

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Kentucky miners fight
for union recognition

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Open U.S. borders to Haitians

Protests call for strengthening embargo against military regime

BY TOM FISKE

MIAMI — Protests have been growing here in response to the decision by the George Bush administration to return thousands of refugees back to Haiti.

Daily actions of up to 500 people are demanding asylum for Haitians who are fleeing a repressive regime by traveling across the dangerous currents toward Florida in flimsy, crowded boats.

Rolande Dorancy, executive director of the Haitian Refugee Center here and a leader of the protests, told the media that the "decision by George Bush to send back the refugees is a criminal policy. It is a policy to support criminals." He was referring to the military regime that staged a coup against the popularly elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide September 30.

Although Haitian army officials claim only 100 people have been killed since the coup, other reports from the country agree that the toll is well over 1,000. The military is striving to push back the political and democratic rights Haitian working people won since the overthrow of the Duvalier regime in 1986.

One example of the army's determination to hold onto power is their attack on a demonstration of 500 organized by the National Federation of Haitian Students November 14 in the capital city of Port-au-Prince. One hundred students were arrested and 3 mur-

dered in custody. Along with the students, 3 journalists covering the protest were arrested.

Extent of repression

Numerous press reports tell of the scope of the violence unleashed against working people by the hated government.

Government forces "come in every night," one resident of Port-au-Prince told the *Los Angeles Times*. "They shoot at the houses, they grab anyone they want, and we don't see them again."

A doctor in a working-class community told reporters that he stopped counting the number of bodies that have come into his morgue at 350. "We have them every day, even babies, and all with bullet wounds," he said.

Fifty-six-year-old Roger Emilien told the *New York Times* that "the whole country lives in fear," as he was preparing to board a boat for the United States.

"I am already very hungry, and many people have told us we will never make it, because the boats never arrive" in Florida, he said. "But everywhere we went the soldiers were arresting people and going through neighborhoods and shooting. I couldn't take it anymore."

The normally busy streets of the capital city are barren, and up to a third of the 1.2 million residents of the city have fled to

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Militant/Janet Post

Massive New York anti-coup protest, October 11. Washington's indifference toward plight of refugees reflects its hostility to struggles of Haitian working people.

Iowa board denies Mark Curtis parole

BY CHRIS REMPLE

FORT MADISON, Iowa — The Iowa State Board of Parole has rejected the appeal for parole by union and political activist Mark Curtis. The parole board members stated November 19 that Curtis would not be paroled unless he admits to a frame-up rape charge, drops his legal

appeal, and enrolls in a prison-run behavior modification sexual offender treatment program.

A delegation of supporters attended Curtis's hearing, including Jane Curtis, his mother; Hazel Zimmerman, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee; Mary Dietrich, secretary-treasurer of the Lee

County Central Labor Council; John Studer, coordinator of the Curtis defense committee; Héctor Marroquín; and several other members of the defense committee.

The delegation supporting Curtis's release sat through a number of other parole hearings before Curtis's case was examined. In all cases, the prisoners were workers who were denigrated by the board as depraved people. Board chair Walter Saur told one prisoner he wasn't good enough to deserve even a driver's license. Many of the prisoners felt compelled to degrade themselves before the board. One broke into tears as he promised to change his life. Most were paroled.

During these hearings, each member of the delegation attending the meeting for Curtis was taken out of the room by a member

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Louisiana sugar workers oppose employers' assaults

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

JEANERETTE, Louisiana — In his recent campaign for governor of this state, David Duke ran on a platform that blamed working people, particularly Blacks, for the deepening economic crisis in the state. The economic downturn over the last 10 years here has been devastating for workers.

Driving across southwest Louisiana to this small town of 6,500, the importance of sugar cane to the area is clearly visible. Fields of cane line the roads and stretch to the horizon. The highways are filled with huge trucks bringing the harvest to the mills operating in the area. Several hundred people work in the Jeanerette sugar mill.

While the big expensive machinery used to harvest cane has been around for several decades, it is only in the last 10 years that the industry here has been completely mechanized, according to Sister Anne Catherine, executive director of the Southern Mutual Help Association, an organization that aids sugar cane workers.

While huge plantations have always existed here, small farmers, Black and white, also grew sugar cane. Owning a little land

and renting or sharecropping a little more, working farmers were able to survive. But they could not afford the new machinery.

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Student rally condemns Dukeism

BY TOM LEONARD

LAFAYETTE, Louisiana — Some 300 students, the majority Black, participated in an anti-David Duke march and rally at the University of Southwestern Louisiana here November 14.

Organizers of the rally were supporters of Democratic gubernatorial candidate Edwin Edwards and included members of the faculty and the NAACP.

The demonstrators assembled at the Student Union and marched to the center of the campus. Speakers denounced Duke's racist attacks and his ties to the White Citizen's Council and American Nazi Party. Several spoke about the lessons of fascism in Germany.

Discussions with rally participants showed they were equipped to take on Duke supporters. Although all were too young to have participated in the civil rights movement, they were aware that the university was once an all-white campus and defended the need for affirmative action.

One student pointed out how phony Duke's attacks on government spending were. He explained that the University of Southwestern Louisiana was built by public funds in the 1930s as was Louisiana State University where Duke received an education. Students are also aware of the economic downturn and lack of government funding because of a recent doubling of tuition fees.

Illinois workers fight Caterpillar

BY ANDREA GONZALEZ

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — Of the 8,000 members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 974 who work at the massive Caterpillar complex here, 6,000 are on the street.

The UAW began a selective strike of 400 workers in the plant's assembly division November 4. The union also struck Caterpillar's Decatur, Illinois, plant, which employs 2,000 workers who are members of UAW Local 751. The Decatur plant produces strip mining equipment.

Responding swiftly to the union's moves, the company locked out about 5,600 workers at the complex here three days after the strike began. Caterpillar is currently challenging the right of these workers to receive unemployment benefits. Most of the workers on the picket line see the company's action as an act of revenge. The union plans to lend the locked-out workers \$100 a week.

The selective strike called by UAW officials is an attempt to force Caterpillar management back to the bargaining table. The UAW contract with Caterpillar expired September 30. Currently there are no negotiations.

Caterpillar is attempting to break the tradition of pattern bargaining between the UAW and Caterpillar and John Deere and Co., the other major manufacturer of heavy earth moving equipment. The UAW ratified a contract with John Deere in mid-October.

Caterpillar has refused to accept the terms of the John Deere contract, and is demanding many concessions. Picketers point to the two-tier wage structure as the most dangerous concession the company is seeking. One locked-out worker explained, "We can't have two men doing the same job, side by side. One is making \$17 an hour and the other is

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Cuban youth discuss challenges before revolution — pages 8-9

British gov't seeks harsh immigration law

BY TIM RIGBY

MANCHESTER, England — The British government has proposed legislation that would drastically limit the rights of political refugees here.

Details of the Asylum Bill were released November 1, the day after the official opening of the present session of the British parliament. The bill is now being discussed in parliament before it becomes law. In explaining the purpose of the bill, Home Secretary Kenneth Baker claimed the government had no choice but to act, as "throughout Europe the institution of asylum is under severe strain from the numbers using it as a way around immigration controls."

Draft rules of the bill include a requirement that a refugee must apply for asylum immediately on arrival in Britain, or the claim may be refused. The asylum-seeker must also prove unable to have moved to a "safer part of the country" of origin before attempting to travel to Britain. If the refugee has traveled out of his or her own country to one considered "safe" by the Home Office before coming to Britain, the asylum claim will automatically be rejected.

Also, the refugee must not be involved "in any activities in the UK before or after lodging his application calculated to enhance his claim for asylum." Commentators on the legislation interpret that phrase as including participation in groups protesting against the government of the country from which the refugee has fled.

While all applicants will have the right to request an appeal, it must be made within two days of the notice of expulsion. Jenny Watson, a spokesperson for the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, said many of the 2,000 people seen each year by the foundation are too scared and traumatized to claim asylum immediately. They are also wary of officials.

"Fast track" proposals for the appeals procedure are included in the bill, with the stated intention rapidly eliminating "bogus claims." Appeal requests may be rejected without a hearing. At the moment, many asylum claimants can spend up to 16 months in British jails before their claims are processed.

As one man from Ghana, detained at Haslar Prison near Portsmouth, said, "We're treated like convicts, but we've committed no crime."

The government also intends to end the automatic right to free legal advice from independent lawyers for asylum-seekers and other migrants. Only one organization, The United Kingdom Immigrants Advisory Service, (UKIAS), which gains 90 percent of its funding from the Home Office, will be able to give legal advice to those unable to pay



Applicants lining up at asylum office in Berlin. As in Britain, the German government is seeking to restrict legal immigration into the country.

for legal services. The UKIAS itself has been opposing the proposals both on the basis of lack of personnel and of the principled right of refugees and other immigrants to choose their own legal representation. The government has threatened to cut UKIAS budgets if it continues to oppose the new restrictions.

Jane Coker, a lawyer who works with immigrants, said about the proposed scrapping of legal aid: "It means that torture victims will be sent back to their deaths. We will never hear about them. Poor refugees who cannot afford solicitors [lawyers] will be left in the hands of immigration officers" who are notorious for shoddy work she said.

Since the Immigration Act of 1987, airlines have been fined £1,000 (£1=U.S. \$1.77) for each passenger arriving in Britain without appropriate documents, irrespective of whether the passenger is ultimately granted asylum. British Airways has already paid out £3 million. Last July the government proposed the fine be doubled.

"We expect staff to smile, not to be police-state employees. To treat huge sections of the world's population as potential criminals, giving them the third degree, is not the role of an airline," said Norman Lornie,

spokesperson for British Airways.

Shortly before the first announcement of the government's new refugee policies in July British prime minister John Major spoke at a European Community summit. "We must not be open to all-comers just because Rome, Paris and London are more attractive than Bombay or Algiers," he said. In the British parliament, Home Secretary Barker denied the government's proposed policy was racist. "This policy applies to asylum-seekers wherever they come from," Baker said, "whether they are Black or white." Diane Abbott, a Labour Party member of parliament who is Black, claimed Baker and the government were "criminalizing people fleeing from war, torture, or famine."

Britain has the lowest number of people requesting asylum in Europe. Some 46,000 claims are expected this year, compared with an estimated 200,000 for Germany, the country with the largest number of requests. With worsening economic and political conditions across many parts of the world, the number of people seeking political refuge in countries of the European Community (EC) has increased from 169,000 in 1988 to 327,000 in 1990, according to European Community figures. The EC has a population of 340 million.

The policy changes in Britain coincide with attacks on immigrants' rights across Europe. This erosion of legal rights is accompanied by the growing willingness of leading politicians publicly to scapegoat migrant workers as the source of present problems facing EC countries.

Jacques Chirac, the main conservative opposition leader in France, head of the Rassemblement Pour La République party, told a public meeting in June there was an "overdose" of immigration to France. He called the country's immigrants "noisy and smelly." Jean-Marie Le Pen, the leader of the far-right National Front, accused him of "stealing my thunder." France's Socialist Party prime minister Edith Cresson condemned Chirac's

words at the time. A few weeks later she said illegal immigrants should be returned to their countries of origin on "special flights."

On October 10 Germany's main political parties agreed to measures intended to cut in half the numbers seeking asylum, and instituted a dramatic speedup in the time between registration of claims and expulsion from 10 months to 6 weeks. While government ministers saw the agreement as a compromise, they vowed not to give up on their aim of fundamentally changing Germany's asylum laws, further cutting the numbers of asylum claimants.

One of the government's proposals is to automatically deny individuals from many eastern European countries the right to asylum. They will be turned back immediately at Germany's borders instead. On October 3, the anniversary of German unification, Chancellor Helmut Kohl said, "Germany is a foreigner-friendly country and will remain so. That does not mean, however, that we can simply stand back and watch the abuse of our asylum laws."

In neighbouring Austria, the far right-wing Freedom Party almost tripled its vote in recent elections for the Vienna city government. Party leader Jörg Haider has publicly praised Nazi labor practices and campaigned around alleged dangers of Vienna being "overrun by foreigners."

In August, the Italian government forcibly repatriated thousands of Albanian refugees. However, the plight of those who were allowed to stay, as they search for work and a new life, sums up the desperate measures refugees are forced to take. An August 14 *Independent* article reports that in Belgium "they are already arriving in twos and threes, mostly on trains from Milan. Or, rather, underneath them, squeezed beneath the floors and suspension blocks of the passenger carriages or wrapped perilously around the couplings, inches from the rails."

One million New York workers to be forced onto welfare by 1992

BY DEREK BRACEY

It is expected that 1 million New York City residents will be on welfare by early next year. Over the past 12 months there has been a sharp rise in the number of adults receiving public assistance.

More than 955,000 New Yorkers were on welfare in September. This is approximately one-eighth of the city's population. The figure represents a rise of 68,000 recipients since January 1.

Since 1981, when 861,000 were on welfare in New York, the number of children on welfare in the city has declined slightly from 517,000 to 511,000. But, at the same time the number of adults on welfare has risen by more than 100,000: from 343,000 to 444,000.

"We're seeing people who were living on the margin, off the books, holding minimum-wage jobs — often single adults who can no longer find work to support themselves," said Pat Smith, acting deputy commissioner of the income support program for the city's Human Rights Administration.

In its latest financial statement, the city administration said the welfare caseload is growing by 9 percent a year and the Medicaid caseload by 8.8 percent.

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Large meeting hears Tablada in Newark

Group opposed to Cuban revolution fails in attempt to disrupt forum

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEWARK, New Jersey — A major victory for freedom of speech was scored here November 21 when 50 rightists were prevented from breaking up a campus lecture by Cuban economist Carlos Tablada.

Tablada had been invited to speak at the Newark campus of Rutgers University by the student-run Program Board. The meeting was also endorsed by the African-American Studies, Political Science, and History departments; Honors Speakers Program; African Students Organization; Black Organization of Students; Cuban Cultural Committee; the night school's Student Government Association; Nelson Mandela Club; Puerto Rican Organization; West Indian Students Association; Young Socialist Alliance; and the Caribbean Students Organization at the adjacent campus of the New Jersey Institute of Technology.

Students publicized the meeting extensively and professors encouraged their classes to attend the lecture. By the week of the scheduled event, a lively debate had opened up over the invitation to Tablada and over the Cuban revolution itself.

Rutgers-Newark has a student body that is predominantly of working-class background, with sizable numbers of Blacks and Latinos including Cuban-Americans, as well as many international students. The northern New Jersey area where the campus is located is home to tens of thousands of Cuban-Americans. A tiny minority of these has engaged in terrorist activities, including bombings and assassinations of supporters of the Cuban revolution and opponents of U.S. policy toward the island. These attacks have been aimed in part at intimidating others in the Cuban-American community from learning about the Cuban revolution and speaking their mind in the debate over the revolution.

It was in this context that the Cuban student group on campus — the Cuban Cultural Committee — decided after considerable debate to join other campus organizations in endorsing the Tablada meeting.

Threat to Tablada

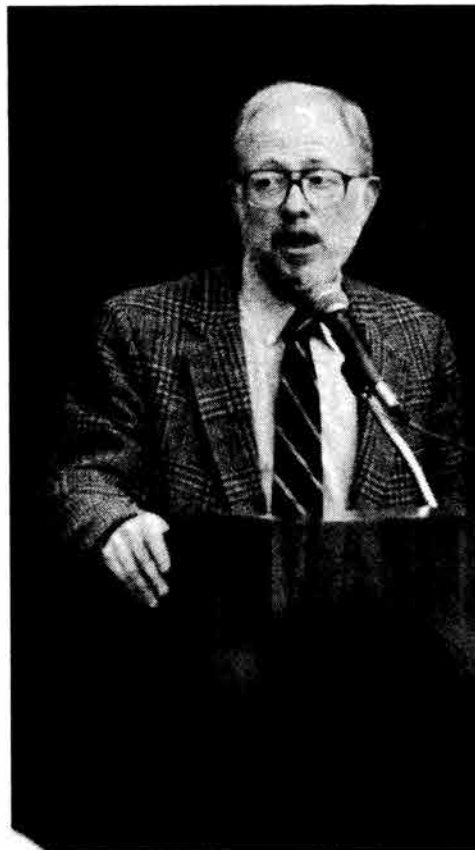
On November 20, the day before Tablada was to speak, a delegation of campus and Newark police informed the Rutgers Program Board that "a reliable source" had told them there was a plan to kill Tablada.

The Program Board took the threat seriously. Cuban counterrevolutionary groups were responsible for the 1979 murder in Union City, New Jersey, of Eulalio José Negrín, a Cuban-American who opposed the U.S. blockade of Cuba, and the 1980 assassination in New York of Félix García Rodríguez, a member of the Cuban mission to the United Nations.

Refusing to be intimidated, the Program Board decided to proceed with the event and reinforced security for the meeting.

Prior to this threat, the endorsing student groups had already organized teams of monitors to ensure that the meeting proceeded smoothly. Those teams were augmented with additional supporters of free speech to avert a possible attack.

The students also decided to accept an offer from the police to escort Tablada to and from the meeting. The night of the meeting



In response to disrupters (right), Dean of Students John Faulstick said, "The university will defend the right of free speech for every one of us here."



Militant photos by Eric Simpson

police had a visible presence outside the lecture hall and checked participants for weapons as they entered the room.

Two hundred fifty people turned out for Tablada's talk. The meeting was opened by Wendell Jean-Pierre, a professor in the African-American Studies Department, who urged everyone in the audience to participate in holding a free exchange of views on the evening's subject. "All ideas are welcome, no matter how controversial," he explained.

Judy Fernández spoke for the executive board of the Cuban Cultural Committee. Not all members of the group agreed with Tablada's point of view, she said, but in the interest of academic freedom the group voted to endorse the meeting. "The issues discussed tonight may be disturbing, especially for those who left Cuba after the revolution," she explained, noting that her own parents are Cuban exiles. "But as college students we are exercising our right to free speech in discussing these issues."

Rich Ariza, a former Rutgers student who is now a postal worker, chaired the event. Tablada was introduced by Bruce Franklin, a professor in the English Department.

