn, against worsening conditions and brutal government indifference all highlight the continuing political repercussions of the capitalist economic offensive of the last 15 years.

"In Latin America, Africa, and Asia the debt crisis continues to have devastating consequences for the living standards of tens of millions of toilers," Waters said. "As the foundations of the imperialist economic order erode, working people there are being driven toward the day when they say 'no more' to the widening social and economic consequences of debt peonage to banks in the imperialist countries."

"This," she said, "is the place to start any discussion on the Cuban revolution. It is from this unstable and oppressive world that fighters will come forward and chart a revolutionary course. This is the world in which the Cuban people themselves are today involved in a struggle to defend their country and advance their revolution. If we understand the powerful historical forces that are shaping our world, we will know why it is false to picture the Cuban revolution as an isolated anachronism reflecting the past, not the future."

Since the defeat of the August 19 coup attempt in the Soviet Union and the consolidation of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin regime, "U.S. imperialism has moved to tighten the screws on Cuba, demanding the USSR and the republics cease trade with Cuba."

Waters noted the Cuban government's "swift and unequivocal" response to the unilateral announcement made September 11 by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev that Soviet troops would be immediately and unilaterally withdrawn from Cuba. The troops had been in Cuba according to a 1963 treaty as a safeguard against a U.S. invasion. Gorbachev, who made the public pro-

nouncement during a visit by U.S. secretary of state James Baker to the Soviet Union, did not even mention the fact that some 2,400 U.S. troops as well as numerous warships with their marine and naval detachments are stationed at the Guantánamo naval base in eastern Cuba. He did not call on Washington to end its illegal occupation of that part of Cuban territory.

In face of these moves a September 14 editorial in *Granma*, the daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC), pointed out that the Cuban people "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."

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

It characterized the Soviet move as "giving the United States a green light to carry out its aggressive plans against Cuba." Most importantly, however, it affirmed, "We continue to believe in the peoples of the world and in the future." The editorial concluded by soberly emphasizing that the Cuban people "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."

[The full text of the September 14 editorial can be found in the September 27 issue of the *Militant*. Available for \$1.50.]

Waters said this political stance "was also the theme of the July 26 celebration. Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro explained why the struggles in South Africa and Cuba point the way forward for all humanity."

"Mandela explained why the most important lesson of

Continued on next page



Fidel Castro welcomes Nelson Mandela at Havana airport. In their July 26 speeches, the two "put forward scientific perspectives on the world needed to chart a road forward in the struggles of working people," explained SWP leader.

Continued from previous page

the Cuban revolution is 'no matter what the odds' you must struggle. It is truly a question of freedom or death," Waters said. "In his speech Castro emphasized that the cause of the ANC in the fight against apartheid is the cause of all humanity and how capitalism offers no solution for any of us anywhere."

Castro also explained why the U. S. rulers' victory songs celebrating the supposed defeat of communism are premature. Instead of a new era of prosperity and peace, world capitalism is falling into a sharpening crisis that will engender deepening social struggles as tens of millions say "enough!"

Scientific perspectives

"These were scientific perspectives put forward on July 26," the SWP leader said. "Never before has it been more important to have this understanding of the world and to know — as Marx demonstrated — what capital's laws of motion are. Only then can we effectively chart a road forward in the struggles of working people."

Although facing "the most difficult situation in the history of the revolution" the Cuban people and their leadership refuse to capitulate to the imperialist pressures.

From New York to Reykjavík, forums draw wide interest

Forums featuring Mary-Alice Waters' talk on the Cuban revolution and the fight for socialism have drawn large audiences in Britain, Canada, Iceland, and the United States.

Workers, youth, activists in Cuba solidarity organizations, students, and others have packed forum halls to hear and discuss a communist perspective on the world class struggle.

In her talk Waters emphasizes that the meetings are held not simply to learn about and analyze the current situation in Cuba, but most importantly to "prepare ourselves to become better fighters."

Thirty-two people attended Waters' forum in Reykjavík October 4. Sponsored by the International Forum Association, workers, university students, unionists, and others turned out for the event. The association was recently formed with the aim of holding public meetings on important political developments in Iceland and around the world.

At a Militant Labor Forum in London September 28, 110 people packed a meeting hall to hear Waters, as did 170 in New York City September 21. On September 7 in Montreal, 65 people participated in a lively discussion and social event after Waters' presentation.

Waters quoted from another *Granma* editorial published August 29 and reprinted in full in the September 8 weekly English-language *Granma International*.

"No matter what happens in the USSR," the editorial says, "we will not depart from the path which we have chosen as a revolutionary and scientific response to the historical need to realize [19th century Cuban independence leader and revolutionary martyr José] Martí's ideas of national independence, anti-imperialism, Latin Americanism, social justice and coexistence and advancement toward the most just, humane and rational society which humanity has conceived: socialist society."

Guided by Martí, by Marx and Engels, by Lenin and by the concrete experience of the Cuban revolution, the editorial says, "We will continue to move forward."

Waters contrasted these revolutionary perspectives to those advanced by Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian republic, in a September 6 "Town Meeting" program on ABC News.

The two were questioned on their views about socialism "considering the dismal history of communism everywhere."

"I think this experiment which was conducted on our soil was a tragedy for our people," Yeltsin said. He suggested the "experiment" should have "been conducted in some small country" to make it "clear that it was a utopian idea."

For his part Gorbachev added that the Soviet model has failed "and I believe this is the lesson not only for our people but for all peoples."

In stark contrast to these statements the political confidence and revolutionary course of the Cuban revolution today flow from the 30-plus years of its achievements, Waters said. These would have been impossible without the expropriation of the imperialists and the capital of the Cuban bourgeois families in the early 1960s, laying the basis for a planned economy and monopoly of foreign trade.

Advances in working conditions, housing, medical care, and education; giant strides forward in winning equality for women and eradicating racism; and the raising of the class consciousness and political self-confidence of millions of Cuban toilers are among the unparalleled results of the revolutionary course pursued for more than three decades.

Waters concentrated her remarks on developments in Cuba today and how the country is meeting the challenges that stem from severe shortages due to the disruption of trade with the Soviet Union and countries in Eastern Europe.

Many of the current hardships flow from deep-going errors the Cuban leadership believes it made between the early 1970s and the mid 1980s, Waters pointed out. For example, following Cuba's decision to join the trade alliance of the Soviet-bloc countries in 1972, Cuba abandoned its earlier policy of striving to become largely self-sufficient

in food. Instead large quantities of basic food items were imported from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union — including items native to Cuba such as massive amounts of fish from Siberia.

But the economic difficulties today also stem from the legacy of imperialism, which through decades of domination ensured that Cuba remained a dependent, economically backward country. Moreover, Washington has imposed an uninterrupted and brutal trade embargo on the island for more than 30 years, Waters said. "That is the real source of Cuba's problems today. Without the trade embargo they would never have been forced into such dependence on trade with the Soviet Union and would today be able to find other trading partners relatively rapidly."

The SWP leader described economic conditions in Cuba as "extremely difficult. This goes back to late 1989 when the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe collapsed. In the first six months of 1991 trade with the Soviet Union also came nearly to a halt."

Roughly 85 percent of Cuba's foreign trade was conducted with these countries, she said, nearly 70 percent with the Soviet Union alone. Between January and June of this year, except for supplies of oil coming in at reduced levels, none of the goods contracted for delivery in 1991 arrived in Cuba's ports.

"This means Cuban people spend more time standing in lines, repairing broken equipment with makeshift spare parts, enduring plant closings, and going without everyday necessities such as soap," she said. "Many food items, previously available in amounts over and above the rationed quantities, are now completely rationed. Some medicines, imported and paid for in hard currency, are also in short supply or not available at all," she said.

The growing economic catastrophe of the Soviet Union's bureaucratically managed economy will bring even further hardships. Wheat, beans, and animal fodder especially will be in critically short supply.

These breakdowns in fulfilling trade agreements with Cuba are in part a result of the "collapsing ability of the Soviet Union to organize its trade," she said. During the same time period, for example, there was a 52 percent reduction in trade between the Soviet Union and what was formerly East Germany.

Because Soviet currency is not convertible on world markets, however, it is likely that trade will continue, even if reduced, because the Soviet republics have little money to buy needed fruit, metals, sugar, and medicines. They will have to enter into barter agreements with Cuba.

During the ABC "Town Meeting" Gorbachev responded to a question as to whether the Soviet government would continue economic relations with Cuba.

Trade with Cuba is acquiring, "a character which is of mutual benefit in an economic sense. We are taking what we need — sugar, ferrous metals, citrus fruits. That's what we need," Gorbachev said. "And in turn, we provide those materials, those raw materials included, which are necessary to Cuba."

This is one reason why ships from the USSR began arriving at Cuban ports again in July, Waters said, and why trade between the two countries is unlikely to cease.

Trade not a subsidy

Waters also rebutted Washington's claim that the trade is



Mary-Alice Waters

Militant/Steven Fuchs



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Dining room at El Paraíso youth agricultural camp. Through voluntary work brigades, "Cuban people can act to change the world we live in," said Waters.

a massive "subsidy" of the Cuban economy.

"The world market price for sugar is not the price most sugar is sold for," she said. "Most is sold on long-term contracts that are politically determined."

"Sugar quotas are an economic weapon in the hands of imperialism," she noted, citing agreements by U.S. monopolies with the Philippines, the Dominican Republic, and other sugar-producing countries whose governments are pro-imperialist.

Sugar purchased by the Soviet Union from Cuba is currently bought at a price above the world market rate, she said, "but the price is lower than the Soviets would have to pay for beet sugar produced in the Soviet Union or in Europe."

Given the deteriorating economic situation, "if Cuba were any other country in the world today we would have seen significant expressions of discontent long ago," the SWP leader said. "The fact that this has not happened helps show that Cuba — despite the real bureaucratic deformations that exist — remains qualitatively different than the Soviet Union and the countries where capitalism was abolished in Eastern Europe."

In those countries what you have are not bureaucratic deformities, Waters said, "but an enormous bureaucratic caste that usurped political power from and depoliticized the working class. This bourgeois-minded, petty-bourgeois social layer is today scrambling to hold on to its vast social and economic privileges, by any means necessary — calling itself communist or anticommunist according to the needs of the hour."

