

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Interview with ANC leader
on mass action campaign

— PAGES 8-9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 56/NO. 31 September 4, 1992

U.S., allies, prepare to unleash air war on Iraq

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

Eighteen months after the U.S.-led imperialist slaughter of Iraq, Washington and its allies are preparing to launch an air war against the Baghdad regime. Their aim is to deal Baghdad a blow, bringing closer the day when Saddam Hussein is no longer in power.

This week Washington is working out details on establishing a military command responsible for implementing an air security zone in southern Iraq.

But their goal of establishing a protectorate beholden to Washington's interests is as elusive as ever.

Washington's war in the Gulf created new problems for American imperialism in the Gulf region.

The war set in motion unforeseen and uncontrollable forces and has opened new conflicts and wars. This is seen clearly in northern Iraq where the Kurdish people are fighting for self-determination. Turkey has been conducting military operations against bases of the Turkish Kurd groups in Iraq. Most of the victims have been Iraqi civilians.

Meanwhile, Iraqi military forces have imposed an economic embargo on the north and continue to shell Kurdish positions. In April, 40,000 Kurds were forced to flee their homes as a result of Iraqi artillery fire. Some 100,000 Iraqi troops are amassed at the edge of this region.

The war's outcome has exacerbated ten-



Iraq after U.S. bombing in 1991. The working people of Iraq will bear the worst effects of another U.S. assault on the country.

sions among contending class forces and between different states, and has led to growing conflicts among the imperialist powers themselves.

Within the capitalist class in the United States it has set off sharp tactical divisions, debates, and recriminations, which are reflected to one degree or another in the edi-

torial pages of the big-business press.

Between now and the November election, the administration is determined to use its warmaking powers to reverse the sharp decline in Bush's reelection bid.

In an article headed, "An October Surprise?" columnists Evans and Novak com-

Continued on Page 14

Pro-choice activists win big victory; keep Houston abortion clinics open

BY SARA LOBMAN

HOUSTON — Abortion rights activists have won a big victory here by successfully defeating a two-week-long attempt by anti-abortion forces to close down clinics that

offer women abortions.

"Despite their best efforts, they haven't done a thing," Bernadette Gillette, site coordinator at the West Loop clinic, told a cheering crowd of several hundred the night of

August 20. "Ten, zero; ten, zero," chanted several hundred activists defending Planned Parenthood on August 21. They were referring to the score — ten days of victory for defenders of abortion rights.

The antiabortion campaign, called Operation Guard Our Preborn (GOP), included forces organized by Operation Rescue, Rescue America, and the Lambs of Christ. It was timed to coincide with the Republican Party national convention.

The clinic defenders, organized into Houston Defending Choice, outmobilized the rightists and prevented them from blockading a single clinic.

Loretta Kane, a national staff person for the National Organization for Women (NOW) who has been helping to organize the defense here, reports that at the height of the fight more than 750 defenders were on the street — at least 400 came out every day.

With the exception of an August 18 rally in front of Planned Parenthood, where about 450 antiabortion protesters faced 300 clinic defenders, it appears that no more than 250 antiabortion people were ever mobilized city-wide. At that rally the clinic defenders were able to keep Planned Parenthood open while keeping 450 people stationed at other clinics around town.

An important turning point came on the morning of Monday, August 17, when about a dozen members of the Lambs of Christ and Rescue America charged into the defense line at the West Loop Clinic.

Clinic defenders had assumed that the antiabortion forces would not attack there since the clinic does not do abortions on

Continued on Page 4

Convention props up flagging Bush campaign

BY PAUL MAILHOT

The Republican Party recently concluded its national convention in Houston, Texas, hoping to shore up the flagging George Bush presidential campaign.

The convention underscored the deep crisis in the Bush campaign and the Republican Party. More than a third of all Republicans in Congress and many prominent governors declined to attend the convention, fearing too close an identification with the party standard bearer. The continuing disastrous effects of the economic downturn on the great majority of working people in the United States, and the fact that the Republicans represent the status quo has put the Bush campaign far behind.

Hoping to divert attention from the real problems facing working people today — joblessness, the threat of war, racism, attacks on abortion rights, the crisis in health care — Republicans projected the Bush campaign as the guardian of "family values." (See editorial, page 14.)

Bush also sought to place the entire blame for the economic crisis on the Democratic-controlled Congress, overlooking the fact that both parties have had fundamentally the same domestic policies for more than a decade.