Many had come to learn about Cuba and raise their questions, looking forward to a rare opportunity to talk with a Cuban from Cuba. Many Cuban-Americans were in the audience and they held a range of views. Some 50 of these, however, had been organized to come and break up the meeting and prevent people from hearing Tablada. Their intent became clear shortly after the Cuban economist began his talk. Several of them began yelling out, "That's a lie!" in response to points Tablada was making.

The majority of the audience clearly disapproved of the interruptions. But the dis-

rupters continued to heckle, jeering particularly loudly whenever Tablada pointed to gains of the revolution, such as land reform or desegregation of public facilities previously barred to Blacks.

At one point in his talk, Tablada explained how the Cuban government's decision to adopt Soviet economic models in the 1970s led to inefficiency and waste. "Hospitals, which we were previously able to construct in only 2 years, now took as much as 11 years to complete," he said. A section of the rightists cheered. Many others at the meeting were shocked by their attitude.

Rightist disruption fails

As the majority of the audience grew increasingly impatient with the disrupters' abuse, chairperson Ariza asked Tablada to step aside for a moment so he could call the meeting to order.

"We will not tolerate an insult to the hospitality of the university," Ariza said. "This behavior is a disgrace. I would like to ask those present, do you want the meeting to continue?" The majority signified yes by vigorous applause and the rightists, most of whom were not students, quieted down for a brief period of time.

When the question period began, the first person called on claimed that he had been imprisoned in Cuba for 24 years for his political beliefs. "If Castro has the support of the people, why then refuse to let the Cuban people decide through free elections if they want Castro?" he asked.

As Tablada began to explain that Cuba does indeed hold elections, other rightists started shouting in an attempt to drown out his answer. It became clear they had no interest in a political discussion, especially

one in which they were welcome to present their views along with everyone else in the room. Rather, they were seeking to provoke an incident that would end the meeting, including by taunting those acting as monitors with catcalls of "KGB," or "whore" in the case of female monitors.

They showed equal disrespect for others in the audience who wanted to hear answers to the questions, such as one question concerning prospects for expanding Cuba's trade ties with Latin America and another on the attitude in Cuba toward the current shortages.

The majority in the meeting, who wanted to hear Tablada, remained firm in the face of the right-wing threats and refused to be provoked.

John Faulstick, dean of students, took the floor to explain that "this university is a free marketplace of ideas. And the university will defend the right of free speech for every one of us here."

As the meeting continued, the rightists began to divide among themselves. Some tried to hush their colleagues who were yelling out and turning most in the audience against them.

Cuba like South Africa?

One rightist directed a question to Wendell Jean-Pierre, who is Black. "What would be the reaction of Black people in Newark if a speaker from South Africa came here and said Black people live well in South Africa, the way this professor says Cuban people live well in Cuba?" the man asked.

Jean-Pierre replied that "conditions of Black people with regard to health and education in Cuba are far better than in South Africa. And there is no comparison between the two societies; indeed, Cuba went to Angola to fight to help the people of South Africa."

The mention of Cuban troops in Angola elicited a round of applause from many in the audience, including African students present. Tablada was then asked a question about the impact of Cuba's role in Angola. He spoke about the recent visit of Nelson Mandela to Cuba and his speech there July 26. "Mandela explained how the anti-apartheid movement went to many capitalist and socialist countries for aid," said Tablada. "They got nothing. Except in Cuba, where they were received by the highest authorities and received generous help."

After taking several more questions, Ariza closed the meeting, thanking everyone who had made it possible. In frustration, one rightist rushed toward the platform as Tablada and his delegation were leaving, but was stopped by security monitors. Another right-winger let off a stink bomb in the back of the room.

The rightists had been defeated in their attempt to stop the event, after trying for more than two hours. The freedom of Rutgers students and faculty to invite speakers of their choice onto campus and discuss their ideas was upheld and advanced, as was the right of working people in northern New Jersey to hear a speaker from Cuba and judge his ideas for themselves.

ANC leader Mandela to visit four U.S. cities on December 2-8 tour

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela will conduct a one-week U.S. tour at the beginning of December.

The revolutionary leader will address the United Nations General Assembly during that body's December 2-4 debate on apartheid.

He is also slated to visit Washington, D.C., and Baltimore December 5. One confirmed meeting is with U.S. president George Bush at the White House.

Mandela will also speak at university gatherings, including a lecture at the Soldiers and Sailors hall sponsored by University of Pittsburgh student and academic groups December 6. The 4:00 p.m. event is being broadcast live at the Pitt Union, Forbes Quadrangle, Clapp and David Lawrence halls.

In Houston December 8 the ANC president will give a keynote address at the Carter-Menil Human Rights Award ceremony.

Cincinnati pro-choice forces defeat Operation Rescue

BY EMILY WOOD
AND BILL LAMBERT

CINCINNATI, Ohio — "Rev. Streicher, with his crowbar, carries out the will of O.R.," clinic defenders chanted here November 22 outside Planned Parenthood in response to an incident involving an Operation Rescue supporter.

The day before, Streicher had forced his way into the Women for Women clinic with a crowbar, injuring four clinic workers and destroying furniture and equipment. Two days earlier Streicher had been arrested during an Operation Rescue blockade of the clinic. Operation Rescue claims no responsibility for Streicher's actions, but everyone on the clinic defense line understood that Operation Rescue creates an atmosphere conducive to such assaults.

The Operation Rescue actions were part of their "national week of rescue," with actions planned for several cities.

In October several abortion rights groups created a loose coalition to defend Cincinnati clinics. In preparation for Operation Rescue's week-long campaign, one of the coalition groups, the student-based Coalition for Choice, worked hard to gain support and train defenders. A training session conducted by the National Organization for Women (NOW) involved more than 100 people.

On November 19, the first day of the announced "rescue," 75 defenders braved the elements, prepared to scramble to protect any of the four local clinics. When one Operation Rescue group was spotted heading toward the Planned Parenthood clinic, pro-choice supporters concentrated their forces there. Shortly afterwards, however, some 50 "rescuers" arrived at the poorly defended Women for Women clinic and blocked the entrance. Defenders converged there to provide protection from the frenzied badgering

of the rightists directed at women seeking clinic services. Police arrested and removed many of the "rescuers" by 10:30 a.m. and the clinic was reopened.

Clinic defenders mobilized early in the morning on Friday and Saturday, forming defense lines at Planned Parenthood. They outnumbered Operation Rescue by 70 to 30 on Friday, when the rightists picketed until about noon. The ongoing presence of clinic defenders clearly had a demoralizing effect on Operation Rescue. On Saturday, although the rightists outnumbered clinic defenders by 2-1, they made no attempt to blockade the clinic.

All appointments were kept at Planned Parenthood. Each time a car entered, the defenders chanted, "This is not Wichita; this clinic is open!" After seven hours of marching, praying and singing, Operation Rescue left, bringing cheers from the successful clinic defenders.

Diverse forces met at 1920 revolutionary gathering

(Fifth in a series)

Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!, recently published by Pathfinder, contains the full record of the Second Congress of the Communist International, or Comintern, held in Soviet Russia in 1920.

The *Militant* is serializing the introduction to the book by its editor, John Riddell. These excerpts are copyright © 1991 by the Anchor Foundation and reprinted by permission of Pathfinder Press.

The section printed last week explained the Russian revolution's attractive power to large numbers of new recruits of the parties of the Socialist International, which was attempting a revival following the first world war.

The section described some of the parties and forces attending the Comintern congress, many of whom had recently emerged from, or were still a part of, the Socialist International. This description continues below.

* * *

The policy of the French Socialist Party toward the Comintern developed along lines similar to that of the USPD [the centrist Independent Socialist Democratic Party in Germany]. During the war the party leadership's chauvinist policies were opposed by an increasingly powerful centrist-led opposition current. But rather than breaking away to form a new party, as was done by the opposition in the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany], this current stayed in the party and became its majority at the July 1918 National Council meeting.

The revolutionary forces, organized during 1919 in the Committee for the Third International, spoke for only a small minority of the party. At the February 1920 party congress in Strasbourg, however, their motion for immediate affiliation to the Comintern won the support of a third of the delegates. The majority resolution, by contrast, backed the plan to unite the Comintern and all the centrist-led parties in a new International. The majority leadership made an attempt to call a conference with this goal. But when these efforts came to nothing, the party's executive committee sent a delegation to Moscow, composed of Marcel Cachin and Louis-Oscar Frossard, with a mandate to seek unity along the lines of the majority resolution.

Cachin had been a notorious chauvinist during the early years of the war, and his arrival in Moscow was protested by some congress delegates. John Reed told Alfred Rosmer of France that even allowing Cachin past the Soviet border had been impermissible. Subsequently, on each meeting with Rosmer, Reed exclaimed, "Can you imagine? He's still here!"

On June 19, three days after their arrival in Moscow, Cachin and Frossard gave reports to a meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee defending the record of their party and denying the right of the Comintern to demand expulsions from the French Socialist Party. Their reports met with sharp criticism and provoked many searching questions. Ten days later Cachin responded with a statement that tried to reconcile the French party leadership's positions with those of the

Comintern. The statement contained a pledge by Cachin to seek to convince "the whole French Socialist Party" to join the Comintern.

The Executive Committee invited Cachin and Frossard to attend the world congress with voice and consultative vote, and the two representatives secured their party's agreement that they attend. During the weeks preceding the congress, their views

view, such participation inevitably led to opportunist degeneration. The Communist-Abstentionists, as Bordiga's current was called, also advocated the expulsion of the Turati wing.

The Bordiga forces seemed ready, should the party reject their proposals, to split from it and set up a Communist organization on their own. But a conference of the faction in



Some of the delegates to second Comintern congress. Lenin is in left foreground.

shifted toward acceptance of the Executive Committee proposals on affiliation. On the eve of the congress they wired their party that they had learned the conditions for joining the International and considered affiliation to be necessary.

The Italian Socialist Party

The Italian Socialist Party leadership, in contrast to the French, had taken a stand against World War I. The Italian party had initiated the 1915 Zimmerwald conference, the first international meeting after August 1914 of Socialist organizations that opposed the war. In 1919 this party was among the first to affiliate to the Comintern.

During the Comintern's first year, its leaders had almost no contact with the Socialists in Italy and said little about the party's problems. In May 1920, however, Lenin pointed to the openly reformist politics of the party's right wing, headed by Filippo Turati, which was a minority in the party but dominated its parliamentary fraction. Lenin called on the revolutionaries in Italy to drive the Turati wing out of the party.

At the Socialists' October 1919 convention in Bologna, the majority "Maximalist" faction led by Serrati resolved to alter the party program in order to stress the need for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalist power and its replacement by a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Serrati leadership itself came under sharp attack at the Bologna congress by the small revolutionary faction led by Bordiga. The main proposal of the Bordiga forces was that the party cease presenting candidates in bourgeois parliamentary elections. In their

Florence in May 1920 heeded the advice of a Comintern representative, who warned against unilaterally carrying through a premature split. Such an action would have isolated the Communists in a small group united mainly by its ultraleft stand, which turned parliamentary abstention into a principle.

The proposal to form a Communist party on the program of parliamentary abstention was also criticized at the Florence conference by Antonio Gramsci, a leader of the Turin revolutionaries organized around the newspaper *L'Ordine Nuovo*. The platform of the party's Turin section, "For the Renovation of the Italian Socialist Party," was printed in Moscow in the French, German, and Russian editions of the Communist International's magazine published just prior to the Second Congress.

Other Communist groups

In Britain partisans of the Comintern in a number of comparatively small organizations had sought a road to unity without success since early 1919. The largest organization involved in these negotiations was the centrist-led Independent Labour Party. In April 1920 it decided to withdraw from the Second International and support the plan to reconstruct a center-left International. The party then sent a delegation to Moscow to discuss this project with the Comintern leadership. Although the majority of the Independent Labour Party subsequently turned away from the Comintern, a minority joined the united Communist Party of Great Britain in 1921.

While the Independent Labour Party delegates were in Moscow, two other groups, the British Socialist Party and the Communist Unity Group (a pro-Comintern breakaway from the Socialist Labour Party), were preparing to launch a Communist party together. The new party was founded at a joint convention in London two weeks after the Second Congress opened in Moscow. This effort was opposed by the Workers' Socialist Federation, an ultraleft group led by Sylvia Pankhurst, which on June 19 proclaimed itself a Communist party. A third pro-Comintern force was the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees, a loose association of working-class fighters, which was born in the great labor battles that took place during and immediately after the war.

All three of these currents sent delegates to the Second Congress and explained in its debates the differences that divided them. The revolutionary left in the Independent Labour Party also sent a delegate, Helen Crawford, but she did not arrive until after the congress had ended.

The most stubborn disagreement among the representatives from Britain concerned affiliation to the British Labour Party. Unlike the Social Democratic parties of the conti-

nent, which were membership organizations, the Labour Party was structured as a federation of the labor movement as a whole, and its backbone was a body of affiliated trade unions with more than four million members. When the British Socialist Party rallied to the Communist International, it retained its affiliation to the Labour Party, since it considered revolutionary work from within this federated organization to be important to building a Communist party. Many Comintern supporters in Britain, such as those in Pankhurst's group, rejected such affiliation on grounds of principle.

The small Communist forces in the United States, whose ranks had been reduced by fierce government repression, were divided into two main rival parties, both formed at the beginning of September 1919. One wing, the Communist Party of America, had favored an immediate split from the Socialist Party. The forces in the Communist Labor Party, on the other hand, had fought to stay in the Socialist Party, judging that its ranks still contained substantial forces that could be won to communism. Both organizations were hampered by ultraleft sectarian positions.

During the Second Congress delegates received word of a realignment among U.S. Communists: a group led by Charles Ruthenberg broke from the Communist Party in April 1920 and united with its rival the following month, taking the name United Communist Party.

Another delegation prominent in the Second Congress debates came from the Netherlands, whose Communists, quite few in number, had been prominent in the revolutionary wing of the pre-war Socialist International and in the Zimmerwald Left, precursor of the Comintern. Holding many ultraleft positions, the Dutch revolutionaries were divided between a majority, which included the Dutch Comintern congress delegates, and a minority that shared the even more leftist views of Anton Pannekoek, Herman Gorter, and the KAPD in Germany.

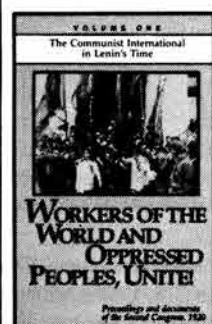
In Czechoslovakia massive forces were moving toward the Comintern. A growing left wing in the Social Democratic Party was strongly attracted to the Bolsheviks' example. By mid-1920, the left current had majority support in the party ranks. Smeral, the central leader of this current, was won to the Communist International during a visit to Soviet Russia in April and May 1920. He discussed with the International's leadership a plan to organize a split with the right wing at the party's next convention, scheduled for September, and to take the left-wing majority into the Comintern.

The other major European parties represented at the congress had diverse origins. The Communist Party of Bulgaria (Tsenyaki) had seventeen years of independent revolutionary activity behind it. The Yugoslav party, about equal in size, had been born of a complex fusion of Social Democratic groups in 1919. The Swedish Left Social Democrats, a sizable party, had broken from the opportunist Social Democracy in February 1917. In Norway, by contrast, it was the entire Labor Party, based like its British counterpart on affiliated trade unions, that turned its back on the Second International and joined the Comintern. In Switzerland, communists led a large left wing within the Social Democratic Party, while a smaller ultraleft group had set up shop as the Communist Party of Switzerland.

In Hungary and Finland the defeat of the revolution had driven the Communist parties into exile. The main leaders of the Communist movement of Hungary arrived in Moscow only after the Second Congress had concluded. Sharp factionalism wracked the Finnish leadership, and a major dispute over ultraleftism and organizational questions developed among the leaders from Hungary in the latter half of 1920. In Spain the syndicalist unions, the Socialist youth, and forces in the Socialist Party itself had moved toward the Comintern, but only the unions were represented at the Second Congress.

Many delegations included representatives of youth organizations that belonged to or were sympathetic to the Communist Youth International. The youth International had been founded at an underground congress in Berlin in November 1919 by delegates of fourteen organizations representing some 200,000 members.

The Communist International in Lenin's Time

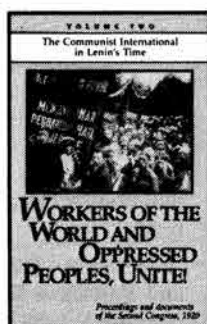


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Young socialists call for prosecution of racist assailants

The following statement was issued by the Twin Cities chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). It was used widely to build a November 21 antiracist rally at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis. The YSA is a nationwide revolutionary socialist youth organization.

On October 17, thugs associated with a group called the White Student Union, a racist, right-wing outfit, attacked a peaceful protest at the University of Minnesota. The Minneapolis demonstration had been called to counter the views of White Student Union founder Tom David, who was being interviewed at the campus radio station.

Armed with pipes, nunchaku, tear gas, and an attack dog, the thugs inflicted serious wounds on three people, who were hospitalized.

In response, campus activists have called a November 21 rally against racist attacks. The Young Socialist Alliance urges youth, student, community, and trade union organizations to help build and participate in this event. It is an effective way to condemn the violent attempt to intimidate students from exercising their democratic right to speak out and organize protests against the racist venom coming out from David and his gang.

The YSA demands that the racist thugs responsible for the assault be arrested and prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

Formed earlier this year, the White Student Union says its purpose is to "protest affirmative action and quotas, and to promote white culture."

Tom David is a history major with links to the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan. In an article in the student newspaper, *Minnesota Daily*, David said that "America is quickly becoming a Third World slum" and that nothing is being done to "stop the mud slide." Immigrant workers, he said, "come here to suck the blood of hard-working White people." He proposed that border guards be given the orders, "If it ain't white, waste it." His article centered on the demand to separate "the races."

In literature and public appearances, David also singles out Jews and homosexuals for attack.

The appearance of this rightist group on campus coincides with a political polarization and an ongoing shift to the right in capitalist politics. Both parties of the billionaire ruling families are leading an assault against the standard of living and democratic rights of working people as their solution to the crisis of the capitalist economic system.

The hearing that Republican candidate David Duke won in the Louisiana governor's race is a reflection of this rightward shift. The important thing is not that Duke has been a neo-Nazi and the former head of the Ku Klux Klan, but that the proposals he advances today are entirely within the framework of Democratic and Republican party politics.