"The caste scarfs up a massive proportion of the social surplus produced by working people. For decades it has relied on police-state terror, executions, forced-labor camps, and mental hospitals to defend its privileges and power," Waters said.

"In contrast, the Cuban revolution remains a deep-going, popular revolution. The absence of widespread expressions of social discontent, moreover, register the progress made in the rectification process between 1986 and 1990," she said. "This has been crucial to the Cuban people standing up to the numerous difficulties and facing new political challenges today."

Waters explained that the rectification process is a political correction introduced to reverse the direction of growing social privileges and differentiation of an administrative, bureaucratic layer in the government and state apparatus, the party and youth organization, and the mass organizations such as the trade unions.

The imposition of political policies and economic mechanisms copied from the Soviet Union from the 1970s on, led to growing depoliticization and demoralization of the Cuban working class. It also led to a giant growth in the number of people involved in non-productive, administrative tasks, enhanced their control over decisions on social priorities to the detriment of the needs of the working class, and increased the political weight of this social layer that has interests different than those of workers and farmers in Cuba.

As part of the rectification process, explicit policies have been adopted and implemented to move against the privileged access by this social layer to housing, cars, food, and vacations and to address problems such as the housing crisis and food dependency.

"With the rectification process the Cuban leadership began to deal with these dangerous and undemocratic social phenomena as political questions and that has

had a real impact on working people in Cuba," Waters said.

Fight for food self-sufficiency

One of the most important moves is the development of the food program. While a substantial rise in basic food supplies will not be seen for another year at least, a massive effort has been launched to dramatically expand the variety and amount of food produced in Cuba with the goal of largely ending reliance on imports.

At the center of this effort "is the extensive mobilization of voluntary labor," Waters said. "This involves contingents drawn from those working in factories, medical facilities, schools, offices, and elsewhere to volunteer to do agricultural work for up to two years. Plans have been set in motion to mobilize some 30,000 voluntary workers in these contingents in Havana province alone. More than 100,000 throughout the country have signed up for two-week brigades."

Combined with this labor mobilization are efforts to extend the irrigation of the land to increase productivity. Such steps are also aimed at permanently increasing the size of the labor force in the countryside, reversing the decades-long migration into the cities.

"The voluntary work brigades are crucial for the Cuban people to confidently and politically confront the economic difficulties they face," Waters said. "It is the way that masses of Cuban people can affect what is happening. They don't have to be onlookers. Instead they can act to change the world we live in."

A second line of response to Cuba's economic difficulties is to earn more hard currency to pay for needed imports through tourism. The Cuban government aims to rapidly increase the number of hotel rooms available to accommodate a projected 1 million tourists in 1995, up from 340,000 in 1990. The hope is that some 40 percent of the new hotels will be joint ventures, primarily with Spanish and Italian consortiums.

This is not a popular step in Cuba, Waters reported. It is seen as a necessary evil. Government officials and leaders of the Communist Party say that while this move is unavoidable to earn foreign currency, they recognize the overhead price that will be paid. This includes a growing dollar economy on the island parallel to the peso economy, and the inevitable corruption and black marketeering that arises with the interpenetration of the two currency zones. Enormous material resources are being devoted to building hotels while housing and other pressing needs are delayed. Food is available for tourists even when it's not available for Cuban households, and most Cuban restaurants — especially the best ones — are now only accessible to parties of tourists with dollars.

Growing pressures and polarization

The shortages and the fact that there is no way to rapidly find new sources of many crucial imports has resulted in growing tensions and inevitable polarization inside the country.

"Not all 11 million Cubans are communists," Waters pointed out. "Many, of course, are not political people at all. They just want an improving standard of living and space to live their lives with family and friends."

"Cuba is *their* country, however. They are proud of standing up to Uncle Sam and willing to fight to insure that Cuba is never again dominated by imperialism."

"There is also a small — very small — minority that wants capitalist property restored, and actively pursues that end," Waters added. "But as the economic difficulties grow, others — especially among the more privileged — will inevitably start to think that capitalism is the only way out."

One manifestation of social polarization is an increase in crime. While insignificant compared to capitalist countries, for Cubans it is a big change. Locks on apartment gates and grates over windows are more in evidence. A larger number of youth hang around tourist hotels and prostitution has increased. There are also more tourist police patrolling the beaches and streets around the hotels.

The number of people leaving Cuba has grown as well. In the first six months of 1991 three times as many left on flimsy rafts to cross the Florida Straits as during the whole of 1990. There has also been a rise in the number of political defectors and prominent individuals who leave Cuba on tourist visas and never return.

"While a growing number of Cubans would simply like to get out of the line of fire, there are millions who mean it when they say 'we will never go back to the slave barracks'," Waters said. "They want to find a way that will take them forward, rather than backward to capitalism with all its misery and degradation."

This can be seen in a number of ways, including the fact that "rationing is not an unpopular measure in Cuba. The inefficiencies and bureaucratic bungling are unpopular, but most Cubans understand and agree that rationing is the only way to share what is available in an equitable way."

Growing politicization

"A growing politicization, reflected in the breadth of discussions and debate," the SWP leader said, is another example of the widespread desire to take on the challenges posed to the revolution. "All kinds of study circles have sprung up.

Some compare it to the early years of the Social Democratic Party in Russia at the end of the last century."

Works by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, are being read, along with those by V.I. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International in its early years; leader of the Cuban revolution Ernesto Che Guevara; and others.

"Within the revolution people are trying to find a socialist course. All the taboos and restrictions on what can be discussed are breaking down," she said. "Even Trotsky, the Bolshevik leader most known for his fight to prevent the Soviet Communist Party from abandoning the course charted by Lenin, is being read with new eyes. And every thinking person knows they will have to come to understand the developments in and character of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

"Another debate is over the assessment of the human and economic resources devoted to help Angola defend itself for 15 years. Was it worth the effort? Some argue bitterly that Cuba sacrificed lives to defend Angolan sovereignty from the military invasions by South Africa, but today, when Cuba is in need, Angola sends no oil to help alleviate shortages."

"Others point out that Cubans didn't carry out a 15-year internationalist mission to get oil," Waters said. "They argue that without internationalism the Cuban revolution is dead, and that those who cannot fight for others will never be able to fight for themselves."

"This is one reason why Nelson Mandela's visit and message on July 26 were so important," Waters said. "He reminded them that without the Cuban response in Africa, Angola would not be independent, Namibia would not be independent, the ANC would still be banned, and Mandela would still be in apartheid's jails."

There is also discussion on what kind of political steps are needed to respond to the growing social tensions and polarization in Cuba. "There are those in the Communist Party of Cuba who argue that Cuba needs a kind of perestroika — more markets and material incentives, combined with a hard line on controlling all manifestations of political dissent," Waters said. "Others seek to find a communist course and a collective way forward, continuing to increase the use of voluntary labor. This course can only be accomplished by opening up greater political debate and discussion."

Eliminating bureaucratic irritations

"In the past year several very popular moves have been taken that go in the direction of opening political space, or eliminating unnecessary infringements on time and energies," she said. "These include reducing the length of military service from three years to two; a decision to review the national legislative structure and revise its functioning,

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Further reading on the Cuban revolution

Pathfinder is a major publisher of books about Cuba and by the leaders of the revolution such as Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara.

New! *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* contains the speeches by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro at July 26 rally in Cuba. Castro explains why Cuban internationalist mission in Angola was decisive for future of Cuban revolution and explains the economic and political crisis of world capitalism. Mandela focuses on role of Cuba in Africa and goals of battle to defeat apartheid. 83 pp., \$7.95

In Defense of Socialism contains four speeches on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution where Castro argues that economic and social progress is impossible under capitalism today. 142 pp., \$12.95

To order, see the bookstores listed on page 12 or write to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 for shipping and handling; \$.50 for each additional book.

Continued from previous page

to make it more democratic and responsive to working people's needs; a cut in the size of the party's apparatus by 50 percent; and having the basic units of the party make nominations for the Central Committee."

But there also have been decisions that go in the opposite direction, highlighting the social divisions and tensions that exist in Cuba.

One recent example was the closing down of a widely viewed movie made in Cuba, *Alice in Wondertown*, after only four days. An antibureaucratic satire, it was similar to earlier movies widely shown in Cuba, such as *Death of a Bureaucrat*. The decision to prohibit showing the film was protested by the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC) as contrary to the history and traditions of the revolution.

Another example is the formation of "rapid reaction squads," voluntary units organized within the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution to respond to counterrevolutionary provocations in the streets. Small actions by self-styled "human rights activists" take place relatively frequently. The squads mobilize people in response, to show that most Cubans do not back the views or activities of these groups. But the rapid reaction squads can also have a dynamic of their own that goes beyond a response to counterrevolutionary acts and begins to establish an atmosphere that closes down political space for the broadest possible discussion and debate among those who defend the revolution.

Waters also took up where the process of rectification stands today. Since 1986, she said, "rectification began to break and then reverse the growth of a privileged social layer in Cuba. There was, and still is, a lot of resistance to this from those who see any steps toward politically mobilizing the working class and drawing it more into administrative responsibility and decision making on all levels as a threat to their social status and privileged access to a better standard of living than most workers.

"Under today's conditions of even harsher scarcity than existed when rectification was launched there is also greater resistance to deepening this process," she said. "Many who were never very happy with a return to the course fought for by Che Guevara and Fidel in the early years of the revolution — and that's what rectification is all about — now hope rectification will be forgotten about.

"Rectification has 'hit a pothole,' was the way one *compañero* in Cuba put it."

Waters expressed the opinion that as "the process of confronting the political questions that are sharply posed today continues, rectification will not die but get a new impetus and move forward. But it won't be done without conflict, divisions, and resistance."

Two wells to draw strength from

The Cuban revolution has two great sources of potential strength today that should not be underestimated, Waters said: One is its deep-rooted history of anti-im-



Militant/Maceo Dixon
Members of Union of Young Communists of Cuba. "Many Cuban youth tell their parents that 'the heroic days of the revolution are not over,'" Waters said. "The leadership of a new generation is being forged."

perialist and anticapitalist struggle; the other is the potential political renewal of a communist vanguard among youth.