Religious and conservative speakers,
Continued on Page 3

Imperialists weigh military intervention in Yugoslavia

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Working people of all nationalities continue to be brutalized in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the ruling gangs of the former Yugoslav republics pursue their war over turf and resources.

In the meantime, one week after the United Nations Security Council authorized military intervention in Bosnia, Washington, Bonn, and Paris have issued calls for tighter sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

The government of Germany favors the total prohibition of transit traffic through Serbia. It also proposes to dispatch multinational police and customs units to patrol the Danube River and the countries neighboring Serbia. Former German foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher explained that, because such an operation would not require army troops, Germany could participate.

"The UN sanctions are beginning to take a heavier toll on the people of Serbia," said Zorica Trifunovic in an August 22 telephone interview from Belgrade. Trifunovic is a leader of the Antiwar Center in Belgrade, which has organized several actions against the war.

The government of Yugoslav president
Continued on Page 10

Join Youth for Warren and DeBates

James Warren and Estelle DeBates are the Socialist Workers candidates for U.S. president and vice-president. The campaign is a socialist alternative to the twin parties of war, racism, and economic depression.

* * *

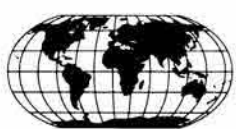
Youth for Warren and DeBates is made up of students, young workers, and other young people who want to join the struggles today and help raise

an internationalist and working-class voice in politics. On lines defending clinics and a woman's right to choose, in protests against police brutality, at strikes and union rallies, socialist campaigners are there building the struggle. They advance a perspective of building an international working-class movement against the drive to World War III and the ravages of the capitalist economic crisis. Become a part of this campaign today!

- ☐ Yes! I want to join Youth for Warren and DeBates!
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Send to Socialist Workers 1992 Campaign, 191 7th Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 675-6740.



Georgia crushes Black Sea region rebellion

Tanks and armored vehicles rolled into Sukhumi, the capital of the semiautonomous region of Abkhazia in the former Soviet republic of Georgia, August 18 as Georgian troops took control of most of the area surrounding the capital. More than 50 people were killed in four days of fighting.

Georgian president Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, sent in troops to crush a rebellion by the Abkhazian parliament, which declared its independence from Georgia in July. Georgian troops occupied the Parliament building, raised the Georgian flag, and decreed an 8:00 p.m. to 7:00 a.m. curfew. A military council was appointed to govern the region. The fighting was complicated by Moscow's decision to send in paratroopers ostensibly to evacuate Russians who were vacationing at Sukhumi. Of Abkhazia's 500,000 people at least 90,000 are ethnic Abkhazians, a largely Muslim, Turkic-speaking group. The rest are mostly Russians and Georgians.



Polish miners join strikes

Workers at four Polish coal mines went on strike August 18 to protest the government's austerity measures. They joined copper and auto workers who have been on strike since July. "This is just the beginning," said Marek Opasnik, a spokesman for the union that called the strike. "There will be many more mines and factories joining if the government doesn't start negotiations on our 21 demands."

These demands include an end to Poland's 13 percent unemployment, "the immediate abandonment of the current chaotic and fraudulent privatization," lower interest rates, and ending of strict wage controls in state-owned industries.

Volkswagen ends Mexico lock-out

Volkswagen of Mexico announced August 18 it would rehire about 90 percent of its 16,000 employees and end a lockout at its plant in Puebla, 70 miles east of Mexico City. The announcement came after a government panel agreed to the company's request to nullify its contract with the union August 17.

On July 21 Volkswagen workers in Puebla began a series of work stoppages to protest a contract that had been signed between the union leadership and management July 2 but rejected by the majority of the workers. Volkswagen locked out the

workers July 26 and asked the government to nullify the contract. That would legally permit the company to fire almost 15,000 of the 16,000 employees who are union members. The workers organized an assembly of union delegates that called for special union elections to replace the union leadership. The government panel has recognized only the old union leadership as the workers' representative. Volkswagen now says the workers can go back under the terms of the rejected contract with wages averaging \$15 per day, a 20 percent increase over previous wage levels. The company also says that dissident union leaders and other workers who led the work stoppages will be fired.