He fits comfortably within the conservative wing of the Republican party and would be at home within the right wing of the Democratic Party as well. Like Bush, Duke attacks affirmative action and hiring quotas as "unfair to qualified whites."

While many capitalist politicians have focused on Duke's past, none answer his attacks against affirmative action or unemployed workers.

Unlike Duke, the White Student Union functions outside the bipartisan framework of bourgeois politics. Its political program, though, must be answered.

Under capitalism, discrimination against women, Blacks, and other oppressed nationalities is rampant. The billionaire ruling families profit from their oppression. They not only reap higher profits out of the lower wages paid to these sections of the working class, but divisions fostered by the rulers among working people — between men and women, Blacks and whites, and immigrant and native-born — sap the ability of all workers to wage common struggles in our own interests.

Affirmative action measures are a tool won by working people that can help overcome these crippling divisions by achieving greater equality in employment, housing, and education.

David's claim that immigrant workers are sucking the blood of "hard-working white people" is ludicrous. The blood of all working people is being sucked by a system that requires us to sell our labor power to the ruling rich for a profit — capitalism. It is the tiny handful of billionaire families who profit from the labor of working people, not the worst off sections of the working class.

We must defend the rights of immigrant workers and demand that the Third World debt be canceled. U.S. borders should be opened to allow the free travel and immigration of working people.

By championing measures that weaken the employers' and their government's ability to perpetuate discrimination in hiring, promotions, or layoffs, the labor movement will strengthen its capacity to fight on all fronts against the anti-working-class offensive.

There is no such thing as "white culture" or the "white race," just as there is no Black, brown, or any other "race" of people. Race is a social construct set up originally to justify the slave trade. Racism made its appearance with the birth of capitalism.

While the YSA stands for a society where racist and sexist divisions would be eliminated, we know we are not there yet. Under capitalism people of color face discrimination. Forming organizations to fight against this and to codify the rights of oppressed nationalities has been an essential element of the class struggle and an advance for all working people.

But organizations that are exclusively white, like those that are exclusively male, are thoroughly reactionary. They can only represent a regression to the racist policy and extralegal terror that found its most extreme form in the legal segregation that existed in the South, known as Jim Crow, and in the apartheid system in South Africa.

The White Student Union "welcomes people who are pro-white," reads one of its flyers. While its leaders refuse to state whether it is a "whites only" organization, their actions and statements preclude participation in the group by anybody but whites. For this reason the YSA is opposed to the White Student Union — or other groups like it around the country — being recognized as a student organization on campus or to having any access to funds if the group



Young Socialist Alliance member Garnez Parks speaking at October rally to condemn racist attacks by the White Student Union at University of Minnesota.

chooses to apply for that status.

The YSA does not support demands by other organizations calling for banning the racists from speaking on campus or censoring their statements. That would set a precedent for attacks on the democratic rights of all students and working people.

Instead, clearly answering the White Student Union's political arguments and organizing the broadest possible mobilizations against them whenever they hold an event is the course of action needed. Countermobilizations are the most effective way to draw others into the fight and politically isolate

such racist or right-wing groups.

The October 9 antiracist rally of 700 at the University of Minnesota was a good example of this. Students and unionists who were marshals isolated the jeering, flag-waving David and his band from the demonstration and prevented them from disrupting it, despite numerous provocations.

*** All out for the November 21 rally against racist attacks at the U of M!**

*** Prosecute the thugs who attacked the peaceful protest October 17!**

*** No recognition for the White Student Union as a student group!**

Join us!

The Young Socialist Alliance is an organization of young people from across the country who are fighting against the wars and economic crises of capitalism and for socialism. Join us today!

☐ Yes, I want to join the YSA.

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Name _____ Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Tel: _____
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Clip and mail to: Young Socialist Alliance, P.O. Box 211, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Canada farmers protest gov't inaction

BY LYNDIA LITTLE

WILLINGDON, Alberta — Farmers in this drought-stricken area filled the community center October 22 to challenge the Alberta minister of agriculture about government inaction on their demands for special assistance grants. They also discussed the farm crisis sweeping Canada.

Willingdon, about 100 kilometers north-east of Edmonton, is the center of a 10-county farming area that is suffering from a serious drought. The counties have had less-than-normal rain and snowfall for the last several years.

About 1,400 farmers had met in the same community center August 14 to discuss and pass resolutions calling on the Alberta government to declare the area a disaster and asking for a \$75-per-acre grant for farmers affected by the drought.

The August gathering was the first in a series of meetings, rallies, and marches across Canada demanding government cash assistance for farmers suffering the effects of the farm crisis. To date more than 30,000 farmers and their supporters have participated in these protests.

Some 30 farmers and others from the surrounding communities — out of 1,600 attending the October 22 meeting — lined up at the floor mike to challenge Agriculture Minister Ernie Isley. They voiced their opinions on the need for government action in a discussion that lasted until midnight. The agriculture minister was greeted with boos and heckles when he warned farmers not to expect special assistance grants.

The Alberta Cow-Calf Association, a grass-roots organization that represents working farmers, organized both meetings.

Harvey Aarbo, president of the association, farms near the town of Elk Point. He told the meeting that the demand for a \$75-per-acre grant would cost the government no more than \$288 million. He contrasted that with the hundreds of millions that the Alberta government had poured into sinking corporations like Gainers Meatpacking, Northern Steel, and Syncrude Canada.

Throughout the meeting the minister consistently evaded questions on whether the area is a disaster in the estimation of the government.

"It's near the point where we're not going

to ask any more — we're going to start demanding," said Howard Kerkoski, a St. Paul farmer who now works as a full-time electrician to help keep his farm.

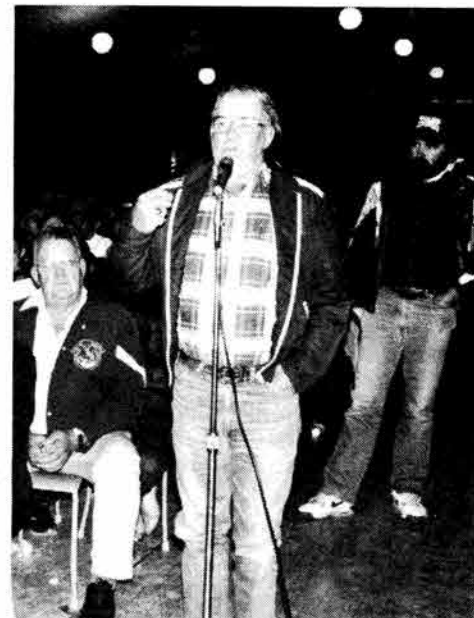
At several points during the meeting Isley was asked to agree with the farmers' demands or resign. Farmers also demanded that Premier Don Getty call a general election.

The day before this meeting the New Democratic Party (NDP) was swept into government with 52 percent of the popular vote in Saskatchewan, the adjoining prairie province.

"I'm sure that on election day the farmers will remember you guys just like Saskatchewan farmers remembered their government," said Jason LeRue. LeRue told the meeting that he had already lost his farm, and asked Isley for programs now "to ensure that there will be farmers in the future."

Aarbo told the crowd that one of the Alberta government ministers had stated "there will never be an NDP government in this province." In response, Aarbo said, "The desperation in this room says we'll vote for anything other than the Conservatives."

The meeting heard greetings from Ken Eschpeter, organizer of a farm rally of over 1,200 three days earlier in Sedgewick, Alberta. Eschpeter criticized the Canadian government for continuing to deny its responsibility to help farmers get through the crisis. He said that federal politicians had found a scapegoat in blaming the international agriculture trade war between the European Community (EC) and the United States. "The Canadian government is as much to blame as the EC and the U.S. for the plight we face as Canadian farmers," he said.



Militant/Michael Carper
Farmers meeting in Willingdon, Alberta.

Professor is disciplined for anti-Semitism

BY DEREK BRACEY

The City University of New York voted October 28 to give Professor Leonard Jeffries a probationary term of one year as chairman of the Black Studies department at City College of New York.

This minor disciplinary action followed a major debate on whether to remove Jeffries from the post.

Jeffries became the center of discussion last July after he made anti-Semitic remarks in several speeches. Jeffries has argued for the inclusion of the contributions of Africans and Blacks in American history courses. His presentations have portrayed Jews as the main progenitors of slavery and bias against Blacks. He points to Jewish slave traders and says that Russian Jews conspired with the Mafia to create a negative image of Blacks.

"I grew up as a youngster just like you did, going to movies where the African peoples were completely denigrated," Jeffries said in a speech in July. "That was a conspiracy planned and programmed out of Hollywood, where people called Greenberg and Weisberg and Trigiani and whatnot — it's not anti-Semitic to mention who developed

Hollywood. Their names are there — MGM Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Adolph Zukor, Fox."

He defends this by claiming he is merely pointing to "facts" of some aspects of the oppression of Blacks.

Many newspapers, government officials, and others have sought to blur into one Jeffries' anti-Semitism, his nationalist race-baiting of whites, and the fight to bring a more accurate history curriculum to New York schools.

Jeffries was a member of a state appointed committee to evaluate the current curriculum of New York public schools. The committee was organized in response to a lawsuit filed against the New York City Board of Education, New York State Education Department, and the U.S. Department of Education. It charged that the curriculum of New York schools was racist.

Jeffries' evaluation pointed to the biased character of education, particularly in the area of history. He has since been a prominent spokesperson for a multicultural curriculum, one that incorporates more on the history of Africans, Asians,

and Native Americans.

The teaching of Black and African history is something that working people should support because it helps break down racist attitudes and stereotypes. Backing this demand, though, need not lead to support of Jeffries' historical viewpoint. Jeffries provides a total distortion of history. By pointing to Jews as the perpetrators of the slave trade, the main promoters of films with racist content, and as responsible for any of the other atrocities that Blacks have been victims of blocks the gaining of a materialist and scientific understanding of history and the root cause of racism.

Jeffries has distributed booklets that say the skin pigment melanin gives Blacks intellectual superiority. In several talks he has called people of European descent "ice people" who are greedy and materialistic. Those of African descent he calls humanistic and communal "sun people."

These statements are an obstacle to understanding the history of racism and its source in the rise of capitalist society. Blaming Jews for the oppression of Blacks and the ills of capitalism has only one name: anti-Semitism. The logical conclusion of such a perspective is that Blacks need to mount a fight against Jews as a people, instead of taking on the wealthy few who run America and the system that enriches them: capitalism.

Reactionary figures have commonly sought to direct anger stemming from the impact of a declining economy against scapegoats. Jews have often been targeted as such.

Attempts to victimize Jews divides the working class and weakens its ability to confront the capitalist rulers. Neither does it advance the fight for a more accurate teaching of history or unbiased education.

Because of this insidious character of anti-Semitism, those who promote it as professors or administrators in the educational system should be disciplined. As with any teacher advancing racism in his or her courses, disciplinary action signals to all who might follow suit that such practices will not be tolerated.

The goal of some who call for action against Jeffries has little to do with combating anti-Semitism, however. New York governor Mario Cuomo, Senator Alfonse D'Amato, and the *New York Times* are among the voices calling for stronger action against the professor. They are using Jeffries' anti-Semitic remarks to attack the demand for multicultural education.

The *Times*, in an October 30 editorial, said, "Dr. Jeffries has a right to free speech. As department chairman, he also is responsible for acting in the broader interests of the university. In that he has failed, spouting anti-Semitic and anti-white remarks."

The *Times* and others refer to "anti-Semitic" and "anti-white" as if they are both forms of bias and victimization, which is false. The attempt to have Jeffries disciplined for his views on the racist character of the school system is aimed at blunting calls for the truthful teaching of the history of oppressed peoples around the world and should be opposed.

'Militant' S. Africa reporting aided by Party-Building Fund

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund are picking up the pace in the drive to collect \$150,000 by December 15. Over \$14,000 was sent in this past week, the highest collection yet. The drive is now almost on schedule with 80 percent of the goal collected. People all around the United States, and in other countries as well, have pledged nearly \$163,500 to the fund. Supporters can put the drive well over the national goal by organizing a concerted effort to collect every pledge during the few remaining weeks.

Every single dollar collected in the drive will be used to advance the fight for socialism.

The openings that exist in today's world to build a communist leadership were brought home in reports from a Pathfinder Press sales team currently in South Africa, consisting of Rich Stuart from Pathfinder in

New York and Peter Clifford from Britain.

In a telephone interview, Stuart explained that this is the first such trip to South Africa organized by Pathfinder. The advances in the democratic movement there have made it possible to bring the published works of revolutionary leaders like Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Leon Trotsky, and Nelson Mandela into the country for the first time.

"Pathfinder has a future in South Africa," said Stuart. "Everyone we talk with says 'Where can we get these books?' The response has just been overwhelming! There is a thirst for revolutionary literature here like I've never seen before. Over and over people tell us 'I've heard of Malcolm X, I've heard of Che, but I've never had a chance to read anything by them.' People tell us they need these books."

The team has been getting out hundreds of Pathfinder catalogs while concentrating on sales to bookstores, especially chains. Stuart says that Pathfinder books are going to be "all over South Africa" including in shops in Boputhatswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, and Botswana.

"We have been selling to distributors that supply the public libraries," reported Stuart. "This is especially important because the libraries are literally packed with Blacks who come in to read after work." Stuart remarked that the success of the recent two-day nationwide general strike has clearly increased the confidence of workers to press the struggle forward.

In just ten days the team has sold 2,000 books and pamphlets. Bestsellers include works by Malcolm X, *The Struggle is My Life* by Nelson Mandela, *The Communist*

1991 Party-Building Fund

Collected: **\$120,371** Goal: **\$150,000**



Manifesto, and *How Far We Slaves Have Come! South Africa and Cuba in Today's World* — speeches by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro. Copies of the Marxist magazine *New International* have also been among the most popular titles.

The books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder will be a tremendous aid in South Africa — arming fighters with the lessons of previous struggles and the works of revolutionary leaders.

In December a team including *Militant* editor Greg McCartan; Young Socialist Alliance organizational secretary Derek Bracey; and Mary Zins, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and member of the United Mine Workers of America, will travel to South Africa. Their visit, which will provide first-hand coverage for the *Militant* of developments there, is an example of what the Party-Building Fund makes possible.

Sugar workers resist employers

Continued from front page

Most have been driven off the land as a result.

Anne Catherine said that mechanization also led to the displacement of 98,000 plantation workers. These farm workers and their families not only lost their livelihood but the homes in which they resided.

The onslaught by the owners against working people has begun to meet resistance. One of four Fruit of the Loom plants.

Awhile back a group of workers contacted the International Chemical Workers Union to help them organize. The ICWU organizes a number of chemical and other oil industry related plants in the area. In an election held this fall, the union was voted down by 65 percent of the workers.

Patsy Fontenot, the local coordinator for the ICWU, said in an interview that the workers contacted the union when they did because, "They were sick and tired of being sick and tired." Fontenot explained that the issue was not wages but the way workers are treated. She said the company treats one half of the white workers better than the other half of the white workers and all of the Black workers. They get better jobs, better pay, and are called the "upper workers."

The day of the election a group of "upper workers" dressed up like cheerleaders and chanted anti-union cheers outside the polling place.

This climate intimidated many workers

from voting "yes." But now many feel that was a mistake. "They were never going to shut that plant down," said one. "They just plain threatened us," said another.

The in-plant committee, composed of both Black and white workers, has continued its work, Fontenot reports.

Nearly all of the workers talked to, both Black and white, disagreed with the big-business media's contention that David Duke's support came from white workers. One exception was a young white man who said he had lost a high paying job working on an offshore oil rig and was now making less money as a carpenter's helper.

An older man, who said he was proud of his Cajun heritage, said, "They say the lesser of two evils. One should be in a penitentiary and the other-yuck! What do you do when they're both just evil?"

Many workers rejected the media's portrayal of white workers. One noted that some white businessmen support Duke. Pointing toward the town and naming a local business he said, "They want to make more money! That's why they're supporting Duke."

Another man said, "Go through this town. You won't see any Duke signs in working people's yards—only in the business owners."

It's the middle and upper class, they're the only ones who would like what Duke says. There's nothing for a working man, Black or white, in what David Duke says."

CALENDAR

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

Cuba in the 1990's: Can Socialism Survive? Speaker: Carlos Tablada, professor of economics, University of Havana. Mon., Dec. 2, 12:30 p.m. SSS Room 114, corner Grove and Prospect Streets, Yale University. Sponsors: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, Yale Council on Latin American Studies, Department of Afro-American Studies, Yale Philosophy Colloquium, Black Graduate Network, New Haven Peace Council, Yale Club of the Communist Party, New Haven Young Socialist Alliance.

Hartford

Cuba in the 1990's: Why Cuba Defends Socialism. Speaker: Carlos Tablada, professor of economics, University of Havana. Mon., Dec. 2, 7:30 p.m. Boyer Auditorium, Life Sciences Building, Trinity College. Sponsors: Trinity College Area and Latin American Studies Programs, Departments of Economics, History, and Political Science.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Justice for Mark Curtis! The Fight Against

Police Brutality and Frame-Up. Speakers: Paul Curtis, student activist in Missoula, Montana, Mark's brother; Judy Hageman, organizer for the defense of Leonard Peltier, Native American leader framed up and imprisoned in South Dakota; John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee based in Des Moines. Sat., Dec. 7, 7 p.m. Labor Center, 2261 S. Redwood Rd. Sponsor: Utah Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

BRITAIN

London

Justice for Mark Curtis. Fight Police Brutality. Speakers: Kevin Hussey, sacked shop steward, Tilbury Docks, member T and GWU Region No. 1 Committee; Lee Jasper, member Southwark Black Communities Consortium; Joyce Fairchild, prominent supporter of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. Pathfinder Bookshop, 47 The Cut, SE1 8LL.