In a series of four speeches on the 30th anniversary of the Cuban revolution in 1989, Castro explained both of these sources of strength. The four speeches can be found in Pathfinder's *In Defense of Socialism*.

In the speech he gave in Santiago de Cuba on Jan. 1, 1989, Castro explained how the revolutionary leadership of the Cuban people was forged over a century of struggle against Spanish colonial domination, intertwined with the struggle to abolish slavery, and then the battle against U.S. imperialist oppression and exploitation. The "politically rich and inspiring legacy of the independence struggle is one source of the Cuban people's determination never to return to the slave barracks. This broad and deep — and historically rooted — hatred of U.S. imperialism is not sufficient to generate the forward march of a socialist revolution, but without that source of strength the Cuban revolution would not have been able to meet the challenges of the last 30 years, much less those they face today," Waters said.

Today 50 percent of the Cuban population is less than 30 years old; they have never lived under capitalism. "Their consciousness is different than ours and they take what has been accomplished by the revolution as their starting point. They are not satisfied with simply accepting the achievements in Cuba, but want more progress and want it faster than older generations."

Many youth, of course, like many older Cubans, are not political. "But the leadership of a new generation is being forged in the challenges that are now being confronted. And the obstacles to this generation finding its way back to Marx and Engels and Lenin and Che — not the Stalinist negation of Marxism — are falling like the Berlin wall."

Many Cuban youth tell their parents that "the heroic days of the revolution are not over," Waters said. "They know the challenges in Cuba and the world today and have the spirit and energy of youth to take them on. The Union of Young Communists (UJC), the mass organization of Cuban youth, is also being challenged to lead this process politically, to become a real communist youth organization, a genuinely political organization that leads youth in struggles and educates them not just as fighters but as Marxists with a real scientific understanding of the world class struggle today."

One step the UJC recently took along these lines was publishing, in an inexpensive and readily available form, the article by Che Guevara, *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, an important contribution to Marxism and to an understanding of the complex challenges of leading the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Waters concluded by explaining the responsibility of fighters in the United States toward the Cuban revolution. "The purpose of tonight's meeting is not simply to analyze but to understand in order to be better equipped to fight," she said. "As we work to defend the Cuban revolution we will come together with fighters the world over who are part of a working-class vanguard in the international battle to forge communist leadership.

"Because of the example it sets," she said, "the U.S. rulers try to isolate and will never give up trying to overturn the Cuban revolution. Washington doesn't want 'democracy' in Cuba — they back the most brutal dictatorships and military regimes history has ever seen. It is the democracy, the mass support of the Cuban people for their revolution that they fear most. That's where the word democracy comes from: *demos* means *people* in Greek.

"Imperialism fears the example that Nelson Mandela pointed to: that no matter what the odds, the Cuban people have shown they will struggle, they will not give up or surrender."

Imperialism is marching humanity to more wars and sliding toward a world depression, Waters explained. The Stalinist roadblock to communist leadership and working-class struggles is cracking. Cuba helps point the road forward to building the kind of working-class leadership both necessary and possible today.

"The revolutionary leadership in Cuba is not going to give up; that we can count on," she said. "They aren't going to go belly up and surrender. They will keep fighting. As Nelson Mandela expressed on July 26 quoting the great Cuban independence leader Jose Martí, 'With the poor people of this earth I want to share my fate.'"

Join communist movement

Most important, Waters said, is the fact that the future of the Cuban revolution will not be decided in Cuba alone. No matter the caliber of the leadership or the determination of the people, socialism cannot be built in one country alone, let alone a relatively poor island in the Caribbean.

"The speeches by Mandela and Castro on July 26 presented a scientific perspective, one that every fighter in the world today needs in order to fight with intelligence and tenacity in the country they happen to live in. The reality of what imperialism has in store for working people and the fact that capitalism does not hold any future for humanity was clearly explained," she said.

"But another truth, one which is the basis of our confidence in the future, was presented as well: that by its very nature, through its drive to deepen the exploitation and oppression of the toilers of the world, imperialism will bring new forces into struggle, forces determined to extend the struggle for world socialism."

The most important thing in the *Granma* editorial of September 14, she noted, was the sentence: "We continue to believe in the peoples of the world and in the future."

Revolutionary fighters in the United States "share our fate with the poor of the earth as well," Waters said. "Our eyes are directed to working people in whom we too place our confidence and belief in the future. There is no place more important to press forward the struggles of working people than right here in the belly of the beast, the greatest enemy of humanity.

"There is nothing better to do with your life, nothing that makes life so interesting or worthwhile as becoming part of the fighting communist vanguard of the working class. Join us," she said, "in that fight."

New International no. 7 Why U.S. imperialism lost the Cold War. What's behind the accelerating disintegration of Soviet Union. Why Soviet and Eastern European regimes are in permanent crisis. \$12

New International no. 1 Inaugural issue of Spanish-language Marxist magazine featuring articles from *New International* no. 7. \$13

New International no. 8 Is it possible to rid the world of capitalism? Che Guevara said yes and helped pioneer policies in Cuba aimed at organizing working people to do so in practice. \$10

Available from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Include \$3.00 for postage and handling for first title, \$.50 each additional title.

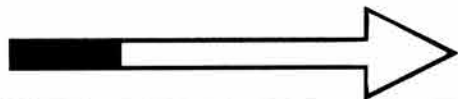
Optimism about class struggle reason for party-building fund

This past week, supporters of the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund sent in nearly \$8,700 toward the \$150,000 goal. This is still short of the \$12,000 we need to collect each week to make the goal by December 15. Many cities have put together plans to get on target over the next few weeks, focused on building local fund rallies.

The rallies will feature talks by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party on the fight for socialism today. Greg McCartan, editor of the *Militant*, addressed a September 28 rally in Omaha, Nebraska, where more than \$400 was collected toward the fund.

1991 Party-Building Fund

Collected: \$39,286 Goal: \$150,000



McCartan was interviewed by a student radio station and newspaper. He also taped a 30-minute segment for a television talk show.

The meetings will be the biggest opportunity for every city to join New York and San Francisco in being on schedule!

By taking full advantage of having a leader of the SWP available for the rally, press work, and campus engagements, supporters will not only win new contributors, but expand the influence of the communist movement today.

The following is the presentation given by Estelle DeBates to the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund meeting in New York City September 21.

DeBates is the fund's director and a national cochairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance. Her fund appeal to the 170 people in attendance followed the feature talk on the Cuban revolution by *New Internationalist* editor Mary-Alice Waters.

If you thought Mary-Alice's talk was good, hang onto your seats because it's

going to get better.

I'm going to tell you how, right here and right now, you can have an impact on the future of humanity; that is by giving a contribution to the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund.

There is an envelope on each of your chairs. Start to look it over while I explain why your contribution is needed and what it will be used for.

The fund aims to raise \$150,000 by December 15. But we want to go way over that goal because every dollar we can raise will go toward building the communist movement.

The fund is connected to what Mary-Alice's talk was about tonight: the deepening social and economic crisis of world capitalism and a revolutionary road forward for working people.

Seeing ourselves as co-fighters in the big political developments in the world gives each one of us the confidence and inspiration to press forward the struggle here in the United States. Fighters in South Africa continue their struggle to bring down the apartheid regime; young people and workers in Cuba are fighting to defend and advance their revolution; and working people in the Soviet Union defended the political space they won by defeating a rightist coup.

There are many opportunities here in the United States as well: among unionists, youth, and others who are resisting and want to discuss the assault by the employers and their government against our rights and standard of living.

One of the most important political developments is that the giant obstacle of the Stalinist parties around the world has started to crumble. Those who have postured as communists for decades are now showing their true colors as enemies of the working-class struggle. This is a big opportunity for revolutionary-minded people everywhere.

The breaking down of this obstacle will help fighters around the world find the road to Marxism. But without clarity and a political program, no matter how hard people fight or how dedicated they are, they won't be able to topple capitalist governments and embark on the road to building socialism. A Marxist program and a communist leadership, such as Mary-Alice spoke about, can and must be forged to lead working people in those battles.

To do that, fighters have to meet commu-

San Francisco event on U.S. 'war crimes' in Iraq draws 600

BY CAITLIN DIXON

SAN FRANCISCO — Six hundred people crowded into Mission High School here September 14 to attend a hearing of the Commission of Inquiry into U.S. War Crimes.

The commission charges the U.S. war against Iraq violated international agreements on treatment of civilians in warfare. It hopes to present evidence of U.S. war crimes at the International Court of Justice in The Hague in early 1992.

The commission is led by former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, who was one of the 30 speakers at the all-day event. "There wasn't a war, there was a slaughter," said Clark. The 88,000 tons of bombs dropped on Iraq were "the equivalent of six Hiroshimas."

The relentless bombing destroyed much of the water purification and sewage systems. Ross Mirkarimi, of San Francisco's Arms Control Research Center, stated that the water system in Iraq is so contaminated that the rampant spread of diseases could continue for another two or three years.

Speakers also emphasized the effects of U.S. sanctions on the import of badly needed food and medicine. Dr. David Levinson, a Bay Area physician who toured Iraqi medical facilities in March, showed slides on the conditions the Iraqi people face. "We must insist that all economic sanctions on Iraq be lifted immediately," said Levinson, to applause from the audience. "Nothing else will have any effect."



Militant/Dag Avango
Fund helps get Pathfinder books and 'Militant' into hands of fighters.

nists, fight alongside them, and be introduced to Marxist ideas. That is what this fund is all about. That is why it is called a party-building fund.

The fund has already been put to good use. The socialist press is central to building a communist movement. Having a weekly paper, the *Militant*, that is informative and useful is an essential weapon for fighters around the world. Organizing reporting trips — such as the one Mary-Alice took to Cuba so we can get out the truth about the Cuban revolution to fighters — is exactly what the fund makes possible.

I was involved in the *Militant* sales team to Wichita, Kansas, during the height of the rightist mobilizations against abortion and broader democratic rights. For hundreds of people in Wichita getting ahold of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books was the way they joined the fight and learned how to answer the rightists' political arguments.

Many would give us money for the *Militant* and never ask for change. They would tell us to put the extra money to whatever we saw fit and to keep up the good work. All kinds of fighters there now subscribe to the *Militant* and 10 people joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

The fund also helps us get out revolutionary literature around the world: the fighting history of the working-class movement and the speeches and writings of our leaders from Karl Marx to Fidel Castro, from Nelson Mandela to leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, such as Farrell Dobbs and James P. Cannon.