Recession in Britain drags on

While Britain's recession is lurching towards its second anniversary, there are no signs of a speedy recovery. Unemployment rose to a five-year high in July to reach 2.75 million or 9.7 percent. Joblessness has risen steadily for 27 months in a row. The number of those who are long-term unemployed, defined as being out of work for more than a year, also jumped to 905,000, the highest since July 1988. Personal bankruptcies were up by 30 percent in the first half of 1992 as compared with the same period last year. At the same time, manufacturing output increased slightly in the second quarter of 1992, a statistic some government officials

point to as a sign of an upturn even if a weak one.

ANC debates abortion rights

A recent article in the August 1992 issue of *Mayibuye*, published by the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, points to a debate within the ranks of the organization on abortion rights. Anne Hilton, of the ANC Pretoria Witwatersrand Vereeniging (PWV) Health Committee, reports that the recent ANC policy conference referred back to the ANC branches the issue of whether to support legalization of abortion.

"The abortion issue was raised seriously at only one regional policy conference: that of the PWV," writes Hilton. The resolution presented at that meeting proposed that abortion should be made available on demand through a national health service. "In debate at the PWV meeting, a strong anti-abortion argument was put forward by a number of men who outnumbered the women delegates by nine to one," Hilton said. "Some of the sentiments expressed were that 'the ANC doesn't stand for murder and killing,'" she added.

The article points out that to get a legal abortion now in South Africa a woman must be referred by a doctor to two other doctors for assessment. Only 40 percent of the applicants are successful. In 1990, of the 868 legal abortions, 69 percent were for white women. Illegal abortionists face penalties of five years imprisonment or a fine of 5,000 rand.

Cuba seeks to join Caricom

Cuba is seeking increased economic links with its neighbors in the Caribbean. It has asked to be granted observer status to the 13-nation Caribbean Economic Council (Caricom.) The request is likely to be followed by an application for full membership. Ramon Sánchez Parodi,

Cuba's deputy foreign minister, says Havana has taken heart from its recent admission to the Caribbean Tourist organization, over the objections of Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands.

China welcomes foreign banks

Foreign banks are aggressively pursuing the Chinese market again, after an extended hiatus that followed the June 1989 government crackdown on student demonstrators in Tianamen square in Beijing. Bank investments are rising along with foreign direct investments.

Since the mid 1980s, Beijing has allowed foreign banks to operate branches in the country's five special economic zones along the coast. All major Chinese cities except Shanghai where 12 foreign banks have branches, were off limits. Since January, four major cities have since received the green light from the People's Central Bank of China to begin screening applications by foreign banks to open branches: Canton, Tianjin, and the northern port cities of Dalian and Qingdao. On August 9 a riot broke out outside the Bank of China in Shenzhen, which is adjacent to Hong Kong, as 50,000 would-be-investors rushed for a chance to buy stocks offered by the bank. About 9,000 police fired tear gas and shots in the air to disperse the crowd.

Vietnam economy rebounds

After a period when Vietnam's economy was facing deep difficulties, there are signs of a rebound. Exports of oil and rice have significantly contributed to the country's ability to cope with the loss of much of its trade with the former Soviet Union. The country is now running a trade surplus for the first time since Vietnam was reunited in 1976. Inflation has slowed to about 30 percent a year, the lowest in a decade. Government authorities are taking steps to increase foreign investment. They are also selling some state enterprises, although at a much slower pace than their Chinese counterparts.

Pro-Aristide Haitians attacked

The body of Matine Remilien — a leading supporter of ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide — turned up in the morgue in Port-Au-Prince, Haiti, August 18, one day after he was arrested. Last month Remilien cofounded a pro-Aristide party, the Louvri Baye, which means "Open the Gates."

According to independent Haitian media at least 20 civilians have been killed this month by security forces.

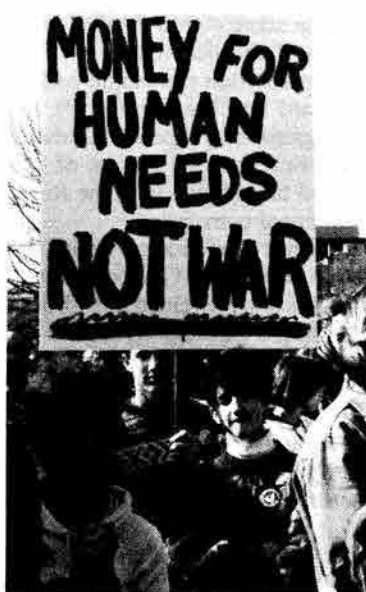
In Miami, three leaders of Veye Yo, a Haitian solidarity group, were robbed and seriously wounded by gun shots August 11. All three individuals — Fritz Belizaire, Pierre-Louis, and Menos Baptiste — had received anonymous threats because of their political activity in favor of restoring Aristide as president of Haiti.

—ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

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The Militant

Closing news date: August 24, 1992

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Published weekly except for next to last week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040; Modem, 924-6048; Telex, 497-4278.

Pacific edition printed in Wanganui, New Zealand, by Wanganui Newspapers, Limited.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S., Latin America: for one-year subscription send \$45, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (air-

mail), send \$80. Barbados: Send \$75Bds for one-year subscription to P.O. Box 891, Bridgetown, Barbados. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Société d'Éditions AGPP, C.P. 340, succ. R, Montréal, Québec H2S 3M2. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. Belgium: BF 3,000 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of 1Mei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 4,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 400 Swedish kroner for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia. Philippines, Pacific Islands: Send Australian \$75 or New Zealand \$100 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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S. African youth leader visits framed-up unionist

BY MARK CURTIS

You don't get to meet a leader of the South African freedom struggle every day, especially if you're in prison. So the visit by Andile Yawa, leader of the Youth League of the African National Congress, ignited a lot of excitement at the medium security unit of the Iowa State Penitentiary here.

When we found out that Yawa would be coming, many inmates responded enthusiastically, asking me to express their solidarity with the people of South Africa and giving me ques-

BEHIND PRISON WALLS



tions to relay to him. What about the violence, the massacres, and the 'Black-on-Black' crime they have been seeing on their television screens? What changes have been made since Nelson Mandela's release from prison? What did he think about South Africa participating in the Olympics for the first time? And what can we, those who live in the United States, some as prisoners, do to help their democratic revolution?

Contrary to some expectations, Yawa, a slim young man with a big smile, looked and dressed just like one of us. When we walked around the small visiting yard, his big smile faded a little. "Mark, to see you in prison," he said, shaking his head. But he knows about prison, as I found out. Yawa told me about how he was arrested in 1984 during student demonstrations against apartheid. He was held for three months without charges under South Africa's laws. When his bail was finally set and paid he was released, but had to sign in at the local police station every morning and night. After signing in one night, Yawa and eight others left town and climbed over mountains by foot, crossing into the country of Lethoso and then to freedom abroad.

Yawa talked to me for two hours about the changes in South Africa. The ANC has been "unbanned," legalized, and he is now free to return without being arrested.

Blacks and whites can now legally use the same park benches and beaches and marry each other, but these are relatively small concessions. Only whites are allowed to vote or to own land in the 80 percent of the best land in the

country. Nonwhites are still forced to live in Bantustans, similar to Indian reservations in the U.S.

Negotiations between the ANC and the government began last year but came to a stalemate this spring when the government refused to agree to free elections to a constituent assembly that would draft a democratic constitution.

Yawa explained that the violence, like the recent massacre at Boipatong, was not "Black-on-Black crime" or the oppressed people fighting each other for power. A group called the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has provoked the attacks, was exposed as having financial support from the government and police. At the Boipatong massacre for example, police transported Inkatha thugs to the township in police buses and vans, according to eyewitnesses. Inkatha leaders have played on the pride many Zulus have in their tribe's history of fighting the British and on loyalty to their king to turn them against the ANC who they claim are "terrorists."

This month's strike called by the ANC was "90 percent effective" in bringing workers across the country off their jobs in protest of the government's lack of faith in negotiations and it's part in the violence, said Yawa. During the strike, he said, a huge demonstration marched to the capitol, Pretoria, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela. Once there, they took down the South African flag and replaced it with the ANC's colors.

Yawa said he had mixed feelings about the Olympics — proud of the South African athletes who competed for the first time, and brought home a medal, but disappointed for all the years that the majority of the population had no access to sports equipment and training.

Even though he recognized that prisoners' political activity is limited, he was glad to suggest some actions we could take here. Writing protest letters to South Africa's government and solidarity messages to the ANC was one idea he suggested. Another was to write to the political prisoners still held in South Africa's jails. Yawa promised to send us addresses and materials for our education.