Socialist Workers 1991 Party-Building Fund

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Atlanta	5,500	4,683	85%
Newark	9,700	8,180	84%
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Baltimore	3,000	2,440	81%
Boston*	5,500	4,439	81%
San Francisco*	12,000	9,698	81%
Miami	2,400	1,931	80%
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Omaha	3,000	2,340	78%
Seattle	5,000	3,876	77%
Twin Cities*	9,160	6,391	70%
Los Angeles	15,000	10,345	69%
Cleveland	3,000	1,979	66%
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Chicago	8,000	4,890	61%
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Birmingham*	6,500	3,619	56%
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Philadelphia	5,000	2,346	47%
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Total	163,480	120,371	80%
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*Indicates raised goal

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.

Kentucky miners fight to win contract after UMWWA victory in union election . . .

BY ALYSON KENNEDY

ISOM, Kentucky — Miners at South East Coal Company in eastern Kentucky are fighting for a United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) contract and to win back the jobs of 400 miners permanently laid off in retaliation for a successful union election. Miners voted for UMWA representation 540-149 July 24, 1990.

Until that day, South East Coal Company was the largest nonunion operation in eastern Kentucky, one of the top coal-producing regions in the United States. Unemployment in this area is more than 50 percent.

"Every one of the politicians, the mayors, the county judges, and the Kentucky Coal Association are against us," said Greg Horn, financial secretary of UMWA Local 3007. "Most miners want to be union, but only a few will stand up and say 'I'm for them.' Once we win a contract this will change. We won't have to go to them, they will come to us."

Reminiscent of the old mining camps, South East Coal is owned by the LaViers family. The father and his three sons manage the mining operations.

The company has its own medical insurance outfit. The daughter is in charge of medical expenses and mail-order prescrip-

tions. Approval for medical procedures is obtained by calling a toll-free number that goes to the daughter's husband, a doctor.

Harry LaViers is past president of the Kentucky Coal Association. Burt Combs, ex-governor of Kentucky, is head of the law firm retained by the company.

In 1962, the UMWA was decertified at South East. In 1985 and 1987 unsuccessful attempts were made to organize the Southern Labor Union and an independent union.

In February 1990 miners began calling the UMWA.

"They didn't believe us at first. We were really hated by the UMWA," said Rex Fields, UMWA Local 3007 president. During previous UMWA strikes, miners at South East would not honor picket lines.

"In 1981 wages went up from \$10.25 to \$11.25 for laborers. Top pay was \$11.75," Fields said. "We haven't had a wage increase in 10 years. We don't have any pension plan."

"In April 1990 they cut our medical insurance and we decided to call a meeting," Fields explained. "We advertised it in the papers and on radio. One hundred eighty came. We decided to invite a UMWA representative to the next meeting. They didn't come. But 320 miners came and signed a

petition to get the UMWA organized.

"After giving the petitions to the UMWA they realized that 'these boys are serious' and gave us 400 union cards," added Horn. "Three days later we had 400 cards signed. In 1985 Harry LaViers, Jr., told us to give him one more year and he'd make it up to us. We gave him five. What did he want?"

The victory of UMWA members in early 1990 over attempts by the Pittston Coal Group to weaken the union gave miners here a boost and influenced the overwhelming support for the union.

'Never scared'

"We were never scared of the company and that's what hurt them," Fields said. "When we started, we decided to be open. The day I got the cards I put a union sticker on my car, parked it in front of the office, and handed them out. We didn't show any fear, and we're still not showing any."

Horn carried union cards in his dinner bucket and gave them out in front of the bosses. Every miner who got a card put a union sticker on his hat or bucket. Many miners were involved in the organizing drive. "As far as a committee, I guess we had an in-house committee of 150," said Greg.

South East's preparation plant is 150 miles from here. Meetings were advertised in the paper to organize the union there. Three miners came to the first and one to the second. They held another meeting.

"Miners started sneaking in one by one," Horn said. "They parked their cars behind railroad cars so no one would see them. But we ended up with 80 percent of the vote."

Three days after the permanent layoff of 400, South East filed Chapter 11 bankruptcy. Leading up to this the mine operators sabotaged production. They refused to get parts to repair equipment and shut down sections, then blamed the loss of coal on the union.

They tried to convince the miners that were not laid off to go against the union. "Everything they did backfired on them," Fields said. "We still have more than 50 percent union who are working." A union newsletter, *540 News*, is passed out at the mines on a regular basis. "540" is the number of votes for the UMWA in the July election.

In October 1991 the National Labor Relations Board upheld 287 out of 288 unfair labor practice charges filed against South East. The charges detailed the company campaign to defeat the union organizing drive and discriminatory treatment of union miners after the election.

The NLRB ruled that South East illegally laid off the miners and must reinstate them with full back pay. A hearing is scheduled on Jan. 28, 1992.

Miners set up the South East Organizing Relief Fund and traveled to local union meetings of miners, auto and oil workers, and others to speak and hold plant gate collections. Because the workers' employment benefits ran out months ago and winter is coming, the miners estimate they need between \$5,000 and \$15,000 a month to make it to spring.

UMWA members in District 28 in Virginia, District 17 in West Virginia, and District 20 in Alabama have sent thousands of dollars in donations and food. UMWA Local 2368 members in Brookwood, Alabama, have organized weekly collections of money, food, and clothing that they plan to deliver on Thanksgiving.

Send donations to South East Organizing Relief Fund, P.O. Box 368, Ermine, KY 41805. For information on speakers for local meetings call (606) 633-1430.

. . . mix it up with Southern Labor miners protesting company attempts to bust union

BY CLAY DENNISON

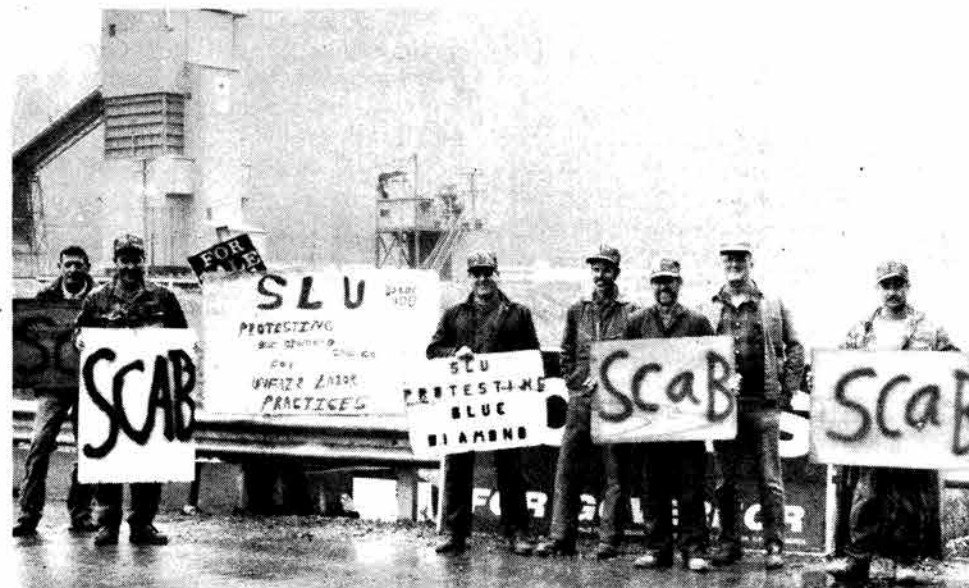
ISOM, Kentucky — A picket shack stands at the mouth of a road leading to a Blue Diamond Coal Company tippie in Perry County. Members of Southern Labor Union Local 188 are protesting Blue Diamond's use of bankruptcy courts to tear up their contract with the union, lay off the work force, and use nonunion subcontractors to operate their four mines in the area. The company has said that they will negotiate only over employees at the tippie, where coal is trucked in, cleaned, and taken away.

Although the Southern Labor Union (SLU) has a history as a lower-wage competitor to the United Mineworkers of America (UMWA), the people on this protest line wear camouflage hats and T-shirts from UMWA locals at South East Coal. UMWA members support them in this fight.

"We are doing everything we can to get together," says Jim Polly, International Secretary of the SLU. SLU member Lane Caudill is sure that the UMWA will be forced to strike at South East Coal, and that, when they do, the SLU members will be there to help them. "We've never been into anything like this before, and maybe they haven't either, but when this started it seemed like our people were looking for somebody to show them what to do," said Caudill. "When the UMWA would come up and they'd see them, it seems like it started happening. Them being here was worth more than any amount of money anybody could have given us."

"It was a shot in the arm," agrees Polly.

Blue Diamond Coal Company has a long history of union busting. The UMWA was driven out of its mines in the early 1960s, but its history of conflict with the



Militant/Clay Dennison

Strikers outside the Blue Diamond Coal Company in Kentucky. Members of the Southern Labor Union have received support from the United Mine Workers of America.

union goes back to the 1930s. At one time it owned the Stearns mine, the scene of intense battles with the UMWA in the 1970s and mid-1980s. Blue Diamond also owned the Scotia mine, where 26 miners were killed in 1976 in two explosions.

On May 17 the Company filed Chapter 11 bankruptcy in Federal Court. The judge granted interim relief, allowing Blue Diamond to cut wages and benefits. On June 11 all union employees were laid off. The company had been able to show lowered production because, according to the miners, they shut down top producing sections and put

them to work in unproductive areas.

"We proved to the judge that the reduction in coal was through the fault of the company," one miner said. "You know what he said? 'No matter what the cause, production is lower so I grant the relief.'" About a month later Blue Diamond started contracting out their mines to non-union operators. The company is asking the court for permission to lease one of their mines to a new "independent" subcontractor — the former general superintendent of their Pike County operations.

Unemployment is high in this region. Aside from Blue Diamond there are no mines in Scott, Perry, or Leslie counties that have a contract with any union, according to miners.

These conditions, plus standing up to the companies' attempts to pit workers in one mine against those in another, and thereby continually drive down wages, are at the heart of the miners' fight. Out of 296 members of the local who were laid off in June, only 20 have crossed the picket line. Community support is high, with local people bringing food and financial donations to the picket shack. Telephone and railroad workers' unions have come by the line, as well.

Most of the Blue Diamond employees' unemployment benefits will run out around December 15. "All of organized labor is going to have to come to the rescue of these people out at Southeast and these people here at Blue Diamond. They'd better do it soon," says Polly. "If they don't do it, company attacks are going to spread."

Contributions can be sent to: SLU Local 188, c/o Johnny Adams, P.O. Box 266, Wooten, KY 41774.

Houston students oppose youth curfew

BY MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN

HOUSTON — One hundred high school students and their supporters held a midnight protest on the steps of city hall here November 9. The students voiced their opposition to a youth curfew passed by the city council which went into effect one day earlier. It bans people under age 18 from city streets between midnight and 6 a.m. and during school hours.

The protest was initiated by activists in Students for Social Responsibility chapters in area high schools. Also participating in the protest were members of the student group Fighters for Truth of Austin High School. Many other students turned out after hearing a radio announcement about the protest.

Students at the action voiced the conviction that the law would be enforced in a discriminatory manner. "The white kid riding in a car won't get stopped, but the Black kid

standing on the corner will," said 16-year-old rally organizer Greg Dunham.

Houston police officers announced to a reporter for the *Houston Post* that they in fact intend to enforce the law in a discriminatory manner. The *Post* reports that the curfew "probably will never be enforced broadly enough to interfere with the comings and goings of most Houston teens. Instead, [Houston police] officers said, it likely would be applied in high-crime areas and toward youths who appear to be up to no good."

The Houston American Civil Liberties Union has declared its opposition to the curfew. The ACLU is expecting a ruling soon on a legal challenge to a similar curfew in Dallas.

Ongoing protests against the curfew are being planned, including a November 23 debate organized by Austin High students.

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Communist youth in Cuba talk frankly about challenges facing revolution today

BY SETH GALINSKY

HAVANA, Cuba — "Everything is being debated," said Manuel Aguilera de la Paz, head of international relations for the Union of Young Communists of Cuba. He was referring to the widespread discussion on politics taking place in Cuba today. The Young Communists have been right in the middle of debates on everything from the impact of tourism and the quality of services, to the lessons of the crisis in the Soviet Union and Cuba's role in Africa.

In a series of interviews in July and August, Union of Young Communists (UJC) leaders spoke frankly about the challenges and difficulties facing the Cuban revolution and youth in particular. Grappling with some of the big changes in the world, the young communists spoke with determination, confidence, and optimism about the revolution and its future.

Fifty percent of Cubans are under 30 years

are determined not to become slaves of the empire again.

But with young people, as with Cubans of all ages, there are also many who don't particularly care what the source of problems is; they just want a better life.

One indication of the challenge the revolution faces are the 1,400 Cubans who made the difficult journey by boat or raft from Cuba to Miami in the first seven months of 1991, three times the number for all of 1990.

"About half of those who go are young," Aguilera noted. "Unlike in the past, the main reason they leave is not political, but economic. They want to live better."

"There are others who don't leave, but instead have become involved in petty crime," he said.

Objective problems

The standard of living here is higher than in most of Latin America. Education and

years ago a popular movie called "Se permuta" ("looking for a swap"), which satirizes the whole situation, was a popular attraction at theaters around the country.

The lack of sufficient recreational facilities is also a serious question in a country with so many young people. Hundreds and sometimes thousands of youth can be seen each evening lining Havana's famous Malecón, a several-mile-long road and seawall that runs along the coast.

The UJC has tried to find solutions. The youth group runs a government-financed institute, which has set up camp grounds around the country. The Young Communists like to show visitors the UJC-sponsored recreation center *El Castillito* (the little castle), which was inaugurated in February with capacity for 450 people at a time.

The center, which used to be an officers' club for the Cuban Navy, has been refurbished. It now includes a swimming pool, dance floor, computer room, clothing store, restaurant, and a video room.

As it is the only place of its kind in Havana, demand is high. Reservations must be made well in advance on a first-come, first-serve basis, although a limited number of people are allowed in late in the evening if all the ticket holders have not shown up.

The UJC-appointed director of *El Castillito* is not a member of the Young Communists. Previously he had been in charge of social activities at one of the hotels at the island's main tourist area, Varadero Beach.

Plans are in motion, the UJC said, to build several additional centers like *El Castillito* as part of an overall renovation of the Malecón, which includes repainting walls that rapidly peel due to the salt air, and opening more fast-food pizza, hamburger, and ice cream outlets.

A mass movement of cyclists

One of the greatest success stories is a by-product, in part, of the need to cut back on fuel: bicycle riding as a way to reduce reliance on oil imports. Hundreds of thousands of bicycles have been distributed free or at low cost to workers and students since last year.

But what began as an economic measure has become a kind of mass youth movement. Caravans of cyclists can be seen riding up and down the Malecón late into the evening, or on the highways from Havana to beaches and camping facilities. Cubans like to point out that the newly popular bike craze is also good for their health.

To meet the growing demand, young people at a UJC-organized factory are assembling thousands of bikes to supplement the pre-assembled ones imported from China.

One thing that young people, like the population in general, find really annoying is the poor quality of many of the services and available products.

"There has been a lot of discussion around this," Aguilera said.

Everyone in Cuba knows that the quality of many Cuban-made products, and Soviet-made ones, such as clothing and shoes, is way below the quality of similar goods available on the capitalist world market. Service at restaurants and elsewhere is notoriously bad, reflecting a sense of demoralization and alienation among the workers.

"There has been discussion of privatizing

Pre-1959 Cuba was the playground of the rich with casinos and brothels.

some services," Aguilera said. "The state does not have the capacity to run every little thing."

A few months after the interview with Aguilera, the Communist Party's Fourth Congress decided to allow "self-employment" in services such as plumbing, automobile, and bicycle repair.

Many of the difficulties Aguilera and others talked about were discussed in a special meeting in May attended by youth leaders, students, government ministers, and central leaders of the Communist Party of Cuba.

According to Carmen Elena Herrera, a national committee member of the UJC, the four-day meeting took place on the initiative of the Young Communists.

"We felt we needed more information on what was being done to resolve the problems," she said. "It's not enough to say that there is no rice this month because the ships didn't arrive. We have to be able to offer a perspective on what we are doing to move forward."

Juventud Rebelde, weekly newspaper of the UJC, reported that 423 questions were asked in the course of the dialogue, with many sessions lasting late into the night. The feature article was reprinted in the May 26 issue of *Granma Internacional*.

Tourism a hot topic

Along with the quality of services one of the hottest topics was tourism. The Cuban government has been promoting tourism to bring in foreign currency as one of the three pillars of improving the island's economic situation, along with biotechnology and a program for rapidly achieving a greater degree of food self-sufficiency.

Joint ventures with foreign capitalists to



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Boarding shuttle that takes cyclists through tunnel to East Havana. Hundreds of thousands of bicycles have been distributed free or at low cost to workers and students.

old, Aguilera pointed out. What young Cubans think and do is key to advancing the revolution. Twenty percent of young people between the ages of 16 and 30 belong to the group.

The UJC has played an important role involving students and young workers in political work to strengthen the socialist course of the revolution. In July and August more than 100,000 young people participated in volunteer work brigades — most of them heading to the countryside to help increase Cuba's production of basic food items.

During a visit to one UJC-led camp — *El Paraíso* — students, mostly from the University of Havana, were working long days in the fields as part of a two-week stint. While the students are paid a nominal wage per hour, the motivation was not primarily financial, but a desire to help solve the pressing economic problems Cuba faces today. Young people also make up a significant section of two-year volunteer brigades that are recruited from factories and workplaces in the cities.

Revolution faces challenges

The UJC seeks to represent the interests of all young people in Cuba, Aguilera said, not just those that belong to the UJC. Most Cuban youth realize that the economic difficulties and challenges that Cuba faces stem largely from the legacy of colonial and imperialist domination, and the implacable hostility of the U.S. government toward the socialist revolution. They know that while mistakes have been made, it would be easier to correct them if the imperialist boot were not on Cuba's neck.

They speak with pride of Cuba's accomplishments since 1959, when workers and peasants overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista. These youth are aware of the economic, military, and political domination of Cuba during the first half of this century by the "monster from the north" and

health care are free. Rent, electricity, and food are inexpensive. Unlike the rest of Latin America where malnutrition is endemic, Cuba ensures equitable distribution of the available food. But many Cubans compare their standard of living, not with Latin America, but with Miami.

Some of the alienation of youth is based on "objective problems," Aguilera pointed out. A lack of decent housing, transportation difficulties, insufficient recreational facilities, and shortages of many food items are among the difficulties Cuba faces today. Most recently, the Ministry of Transportation announced further cutbacks on bus service because of a lack of fuel.