We in this room don't make much money from the employers. Under capitalism someone is always standing in line to take what little we earn. The Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund gives each one of us an opportunity to put our wages to good use. Each of us should dig down deep to give as much as we can.

Every dollar given to the fund will expand the influence of the socialist movement.

Fill out your check, take out your wallet, and make a pledge. Volunteers standing in the aisles will pick up your envelope.

One last appeal. Every one of us who contributes to the fund can also take another step. You can become a member of the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party. As Mary-Alice said, there is nothing better that we can do with our lives.

Soviet Communist youth group votes to dissolve itself

Komsomol, the youth organization affiliated with the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, voted to dissolve its national structure September 28.

The decision was made at an emergency congress following the defeat of the August 19 coup and the subsequent banning of the Soviet Communist Party. Tass, the official press agency, reported that the congress "decided to end the organization's political role as a federation of Communist youth leagues and to dissolve its central elected bodies."

The gathering voted to change the group's regulations to allow local youth leagues in the Soviet republics to succeed it. It divided Komsomol's assets among member organizations.

Mobutu and opposition bargain over new Zaire cabinet

President Mobutu Sese Seko and opposition leaders continued negotiations over the distribution of cabinet posts in a coalition government in Zaire.

Mobutu agreed to form a coalition government with opposition forces from the Union for Democracy and Social Progress (UDSP) after widespread protests against the worsening economic situation in the country.

UDSP leader Etienne Tshisekedi was appointed prime minister September 29. Under the arrangement Mobutu remains head of state. Tshisekedi was Mobutu's interior minister before breaking with his government in 1980.

Negotiations followed the military intervention by 1,750 French and Belgian soldiers in Zaire, sent to quell the rebellion. The revolt began September 23 when 3,000 Zairian troops, who had not been paid for several months, mutinied at their base outside the capital city of Kinshasa.

Mobutu has been one of the staunchest allies of the U.S. government and a bulwark of imperialist interests in the region.

Bush administration unfreezes military aid to Jordan

U.S. president George Bush has asked Congress to renew military aid to Jordan. Bush froze the aid in February when Jordan's King Hussein refused to become a part of the allied war drive against Iraq.

Congress banned aid to Jordan in April after Hussein's government voted against UN sanctions on Iraq.

A presidential certification is required to lift the congressional aid ban. In a letter to Congress, Bush said that releasing the \$21 million in military aid to Jordan would be "beneficial to the peace process in the Middle East." Since the spring, "Jordan has clarified its stance on the Middle East peace process in very helpful ways," Bush added.

Philippine Senate agrees to 3-year U.S. withdrawal from naval base

A majority of the Philippine Senate signed an agreement October 2 authorizing President Corazon Aquino to negotiate a three-year withdrawal of U.S. forces from the Subic Bay naval station. The agreement provides for no compensation from the U.S. government during the three years.

The accord was a compromise between Aquino's government and a majority of the Senate, which had rejected a proposed 10-year extension of the lease at Subic Bay September 16. Aquino had said she would organize a referendum to win approval for the base following that vote.

But the president announced October 2 that she was abandoning plans for a referendum. The compromise agreement came after opposition to a new treaty with Washington grew among sections of the Philippine ruling class. At least five members of Aquino's cabinet expressed opposition to a new treaty. Senator Aquilino Pimentel said that the call for a referendum was the act of a "lackey of a government trying to please the Americans."

U.S. defense secretary Richard Cheney said that the decision for U.S. withdrawal in three years would be "a tragedy for the Philippines," but that the U.S. government would "conduct ourselves accordingly." The base is a major refueling and repair station for the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the Pacific.

Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	% of Total
New York	16,300	7,267	45%
San Francisco	10,000	4,294	43%
Atlanta	5,500	2,015	37%
Pittsburgh	5,500	1,810	33%
Detroit	8,500	2,745	32%
Omaha	3,000	840	28%
Philadelphia	5,000	1,375	27%
Miami	2,400	646	27%
Houston	4,800	1,250	26%
Salt Lake City	6,500	1,630	25%
Newark	9,700	2,470	25%
Greensboro	2,100	520	25%
Twin Cities	8,300	1,996	24%
St. Louis	5,500	905	16%
Los Angeles	15,000	2,395	16%
Birmingham	5,500	755	14%
Baltimore	3,000	355	12%
Chicago	8,000	920	11%
Washington, D.C.	6,000	690	11%
Morgantown	2,800	300	11%
Boston	4,100	370	9%
Des Moines	3,525	320	9%
Cleveland	3,000	195	7%
Seattle	5,000	0	0%
Other U.S.	4,815	3,023	63%
International	2,130	200	9%
Total	155,970	39,286	26%
Should be		61,764	41%

I pledge: \$1000 \$500 \$250 \$100 \$ Other to the Socialist Workers Party-Building Fund.

Send checks or money orders to Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Desertions rise in Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

of the bureaucracy's political domination over other republics. Since then these forces, backed by the Yugoslav federal army, have taken control of 35 percent of Croatian territory. Serbs make up 11.5 percent of Croatia's 4.8 million population.

Fighting escalates

Croatian forces have blockaded 40 federal army garrisons in Croatia since early September, and seized large quantities of war matériel, including 200 tanks and troop carriers, and 15,000 metric tons of munitions.

The federal army escalated its attacks in response, warning October 1 that "for each facility of the Yugoslav national army attacked and conquered, a facility of vital importance to the republic of Croatia will be immediately destroyed."

Federal forces have bombed the Croatian capital city of Zagreb; fired mortars and rockets on the port city of Dubrovnik; sent heavy armor against Croatian strongholds in civilian areas; and blockaded all Croatian ports. Resistance to federal military service is widespread, an important sign that in their inter-bureaucratic dispute the régime is having a difficult time drawing working people into the war.

The *New York Times* quoted army spokesperson Colonel Ivan Matovic as admitting that draftees from the republics of Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina had refused en masse to be deployed against Croatians, and that the armed forces had themselves decided not to call up 20,000 ethnic Albanians from Kosovo. The Serbian government has in recent years fiercely repressed demands by Kosovo's Albanian majority for a greater say in running the region.

In Serbia itself, despite a noisy government-led campaign denouncing draft-dodgers as "traitors" and threatening them with jail terms, 50 percent of those called up in the mobilization failed to report to the army. In the capital, Belgrade, only 15 percent reported.

The broad resistance to military service has produced a divided response from the officer corps, some of whom have authorized unwilling reservists to go home, while others have placed them in the front lines.

One young reservist simply drove his tank back from the frontier with Croatia September 25, and parked it outside the federal parliament building in Belgrade, before turning himself in to military police.

Motivations of officer corps

The federal army officer corps, while Serb-dominated, retains some of its character as a multi-ethnic institution. At its head is defense minister General Veljko Kadijevic, a Croat. Another central leader is Admiral Stane Brovet, who is from Slovenia. Army spokesperson Colonel Matovic told the *New York Times* that the army, "after resisting for some time . . . is riding with [Serbian president] Milosevic," because of the Serbian government's stated commitment to some form of "Yugoslavia," as opposed to the other republics' regimes, which have declared their desire to separate themselves off.

Asked what the army is fighting for and how the rank and file was being motivated, Matovic claimed the officer corps at first motivated the troops by saying their mission "was to separate the sides fighting in Croatia, to keep peace, and to make possible a democratic discussion of the future of Yugoslavia."

But now they could only appeal to the troops to fight to free their comrades blockaded in garrisons in Croatia, he explained. Matovic added that another motive is to defend the Serbs in Croatia. An important factor motivating the officers to maintain a federal structure of some sort is to retain their pay, pensions, and privileges, all of which are considerable.

As heavy fighting continues, the death toll is mounting. The Yugoslav national newspaper *Borba* put the total killed at 2,500. Many thousands have fled their homes in different parts of the country. The Red Cross in Hungary reports that 35,000 refugees have arrived there from Yugoslavia, and an additional 6,000 are expected within days.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Video: *Mandela in America*. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Deepening Attacks on Abortion Rights: How Can We Defend a Woman's Right to Choose? Jan Boudart, Emergency Clinic Defense Coalition; Cathy Jenkins, member, Local 100-A, United Food and Commercial Workers; Jeanne Lawrence, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Oct. 12, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815 or 829-7018.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Haiti Today: What Next After the Coup? A panel discussion. Fri., Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Oppression of Women: Historical Roots and the Fight for Abortion Rights Today. Panel discussion, eyewitness report from Wichita. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

New issue of 'L'internationaliste' now available

The September–November issue of *L'internationaliste* has hit the streets and is selling well among French-speaking workers, youth, and others.

This issue of the quarterly magazine contains a number of important feature articles of interest to fighters and others who want the truth and a communist perspective on the big developments in world politics today.

Two articles report on the victories scored by working people in the Soviet Union by toppling the August 19 coup. The reports explain the roots of the economic and social crisis in the country, the course of the bureaucratic regime there, and the road forward for working people.

Other articles focus on the struggle to bring down apartheid in South Africa, led by the African National Congress, and the battle being waged by the Cuban people to move forward their revolution in face of pressure from Washington. The magazine reports on the historic July 26 celebration in Cuba, where ANC president Nelson Mandela and Cuban president Fidel Castro addressed a rally in Matanzas province.

A review of *Oser inventer l'avenir* (Dare to invent the future), a book of speeches by Thomas Sankara; an update on the Mark Curtis defense case; and reportage on the strike by Canadian postal workers also appear in the issue.

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

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Cuba and the South African Freedom Struggle. Video: *After the Battle*; presentation on the new Pathfinder book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm–Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

Free Mark Curtis! Video: *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis*; report on international campaign for his parole. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm–Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Cops, Courts, and Political Prisoners. A panel discussion. Representatives of Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Socialist Workers Party, victims of police frame-ups. Sat., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Renewed Attack on Abortion: Part of the Wider Assault on Women's and Worker's Rights. Speaker: Marnie Kennedy, Communist League. Fri., Oct. 18, 7 p.m. 66 Albion

St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN

London

The Fight for Free Speech in the Armed Forces: Free Vic Williams. Speakers: Andy Wilson, Vic Williams Defence Campaign; Martin Hill, Communist League. Fri., Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £1. Tel: 71-401-2293.