Besides myself, a couple of other prisoners were able to briefly meet Yawa in the visiting yard, including the inmate who took our picture and another who was also on a visit. They were both as excited to meet Yawa as I was. Quite a number of inmates waved to us during the visit from the prison dining hall and from the dormitory. After Yawa left, someone asked who was visiting me, because he had seen "all kinds of guys" standing on chairs in the rec hall trying to get a look at my visitor. The photo I brought back with me of Yawa and the answers to their questions were the main topic that night at supper, after-



Andile Yawa, president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) and a National Executive Committee member of the African National Congress Youth League, visiting Mark Curtis at the Iowa State Penitentiary in Ft. Madison, Iowa, August 13. Yawa had been touring the United States to report on the current stage of the South African revolution. Yawa told Curtis, "You remain our comrade despite being behind these dungeon walls. In every publication [of WFDY] that we have, your name will be in it. The world must know of your fight."

ward, and the next day.

I was personally moved by meeting Andile Yawa, a representative of this monumental freedom struggle for all humanity. He was extremely generous in offering me support in the fight against the frame-up that put me in prison and keeps me here, locked up but not separated in the real sense from the world revolutionary movement. Thank you Andile Yawa and the African National Congress for reminding us that our struggles are inseparable and that the South African Revolution will be a victory for us all.

Mark Curtis is a union and political activist incarcerated at the Iowa State Penitentiary in Ft. Madison, Iowa. He has served nearly 4 years of a 25-year sentence on frame-up rape and burglary charges.

Convention props up flagging Bush campaign

Continued from front page

such as Pat Robertson, denounced Democratic candidate William Clinton and his wife Hillary for promoting "a radical plan to destroy the traditional family."

Right-wing agenda

The tone of the convention was set by the openly right-wing platform adopted by convention delegates on the first day. The document called for measures to support prayer in the schools, and the teaching of creationism; labelled homosexuality a "deviant lifestyle" and opposed legislation guaranteeing equal rights for gays; attacked the welfare system; proposed harsher measures to block immigrants from coming into the country; and demanded a law that would permit abortions "under no circumstances."

The *Wall Street Journal* reported August 20 that many Republican candidates immediately disavowed the platform. Rod Chandler, a Republican senatorial candidate, called it, "A document right out of the Dark Ages." President Bush made no

mention of the platform in his acceptance speech.

Many delegates to the convention supported a woman's right to choose abortion and attempted to lead a fight to change the platform. But the Bush campaign fought off a challenge to the anti-woman plank by appealing for unity and loyalty to the presidential ticket.

Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, who was in Houston to participate in actions to defend abortion clinics against Operation Rescue, noted, "many Republican delegates joined the picket defense lines. They came to the convention hoping to change the party platform, but were so disgusted that they came out and did the one thing they could do to defend abortion rights, which was to help stop Operation Rescue."

DeBates further commented on the convention proceedings by saying, "The idea that the Republican Party, any more than the Democratic Party, is interested in the welfare of working class families in the United States is a fraud. They decry women who work, but it is precisely the attacks on the standard of living of working people that have taken place — under Democratic and Republican administrations — in the past two decades that have forced millions of women into the work force."

"More women in the work force makes it possible for women to be economically independent and more capable of fighting for their rights," continued DeBates. "That's what Bush, and the class he represents, is so upset about."

Contrary to the view promoted by the speakers at the Republican convention, an editorial in *USA Today* pointed out that nearly 60 percent of all women with school-age children are now in the work force. Less than a third of all families in the United States are "traditional" — with husband working and wife at home. "Evoking a lost era and inflaming hatreds do not help real families," the newspaper warned.

The *Wall Street Journal* also dismissed Robertson's attacks on the Democratic candidate during the "God and Country" rally, noting that "Mr. Clinton is not shy about professing his Baptist faith, [and] quotes

frequently from the Bible."

Buchanan speaks to delegates

Among the convention's keynote speakers was ultrarightist Patrick Buchanan. He denounced Clinton and his running mate Albert Gore, for being "radicals" who try to portray themselves as "moderates." Buchanan pledged his full support to the Bush campaign.

"A president is also commander in chief, the man we empower to send sons and brothers, fathers and friends, to war," Buchanan said. "Which of these two men [Bush or Clinton] has won the moral authority to call on Americans to put their lives at risk? I suggest, respectfully, it is the patriot and war hero, Navy Lieutenant J.G. George Herbert Walker Bush."