The sharp drop in trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe during the last two years, and the basing of much of the remaining trade on world market prices, which reinforces unjust world capitalist economic relations, have made it much more difficult to resolve some of these problems.

The mass volunteer construction movement, for example, which was launched in 1986 as part of what Cubans call "rectification," was curtailed last year due to a shortage of construction materials caused by the lack of supplies coming from the Soviet Union. In just four years the mini-brigades constructed tens of thousands of new apartments in Havana and other parts of the country, as well as child-care facilities, school clinics, and other projects.

Apartment swaps

Newlyweds generally have to live with one or the other's parents until they can find a place of their own. On the *Paseo del Prado* in Havana, dozens of people can be found every day looking for a bigger apartment or one in a better location through a *permuta*, an apartment swap that often involves other items to sweeten the deal.

While the housing shortage is a serious matter, Cubans often joke about it. Several

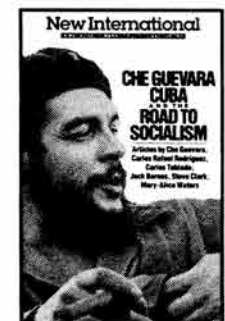
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build and develop hotels that cater to non-Cuban tourists are encouraged. It is hoped that tourism will expand from 350,000 visitors in 1991 to some 1.5 million by 1995. But along with the dollars they bring, the presence of tourists creates or exacerbates other problems.

Government and party leaders, as well as the UJC, are concerned about the inevitable by-products of the growing tourist trade. Most, however, argue that they simply have no choice — there is no other way to rapidly bring in large amounts of hard currency and attract foreign investors who will bring not only capital but much needed technology and training.

Prostitution, which had been largely eliminated since the triumph of the revolution, is now growing. Pre-1959 Cuba had been the playground of the rich, especially from the United States, with gambling casinos, pornography, and prostitution rampant. The revolutionary government closed down the casinos and brothels and put a high priority on providing job training and employment to former prostitutes.

Aguilera said that women who are involved in prostitution today do it "because it allows them to get things that the present situation does not make possible." This is also true of the black market money-changers, he said, who can be found around all the hotels that cater to foreign guests.

Tourism presents other challenges. Some managers, even in the Cuban-owned hotels, begin to act like they are the owners and treat the workers there accordingly, said Herrera.

"This matter of tourism is delicate, sometimes it's like playing with fire," one partic-

Only by advancing the fight for socialism can difficulties be overcome . . .

ipant told the youth meeting. "But we have to know how to do it without getting burned."

'Cuba benefits from internationalism'

The May meeting also took up the importance of the internationalist character of the revolution. "Internationalism can't be measured mathematically," said one of the sub-heads in the article.

Thousands of young Cubans fought in Angola from 1975 to 1991, risking their lives to defend that country from invasions by the South African apartheid regime. Cuban troops withdrew after their participation helped drive Pretoria's army out of Angola and led to an agreement to hold elections in neighboring Namibia, which had been a South African colony.

Many Cubans, young and old, who fought in Angola speak with pride of the contribution they made there. They know that for Cuba to be free, it must support freedom struggles around the world. Others have some doubts and ask if Cuban involvement was worth it.

Cuba's participation opened up the possibility of the Angolan people expressing "their political will" and helped win independence for Namibia, *Juventud Rebelde* said.

"We also benefited from internationalism," the paper noted. "We must now go on being worthy of the respect and the solidarity of the peoples."

In spite of the U.S. economic blockade, the attempts to sabotage the Cuban economy, and difficulties all underdeveloped countries face because of the unjust world economic system, Cuba has made important social advances.

Pointing out how Cuba puts human needs before profit, *Juventud Rebelde* noted that "the distance that separates us from our equals in Latin America has been more than proven. For example, the average rate of infant mortality in Latin America is 65 per 1,000 live births, compared to 10 in Cuba."

Young communists point to the deteriorating social conditions throughout Latin America as an example of what capitalism has to offer. Only by advancing the fight for socialism, they argue, can the difficulties the rev-



Standing on a balcony in Old Havana. Sign says, 'I want to swap 5 x 6 meter room with barbecue, water, and gas.' Tens of thousands of apartments were built by volunteer minibrigades from 1986 to 1990 but housing shortage still persists.

olution faces be overcome.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist Party, which met in October, 60 percent of the delegates were less than 45 years old. The congress adopted measures designed to increase the participation and leadership of youth in the party and the government.

'Making our message more dynamic'

To meet the challenges facing Cuba today, the UJC has made changes in its work.

"We are not a youth party," Aguilera said. "We are the youth group of the Communist Party. It was necessary to change our style of work. We needed to improve our communication with young people."

Among the changes the UJC made starting in December 1989 was cutting down on the number of meetings. Another was to "make our message more dynamic, give it a new form without losing its Marxist-Leninist content."

"We produced T-shirts with our slogans, colorful head bands," Aguilera said. "We came up with popular slogans with a revolutionary content. We included music groups at our activities. The idea is to reach the largest number of young people and bring our message to them."

Most of the members of the UJC are students. About 20-25 percent are workers. Rank-and-file committees of the UJC func-

tion in classrooms, at workplaces, and in the countryside.

Candidates for UJC membership, who are voted on by the UJC committee, must be "exemplary" in their studies if they are students and at the workplace if they are workers. Their level of political education is not a central criteria for membership consideration.

"We don't ask someone who wants to join what Marx talks about in *Capital*," Herrera said. Members attend meetings once a month.

About half of the UJC's budget is funded by the Cuban government. "Our goal is to become self-financing," Aguilera said. The other half of the budget comes from funds from UJC-run institutes like the camping enterprise, El Castillito recreation center, and the UJC newspaper *Juventud Rebelde*. A portion also comes from membership dues, which are low.

A new education program

Perhaps the most important change in the UJC occurred about two years ago when the Young Communists threw out the so-called Marxist textbooks.

Mostly from the Soviet Union or based on Soviet models, the textbooks offered a Stalinist distortion of Marxism that is an obstacle to the study of the actual works of Marx,

Engels, and Lenin.

"Today's world is more complex. What used to be said was the 'truth' has been demonstrated to not be true or correct," said Herrera.

"We need to know our own experience," she said. "We have to develop the task of the construction of socialism."

The UJC is still in the process of developing a new education program for its members and leaders. Communist youth in Cuba need to study Cuban revolutionaries, like José Martí and Antonio Maceo, Herrera stated. Martí and Maceo were leaders of the fight against Spanish occupation in the late 19th century.

"We're looking for the right balance between Marx and Martí," said Herrera. "Right now we are not studying the Marxist classics in depth. Young people should know these things, but it shouldn't take precedence over their own reality."

More than anything, said Aguilera, "in the last few years we've been reading Che." Ernesto Che Guevara, was a central leader of the Cuban revolution.

Guevara argued that advancing toward a socialist society meant first and foremost developing political consciousness among working people, encouraging education, and broadening the use of volunteer work to change the way people think about them-

The average rate of infant mortality is 65 per 1,000 in Latin America. In Cuba it is 10 per 1,000 . . .

selves and their contributions to social and economic development. Capitalist methods, he said, could never lead toward socialism.

Learning from the mistakes revolutionaries make is important, Aguilera said. "Those of us who are critical are not renouncing socialism," he added. "What we are renouncing are the dogmas and the taboos."

Roberto Robaina, national secretary of the UJC, put it this way at the conclusion of the four-day meeting reported in *Juventud Rebelde*.

"We have the chance to speak at a highly critical level," he said. "We must show that no one can be more concerned than us with our own work; nobody can outdo our youth and our people."

ANC leader speaks in San Francisco

BY JIM ALTENBERG

SAN FRANCISCO — The violence that has wracked South Africa over the past few years will not stop as long as the government of South African president F.W. de Klerk remains in power, Cyril Ramaphosa told students and faculty at Stanford University.

Ramaphosa, general secretary of the African National Congress (ANC), spoke to 350 people on campuses in the San Francisco Bay Area November 5-8. The ANC is leading the revolutionary battle to replace the hated apartheid regime with a democratic, nonracial republic. Traveling with Ramaphosa was Lindiwe Mabuzza, ANC chief representative to the United Nations.

As Ramaphosa's speaking tour opened, workers were staging what he called "the most successful strike in the history of South Africa." Three and a half million workers shut down industry, mining, and some farms for two days to protest the government's imposition of a value-added tax. Although the strike focused on a single economic issue, the political power it demonstrated was not lost on the government. It "strengthened the hand of the democratic movement," Ramaphosa said.

Ramaphosa took up the ANC's efforts to end the violence in the country and negotiate with the de Klerk government. Thousands of

Blacks have been killed in recent years by South African police and hired thugs. Ramaphosa explained that the ANC signed an agreement with over 20 political organizations not to use violence against one another. The government also signed this peace accord, in which it agreed to limit the security police's use of force against the regime's opponents.

Despite this, the ANC points out, evidence continues to emerge that police forces are still involved in deadly assaults on anti-apartheid fighters. In the face of this, de Klerk continues to insist that the government is not responsible for the violence and the news media in South Africa accuses the ANC of making wild charges, said Ramaphosa.

Over recent months, beginning with what has become known in the country as "Inkathagate," proof of the ANC's charges has come out, he explained. The regime was forced to admit that it gave 1.5 million rand (U.S. \$540,000) to Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, some of whose members have been involved in violent attacks on and massacres of Blacks and other anti-apartheid fighters. The money went to Inkatha to pay for two public rallies and to prop up its trade union. This union then sent people into Natal province's coal mines, where workers' organizing efforts were beginning

to establish the nonracial National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and win wage increases. Inkatha thugs drove union supporters out of the mines, and the NUM's campaign was set back.

Ramaphosa reported that in Natal and in the Witwatersrand region a series of trials of cops has shown that mercenary violence has been organized by the highest levels of government. Its use of Inkatha is only one strand of a broader campaign of violence against the Black population and the ANC.

Inkathagate disclosures also showed that the government had trained people from Mozambique, Angola, and Namibia to carry out attacks against the ANC. Scores of ANC activists have been assassinated in recent months, and others have narrowly escaped, Ramaphosa said. These mercenaries have been taught to attack trains, communities, and public events and have been aided by the police in getting away undetected. South African government disruption of the elections in Namibia has also been made public.

The ANC remains committed to holding talks with the regime, but explains that a new, interim government of all parties willing to participate is needed. Such a government, Ramaphosa explained, is essential to push back the violence and begin the transition to a democratic republic.

Jailed political activist denied parole

Iowa board demands Mark Curtis first admit to crime he didn't commit

Continued from front page

of the prison Correctional Emergency Response Team (CERT), dressed in combat fatigues. The CERT team had arrived shortly after the delegation. The supporters were searched with a metal detector.

This procedure was not used on anyone else waiting for a parole hearing. According to Ron Wilder, a spokesman for the prison authorities, there was no particular reason the prison ordered the CERT team to search the delegation members. "It was just a random thing," he claimed.

Curtis introduces supporters

When guards brought Curtis before the parole board, he introduced those who had come to show their support. He explained that he was eminently eligible for release. He had served more than the average time, had an excellent record, and broad public support. Over the last year, he had completed two vocational programs and received good work evaluations from all his supervisors. Curtis added, "I've had no major reports over the last year. I've had an interview with the prison psychiatrist and he found no psychological or mental problems."

Curtis pointed to the strong family and community support he has for his life after prison. The board members acknowledged this, pointing to the stack of over 400 letters supporting Curtis's release in his file.

Lastly, Curtis asked that, if he was denied parole this year, he be placed on work release or minimum security.

Parole board member Barbara Binnie then launched an attack on Curtis, stating, "You have attempted to make this case a political circus. You have done everything possible to make this a political issue and it's not." Referring to Curtis's appeal in federal court, Binnie said, "You'll have plenty of opportunity [to appeal], since we have you until 2001."

2001 is the date by which Curtis will have completed 12½ years in prison and thus can be released if he never receives parole. Under Iowa law, unless time is added to a sentence for infractions committed in prison, a prisoner is released upon completing half the original sentence, which in Curtis's case was 25 years.

Curtis challenged Binnie's claim that he was turning his appeal for parole into a circus. All he had done, Curtis explained, was do what the board asks—show that there is wide support for his release. He was concerned that the board was applying special political criteria to his case.

A crime Curtis did not commit

Curtis stated he would go through any

program the board required that did not force him to admit guilt to a crime he didn't commit. Walter Saur, chairman of the parole board, explained that the only program they recognize requires such an admission.

Jane Curtis questioned the board about this stance. "The sentence was only for time," she said, "not for an admission of guilt."

Binnie remonstrated her, stating, "If you had read the minutes of testimony you would know he is guilty."

Curtis's mother replied that in fact she had attended the entire trial and knew her son was innocent. Binnie pulled back, saying that it is not the board's job to retry the case.

In a parting shot to Curtis, Binnie said, "If

you win your appeal, by all means let us know."

Under Iowa law, Keith and Denise Morris also had the right to attend the hearing as the parents of an alleged victim. The board members asked if they had anything to say.

Morris handed each board member a printed and bound set of documents and announced that he would read the first ten pages. When the board asked if he could highlight any new comments he wanted to make, since they could read his report, Morris became enraged.

Morris raised his voice, demanding that he be allowed to read what he wanted. Board chair Saur said, "We're not going to let Curtis go, what more do you want?"

Morris and his wife started to leave. Morris stopped at the door and told the board that they should keep Curtis in jail and pay no attention to "Studer and his smorgasbord."

Long-term fight

"Given the big political stakes in this case," Studer explained that evening at the weekly meeting of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, "Mark Curtis and his supporters have known that this would be a long-term political fight. State authorities are continuing to place as much pressure as they can on Mark, hoping to break him, completing the frame-up," said Studer. "Our job is to publicize what they are doing and mobilize support for Mark's rights and press for his freedom. Today's hearing just sets the framework for the battle over the next year."

Studer pointed to Curtis's lawsuit against the cops and the city of Des Moines, for the beating he received after his arrest, as the next battleground in the fight for justice. The trial in this suit begins Monday, November 25, in federal court in Des Moines.

Studer announced a victory for Curtis, in that Federal Judge Charles Wolle has ordered prison authorities to bring him to testify on his own behalf at the trial.

"The courts are not our arena and we don't control the rules," Studer explained. "But we do control how much we get out and tell people this is happening."

Over the past week, supporters have reached out to campuses around the state and leafletted at plants like the Louis Rich turkey processing plant in West Liberty, the Swift-Monfort plant in Des Moines, and the Maytag plant in Newton. Teams have set up tables at a number of campuses and political meetings across the state.

More teams are set to go out this week, staffed by volunteers from Des Moines and around the country.

To get more information and to help gain new support, contact the defense committee at Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.



Curtis selling 'Militant' to meat-packers at May 1987 Sioux Falls, Iowa, union rally.

Des Moines police change their story about 1988 cop beating of Curtis

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — The Des Moines police have changed their story about the March 4, 1988, brutal beating of union and political activist Mark Curtis. Curtis, who has served more than three years on frame-up charges in state prison, filed a federal civil rights suit against cops Daniel Dusenberry and Charles Wolf, and the police department.

In the beating Curtis's cheek was fractured and the skin on his face was broken open, requiring 15 stitches to close. He was cut and bruised all over his body. The trial of this suit begins as the *Militant* goes to press.

In pretrial proceedings, federal judge Charles Wolle ordered the cops to turn over to Curtis the "Use of Force" reports written the night of the beating by Wolf and Dusenberry. The cops had adamantly refused to produce these reports.

Under questioning by Curtis's lawyers, Dusenberry and Wolf maintained that Curtis was injured accidentally in a scuffle at the city jail. Previously, Wolf had testified that the injury was caused "probably from the fabric of my pants against his face."

Wolf's "Use of Force" report states:

"Curtis was struck in head three times by officer Wolf with a right knee to the head.

"Due to the space, use of any other tool was not practical. Curtis was taken to

hospital for treatment by fire rescue."

Then, Wolf adds:

"Curtis was attempting to bite officer Wolf on the hands and lower legs. Officers were attempting to control Curtis legs and the use of the knee by officer Wolf was the only method practical to stop Curtis course of action, until Curtis legs could be cuffed."

At the time that Wolf says he bashed his knee into Curtis's face three times, Curtis

was being held down by three other officers, his hands were cuffed behind his back, and Dusenberry had come down with his knee into Curtis's groin.

Curtis's attorney George Eichhorn questioned Wolf under oath November 15. Wolf changed his story again, swearing that while he was holding Curtis down, Curtis brought his own face up three times into Wolf's knee injuring himself.

Students march against racism

BY JIM ALTENBERG

SAN JOSE, California — Santa Clara University students marched through campus November 6 to protest what organizers called "the administration's anemic response to the subtle discrimination and racial ignorance that plague our campus."

Santa Clara University, a small Jesuit school of 4,000 students, has been the scene of a number of racist incidents in recent weeks. Racist and sexist harassment have been prevalent on the campus for years, Roy Maharaj, student director of the Multicultural Center on campus, said in an interview. The Multicultural Center was won through protests in 1985 when university officials threw the contents of minority student organizations' offices into the street during a remodeling project. Other protests have challenged the distribution of a racist fraternity newsletter and condemned an attack against an antirape march organized by Women Take Back the Night.

The protests had led to promises by the administration, but little action, explained Maharaj. Students demanded a serious effort to recruit minority students to the school be carried out, and that Black and Latino stu-

dents be involved in the process. There are only 16 Blacks, 2 of whom are women, in the current freshman class of around 1,200. Most of the 16 are athletes recruited to play on the school's sports teams. This has been the pattern for years, Maharaj said.

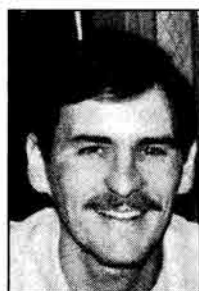
The students also demanded that graduation requirements for all degrees include ethnic and women's studies, and that the multicultural center be moved from its present position in the basement of a dormitory to a more visible place. They also called for the administration to provide assistance to Asian-American and Pacific Islander students.

The march of 400 "let the administration know that it's not just students of color fighting. It's all students," Maharaj said.