Sheffield

The Cuban Revolution Today: Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Jane Austin, Communist League. Sat., Oct. 19, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Montreal

Wichita: A Major Attack Against the Right to Abortion in the United States. Speaker: Neil Callender, Young Socialist Alliance in Boston. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 6566 Boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Sponsor: Forum ouvrier militant. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto

Lessons of the CUPW, PSAC, and ATU Strikes. Sat., Oct. 12, 7:30 p.m. 410 Adelaide St. W., Suite 400. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 273-861-1399.

Socialist Workers 1991 Fund Meetings

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Cuba: Challenges Facing the Revolution in a Changing World. Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters, editor, *New International*. Sat., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. Location to be announced. Donation: \$5. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Cuba: Challenges Facing the Revolution in a Changing World. Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters, editor, *New International*. Sun., Oct. 27. Reception, 12 noon; program, 1 p.m. Location to be announced. Donation: \$5. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Francisco Picado, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Oct. 12. Reception and dinner, 6:30 p.m.; donation: \$4; program, 7:30 p.m.; donation: \$5. 137 NE 54th St. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Steve Clark, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Oct. 19. Reception, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$7. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

IOWA

Des Moines

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: George Buchanan, *Militant* staff writer. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

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MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Roni McCann, national secretary Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$5. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: John Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Oct. 12. Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S Broadway. Donation: \$10 dinner and program, \$5 program only. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Capitalist Crisis and the Fight for Independent Labor Political Action. Speaker: James Mac Warren, Socialist Workers 1991 candidate for mayor of Chicago; member United Steelworkers of America Local 3247. Sat., Oct. 19. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

The World Capitalist Crisis, Stalinism, and the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Oct. 26. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; presentation, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C South Elm–Eugene St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

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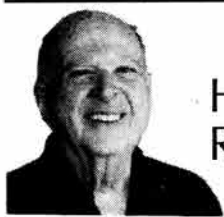
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Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 844-205.

SWEDEN

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

Right — Freshly created, Patriotic Films is hustling investors to buy a piece of its projected work,



Harry Ring

"Desert Storm — the Movie." Confides the associate producer: "Good things can happen from a war, if you're a smart person. I'll be honest — it's a business move. This is America, right?"

Star witness — A government witness in the drug trial of Manuel

Noriega, Luis del Cid, an ex-aide, testified a crisis had erupted when Panamanian troops mistakenly raided a Medellín coke lab. He said he met Noriega, then in New York, and escorted him to Cuba to enlist Fidel Castro to mediate the crisis. In cross-examination, del Cid agreed Noriega was actually in Panama at the time of the raid and didn't go to Havana until some seven weeks later.

Plus or minus 100% for error — During the drive to win Philippine Senate approval for renewal of the U.S. Subic Bay Naval Base lease, U.S. embassy officials and the Aquino government leaked "poll results" to reporters. These showed, variously, that 68, 72, and 81 percent

of the Philippine people favored the base. The polls never happened. A U.S. staffer concedes, "I made the numbers up."

No obscenity there — The feds warned New Orleans officials they would lose allocated funding unless they reerected a white supremacist monument. The obelisk, in storage since 1989 street work, salutes members of the White League who fell in an 1874 riot against Louisiana's biracial Reconstruction government.

More civilized — In a correction, the *New York Times* said that an article on the 1692 Salem, Mass., witchcraft trials mistakenly stated that a defendant had been stoned to

death. In fact, the victim was "pressed" to death, a sentence reserved for those who refused to stand trial. A load of stones or iron was placed on the chest, "slowly crushing the defendant."

A how-to course? — Penitentiary officers are weighing changing the status of junk bond swindler Michael Milken from orderly to tutor.

Enjoy — Listing eight area fish that should be eaten sparingly because of their high toxic-chemical level, California officials suggest that folks reduce their risk by eating a variety of fish. Also, baking or broiling on a rack permits some of the chemicals to drip off.

With royalties for Nancy? — Apparently anyone can join the Society to Preserve First Ladies' Ball Gowns. The membership fee is \$10,000, but installment payments are OK.

L.A.'s finest — A Los Angeles police officer pleaded guilty to illegal possession of a machine gun, a machine pistol, and a silencer. Free on bail, he was busted again for allegedly buying a Rolex, two gold rings, and other trinkets from undercover cops in a sting operation.

No radar tracking? — In Reno, Nevada, a \$500 reward was offered for a lost Persian cat wearing a rhinestone collar with an attached electronic cat door opener.

Farmers rally in Paris, protest cuts in subsidies

BY GEORGE BUCHANAN

Two hundred thousand farmers from all parts of France marched through Paris September 29 to draw attention to the prospect of ruin many of them face.

An array of slogans and banners were presented, from "One farmer less is one more unemployed" and "Without the farmer, no grain, no food" to "Mitterrand out" and "Edith: parasite!" — reference to French president François Mitterrand and Prime Minister Edith Cresson.

Thousands of cattle, sheep, and dairy farmers are close to bankruptcy following two years of drought and a 25 percent drop in the wholesale prices of their products.

The number of farmers in France has been steadily dropping. In 1940, 40 percent of the French population lived in rural areas; today only 7 percent do. Since 1970 the number of farmers there has declined from 2.4 million to 1 million; up to 300,000 face the prospect of being driven off the land in the next few years.

Because of falling prices for their products since 1988, many French farmers with small holdings face the immediate prospect of being unable to maintain loan repayments.

The Paris protest focused, though, on opposing further reductions in subsidies for farm products paid by the European Community (EC). Such cuts are being discussed in the EC in response to pressure from imperialist competitors in the United States, Canada, Australia, and other exporters of farm products seeking greater access to the European market. Proposals for subsidy cuts currently before the EC will result in a 35 percent drop in cereal prices paid to farmers, a 10 percent drop for milk, 15 percent for butter, and 15 percent for beef.

The level of subsidies paid to farmers in Europe is higher than that in the United States. Some 40 percent of gross income from sales of farm products in the EC is paid from government subsidies, while the comparable figure for the United States is 20 percent.

Cut in farm subsidies

The EC has cut its farm subsidies by 15 percent since 1986, and has proposed a further 15 percent reduction to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). GATT is a body providing a framework for negotiations on trade issues between more than 100 countries. Its most recent meeting, in December of last year, broke down when European representatives refused to accept a U.S. plan to reduce all agricultural subsidies by 75 percent. Japanese delegates also refused to give in to U.S. demands that Tokyo remove barriers to rice imports.

The subsidies mainly benefit capitalist farmers and the large food export companies. For example 20 percent of all recipients take in 80 percent of the funds in the EC's subsidy program.

According to the Paris daily *Le Monde*, protest organizers promoted the idea that all farmers in France, whether working farmers or big capitalist operations, have a stake in one or another trade policy of the capitalist ruling families.

"The discussions in Brussels are a true disaster for working farmers," said Raymond Lacombe, head of the National Federation of Farming Unions. "One gets the impression that Europe is on its knees before the United States."

France is Europe's largest food exporter,

and capitalist traders there have the most to lose if subsidies and protective tariffs on agricultural products are lowered. The French capitalists' stance gained attention in September when France vetoed in the EC the import of 550 tons of meat from Poland into Western European countries. This blocking measure delayed EC plans to complete agreements for aid to Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. By the end of the month Paris felt obliged to back off from this position.

Making a special appeal to farmers by joining in their demonstration were conservative parliamentary opposition leaders, former French president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and former prime minister Jacques Chirac. Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of the

ultraright National Front, was another prominent participant.

Many working farmers are drawn in behind the appeals of such forces, who together with the capitalist farmers and food monopolies hope to pit exploited farmers in France against those in the United States and elsewhere. Agriculture Minister Louis Mermaz made this clear when he expressed his pleasure that the farmers' demonstration would help French government efforts to block proposals by other EC members to drastically lower agricultural subsidies and tariffs.

Working farmers—whether in the United States, France, Australia, or elsewhere—face a common plight and need to find ways to forge political links. They have no interest in giving their backing either to the aggressive

"free-trade" policies or to the protectionism of one or another set of capitalist profiteers—policies which offer no solution to the cost-price squeeze facing the big majority of working farmers. Support for these policies deepens national chauvinism and undermines the possibility of linking up with working farmers around the world.

Working farmers need their own program of action based on demanding government guarantees of low-cost credit, markets for their products, and security of tenure to ensure that they remain in production. Fighting for such demands can gain the support of wage workers, but will pit working farmers against the bankers, food trusts, and wealthy capitalist farmers who offer them misleadership today.

McCleskey before execution: 'Abolish death penalty'

BY DEREK BRACEY

Warren McCleskey was executed in Jackson, Georgia, on September 25. McCleskey had waged a 13-year fight against his conviction and against the death penalty.

McCleskey, a Black factory worker, was convicted in 1978 of killing a white police officer during an attempted robbery. The conviction was based on circumstantial evidence. One of his accusers was another of those arrested in the robbery.

Prosecutors also relied heavily on the testimony of another man who testified that McCleskey had confessed to him while in prison. The man was later exposed as a police informer planted in the jail. For a decade the state hid the fact that he was a cop.

The way for McCleskey's execution was cleared September 24 when the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles turned down his clemency petition. This occurred despite statements from two jurors that the improper withholding of evidence about the police informer tainted their sentencing decision and that they no longer supported an execution.

McCleskey was executed after an appeal for a stay was twice rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court. He maintained that he did not kill the cop and condemned the use of capital punishment.

"I pray that one day this country, supposedly a civilized society, will abolish barbaric acts such as the death penalty," he said.

Two major assaults on the rights of working people were the result of Supreme Court decisions against McCleskey's appeals. In 1987 the court ruled that the death penalty was legal despite statistics revealing that those convicted of killing whites were sentenced to die much more often than those convicted of killing Blacks.

McCleskey's lawyers had shown that in Georgia, Blacks convicted of murder were four times more likely to die if the victim was white. The court ruled that this made no difference and that a defendant must prove racist treatment specifically from his judge, prosecutor, or jury.

In their second habeas corpus petition, McCleskey's attorneys argued that placing the informer in an adjoining cell violated his Sixth Amendment right to an attorney.