Buchanan echoed the theme of Bush's acceptance speech delivered later in the convention and that only Bush was competent to lead the assaults.

"There will be more foreign-policy challenges like Kuwait in the next four years," stated Bush. "Terrorists and aggressors to stand up to, dangerous weapons to be controlled and destroyed. And I look forward to being the first President to visit a free, democratic Cuba."

President Bush made no mention in his acceptance speech of the moves his administration is preparing to once again go to war against Iraq.

Clinton backs war moves

Clinton himself took out an ad in the *New York Times* on the eve of the Republican Party convention to establish his credentials as an advocate of a strong military and the use of force abroad. The ad states that Clinton has:

"Resisted those at home — and in his own party — who propose reckless cuts in our national defense capabilities;

"Taken the lead in urging international action — including, if necessary, the use of U.S. air and naval forces — in support of U.N. relief efforts in Bosnia-Herzegovina;

"Supported increased pressure to end the rule of Cuba's Fidel Castro."

Socialist candidate DeBates explained, "Washington's planned attack against Iraq is a central issue in politics today. The U.S. rulers are driven toward war to salvage their crisis-ridden system — that's the case whether it's an election year or not. But now many officials in the Republican administration also see it as the only way for President Bush's badly battered campaign to have a chance of succeeding."

"Working people and youth have a big stake in mobilizing against this war danger. Both the Democratic and Republican party tickets support resumption of military attacks on Iraq. In fact it's the one issue where Bush can count on getting uncritical support from his Democratic Party challenger."

Cuban youth leader visits United States

Ibis Alvisa González, a researcher at the Center for Studies of Youth in Havana, Cuba, is currently visiting the United States to speak on many campuses about young people and Cuba today. She will visit nine cities.

A second Cuban youth leader, José Antonio Concepción Ráugel, will join González starting September 2. He is also a researcher at the Center for Studies of Youth.

For more information on their visit, contact the Faculty and Students Coordinating Committee for Campus Lectures of Cuban Youth, Borough of Manhattan Community College in New York, which is sponsoring the tour, at: P.O. Box 1597, New York, NY 10011 or call (212) 406-3984.

August 24-31	Los Angeles
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September 13-17	Pittsburgh
September 18-22	Washington, D.C.
September 23-30	New York



U.S. president George Bush

Houston: pro-choice fighters win victory

Continued from front page

Monday. Most volunteers had been redeployed to other clinics, leaving only 70 at West Loop. About 50 of these formed a two-person deep defense line across the parking lot entrance, while 20 went to guard the door.

About 80 abortion rights opponents had been rallying across the street for several minutes when the clinic manager drove in for work. While the clinic defenders tried to figure out whether it was possible to let her through, Rescue America and Lambs of Christ seized the moment of confusion to rush the line.

Attack by antiabortion forces

They went at the pro-choice activists, grabbing at belts, stomping toes, and trying to yank clinic defenders' arms apart as they tried to push them to the ground. "It felt like you were up against a moving building," one clinic defender said later. At one point an antiabortion attacker grabbed another out of her wheelchair so a third could use it as a battering ram. A dozen abortion rights activists suffered minor injuries in the attack.

In spite of the viciousness of the attack, the defense line held for over five minutes. When it finally broke, the clinic defenders immediately reorganized their forces. About 40 rushed to the door to reinforce the defense there. Others, along with reinforcements that had been pouring in from around the city, quickly reformed the line.

Within seconds a solid defense again protected the clinic lot. The quick action of the defenders prevented all but about 25 rightists from entering clinic property. Those 25, unable to penetrate the solid defense at the door, sat at the feet of the clinic defenders.

Only after the clinic was secure did the cops enter and begin to arrest the attackers. The *Houston Chronicle* reports that 41 antiabortion demonstrators were arrested, some when they threw themselves in the path of the police vehicle holding those already in custody.

By the time the police began the arrests, more than 250 people were defending the clinic, chanting and singing.

As news of the victory at "Fort West Loop," as it has become known, spread, it gave a tremendous boost to the confidence of abortion rights fighters across the city. "They hit when they thought we were vulnerable — which we were, but they still couldn't get through," Gillece explained. "They were prepared to go to any length to close the clinic, but we held them back."

Laura Robertson, a clinic defense leader, agreed. "We went into Tuesday [August 18] feeling a lot more confident. We had some experience and we knew we could keep them from the door," she commented.