The following day, a second protest took place when 25 students wearing green armbands lined the hall outside a university trustees meeting to present them with a document detailing their demands. A meeting between the university president and the Multicultural Center and student organizations affiliated with it was scheduled for November 18. Maharaj said that the protests will continue if nothing is done.

from *PATHFINDER* The Frame-up of Mark Curtis A Packinghouse Worker's Fight for Justice by Margaret Jayko

This pamphlet tells the story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights, who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$5.00.



Available at Pathfinder bookstores on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. (Include \$3.00 for first copy for postage and handling and \$.50 for each additional copy.)

How to write Mark Curtis

✉ Address letters to Mark Curtis #805338, Box 316 JBC Dorm, Fort Madison, Iowa 52627. Sender's full name and address must be in upper left of envelope. Sign name in full at end of letter. Greeting cards and photos less than 8½ x 11 inches are permitted.

Atlanta rally demands justice for Curtis

BY SUSAN LaMONT

ATLANTA — A warm atmosphere of solidarity filled the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) union hall here November 10, as supporters of Mark Curtis gathered for a rally demanding justice for the imprisoned union fighter.

Curtis is now beginning his fourth year behind bars. The young political activist was framed-up on rape and burglary charges in Des Moines, Iowa, following his arrest in March 1988. At the time, he was a packing-house worker at the Swift meat-packing plant in that city.

The Atlanta rally drew more than 40 unionists, students, political activists, and others, and included both longtime supporters of Curtis's fight and people won to the defense effort in recent weeks. They were welcomed to the UFCW hall by Johnny Flounnory, business representative of UFCW Local 442 from the Hormel plant here. "It's always a pleasure to have you here," Flounnory said.

The rally was cochaired by Gary Washington, from Graphic Communications Union Local 527 and host of the WRFG radio program, "Labor Forum." His cohost for the afternoon program was Marla Puziss, a leader of the local Curtis defense effort and a member of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1644 at Grady Hospital.

Hazel Zimmerman, a leader of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee from Des Moines, was the featured speaker at the rally. Her careful review of the history of Curtis's case began with a description of Curtis's participation, the day of his arrest, in a meeting to defend 17 undocumented workers at the Swift plant who were targeted for government victimization.

Zimmerman also explained the impor-



Militant photos by Salm Kolis

Johnny Flounnory (left), Hazel Zimmerman, and Aaron Two Elk were among the speakers at the Atlanta rally for Mark Curtis.

tance of answering the charges leveled against the defense effort by opponents of Curtis's fight for freedom. The forces involved in this countercampaign include the Des Moines cops, government prosecutors, some labor union officials, and an antilabor outfit called the Workers League, which masquerades as "socialist." This group, and their *Bulletin* newspaper, has made promoting the frame-up of Curtis its calling card.

"The countercampaign is a deadly serious campaign of slanders and lies," Zimmerman explained. "But we're not afraid of it. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee encourages people to read the transcript of Mark's trial. Then they can see that everything the defense committee says is based on the truth."

One of the highpoints of the program was the reading of a November 8 letter in support of Curtis from Coretta Scott King to the Iowa Parole Board.

"For the second time, I write to urge you to release Mark Curtis," wrote King. "I strongly urge you to consider that justice can only be served by your decision to release Mr. Curtis so that he will be able to resume his life as a productive citizen."

King is the widow of civil rights movement leader Martin Luther King, Jr., and the founding president and chief executive officer of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, located in Atlanta.

Loud applause also greeted a message to the meeting from Eddie Carthan, a for-

mer frame-up victim and the first Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi. Carthan is a prominent spokesperson for the defense effort.

Aaron Two Elk, a recent endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, also addressed the rally. Two Elk is the Southeast Regional Coordinator of the American Indian Movement and an activist in the effort to win the release of Native American fighter Leonard Peltier.

Two Elk began his remarks by giving a traditional Lakota elders' greeting, which urged those present to bring their minds together. "Mark Curtis is an individual who has shown us that he can stand up to being oppressed," Two Elk said, comparing Curtis's fight to Peltier's 15-year-long struggle to win his freedom. A number of activists from AIM also attended the meeting and staffed a display of literature about AIM and the Leonard Peltier defense.

Also speaking at the rally was Miguel Zarate from the Socialist Workers Party. Zarate is a member of United Auto Workers Local 882 at the Ford assembly plant. Greetings to the meeting were presented by Darlene Glover Parks, Recording Secretary from AFSCME Local 1644, and John Studstill from Democratic Socialists of America. In addition, messages of support were read from Rev. Joseph Fahy of the Hispanic Ministry, Archdiocese of Atlanta, who recently became a supporter of Curtis's fight, and Georgia and Brian Flemming. Brian Flemming, currently imprisoned on trumped-up weapons charges, is a fighter for northern Ireland's freedom from Britain.

Contributions at the door and an enthusiastic fund appeal by Washington netted more than \$400. This will contribute to the Curtis defense committee's drive to raise \$40,000. This brings the total raised by Curtis supporters in Atlanta this fall to more than \$1,000.

Caterpillar locks out 5,600 auto workers

Continued from front page making \$8. It would destroy any unity."

Caterpillar also wants a restriction in seniority rights to each division inside the complex. This would allow the company to lay workers off out of seniority.

Other concessions demanded include the elimination or reduction in cost-of-living increases, no wage increase for the two lowest-paid job classifications and a total wage package \$1.25 less than at John Deere. Caterpillar is insisting workers pay a \$25-a-month assessment for health insurance and give up premium pay for overtime. Additional disputed issues concern outsourcing, holiday pay, and supplemental unemployment benefits.

Pressing assault

The company claims that they need these concessions to be competitive. The dispute indicates the determination of the employers to continue their assault on the labor movement.

In compensation, Caterpillar offered a six-year "job security guarantee." Over the last 10 years UAW members in the union's automotive division have accepted concessions for what has turned out to be a scam.

Many workers see the job security provision as bogus. The standard loopholes in all such guarantees include company rights to cancel them if they become too expensive. According to workers here the company is supposedly offering six years security under a three year contract. "You know that is phony," one worker said.

Strikers in East Peoria say that the assembly division is the most modern in the country. The company had organized tours of the division for the public. In preparation for the current dispute, the union put out red T-shirts with the slogan "United we negotiate, divided we beg," and all the workers would wear them each Friday. This simple act, they said, "ended the tourism" in the plant.

When the selective strike began, the local here organized an "adopt a striker" program among the membership. Workers not on strike were planning to donate \$35 a week to supplement the \$100 weekly strike benefits. Many workers believe Caterpillar locked them out to block this financial support for the strike.

At Local 954's union hall it was reported that food used in the strike kitchen has been

donated mostly by local businesses. Since Caterpillar is the largest employer in the area, many of these business people see their own livelihood being threatened.

The union is planning to organize a family support committee. The local is also thinking about adapting their original adopt-a-striker program so that anyone can participate. Already a group of Caterpillar retirees living in Arkansas have signed on.

Some UAW members in the area have extended their solidarity to the fight. Picketers reported that 300 UAW members from the Diamond Star Assembly plant owned by Mitsubishi in Normal, Illinois, joined the strikers' picket line immediately after the lockout was announced.

In Decatur the union bargaining committee chairman explained that while the company did stockpile some of its smaller products in preparation for a strike, it could not stockpile the massive strip mining machinery produced at that plant.

At this complex, he said, there was one management personnel for each 1.3 union employees. The company is now trying to use management for some production.

Responding to Caterpillar's attempt to institute copayments on medical coverage, one picketer said, "We are not the ones who raise the costs for health care. Why don't the companies go to the source?"

Five other workers nodded when one said, "This is going to be longer and harder than the last strike not only because of the stockpiling, but because of their break with pattern bargaining. But we are not going anywhere. We are not giving up."

BY RICH GAETA
AND DON DAVIS

MONTGOMERY, Illinois — Caterpillar workers on the picket line here explain that while replacement workers have not been brought in, outside contractors are working in the plant and shipping, done by an outside firm, continues without interruption.

"If we had 1,600 workers at one gate and 1,600 workers at the other gate we could shut the plant down," one picketer said.

Workers have received two letters from the company threatening to close the plant if workers did not accept Caterpillar's concession demands, which one worker called "blackmail."

The fight began over Caterpillar's attempt

to break from the pattern bargaining between the UAW and Caterpillar and John Deere. A worker with 25 years in the plant here said the company also wants separate contracts with each Caterpillar plant.

"In the past 10 years we only got one 3 percent raise and a couple of lump sum bonuses," he said. "Now they want to see if they can get a two-tier wage scale — like at Joliet. That alone would be worth being out here for."

Caterpillar officials justify breaking with pattern bargaining on the grounds that they face intense foreign competition. But another veteran worker said, "Deere faces the same competition and they have always had competition. That is not going to change."

Over the last 25 years the work force at the Montgomery plant has been reduced from 6,000 to some 2,300. Workers say the company wants to further reduce the work force to 400 by 1995.

Northern Ireland cop violence exposed

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON — "One officer hit me in the privates and on the back of the head. There were threats to remove my wife and family. They said they had the word from the top to go ahead and wipe me out."

This is how Brian Shivers, a resident of Toomebridge, County Derry, described his "interview" with the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) September 30. When he protested his treatment, according to the London daily *Guardian*, he was told by police, "We always get away with it."

His experience at the hands of the RUC is not new. What is new is the rise in complaints about police brutality in the British-occupied six counties in the north of Ireland. In 1987 there were 286 complaints. In 1990 it had risen to 407.

Amnesty International plans to present information on cop brutality to the United Nations Committee against Torture. This will be the first time that charges against the British government will be heard by the UN committee.

Damien Austin, son of Sinn Fein councillor Joe Austin, described his beating at the hands of the RUC. "First thing they did was kick me off a chair. I was hit in the stomach and they choked me around the throat. It went on all day."

Austin also details how the cops stubbed cigarettes out on his face and how they held a cigarette lighter to his genitals. Anne Maguire was arrested in July of this year and describes sexual abuse, death threats, and financial bribes during her "interview" with the cops.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary was established in 1922, shortly after the British government imposed the sectarian division of Ireland between north and south. It has been a reliable instrument of repression ever since, for example, its use against workers in the 1926 general strike. The RUC also helped to impose government bans on civil rights marches in 1968, and to gun down nationalists during rebellions in 1969.

"The only difference now, compared to the 1970s, is that the police are becoming much more sophisticated. People are beaten in such a way that it leaves no bruises," said Belfast doctor Joe Hendron who has visited detainees.

British government Northern Ireland secretary Peter Brookes refused demands last year that all RUC interviews be videotaped. Amnesty International's decision to raise the issue at the UN, coming in the aftermath of the release of the Birmingham Six, will continue to expose police brutality.

Open U.S. doors to Haitians

Continued from front page the countryside.

U.S. Coast Guard officials said that as of November 22 some 3,000 refugees had been picked up and detained at sea. One incident that highlights the dangers of the crossing was the shipwreck of a boat off the shores of Cuba. Sixty of the 120 aboard are dead or missing. U.S. officials admit that as many as half the people who attempt the voyage from Haiti die at sea.

A temporary halt to the forced return of the Haitian refugees was ordered by U.S. federal court judge Donald Graham November 19 in response to a court action launched by Miami's Haitian Refugee Center. The court order is in effect until a hearing at the end of November.

One U.S. ship discharged its refugees back in Port-au-Prince before the court order took effect. Several hundred were simply dumped off the boat with only \$10 in Haitian money.

White House defends stance

Bush defended his decision November 21 by saying he fears "economic refugees" coming to the U.S. will encourage other Haitians to risk drowning at sea.

White House spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler, in a similar callous vein, said: "No one's proven these people are afraid for their lives [or] that you cannot sleep at night in your home for someone's coming in and going to kill you."

Activists in the Haitian struggle point out that the "economic refugees" have been driven from Haiti by the combination of the political repression and economic devastation caused by the reactionary political coup and the offensive launched by the military regime against working people.

The activists point out that the refugees should be protected by U.S. laws concerning victims of political persecution. A broad sympathy for the refugees is evident in the southern Florida area.

The story has been the lead item in newspapers and TV programs. Even conservative capitalist political figures such as U.S. senator Connie Mack have condemned the return of the refugees.

The same day several hundred Haitian refugees were returned to Port-au-Prince, 13 refugees from Cuba were welcomed to the Miami area. The blatantly discriminatory policy against Haitian working people is widely rejected by workers here, including many who are Cuban-born.

Support for embargo

Demonstrations on Miami's 54th Street against the military coup have been occurring daily for more than two weeks. Every night after work hundreds of Haitian workers gather to demand an end to the military regime, the return of the Aristide government, and the strengthening of the U.S. embargo.

On November 13 a demonstration of 5,000 took place in downtown Bicentennial Park. The size and militancy of the action marked a growing involvement and concern of Haitian fighters over the fact that the military was still in power.

The central demands of the demonstration were to end the military regime and to put teeth into pledged U.S. government economic sanctions against the country.

A number of demonstrators carried placards saying "Democracy or Death!"

Among the speakers were Dorancy of the Haitian Refugee Center, a leader of the Haitian organization Veye Yo, popular Haitian folk singer Farah Juste, Roy Fauntroy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Socialist Workers Party leader Jackie Floyd, and Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party.

The demand to support a total embargo of the country as long as the regime is in place was supported by all the demonstrators. This corresponds to sentiment among working people in Haiti as reported in the commercial media.

"Here in Cité Soleil," a 26-year-old unemployed worker told the *New York Times* in Haiti, "there are arrests every day by the army. There are shootings and there are disappearances. An embargo is the only weapon we have" to bring down the government.

Veye Yo leader Sandi said in an interview here that "the people in Haiti support the embargo. This weakens the bourgeoisie and makes them pay a price. It makes us stronger and opens up our fight."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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

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

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Cuban film: *Plaff*. Sat., Nov. 30, Dinner, 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3 for dinner, \$3 for film. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

The Fight Against Police Abuse and Racism: Intimidation in Alameda; Rodney King Beating in Los Angeles; Police Killings in New Jersey. Speakers: Dwayne Hall, antiracist activist in Alameda, member Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Markie Wilson, member Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-326, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Video: *Until Daybreak: The Struggle for a United Korea*. Speaker: Gary Cohen, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m. 605 Massachusetts Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Crisis in U.S. Health Care and the Fight Against AIDS. Speaker: Robbie Scherr, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 7, 7:30 p.m. Translation to Spanish and French. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The 1917 Russian Revolution: Lessons for

Working People Today. Speaker: Mike Taber, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave., 2nd floor. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

BRITAIN

London

The Asylum Bill, Racist Attacks and Cop Brutality: Challenges for Working People. Speaker: Martin Marriott, Communist League. Sat., Nov. 30, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £1. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Manchester

The Cuban Revolution in a Changing World: Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Helen Warnock, Communist League. Sat., Nov. 30, 7 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

The Asylum Bill, Racist Attacks and Cop Brutality: Challenges for Working People. A panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 30, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

Bush veto upholds family planning gag rule

BY JANET POST

Striking a sharp blow against women's right to choose abortion, President George Bush vetoed legislation that would have overturned a federal regulation barring employees of family planning clinics from discussing abortion with their patients. The regulation is known as the "gag rule."

The subsequent Congressional vote, 276-156, fell 12 votes short of the two-

thirds majority needed to override the veto.

Under the regulation, clinics will be required to refer pregnant women for "prenatal care and delivery services" and may not help women find doctors who will perform abortions. If a woman asks about abortion, the rule requires the clinic to inform her that "the project does not consider abortion an appropriate method of family planning."

The directive also encourages doctors to discuss with their patients carrying the fetus to term and having the baby adopted. If a clinic wants to provide information about abortion, it must use private monies to set up a separate program in another building with different personnel and medical records.

Following Bush's November 19 veto the executive vice president of the American Medical Association, James Todd, stated, "We're extremely disappointed in today's action. It once again places the government between physician and patient and denies patients full knowledge of their treatment options."

National Organization for Women president Molly Yard commented in a phone interview, "Among the pro-choice community there is a lot of despair and anger. This is total interference with the right of doctors to practice. We will not take this lying down."

Bush's action was also widely criticized in the press. A *Washington Post* editorial headlined "The Pro-Gag Rule President" stated, "This week's veto was cold-hearted and unnecessary, since signing the bill could easily have been justified on free speech grounds alone."

New York Times columnist Tom Wicker

called the veto a pyrrhic victory: "Mr. Bush's ostensible 'victory,' when his veto was sustained in the House, may cause some Republicans to fear, in the words of King Pyrrhus after the battle of Asculum, that 'another such victory and we are undone.'"

Polls have shown that a clear majority of people are opposed to withholding federal financing from clinics that provide abortion counseling.

Under the Family Planning Act of 1970, the U.S. government makes grants to hospitals, state and local health agencies, and private clinics such as Planned Parenthood, to provide contraceptives and reproductive counseling. Today Planned Parenthood clinics receive \$37 million of the \$150 million annual appropriation of the federal Family Planning Program.

Under the previous regulations the agencies were able to inform a pregnant patient that her options included abortion and to provide a list of non-federally funded abortion clinics if so requested.

The gag rule was first announced in 1987 under the Reagan administration by Secretary of Health and Human Services Otis Bowen. Bowen, who flatly stated at that time, "Abortion has no place in the... Family Planning Program."

The 4 million women each year who are served by the 4,500 clinics receiving federal funds are overwhelmingly low-income. One third of the patients are teenagers. The regulation banning discussion of abortion will impact teenage women especially hard as they receive a disproportionately high rate of abortions for women who are of reproductive age.



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NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip: 27406. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

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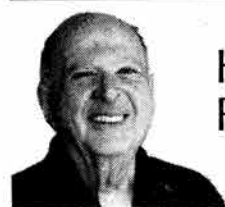
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Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10. Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

You thought it was just big-city cops? — In Mishawaka, Indiana, a cop pleaded guilty to stealing two rock concert tickets from a car crash



Harry Ring

victim. A family member had then sold the tickets. Relatives of the deceased were surprised when ticket holders sat down next to them at the concert several weeks later.