A federal district court ruled that the second petition was valid because the state had

hidden evidence on the informer from the defense.

An appeals court overturned this decision, saying that McCleskey had "deliberately abandoned" the Sixth Amendment argument by not raising it in his first appeal. The appeals court asserted that the issue should have been raised earlier even though the state blocked McCleskey's access to the proof.

In a major blow to democratic rights last April, the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the appeals court. This ruling sharply curtailed the ability of death row inmates and

other state prisoners to pursue multiple federal court appeals.

Warren McCleskey was the 155th person to be executed in the United States since the Supreme Court allowed capital punishment to resume in 1976.

Four days after McCleskey's execution a U.S. government report showed Blacks make up 40 percent of prisoners on death row, although only 12.1 percent of the country's population is Black.

Legislation currently pending in Congress would expand the death penalty to cover some 50 additional crimes.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



North Korean Communist Party chairman Kim Il Sung has called on Moscow and Peking to unite in defense of Vietnam, in spite of their differences. He also called upon all countries in the Sino-Soviet bloc to send volunteers to Vietnam. Chairman Kim's appeal thus parallels the position taken by Cuban premier Fidel Castro since early last year.

"For us," Castro stated March 13, 1965, "small countries that do not base ourselves on the strength of armies of millions of men, or on the strength of atomic power, small countries like Vietnam and Cuba, we have enough instinct to see... that these divisions that weaken the strength of the socialist camp hurt no one more than us who are special situations — here, 90 miles from the Yankee empire; there, attacked by Yankee planes."

That was less than two weeks after the first contingent of combat-ready marines landed in Vietnam. Since then, more than 300,000 U.S. troops have been landed and 600,000 tons of bombs have been dropped on the Vietnamese countryside by the U.S. invader.

These are more bombs than were dropped by the Allied Air Force in the Pacific area, including Alaska and the China-India-Burma theater, in the entire course of World

War II; more bombs than were dropped in the entire course of the Korean war.

A united front of the workers' states in the defense of Vietnam is a burning necessity. The imperialists continue to escalate the war, placing north Vietnam in extreme danger, and threatening China and ultimately the USSR itself.



October 18, 1941

CANADA — Despite the growing severity of government attempts at repression, in the past six months Canadian labor has made notable headway in cracking the boss front. Strikes are flaring up and spreading.

An example of the failure of the Industrial Disputes Act to curb militant strike action is the case of the workers of National Steel Car, Hamilton, Ontario. [It] is but one of many similar strikes in industrial Ontario and Quebec, involving thousands of workers in key war industries, which have occurred over the question of union recognition.

9,000 workers at Arvida, employed in the largest aluminum plant in the world, recently went on strike for five days. Dominion troops from the Valcartier military camp were used against the strikers. Neither Premier Godbout of Quebec nor Minister of Justice Lapointe at Ottawa dared send in the provincial or federal police for fear of alienating the French-Canadian population by use of force against French-Canadian workers.

Defend Haitian people!

The fight to defeat the September 30 military coup against the government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in Haiti deserves the full support and solidarity of working people throughout the world.

Haitian working people won important political space to speak out and organize when they helped lead a mass upsurge that toppled the brutal Duvalier dictatorship in 1986.

Haiti's military, under the leadership of Brig. Gen. Raoul Cedras and supported by some wings of the Haitian capitalist class, moved against the Aristide government because they opposed the limited reforms that Aristide began to carry out. They feared the wider opportunities that Haitian working people had for advancing their class interests.

The stakes are high for the workers and farmers in Haiti who today face heavy repression at the hands of the military that seeks to terrorize them into submission.

It is the workers and their allies in Haiti who have the power to beat back this coup. Continued solidarity actions with this fight play an important role in this struggle. Foreign military intervention, whether under the auspices of Washington, the United Nations, or the Organization of American States, is not in the interests of the Haitian masses and should be firmly condemned.

The U.S. government's new moves aim to paint Aristide and the masses of Haiti as terrorists. They hope Aristide will make the concessions demanded by the military junta as the price for his reinstatement as president. This direct U.S. interference in Haiti's affairs should also be strongly condemned.

A tool of capitalist terror

The execution of Warren McCleskey was a setback for all working people. By rebuffing McCleskey's attempts to expose and defeat the racist, anti-working-class nature of his conviction and sentence, the Supreme Court opened the way for more widespread use of this brutal weapon of the capitalist class against working people.

"I pray that one day this country, supposedly a civilized society, will abolish barbaric acts such as the death penalty," McCleskey said in the hours before he was killed by the state of Georgia. McCleskey accurately defined the death penalty — it is a barbaric act.

The U.S. rulers are pushing to expand the use of capital punishment. Now before Congress is legislation that would include 50 new crimes for which the nation's courts could condemn workers to death.

This is part and parcel of the offensive now being

Washington claims it is now concerned about Aristide's supposed violations of human rights. Yet it was the U.S. rulers who for decades funded and backed the Duvalier family's repression against the Haitian people struggling for democratic rights and social justice.

The economic and social crisis facing Haitian working people today stems from decades of imperialist exploitation and oppression. Massive illiteracy, widespread unemployment, horrendous working conditions, and starvation wages are the best that capitalism has to offer the toiling masses of Haiti.

Capitalism can provide no answers to this deepening social catastrophe, explains Cuban president Fidel Castro.

"Where did injustice come from?" stated Castro in a July 26 speech. "Where did inequality come from? Where did poverty come from? Where did underdevelopment come from? Where did all these calamities come from, if not from capitalism?" Castro added, "To want to resolve these problems through capitalism . . . It's like trying to put out a fire with gasoline."

The road forward for working people in Haiti is that of the working class worldwide: to organize independently of the capitalists and wage a revolutionary struggle for a workers' and peasants' government, based on their own mobilized and armed strength. This course would open the door to a fight for the expansion of democratic rights, a deep-going land reform, the expropriation of imperialist property, and a transition from capitalism to socialism.

waged against the entire working class. It goes hand in hand with recent drives to expand the rights of the cops as well as rulings by the courts to restrict the ability of defendants to exercise their right to a fair trial.

Police brutality and the death penalty have one overriding goal: to perpetuate the class rule of a tiny handful of billionaire families through terrorizing working people. As the world economic crisis deepens, the capitalist class must accelerate its attacks on the living standards and working conditions of the world's toilers. Hand and glove with these assaults will come the use of more vicious and barbaric methods to defend their outmoded system.

The labor movement has every reason to call for an end to the death penalty and join in defending its victims like Warren McCleskey.

Join fight to change the world

Recent events highlight the world that working people confront and the need to forge a fighting leadership capable of leading the struggle against the ravages of capitalism.

- The U.S. Census Bureau announces that in 1990, 2.1 million more people in the United States fell below the poverty line, while high unemployment continues, despite the much-heralded but anemic "recovery."
- Bosses in New Zealand begin implementing anti-union legislation with a union-busting drive.
- Cop brutality makes headlines in several cities from Britain to the United States.
- The Canadian government is imposing wage controls on federal workers.
- Racist anti-immigrant protests in 20 German cities terrorize thousands of refugees and other workers from Africa, Asia, and eastern Europe.

- The economic crisis hitting the desperately poor countries of Africa makes its mark on the army in Zaire, producing a rebellion by troops of one of imperialism's faithful client regimes.
- The military in Haiti, fearful of losing its privileged position, topples the elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.
- Saber-rattling by Washington against Iraq underlines the prospect of more imperialist wars.

- The crumbling of Communist Party rule in the Soviet Union with a demonstration of working people's new-found confidence shows what stands in the way of attempts by imperialism to convert them back into wage slaves.
- The Romanian miners' action against a new austerity drive underlines the same problem facing those who hope to integrate the economies of countries in

Eastern Europe into that of world capitalism.

There is no new world order of triumphant imperialism, but a growing world disorder as the crisis of the capitalist economic order worsens.

This reality will engender ever deeper struggles, in which new layers of fighters will step forward: youth, workers, and farmers who need the truth on world events and a communist perspective enabling them to forge the leadership necessary to win lasting victories.

As Nelson Mandela told his Cuban audience on July 26: "The most important lesson that you have for us is that no matter what the odds, no matter under what difficulties, you have had to struggle. . . . It is a case of freedom or death!"

The *Militant* is the weekly newspaper that is part of this struggle. It explains this outlook to working people and youth who want to change the world. The nine-week international circulation drive for the *Militant* and the Marxist magazine *New International*, now at its half-way point, is gaining momentum.

We invite readers to join the fight to circulate these publications as widely as possible. Take out a subscription; sell subscriptions to your coworkers, classmates, and fellow political activists; distribute the new book *How Far We Slaves Have Come!* and other Pathfinder literature.

Every subscription and book a supporter sells has an impact on the world and makes an essential contribution to the fight for socialism.

FROM OUR READERS

This column is devoted to printing the remarks, questions, suggestions, and other comments readers send in to the *Militant*. Where possible we will respond to issues raised in notes and letters received as a way to help clarify and expand on the coverage in the paper.

In this issue, Denis Hoppe, from Dearborn, Michigan, points out a figure that would have been useful in our recent article on the dispute between Washington and Tel Aviv on a \$10 billion loan guarantee.

One misleading aspect of our coverage was the headline itself: "Israeli rulers seek billions from U.S. to house Soviet Jews." This gives the reader the impression that Tel Aviv will actually use the funds to house immigrants from the Soviet Union in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Golan Heights — territories now under Israeli military occupation after being wrested from Egypt, Syria, and Jordan.

Of all Soviet Jews who have immigrated to Israel only 1 percent have settled in these territories. Forced to go to Israel because they are denied entry to the United States and other countries to which they would rather emigrate, Soviet Jews face an unemployment rate of 40 percent in Israel. The Israeli ruling class now figures its budget on the basis that several families of immigrants will live together in a small apartment. Blocked off from employment and housing, the immigrants have become pawns whom Tel Aviv hopes it can use to press its domination of the occupied territories.

* * *

From New York City Matt Ainsworth asks, "Why won't Eastern Europe and USSR economic changes give capitalism new life? (Did I miss a thorough explanation of this?)"

The most comprehensive answer to Ainsworth's question was presented in the September *International Socialist Review*. The supplement to the *Militant* reprinted the section of the political resolution on developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union adopted by a convention of the Socialist Workers Party in 1990.