Students, unionists join defense lines

The largest turnout of clinic defenders yet, 750, occurred August 18 as people who had seen the news or heard about the previous day's events came out. New forces continued to join the defense lines as the week went by, replacing those who had to go back to work or school.

For example, several students from St. Johns school, a local college, showed up at the Houston Women's Clinic on Tuesday morning. Rice University students returning to Houston from summer vacation came out to the clinics.

On Wednesday several high school students from the Episcopal High School joined the clinic defense. Will Hayes, 15, explained that seeing pictures of women who had been killed or injured from illegal abortions had convinced him to fight to defend abortion rights. "Going back to that would be horrible," he said.

As the fight continued, some industrial workers and union members began showing up to defend the abortion clinics. This included nearly a dozen oil workers from Houston, members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union. Marie Underhill, a flight attendant for Continental Airlines, where workers just voted in the International Association of Machinists, came to defend the clinics.

Bruce Little, a 23-year-old Black factory worker who goes to school at night, came in on Saturday. "A lot of people are able to see through Operation Rescue's religious demagoguery," he commented. "They have a

much bigger agenda than abortion rights."

Following the victory at West Loop, Operation Rescue, Rescue America, and the Lambs of Christ spent most of the rest of the week roaming from clinic to clinic looking for opportunities to block access to clients. In most cases, there were so many people mobilized to defend a clinic — with reinforcements pouring in from other clinic sites — that the antiabortion forces were reduced to holding a brief prayer vigil and moving on. They also organized several rallies at the courthouse.

On August 20, 16 abortion rights activists were arrested for criminal trespass at the Women's Pavilion clinic when they were forced to go on clinic property to defend the door as antiabortion activists rushed towards it. Police had not stopped the attackers at the property line. While the clinic had requested the defense volunteers, the property management was hostile.

The incident has deepened discussions among abortion rights fighters about the role of the police. On August 22 it was announced that all charges had been dropped.

The fight to defend abortion rights during the past two weeks has had a deep impact on a broad layer of working people throughout the city. One young man commented on the broad range of people driving by who responded to the "honk for choice" sign he was holding. "Bus and truck drivers, men and women, all kinds of people honk," he said.

Joanne Rosenquer and Carol Kernan, waitresses at the diner across from the Pasadena clinic, offered water and soda refills to clinic defenders. "It's the woman's prerogative," Joanne said.

Youth for Warren and DeBates join battle in Houston to defend right to abortion

BY SARA LOBMAN

HOUSTON — The socialist campaign of James Warren for U.S. president and Estelle DeBates for vice-president got a big boost here when several young fighters who had been defending Houston's clinics from antiabortion attacks decided to become involved in Youth for Warren and DeBates (YWD).

Campaign supporters, including DeBates, joined with hundreds of others to prevent members of Operation Rescue and other antiabortion groups from closing the clinics down during the Republican Party convention. In addition to joining the clinic defense, the socialist campaigners tried to take every opportunity to introduce the campaign to the other young fighters. 175 copies of the *Militant* and 7 subscriptions were sold and 275 signatures were collected to win official write-in status for Patti Iiyama, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress in the 29th C.D. Stickers of all kinds were popular on the lines, and YWD was quick to put out its own: "Pro-Choice, Youth for Warren and DeBates, the Socialist Alternative in '92."

DeBates got an enthusiastic reception from the abortion rights fighters. Bill Lambert, a participant in YWD and socialist candidate for U.S. Congress in the 22nd C.D., explained, "Youth for Warren and DeBates had a big presence at the clinics. We are viewed as serious fighters who will continue to defend abortion rights even after Operation Rescue leaves town."

Travis Coover and Will Hayes, both 15-year-old high school students, joined DeBates and campaign supporters for some informal discussion one day after clinic defense. "I don't think there's much difference between the Democrats and Republicans," Hayes said. "They're both bureaucrats."

He asked what DeBates thought about Operation Rescue. "They have a broader agenda than just fighting abortion rights," DeBates explained. "They argue that the downfall of society is a result of women working outside the home, controlling our bodies, and fighting for our rights. They scapegoat women for things like crime and drugs." The socialist alternative, on the other hand, points the finger at capitalism and fights to unite all the victims



Militant/Sara Lobman

Abortion rights fighters kept all the Houston clinics open

Bubba Rardin, who drives a wrecker, was eating with friends at the diner. He agreed. "If a woman wants to get an abortion, she should be able to. It's no one else's business," he said.