Boys will be boys — There was a rip-snortin' convention in

Hyannis, Massachusetts. There were 22 false fire alarms, guests sprayed fire extinguishers, broke ice machine compressors, and were seen walking off with two TVs. The manager said some in the crowd were "extremely intoxicated." It was the annual convention of the state police association.

No comment — "MOSCOW — Buried under recent news stories about joint ventures and angry headlines was the one about how women in the town of Omsk, Siberia, are preparing for the free-market future. A striptease school has opened for local young women." — Syndicated columnist Eleanor Randolph.

To ensure democracy's survival — Under former president Ronald Reagan, a top secret federal agency, the National Program Office (aka the Doomsday Project) drew up a secret plan to choose a president if all those in the constitutional line of succession were incapacitated by the Bomb. The list included former CIA director Richard Helms and the ultraright former UN rep Jeane Kirkpatrick. Oliver North was a key figure in the project.

No age discrimination there — The Nuclear Regulatory Commission voted to permit aging nuclear plants to renew their 40-year operating licenses for another 20 years. They will, of course, have to meet

the agency's well-known safety standards.

Say cheese, or else — With a number of its franchises in the red, Canada's Pizza Pizza had an idea: If the employee doesn't smile, the pizza's free. This was accompanied by an unsmiling threat to fire workers who neglected to smile. The consequent growl led to a partial retreat. The threat doesn't apply to "one-time offenders."

Sexism — According to Census Bureau data, a college-educated woman, 18–24, earns an average of 92 cents for every dollar paid a man of the same age and education. By the time they both hit 55–64, the woman is getting 54 cents for every

dollar paid the man.

The spiritual and the material — According to the Associated Press, Nicaragua's "witches" who use herbs, lotions, and other natural recipes for their spells and cures are considering a mass march to protest rising taxes and are also weighing the idea of organizing a union.

Really? — "Feminists and all these radical gals — most of them are failures." — A 1989 pronouncement by Jerry Falwell, leader of the now defunct "Moral Majority."

Thought for the week — "Don't worry about it. It always looks dark at the bottom of a recession." — Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady.

U.S. ready to lift some Vietnam trade sanctions

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Washington recently announced plans to move toward normalizing relations with the government of Vietnam. The U.S. government waged a war against Vietnam from 1960 to 1975, the longest continuous war in U.S. history. More than 2 million people in the region were killed, along with almost 60,000 U.S. soldiers.

Since the end of the war, Washington has tried to isolate Vietnam and make working people there pay for the defeat they handed U.S. imperialism and for their expropriation of foreign holdings and those of the Vietnamese capitalist and landlord classes.

In 1975 Vietnam lay devastated not only by the U.S. war, but by decades of Japanese and French imperialist attempts to control the country. As a result of this legacy of foreign domination, Vietnam is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a per capita income of about \$200 a year. Harsh economic conditions have been a big factor in the emigration of thousands of people from the country in recent years in search of a better life.

For the past 16 years Washington has imposed a full-scale trade embargo on the country and has used its clout to ensure that Vietnam receives as little economic aid as possible. As part of this squeeze on Vietnam, successive U.S. administrations have tried to exact concessions from the country's government to advance U.S. interests in Southeast Asia.

Last April the Bush administration announced a four-step process for normalizing relations that would open the door for Vietnam to receive economic aid. These steps hinged primarily on Vietnam's agreement with U.S. plans in neighboring Cambodia.

The first step of the process was completed in October when the Cambodian government, three opposition factions, and 18 other countries, including Vietnam, agreed to administration of Cambodia by the United Nations for two years until elections are held.

Washington says it will then partially lift

its trade sanctions on Vietnam after the UN force is set up in Cambodia and a cease-fire is in effect. Step three is to come after the UN has run Cambodia for six months and will include the lifting of the trade embargo and the exchange of diplomatic missions between the United States and Vietnam. Finally, Washington proposes establishing full diplomatic and economic relations after UN-run elections in Cambodia, scheduled for early 1993, are held.

Washington meanwhile continues its policy of punishing Vietnam, using economic pressures to win concessions and humiliate that nation. In early November, U.S. defense secretary Dick Cheney raised the issue of alleged U.S. prisoners of war still in Vietnam. "The pace and scope of normalizing relations with Vietnam," said Cheney, "will depend upon the extent of cooperation by the Vietnamese on the P.O.W.-M.I.A. [Prisoner Of War, Missing In Action] matters."

Another such move was made at the October gathering of the International Monetary Fund, where the U.S. blocked a French proposal calling for the IMF to lend money to Vietnam. In early October, the U.S. warned several non-U.S. banks in Singapore to stop violating its embargo by transferring dollars into Vietnam.

Diplomats and international refugee organizations have expressed hope that lifting the trade embargo will stem the flow of refugees leaving the country. The *New York Times* reports that officials at the headquarters of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees "have long held a view that by boycotting Vietnam, the United States has strongly contributed to the economic deprivation that has prompted many Vietnamese to flee."

Deportations from Hong Kong

The world's attention has been drawn to the plight of these refugees since 59 Vietnamese living in the British colony of Hong Kong were forcibly returned to Vietnam under London's orders. The British won agreement for such a move from the Vietnamese government, which had pre-

viously opposed it.

Ninety percent of the Vietnamese leaving their country end up in Hong Kong. This is because it is on the safest sea route and because other Southeast Asian countries have adopted increasingly hostile policies against the refugees. Malaysia, for example, has a policy of pushing boats of Vietnamese back out to sea. An estimated 14 percent of the refugees are now coming to Hong Kong by land through China.

Hong Kong holds 64,000 Vietnamese refugees in several detention camps, granting them temporary asylum status while they await a screening process to determine whether they are "legitimate" refugees. In 1951 the United Nations established a legal definition of a refugee as someone who has "a well-founded fear of persecution." On this basis only 5,000 have been granted political asylum by the British.

The miserable conditions in the detention camps have led about 10,000 refugees to accept a U.N.-sponsored "voluntary" repatriation program since March 1989. The program provides a \$75 cash payment and a promise of \$360 over the next year. The British government claimed the 59 who were forcibly put on military cargo planes and returned to Vietnam November 8 were "double-backers" — their imperial term for those who returned to Vietnam but decided to come back to Hong Kong.

Most Vietnamese refugees have not

joined the program. International attention was drawn to the forced repatriations by the protests of the refugees in the Hong Kong detention camps. For several weeks the immigrants held peaceful demonstrations to win international support for their call to halt the deportations. Several demonstrations took place at Whitehead, the largest camp in Hong Kong, where 25,000 refugees are held.

Officials in London said they consulted closely with U.S. officials in the weeks leading up to their decision, but revealed no details on agreements or understanding reached.

Washington gently protested Britain's policy of forced repatriation. While repeatedly saying it opposed the use of force, the U.S. government stated that it understood the decision to remove the "double-backers." Brent Scowcroft, national security advisor to President Bush, said the United States remained "opposed to forcible repatriation to Vietnam under current conditions" there.

Photographs appearing in newspapers around the world made clear the involuntary nature of the repatriation. British authorities have admitted to drugging two of the deported women, but denied charges that others were beaten and bound by security forces.

A second forced repatriation flight is scheduled to take place in late November or early December.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

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The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party ran independent candidates in the November elections. Their candidate for Senator, Clifton Whitley, received 40,000 votes despite the fact that he had only a short time to campaign. This was a very good vote for an independent.

The MFDP decided to run independent candidates after initially attempting to run in the Democratic primary. The MFDP has considered itself a part of the Democratic Party, and gave its support in 1964 to Johnson and the national Democratic Party ticket.

The Democratic Party machine in Mississippi, headed by racist Senator Eastland, is obviously an enemy of the black people of Mississippi, but so is the national Democratic Party, including its liberal wing.

The fact that the Democratic Party nationally, as well as in Mississippi, offers no solution to the problems of the Negro people can perhaps be best seen by looking at the cities of the liberal North, where the Democratic Party has had control or major influence. In city after city, de facto segregation and intolerable conditions for the Negro people have been brought into the open by the ghetto outbreaks.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party is based upon the black people of Mississippi. It has already demonstrated that it can organize the Negro masses. It should take the next step, continuing along the path

begun in these past elections, and break completely with the Democratic Party just as the Lowndes County Freedom Party in Alabama has done.

THE MILITANT

December 6, 1941

MINNEAPOLIS, December 2 — Eighteen members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Motor Transport Workers Local 544-CIO were convicted here last night by a federal jury on charges of violating the notorious Smith "Gag" Law of 1940. Five other defendants were acquitted.

All 23 defendants were acquitted on a second count of "seditious conspiracy" to overthrow the government by force and violence under the old Civil War anti-slaveholders' law.

A jury composed predominantly of small town businessmen, without a single industrial worker or unionist on it, brought in its verdict at 8 P.M. yesterday evening.

This is the first criminal prosecution under the Smith Act, which is the only federal statute which makes mere expression of opinion the basis for a felony indictment. The defendants were charged under this act with advocating the overthrow of the present government, and thereby inciting insubordination in the federal armed forces.

George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, a body of prominent labor and liberal figures, announced that the C.R.D.C., in conjunction with the American Civil Liberties Union, would appeal the convictions.



Police in Hong Kong drag Vietnamese woman aboard Hanoi-bound plane. British rulers have ordered the forced repatriation of tens of thousands of Vietnamese.

Give Haitians refuge in the U.S.!

Thousands of working people have tried to flee Haiti over the last several weeks. Risking their lives, they cram into tiny boats, hundreds at a time, to escape the wrath of the island's military dictatorship and the overwhelming poverty.

At first, the U.S. Coast Guard was ordered to keep on board the refugees they intercepted. At one point nearly 1,800 Haitians were living on the deck of Coast Guard cutters, fed rice and beans, and sleeping at times in the rain.

Washington tried to win agreement to send the Haitians to Belize, Venezuela, Trinidad, and Honduras — anywhere but the United States. Now the U.S. military is building a refugee camp at the naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba, which it occupies in defiance of the wishes of the Cuban government. This new refugee camp will hold more than 4,000 people.

Five hundred refugees were forcibly returned to Haiti and plans were under way to send back more, until a U.S. court granted a temporary injunction against further forced repatriations.

This is nothing new. Only 28 out of 23,000 people who fled Haiti by boat since 1981 had been allowed to pursue political asylum requests in the United States. Compare this to the welcome treatment refugees from Cuba receive in Miami.

One diplomat tried to justify this two-faced policy by claiming that "Haiti is a democracy, even if it is a suspended democracy right now."

The U.S. government's contemptuous treatment of refugees is in line with that of imperialist governments throughout the world.

In Sweden, refugees from Iran, Ethiopia, and other countries have been firebombed and beaten by racist goons and denied the right to work by the government. Assaults on immigrants in Germany are in the news every week. Anti-immigrant policies are also being promoted by parties or

governments in France, Italy, and Austria.

The British government is trying to push through legislation that would facilitate the deportation of refugees seeking political asylum. People around the world were appalled by the British government's authorization of the deportation of Vietnamese refugees from Hong Kong.

The stepped-up attacks on immigrants and refugees are part and parcel of the worldwide capitalist economic crisis. Capitalist rulers seek to exacerbate divisions among workers by targeting the most vulnerable groups, such as immigrants, to weaken the ability of all workers to struggle in defense of their standard of living and democratic rights. Fascist-like groups, basing themselves on the insecurity generated by the crisis, try to blame all the ills of society on immigrants.

The capitalist rulers travel the world for leisure and business. They own villas in Paris and Acapulco. They go where they want, when they want, and rarely have to worry about being denied a visa. They push for the right to invest their money in Latin America, Asia, and Africa and take out the profits at will. But when it comes to refugees, their right to travel, live, and work wherever they choose is strictly limited.

"Our objective," a U.S. official who asked not to be identified told the *New York Times*, is to not send "a signal to others on the island that it is OK for them to try to come to the United States." The *Miami Herald* reports that the State Department is "fearful" of opening the "flood gates" to Haitians.

Working people need to stand up for the right of refuge and asylum and send a signal of our own to Washington, London, Bonn, Paris, Rome, and Stockholm. We should demand:

Give Haitians refuge in the United States!
Stop the deportations of Vietnamese from Hong Kong!
End racist violence against immigrants!

Deepen the Curtis defense fight

The decision by the state of Iowa to once again deny Mark Curtis parole reeks of political bias.

The Iowa State Board of Parole made clear that it would refuse to free Curtis until he admits guilt for the crime he did not commit and gives up all rights to a legal appeal of his case. These are the requirements for participating in the prison's Sex Offenders Treatment Program, which the board demands Curtis must do as a condition for parole.

The board's vindictive approach to this case was further exposed when it refused to grant Curtis's request to at least be placed on work release or in a minimum security prison.

Curtis's prison record during his 38 months of incarceration has been exemplary. Any objective review of these facts would make Curtis a prime candidate for release.

The board's decision fits in with the goal of the powerful social forces behind the frame-up — from the cops to the government prosecutors — who aim to break Curtis from being a confident working-class political fighter. On this they are failing and will fail.

When parole board member Barbara Binnie accused Curtis and his supporters of making this case "a political circus," she was reacting to the growing and effective international campaign being waged to expose this frame-up. However, the pressure is not yet great enough to force the state to release Curtis.

The political stakes are high in this case both for the employers and for the working class. Curtis stands for a

layer of workers who refuse to buckle under the employer-government antilabor offensive.

Curtis was framed and beaten by the cops because he spoke up and sought union support for the rights of Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers who were themselves victimized by a government immigration raid. As the economic and social crisis of capitalism deepens, many more workers who stand for human solidarity will find themselves speaking out as Curtis did and seeking ways to transform their unions into effective fighting organizations.

The fight for justice for Curtis requires answering the lies and slanders put forward by a well-organized countercampaign that is backed by the cops, employers and some union officials as well. Their aim is to justify the frame-up in the hope of intimidating any similar-minded fighters.

The battles on the legal front will continue. These include Curtis's lawsuit against police brutality and his appeal in the federal courts. However, the key to winning this fight will be stepping up the international defense campaign. New supporters can be won by showing *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis* video, organizing speaking engagements before various groups, distributing materials of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at important political events, and winning new endorsers to the fight.

The *Militant* urges all its readers to get involved in this important defense effort.

Labor should ally with farmers

The recent mobilization of more than 30,000 farmers in Canada and strikes by the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) against concessions show the readiness of workers and working farmers to resist the effects of the capitalist economic crisis.

Workers and their unions should support the demands for emergency government assistance raised by farmers in marches, rallies, and public forums. Workers and the vast majority of farmers are both exploited by the same capitalist banks and companies. Unions need to mobilize all working people in support of a guaranteed living income for farmers, a moratorium on farm foreclosures, cheap credit programs, and a moratorium on debt payments.

Noticeably absent from the farmers' protests and meetings, however, have been leaders of the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) and its affiliated unions. These officials do not see working farmers as union allies.

This is another reflection of the continued retreat by the top union officialdom in the face of the intensifying assault on the standard of living of both workers and working farmers. For example, the officials of PSAC and CUPW have called off strikes of tens of thousands of workers that were gaining momentum. The officials rely on negotiators, mediators, capitalist politicians, and lawyers rather than on the collective power of the union membership.

The labor officials work overtime to promote the idea that labor's interests are identical with what is good for "Canada" and "Canadian" companies. Thus, leaders of the International Association of Machinists have proposed that workers at Canadian Airlines agree to a wage freeze in order to help reverse the company's declining profits.

To effectively take on the employer-banker-government attacks, the unions must break out of the framework of defending the capitalist profit system and seek to unite all working people in a consistent struggle to defend common interests.

The labor movement needs to build a fighting social movement that champions the demands of all those suffering from the economic crisis. It needs to see working farmers as fellow exploited producers and take their demands as labor's own.

Such a movement must be based on the independent organization and mobilization of working people. Through the deep-going struggles that will eventually develop, working people will see the need to organize themselves politically to sweep the capitalist rulers from power and establish a government of workers and farmers that will chart a course toward socialism.

Building a strong alliance with exploited farmers is at the center of this perspective and of the fight to transform the unions from instruments of class collaboration into weapons of revolutionary struggle.

This column is devoted to a discussion with our readers — printing remarks, questions, suggestions, and other comments sent to the *Militant*. Where possible we will take up issues raised in notes and letters as a way to help clarify and expand on the coverage of the paper.

This week's coverage from Miami on the struggle of the Haitian people against the dictatorship in that country highlights one aspect of the fight: the demand by working people there that an economic blockade be imposed on the country.

Press reports, statements by Haitians living in the United States who have relatives in Haiti, and positions adopted by organizations demanding a reversal of the coup indicate the vast majority of Haitian workers and peasants support sanctions. They see them as one way today to help press the fight aimed at bringing down the military regime.

Previous *Militant* articles and editorials distanced the paper from supporting the call for sanctions. In our November 1 editorial we pointed to the importance of the demonstrations against the coup across North America. The editorial added that some in the protests demanded that "Washington, Ottawa, and the OAS [Organization of American States] lead an economic boycott of Haiti. Some opponents

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

of the coup even call for direct military intervention."

This view tended to merge together the prospects for some form of U.S. military intervention with political support or opposition to the sanctions call. Instead, the two need to be unwound.

Why would the U.S. government want to invade Haiti? Was Washington opposed to the coup, or is it more likely that its intelligence operations either knew of or aided the military overthrow of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide?

Washington has given no indication that it would mount a military operation to restore Aristide to power. This position is in line with its political and economic interests in Haiti.

Although the Aristide government was not a socialist one, neither were numerous other governments where the United States has backed military coups, such as those against Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala in 1954 or Salvador Allende in Chile in 1973. In both cases U.S. ruling families decided enough was enough; the direction of working people pressing to expand their political freedoms and starting to make some headway in constructing their own organizations had to be stopped.

Far from heading toward sending in the Marines to topple the military regime that ousted Aristide, U.S. imperialism is organizing to keep as many Haitians in Haiti as possible. They have mobilized one-half of the Coast Guard's fleet of 30 cutters to patrol the waters off the country to intercept Haitians fleeing political repression there.

Washington has turned the refugee flow into another provocation against Cuba as well, anchoring troop ships at the illegally occupied U.S. Guantánamo base in Cuba and setting up tents for thousands of refugees on the military base itself.