This September 6 issue of the paper is available for \$1.50 by writing to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

In this and subsequent articles we have explained that far from being a boon to imperialism, the crumbling of the Stalinist regimes brings forth new and destabilizing problems for Washington and its allies.

The best example is that of Germany, where two years ago it was commonplace to hear that unification of the country would result in an economic miracle and an enormous strengthening of German imperialism. But Bonn's expenditures to keep the east German economy afloat — estimated to reach \$1 trillion in the 1990s — have put increasing pressure on the mark and driven up interest rates there.

The root cause of these problems is the resistance by working people to every concrete step that the bureaucratic regimes in these workers' states take in the direction needed to restore capitalism. Overturning the nationalized property relations can never be accomplished in such a piecemeal way; it can only be done through a brutal imperialist invasion that severely bloodies the working class.

One indication of this resistance and independent action was the protest by miners in Romania condemning austerity measures of the government there. The actions were covered in last week's *Militant*.

The miners forced the resignation of Prime Minister Petre Roman. Roman's replacement, Theodor Stolojan, pledged he would continue the regime's policies but make adjustments "to quiet social discontent."

The governor of Romania's Central Bank put his finger on the problems faced by the imperialists and the regime when he said of the miners' actions: "They were shouting anti-Communist slogans, but all their demands were Communist-style demands."

* * *

Bill Stanley will find this week's article on Mary-Alice Waters' forum on Cuba a help in answering his questions. Widening the participation of Cuban working people in the planning of the economy is a central goal of the rectification process, one that involves social conflict in order to move forward.

Elections to Cuba's National Assembly of People's Power begin on the municipal level. Not all of the candidates elected are members of the Communist Party of Cuba. From those chosen, delegates to regional assemblies, and then the National Assembly, are elected. Delegates are subject to recall and must report back to their constituencies on a regular basis.

* * *

Thanks to the readers who responded to our appeal for increased contributions to the *Militant* Prisoner Subscription Fund. Since instituting the new \$6 for six months prisoner subscription offer, we've begun to receive paid subscriptions from a number of workers behind bars.

Framed-up union activist Mark Curtis wrote this short note from Anamosa prison in Iowa: "The subscription campaign is going well here. I find that the recent rise for prisoner subscriptions has not closed off subs to the paper among most prisoners. It does delay someone from getting a subscription immediately, but usually only until the next payday or when money arrives from a friend or relative."

Steelworkers rally in Ohio Oct. 19 to back strike

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

Working people around the world are involved in skirmishes over speedup, forced overtime, layoffs, or attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with steep takeback demands, lockouts, and union-bust-

ing on limited production with foremen, and has hired a large, professional strike-breaking outfit. Court injunctions have limited the number of pickets, banned picket shacks, and prohibited many of the strikers from coming into the vicinity of the plant.

Families of the strikers have formed an organization called We Will Survive (WWS). WWS provides support through a strike kitchen, fundraising,

ministers and business leaders to smash the union because we have stood up to them before. I resent attacks on my union by those who say we've got it too good. The ship owners have never been good to seafarers," said Tilby. "The conditions and wages of our members have been won through struggle."

National cotton garment contract

A three-year national cotton garment contract, covering 14,000 garment workers in the United States, was adopted August 30. The workers are represented by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). The pact establishes a pattern for "me-too" contracts for thousands of other garment workers in the cotton garment industry.

Over three years, workers will receive 70 cents in wage raises, amounting to an average 3.5 percent increase each year. Since the increases are rolled into existing piecework rates, most garment workers will not receive the full amount.

ACTWU members under the national cotton garment agreement have not yet recovered from wage concessions made during the 1980s, let alone kept up with the increase in the cost of living. From 1985 to 1988, for example, there was no wage increase in the first two years of the contract and only a 25 cent raise in the third.

The national agreement received a lukewarm response from union members. Expectations were not high going into negotiations, but most felt this was the best that could be won. Many expressed relief that there were no big concession demands.

At the Flushing Shirt Manufacturing plant in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, a voice vote was taken. Of the 60 present, many workers did not express an opinion. Of those that did, most were in favor.

At Morgan Shirt in Morgantown, West Virginia, a hand vote was taken. About 60 workers out of a work force of more than 200 attended the union meeting, with 28 voting in favor and 19 opposed. An-

other 10-15 workers attending the meeting did not vote.

Steelhaulers park rigs

Steelhaulers in Northern Indiana and Michigan parked their rigs at noon September 24 to protest 15 years of deteriorating conditions. Picket lines sprang up around all area steel suppliers. The supply of steel coils to auto plants and other area users has been cut off.

"We caught them by surprise," reported Jim Wing. "They will run out of supplies in three days."

Strike leader Dale Davis explained, "We are still working under 1975 rates, but our costs have more than doubled. We can now either maintain our rigs or feed ourselves, but we can't do both."

A strike leaflet states, "We are not employees, not by choice. It's because Trucking Companies no longer wish to pay for health insurance, workman's compensation, or their share of social security."

"Conditions have been deteriorating for years," said Davis. "Many drivers have gone belly-up as a result of increased maintenance costs, tougher state safety checks, and lower rates from the companies. The last straw was a letter from US Steel to its shippers. Without directly asking for price cuts, the letter did request new bids and pointedly remarked that each steel shipper was competing against 26 other firms."

"The shippers use our wallets when they negotiate with the mills. This has to stop," said Davis.

The Great Lakes Area Steel Haulers Association was formed only a few weeks ago, after efforts to join the Teamsters, and, more recently the Steelworkers Union, collapsed. The organization has already received notice from truckers as far away as Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky that the strike is being supported and that workers there are considering shutdowns of their own.

Airport kitchen workers strike

More than 200 kitchen workers at World Way West and Caterair at

two Los Angeles area airports have been on strike since the end of May. Unionists at Caterair Imperial Terminal said that the company was trying to oust their union, Teamsters Local 572.

Last spring, in a company-backed drive, enough signatures were gathered to obtain an election to decertify the union. David Luna, a Teamster business agent, explained in an interview how workers were intimidated, threatened, and deceived into signing.

At about the same time the old contract expired. The company refused to negotiate and the workers walked out.

The decertification election is on hold until the NLRB rules on the union's charges.

About 70 workers have crossed the picket line, and the company has hired scabs. A group of women described why they were on strike.

"Much work for little pay," one said.

"The company wants us each to do the work of two people," said another.

Starting pay is \$4.40 an hour, and goes up to only \$5.20 after two years.

The women said that workers are badly mistreated. For example, the company refuses to recognize on-the-job injuries. Workers with serious cuts and even broken bones are bandaged up and put back to work the same day.

The strikers are particularly angry about the issue of benefits. They want the company to pay for their medical insurance. A worker with one dependent currently pays about \$144 per month for insurance. "You have to fight," one striker concluded.

Michael Italie and Sandra Nelson; Ruth Gray; ACTWU Local 622 member Chris Rayson; Scott Ware; Rodney Holt, a kitchen worker at United Airlines and member of the International Association of Machinists Local 1932, and Pat Nixon contributed to this week's column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

ing moves by the employers have gone on strike to force the bosses to back down.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines to let other Militant readers know about what is happening at your workplace or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that, too.

Steelworkers in Coshocton, Ohio, are projecting October 19 as a day of solidarity with their strike. They aim to bring union members from throughout the area together to boost their fight against the McWayne Corporation.

Since June 21, when 328 Local 7014 members struck the company, not one of the strikers has crossed the picket line.

A central issue in the strike is the refusal by the owners of this steel pipe plant to adopt an equitable health plan. The present plan increased workers' payments from about \$7 per month in February 1990 to as much as \$240 in September 1990. The company also wants to eliminate retirees' option to buy into the plan.

In an effort to avoid a strike, the local continued working for three months after the contract expired in February. By June the union voted 288-to-1 to walk out.

McWayne Corporation is carry-

social activities, and helping solve other problems that may arise. In addition, WWS has organized a green ribbon campaign throughout the area. These ribbons, which strike supporters display on their homes and cars as a show of solidarity, are prominent in this town of 13,000.

Anti-union law used in New Zealand

Using anti-union legislation passed in May, bosses in New Zealand are increasing their attacks on workers.

Air New Zealand — the largest airline in the country — sacked 156 workers after they refused to take massive pay cuts August 29. Some packinghouse workers returning to work after seasonal layoff have been forced to sign contracts that limit their union protection.

One group of workers has chosen to fight back. Members of the New Zealand Seafarers Union (NZSU) are picketing the Golden Bay ship in the port of Timaru. This follows an attempt to run the ship with non-union labor. It is owned by New Zealand's largest company, Fletcher Challenge.

Dan Tilby, a member of the NZSU, explained the stakes involved in the dispute at a Militant Labour Forum in Auckland. If the company gets away with this, he said, "there is going to be a domino effect."

Pointing to the union's history of militancy he described the attack "as a vendetta by some government

LETTERS

Soviet Jews

In the article "Israeli rulers seek billions from U.S. to house Soviet Jews," I think the alarm with which workers view the injection of Soviet Jews into the West Bank would have been more forcefully conveyed if you had used the statistic from the *New York Times* quoted in *New Internationalist* no. 7, which points out that there are only 14% Palestinians in Israel not including the occupied territories. The Israeli leaders are quite proud of the fact that almost the whole population of Palestinian workers and farmers was expelled to make the colonial-settler state of Israel in 1948. In 1967 Israel annexed the West Bank, but was not able to precipitate the exodus of Palestinians — many of whom, however, were expelled for the second time.

Denis Hoppe
Dearborn, Michigan

Beaten like Curtis

I am writing you at this time in hopes that you will publish this in your newspaper, as I would like your readers to know what has happened to me.

I'm 24 years old and am currently incarcerated at the Mt. Pleasant Correctional Facility. Since my incarceration at this facility I've had an opportunity to reacquire myself with a former coworker and fellow union member, Mark Curtis, who is also incarcerated in this facility and

who has informed me of this forum.

Myself and other coworkers supported Mark against the frame-up and subsequent physical abuse he received from the Des Moines Police Department. I saw what Mark looked like when he came to work after getting out of jail. I have related to him here a somewhat similar experience which I had on October 31, 1989, in my residence.

In the early morning hours of this day, certain officers of the Des Moines Police Department entered my residence unlawfully and began beating me, claiming I was arrested on a warrant. I was sleeping when they entered so my recollection is rather vague, but I can remember my pillow being pulled out from under me, getting it placed over my head and then getting hit with hard objects. The abuse continued upon our arrival at the city jail. There, my feet and hands both were cuffed and after I was taken into the booking room I was picked up by my ankles and swung around in the air while being kicked in my back and head by other officers. There were many more explicit details but in summary... I was severely beaten.

The next thing I remember is waking up in the hospital in a cat scan machine with no feeling in my legs. I was paralyzed. Due to my determination I am able to walk again today and although I still have physical problems which cause pain



and restrict me from certain physical activities I took part in prior to my arrest (like dancing, which I had hoped to make a career of), with the will of God I will have the decent future every American has the right to have.

Since my arrest I've learned that the supposed warrant for which I was arrested wasn't even issued until several hours after my arrest and its issuance was for a charge that was never even filed against me. I've filed a civil suit against six Des Moines police officers, which will be going to trial in January, and I'm hopeful that its outcome will be a positive one for myself and others that have been oppressed by the unwarranted use of force by our law enforcement agencies.

I'm very thankful for this forum that the publisher has provided and I'm confident that together, positive

changes can be made.

Roberto Aguiniga
Mt. Pleasant Correctional Facility
Mt. Pleasant, Iowa

Cuban democracy

To the Militant for the question and answer column.

(1) What are the current Cuban forms of democratic participation of the working people in planning the economy at a national level? How is this now compatible with a single party system in politics — not as a short term transitional measure but as a system lasting more than 30 years?

(2) If Tito's system in Yugoslavia was the same as the Stalinist system in the U.S.S.R., why does the Militant encourage national separatist movements in the U.S.S.R., even when ideologically pro-capitalist, but discour-

age them in Yugoslavia?

Yours for the end of wage slavery.
Bill Stanley
Largo, Florida

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.

The Militant prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners. Please send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Socialist oil worker wins wide hearing in Salt Lake City mayoral campaign

BY PAUL MAILHOT

SALT LAKE CITY — Pat Grogan is an oil worker and the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor here. Nearly every day for the past month her campaign has come to the attention of working people through television and radio debates, speaking engagements, and campaign activities in front of plant gates and schools. Many like what they are hearing from the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) member.

In early September Grogan addressed the Salt Lake Central Labor Council, explaining, "Working people have suffered nearly two decades of unrelenting attacks on our standard of living by the employers and the government. It is time for us to unite — not only in this city, but in this country and worldwide — to fight against these attacks."

"We are in the weakest economic recovery from recession since World War II," she said. "Tens of thousands of workers continue to lose their jobs. The labor movement can and must organize active solidarity with workers on strike. We can fight for real solutions to the job crisis by demanding massive public works programs and a shorter workweek with no cut in pay. This kind of action can lead us to an independent working-class party that can contest the Democratic and Republican parties in the political arena."

"We can't look to those parties for any solutions to the problems confronting working people," the socialist said. "When rail workers went on strike only five members of Congress voted against enacting back-to-work legislation. No one in Congress led any kind of a fight to oppose the brutal war against the Iraqi people."



Militant

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union member Pat Grogan, right.

She also appealed to the labor body to answer the right-wing mobilizations in Wichita, Kansas, that were blocking access to abortion clinics and attacking democratic rights.

Although many of her ideas did not square with the views of the labor officials her talk was given serious attention.

Later, speaking at a United Steelworkers Local 8319 meeting, the union representative introducing her emphasized Grogan's strong

stand in favor of a woman's right to choose abortion.

Plant gate campaigning

Plant gate campaigning has taken place at Phillips refinery, Kennecott Copper, Magnesium Corp., and nonunion plants in the city. A worker at a large nonunion sewing factory brought three friends to a campaign rally in early September and distributed campaign literature at the plant. A rail worker sponsored

a get-together at her house with Grogan for coworkers interested in the campaign.

A big feature of the campaign has been the extensive radio, TV, and newspaper coverage of the oil worker's program.

At first some in the media made an effort to exclude news of the socialist campaign. However, this did not sit well with many political activists and some reporters. Of the four Democratic and Republican candidates that Grogan is running against some voiced their opposition to her not being included in two of the scheduled debates. After an aggressive effort by the socialist campaign committee against the exclusions, Grogan was included in an additional TV debate.

Grogan participated in all of the three TV and two radio debates that took place. She was also able to speak about her socialist views in debates organized by Women in Communications, the NAACP, the League of Women Voters, and Centro Cívico, a Mexican community center. A series of questions posed by the *Salt Lake Tribune* featured Grogan's and the other candidates' views on many political issues leading up to the October 8 primary vote.

Response from workers, youth

Many people expressed thanks to Grogan and her campaign supporters for raising important issues in the debates. One Mexican worker, after hearing her, said, "I think it is very important that you raise support for the immigrant worker whenever you speak." A university student commented, "She's the only one who says anything worthwhile in those debates."

All four Democratic and Republican candidates made law and order, a campaign against gangs and drugs, and bringing good business practices to Salt Lake City their major themes.

In sharp contrast, Grogan campaigned in defense of immigrant workers, against police brutality, and in support of abortion rights.

She explained that all capitalism has to offer young people is more imperialist wars like the devastating assault against the Iraqi people, and low-paying jobs; Grogan noted that one-third of all jobs in the United States pay under \$5 an hour.

In one of the TV debates Grogan pointed to Malcolm X as a role model for young people. "Malcolm X was a young person whose father was lynched. He ended up in the streets involved in petty crimes, exploding in on himself like many young people today. While in prison he came to see the struggle of Black people and later of all oppressed people as something that could give true meaning to his life. He became one of the outstanding leaders of working people, a revolutionary, and an internationalist figure."

Reaction on the job

"At work I was oftentimes surprised at the positive response to my views," Grogan said.

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Marches protest California gay rights law veto

BY KEVIN JONES AND BARRY FATLAND

LOS ANGELES — California governor Peter Wilson's veto of legislation outlawing job discrimination against homosexuals has touched off daily protests across the state.

A range of gay and lesbian organizations have called for a statewide march October 11 in Sacramento, an important opportunity for supporters of gay rights to protest the governor's action.

In vetoing State Assembly Bill 101, Governor Wilson bent to the vocal protests by businessmen and right-wing forces like Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition based in Orange County. It is widely known that Wilson had promised to support gay rights legislation during his campaign for governor.

Disagreements have been expressed among various gay and lesbian organizations on whether or not to continue the demonstrations. The Los Angeles branch of Log Cabin California, an organization of gay and lesbian Republicans, has called for the demonstrations to stop.

Log Cabin officer Patricia Woodford said, "We're just as angry as they are, but we believe in working through the legal system."

Democratic state assemblyman Terry Friedman, sponsor of the gay rights bill, has publicly criticized the outpouring of anger and frustration in the streets of California. He has even called on police to "arrest and prosecute" protesters who violate the law.

The debate over strategy and tactics, however, has not halted the daily protest actions. On October 4, 2,000 people marched through the streets of West Hollywood and Hollywood. The next day 3,000 marched from Rodeo Drive through the Century City Mall and Westwood Village near the University of California campus here.

Marchers chanted, "What do we want? Gay rights! When do we want them? Now!" Several signs read, "Pete Wilson is a liar."

One car carried a sign that read, "Blacks, women, Jews, and gays — rights under attack: who's next?"

Despite the disruption of traffic and business, most people observing from their stopped cars, sidewalks, or apartment balconies waved and honked horns to show their support. A *Los Angeles Times* poll published October 6 reported 62 percent of respondents support the gay rights bill.

The actions have involved a new layer of young gay rights supporters. The protests reflect the deep anger and frustration felt by many gay and lesbian people over the lack of progress in the decade-old battle against AIDS. For many, Wilson's veto was the straw that broke the camel's back.

The October 11 march on Sacramento offers an important opportunity for supporters of gay and lesbian rights to forge ties with fights for Black and women's rights, against police brutality, and against attacks on unions. Linking up with these struggles of working people will strengthen the fight for AIDS health care and gay and lesbian rights.

BY MARKIE WILSON

SAN FRANCISCO — Gov. Peter Wilson's veto was met here with a demonstration of 7,000 people September 30. Police used fire hoses and mace on protesters.

Mayoral candidate and former police chief Frank Jordan tried to soften his right-wing image by participating in the protest. He was chased away by angry demonstrators shouting "Go home, basher."

Jordan was police chief in October 1989 when police swept through San Francisco's Castro district, an area with businesses frequented by gay people and the scene of many gay rights protests.

The San Francisco Board of Supervisors and Mayor Art Agnos passed resolutions condemning the governor's veto.

According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* 150 people gathered in Concord, a city north-

east of here, to support the gay rights bill.

At Stanford University October 1, several hundred protesters drowned out a speech by Wilson.

Cops declared they would arrest 11 people for what they called a riot on September 30. They said they would be charged with arson, assaulting the police, and breaking windows. Several were allegedly identified by television videos and anonymous callers. Police have also kept up an intimidating presence in the Castro district.

Brian Gibbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for sheriff, issued a statement condemning Wilson's veto of the bill and the subsequent attempt to victimize protesters. "This is an attack on the rights of all working people. It gives aid and comfort to antigay, racist, antiwoman, and other reactionary forces of all kinds," the candidate said. "The fact that blatant antihomosexual discrimination by employers exists is common knowledge. Such discrimination is used to divide working people and bolster reactionary prejudices against Blacks, Latinos, women, and other victims of oppression."

Gibbs, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union, said the labor movement is weakened "when any section of our members are second-class citizens. The employers and their two parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, are reluctant to pass any legislation that bolsters the confidence and fighting spirit of working people at a time when attacks against our rights and living standards are increasing."

"The capitalist economic crisis has led to a growing political polarization. Rightist forces have mobilized against abortion rights in Wichita, Kansas; in support of police brutality in Los Angeles; and against gay rights in California."

"As the Socialist Workers Party candidate for sheriff, I urge unionists, Blacks, Latinos, and women's rights activists to participate in protests against Wilson's veto."

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