The sanctions, then, were never a part of a drive toward war or intervention. Unlike Iraq, where sanctions were an important part of the imperialist drive to war against the people of that country, the demand for an embargo comes from Haitian working people themselves.

For many years working people and youth of South Africa, the African National Congress, and the trade union organizations in that country asked governments and businesses around the world to end all ties with the apartheid regime.

As with Haiti today, fighters in South Africa recognized they needed to take every step necessary to overthrow apartheid as soon as possible. It would be better, they reasoned, to lose jobs and endure additional economic hardship for a short while than continue to be denied basic democratic, political, and economic rights.

As it did with sanctions against South Africa, Washington is dragging its feet in implementing the embargo against the Haitian regime. President George Bush stalled for a full month before ordering the suspension of trade with Haiti.

Backing the call for economic sanctions against Haiti will, as one Haitian worker said, put another weapon in the hands of those fighting to overturn the coup.

Now that supporters have successfully completed the international circulation drive, we'll want to turn our coverage of distributing the *Militant* to other arenas. Business manager Brian Williams will help organize a "Getting the *Militant* Around" column that can feature reports on plant-gate sales, the response to the paper at political events, progress in continuing Saturday sales mobilizations, and other items. We encourage supporters to send short articles in on such efforts.

We would like to remind our worker-correspondents to type their articles across 42 characters, triple-spaced. This allows contributions to be edited without retyping — a time-consuming task for the editorial staff. We will also accept neatly hand-written articles when a typewriter is not available. Please also leave room between each line if writing by hand.

All readers can see from the past several issues what a difference worker correspondence makes — from stories on the job and reportage of social protest actions to coverage of conferences, strikes, and other political activities. Keep up the good work!

Slowdown at Union Pacific protests concessions

This column is devoted 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, and attacks on health and safety benefits. Some unionists faced with sharp takeback demands, lockouts, and union-bust-

layoffs. Lump-sum payments are being offered to those who voluntarily quit. A "reserve board" would be created as well, whereby the most senior workers would be paid 80 percent of their wages but would only be called to work when needed.

Many rail workers have shown a desire to try and block this new round of concessions. In late October an anonymous letter was circulated among the crews calling

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.

Rail workers are resisting attacks on jobs and safety coming during the latest round of contract negotiations between the United Transportation Union and the Union Pacific Railroad Co.

Union Pacific is proposing that crews working over-the-road trains be limited to an engineer and a conductor, eliminating all brakemen jobs. This proposal comes on the heels of concessions agreed to in May that the company would eliminate the second brakeman on all crews. Union Pacific is also threatening further job reductions for yard crews and work trains.

The company is trying to lure support for these concessions by claiming its proposals will avoid

for a "work safe" slowdown. Although the letter was unsigned, workers took this as a call from the union officials.

The letter set a November 1 start date, but the crews began to slow down before then. In the week prior to the target date reports indicated movement of trains on the Union Pacific system began to slow down in Pocatello, Idaho; Salt Lake City; Green River, Wyoming; and Milford, Utah. By the target day, the Salt Lake rail yard was so jammed with cars practically nothing could be moved.

By and large this was not a centrally planned or organized action. Its widespread character expressed the desire of workers to fight.

In the week prior to the slowdown there were also many debates about whether such an action would be effective and whether the union leadership would back the workers up.

The sentiment for action seemed more widespread among road crews than those in the yard. Originally the plan was to begin the action only on high-priority trains, but it immediately involved other crews, both road and yard.

Many crews are continuing the slowdown. Discussion continues around the need to fight back and



Members of New York Transport Workers Union Local 100, which organizes subway and bus workers, demonstrated outside transportation authority headquarters November 19. Transit workers have been without a contract since May. Union officials threatened a slowdown to win their demands.

convince the majority of workers to vote down the contract.

Puerto Rican oil workers locked out of refinery

Oil refinery workers at the Caribbean Petroleum Corporation (Capeco) plant in Bayamon, Puerto Rico, are fighting for a contract and to save their union. The workers were locked out October 25. They are members of the Oil Workers Union (UTIP). The plant is being operated by supervisors and clerical personnel.

The union and company disagree over wages but the real issue is the company's demand for concessions in compensation for injured workers. In the old contract injured workers could receive 80 percent of their salary for one year. The company wants to reduce its payments to 20 days and then turn the case over to the government-run workmen's

compensation program. This program would pay much less than 80 percent.

Capeco is a dangerous place to work. Leopoldo Berrios, UTIP secretary general, explained that, in the last month that the union was in the plant, two workers were severely burned. In 33 years of operation, six workers have been killed. Until a few years ago the plant had 180 workers. Berrios is an operator in the tank farm and on the docks where the petroleum is loaded and unloaded off tankers and barges. He has worked in the plant for 25 years.

The union is demanding wage increases of 75 cents an hour in each year of a proposed three-year contract. The company is offering 30 cents the first year and 25 cents for the last two.

Under the old contract wages in the plant ranged from \$9.50 to \$10.50 per hour. The contract expired September 5. The union

worked without a contract until October 25, when management locked out the 72 unionized operators and maintenance workers.

UTIP is an independent union. It has no affiliation with any labor federation and does not organize workers in any other plant. Capeco is one of three oil refineries in this U.S. colony. Sun Oil has a plant in Yabucoa and Phillips petroleum has one in Guayama. Hess Oil has a large refinery about 150 kilometers away in St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands. The Virgin Islands are also a colony of the United States. The Sun plant is organized by the Teamsters union.

Berrios stressed that the present situation is extremely dangerous. The people at the controls are inexperienced and fatigued from the long hours. There have already been two explosions in the sulfur incineration unit.

The plant was originally a Chevron refinery. It was then sold to Gulf. When the plant was closed it was sold to an Israeli capitalist, Gad Seby. The company has permission to use the Gulf logo and most of the gasoline produced is distributed in Gulf stations throughout the island. Regardless of the owner, the attitude toward the union has not changed. UTIP was also locked out in 1983 and 1986.

The colonial government of Puerto Rico has subsidized Capeco as it tries to squeeze more from its workers. When the plant reopened it received tax exemptions. Tax money was also used to train new workers.

Union delegate Victor López explained that the union was trying to get the National Labor Relations Board to declare the lockout illegal because Capeco did not make a final offer before it started the lockout.

Nels J'Anthony, a member of UTU Local 1416; Karen Stockert, a member of UTU Local 1366; and Ron Richards contributed to this week's column.

LETTERS

How socialism works

I am 84 years old and believe that Che Guevara was one of the great ones.

I would like for prospective socialists to be able to read a column in the *Militant* explaining how socialism would work — economically, socially, "by need and ability." Spell it out so the layman of limited education can understand. Your news reporting is great. Maybe some articles are not condensed enough, for some people.

Grady Vandiver
Rialto, California

Topical articles

The *Militant* has been doing a very good job in recent months in bringing more topical articles to the reader. Last week's issue with the stories on the right to die debate and Magic Johnson's misfortune are examples of timely articles treating subjects on working people's minds.

One element fueling the right to die debate is the nagging reminder that capitalism has nothing to offer people. Capitalism feeds an emptiness in people's lives and, in the face of a debilitating illness, can accelerate a belief that the walls are closing in. Despite the technology to keep more sufferers of crippling illness alive, more people seem to be opting to take themselves out. I think that's an indictment of capitalism's providing no inner hope.

Here's an idea for another article. We need an article on the roots of the current budget crisis affecting many municipalities and states.

Keep up the good work.
Baxter Smith
Baltimore, Maryland

Appreciates 'Militant'

I appreciate news on Cuba, Puerto Rico, etc. because I don't get this elsewhere. I also appreciate coverage of abortion battles. This is my main concern.

I don't appreciate bombastic rhetoric on some pieces — a turn off. I appreciate hearing about the YSA. I love their youthful commitment.

O.G.
Norwalk, Ohio

Political prisoner

Silvia Baraldini is an Italian citizen held as a political prisoner here in the U.S. since 1982. A target of this administration's harsh treatment of political prisoners, she is serving 43 years for conspiracy, a crime that usually gets no more than 12 years. Her charges included conspiracy to commit a bank robbery that never happened and conspiracy to free prominent Black Panther leader Asata Shakur from prison.

For two years, she, Susan Rosenberg and Alejandrina Torres were subject to psychological torture in the Lexington Control Unit. She has been refused repatriation to Italy, in spite of her sister's tragic death in 1990 and her own bout with a deadly uterine cancer. In order to defend her rights and save her life, we are joining Italian Parliamentarians and activists to build a campaign for Silvia's immediate transfer to Italy.

A dissenter for all of her adult life, Silvia Baraldini has fought for human rights in many ways. As a student in the 1960's, she was a staunch opponent of the war in Vietnam. She worked in community



groups for women's and lesbian/gay liberation. She founded a material aid campaign for Zimbabwe, a reflection of her deep concern for international liberation movements.

Even though the Italian Government, 90% of the Italian Parliament, and a coalition of women's organizations in Italy petitioned the U.S. for Silvia's return, the Justice Department denied the request in December 1990, refusing to honor the treaty. The Justice Department cited "Ms. Baraldini's continued refusal to cooperate" and "her lack of remorse for any of her crimes" as the reason. Silvia has stated, "what the government is interested in is a public condemnation on my part of the

political beliefs which have motivated my life for the past twenty-five years."

In December, 1991, the Attorney General will again review Silvia's case, and decide whether to honor the Strasbourg Treaty with Italy. We ask you to join in a campaign to stop her vindictive persecution.

Send a postcard, letter, or mailgram demanding the immediate repatriation of Silvia Baraldini to Italy to the U.S. Attorney General, U.S. Department of Justice, 10th Street and Constitution Ave., Washington, D.C. 20530.

National Release Silvia Committee
San Francisco, California

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* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Students occupy campuses in Britain

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Student protests, rallies, and building occupations are spreading at a number of British colleges, from Scotland in the north to Exeter in the southwest.

The students are fighting the effects of government cutbacks that are leading to declining living standards and deteriorating provision of education.

Education correspondent Barry Hugill reported in the *Observer* November 24, "University and polytechnic chiefs are bracing themselves for the most serious outbreak of student unrest since the heyday of campus militancy in the Sixties."

At the Cat Hill site of Middlesex Polytechnic in north London, students began an occupation November 19. The occupation has now spread to 5 of the 7 sites of the Polytechnic, which has 12,000 students. The occupation has strong support. At the smallest of the sites, Ivy House, 70 of the 150 students are in the occupation.

At the Polytechnic's Enfield site November 24, students braved the cold at the main gate to maintain a round-the-clock picket, which has caused cancellation of all classes. One of the pickets explained, "The lecturers' union, NATFHE, won't cross an NUS picket

line," referring to the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education and the National Union of Students. Inside, more than 100 students were encamped. "There will be more tomorrow," one student said. "Hundreds have been directly involved in the occupation."

To encourage maximum involvement, the students organize two mass meetings every day, at which all policy decisions are taken.

The Middlesex Poly students have presented to the college authorities a list of seven demands to stop the overcrowding of lectures and seminars, gain more teaching accommodation, and prevent site closures. They are backing the national NUS demand that student grants and benefits be returned to their 1979 level.

There has been an 8 percent cut in staff at the college this year, along with a 25 percent increase in students. The college, which is principally funded through the government's Department of Education and Science, imposed cuts in the face of a projected £2.6 million deficit (1 £ = U.S. \$1.79).

Nicholas Whitehead, a first-year drama student, said, "This occupation will go on until things get better. We are having lec-

tures in canteens and corridors, the place is so crammed."

Four students in the press office — Bill Newland, Erzsebet Pek, Nick Forro, and Roisin Madden — confirmed that morale was high and that the students are determined to stick it out. They said they have received messages of support from students at Sheffield and Birmingham Polytechnics, from Labour members of Parliament Terry Fields and Dave Nellist, and from Australia, Hong Kong, New Zealand and Sweden.

They were encouraged by news that students at Newcastle Polytechnic in the north-east of the country started an indefinite occupation November 22.

That night national student representatives predicted that more than 20 polys and several universities would be under occupation by mid-week. Stephen Twigg, president of the National Union of Students, said, "This spate of activity shows students have been pushed as far as they can go. Rents are spiraling, grants remain frozen after two years, housing benefits and income supplements have been axed. The issue of student poverty has to be raised and occupations are an effective way of doing it."

Grants are fixed at £2,265 for a year, plus

an optional loan of £580. An extra allowance for those in London adds £620 to the grant and £70 to the optional loans. Students can no longer claim housing benefit or income support; a holiday hardship allowance has also been abolished. Middlesex Polytechnic director David Melville said, "The underlying problem is student poverty. We have noticed a threefold increase in applications for the hardship fund."

Unemployment, which has increased for 17 consecutive months, is adding to the students' hardship. Most were unable to supplement their grants with summer jobs. Earlier this year university heads told the government that students with poorer parents are dropping out of courses because they could not support themselves during vacations.

Housing is also a major issue. The *Observer* report told of "many students living in squalid but expensive private accommodation. Last year the Government deregulated the private rented sector." A minority of students live in campus accommodations but this year they have faced high rent increases. The Lancaster occupation was sparked by a 13 percent rent increase, part of a projected 50 percent rise over three years.

Immigrants in Sweden face increasing attacks

BY DAG TIRSEN
AND DECHOR HIEN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — In the normally peaceful village of Ljunga outside Norrköping the latest outrage in a wave of attacks on immigrants in Sweden was committed when the house of an Ethiopian was burned to the ground. He fled the flames with his two children in his arms. On the remains racist slogans could be seen: "Immigrants shouldn't be allowed to live in villas," and "Keep Sweden Swedish."

The racist attacks here have become more and more frequent, with the most publicized being the assaults on refugee camps. Twenty-seven of these attacks have occurred since May 1990.

The racists have used stones, explosives, gasoline, and firebombs.

The cops have been slow to find the culprits. In only two cases have attackers been found guilty and sentenced.

Swedish immigration authorities keep all new refugees in camps. They are not allowed to work and they lose their benefits if they live outside of the camps. Refugees are kept waiting for months, often years, for permission to stay in the country.

In December 1989 the Social Democratic government made a harsh change in immigration policy. This was preceded by a campaign in the mass media, portraying immigrants as a threat to citizens' welfare.

The minister of immigration was quoted saying, "Sweden cannot take care of so many immigrants." A picture of an "invasion" was painted.

In one well-publicized incident, the immigration authorities forced refugees to live in a tent camp on a farm outside Trelleborg, even though other housing was available.

Emergency bill

The government decided in December 1989 that an emergency situation existed in the country. A bill was adopted severely restricting the conditions for acceptance of refugees in Sweden; only refugees who met United Nations criteria for political refugee status would be allowed to enter the country.

This decision was met by broad protests by antiracist organizations and refugees, who occupied churches in different parts of the country.

These actions initially met with big support, but the leadership of the unions turned a deaf ear to the protests. After a time, church authorities ordered the protesters out of the churches and the protests died out.

The end of the protests was followed by additional restrictions on the right to asylum. Then the physical attacks started, with the burning down of 15 barracks at a refugee camp outside Laholm in May 1990. In Motala, southwest of Stockholm, 11 people were hospitalized after a firebomb exploded in the camp.

The Swedish economy is in its worst recession in many years. Unemployment is rising faster than at any time since World War II.

Racism was an issue in the recent parliamentary election. New Democracy emerged as a right-wing party. It was treated by the media as one of the established parties and

won 6 percent of the votes.

The activity on the far right in Swedish politics has increased. Some racist organizations got high votes in mock elections held in schools.

The Swedish police force is rapidly growing. In addition to a new "antiterrorist force," the police school will increase its capacity by taking in 200 new cadets. One hundred million kronor (US\$18 million) are to be spent on guarding the European soccer championship. A large part of this money will be used for new equipment and training in riot control.

The cops' freedom of action has increased

— even without the consent of the law. The police in Stockholm have made group arrests. This is against the law, according to the justice ombudsman, but no officers have been prosecuted.

The police is the chief body implementing the government's immigration policy. It rounds up people to be sent out of the country, often using a big show of force, and great brutality.

Many refugees, including an increasing number of children, are kept under arrest for long periods by the police. This has aroused many protests, but the practice continues.

5,000 in Stockholm condemn racist murder

BY DAG TIRSEN
AND DECHOR HIEN

STOCKHOLM — Chanting slogans like "Stop — now!" and "Stop the violence," 5,000 people marched here November 15. They were protesting the gunning down of an immigrant student from Iran, Jimmy Ranjbar.

Three immigrants had been shot and wounded in the previous three months. The cops said that it was all done by the same man, known in the press as "the laser man" because red dots, such as from a laser device, were seen on all the victims preceding the shots.

Ranjbar was the first victim of cold-blooded murder in the wave of racist violence that has been going on during the last year in Sweden. The violence has also hit refugee camps and homes of immigrants.

The antiracist protest was called by the student union at the technical university (Tekniska högskolan) and Stop Racism.

The protesters gathered in Sergels Torg in the center of Stockholm. Speaking at the rally were two members of parliament, Karin Israelsson from the People's Party and Hans-Göran Frank, a well-known lawyer who defends immigrants and is a member of the Social Democratic party. Berra Ahnberg, union president at the Saab Scania truck factory in Södertälje, also spoke. Half of the workers at this plant are immigrants and a year ago the workers organized a strike for better working conditions and wages.

A big majority of the protesters were immigrants. More than a thousand were



'Unite Now! Tomorrow is too late!' reads banner at antiracist rally.

classmates of Ranjbar who gathered at the university campus and marched together to Sergels Torg.

The demonstration went to the place where Ranjbar was shot. There was a fighting spirit in the demonstration and people waved from windows of nearby buildings.

The many hundreds of torches carried by the demonstrators made an impressive sight, as they marched along the streets stretching out from the site of the murder.

A friend of Ranjbar spoke, as did Annika Hjelm, president of the Ronny Landin Fund. Landin was a Swede who in 1985 went to the aid of some immigrants who were being attacked by racists. The racists turned on Landin and kicked him to death.

Hjelm spoke about the fate of Ranjbar: "He fled from political repression in Iran to Sweden, which he thought was democratic and peaceful, but he met racist violence and was shot to death."

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