On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday nights, the Women's Action Coalition (WAC) drum corps performed in downtown Market Square to a crowd of 500. Many clinic defenders had heard them on the lines. They would show up at antiabortion "hit" sites to lead songs and chants. "Can't rule my body, can't rule my mind, can't run my life, cause I run it fine," go the words to one chant.

An open mike at the programs sponsored by WAC gave young women a chance to speak on subjects from the oppression of women, to the war in Yugoslavia, to the strike at the Appletree supermarket. A huge slide show on women's rights was projected onto the side of a nearby building.

An evening rally on Thursday, organized to coincide with the end of the Republican Party convention, became an impromptu evaluation of the week's experience. "People around the world will celebrate Houston," Estelle DeBates, socialist candidate for vice-president told the hundreds of mostly young people. Robertson summed up the feelings of many. "I've never been so active in my whole life, or felt so good about myself," she said.

"Despite their best efforts, they weren't able to do a thing," Gillece said. "We learned that we don't have to rely on the cops or anyone to get things done. We have the power to do it ourselves."

At a final victory celebration held at a local restaurant on Saturday evening, clinic defenders gleefully shared tales of the week's experiences and made plans to continue defending the abortion clinics.



Militant/Sara Lobman

Youth for Warren and DeBates members who joined Houston clinic defense battle.

of the economic and social crisis.

DeBates also spoke to a women's discussion group. She pointed to the opportunity to bring people with many different beliefs into the fight to defend abortion rights. "Chants like 'take your rosaries off my ovaries' or other anti-Catholic and anti-religious slogans only make it harder for people to join the fight," DeBates said.

DeBates was able to speak to a rally of 2,000 pro-choice activists on August 15 that was sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW) and another, of about the same size, that was called by local activists for August 20.

In each, DeBates stressed several points to the young fighters coming into politics around the fight to defend a woman's right to choose abortion. "The fight we are waging is an example not only to others who are the victims of this government's wars, racism, and economic catastrophe, but to women who are fighting for their rights around the world. What we do will affect what happens concerning abortion rights from Ireland to Spain, from Canada to South Africa," DeBates said at the NOW rally. In addition, YWD members helped build classes that DeBates gave, including one on the South African revolution and another on

the *Communist Manifesto*.

DeBates, who this year has traveled to South Africa, North Korea, Japan, Canada, and Britain to talk about the socialist campaign, reported that there is deep interest everywhere in the fight for abortion rights in the United States.

DeBates also stressed that it is only by organizing and mobilizing in the streets that abortion rights will be defended. "This is real politics, not who gets elected to sit in the White House," she said. "Through this process a new generation of fighters will — in the words of Malcolm X — gain a sense of their self worth."

At a victory celebration and campaign rally after the final day of clinic defense, DeBates addressed the growing threat of another U.S.-led war against the people of Iraq. Laura Robertson, a student at the University of Houston and a leader of the clinic defense, plans to arrange speaking engagements for the socialist candidates at her campus. Lambert reports that a campaign table at Rice University, also in Houston, has already opened up the possibility of the socialist candidates participating in a debate there and speaking on the campus radio station.

Socialist petitioners fight for ballot status

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Socialist campaigners have been well received as they have petitioned around the country for ballot status for James Warren for president and Estelle DeBates for vice-president.

In mid-August supporters in Washington, D.C., successfully completed a six-week petitioning drive, collecting 4,400 signatures for the socialist presidential ticket. More than 50 people, mostly young workers and students, signed for more information or to help out with the campaign.

In Iowa, Warren and DeBates were certified for ballot status after supporters turned in 1,600 signatures on nominating petitions for the socialist candidates.

At a news conference announcing the completion of the petitioning drive at the state office building in Des Moines, SWP congressional candidate Ruth Nebbia explained that the socialists will be campaigning aggressively against the U.S. war moves

in Iraq and Yugoslavia.

"The George Bush administration has brought us war in Iraq, the invasion of Panama, assaults on a woman's right to choose abortion, the spread of racist attacks, and government backing for a fierce employer assault against working people," said Nebbia.

"The Clinton-Gore ticket is no less committed to imperialist war to defend the interests of the super-rich," she said. "Clinton has offered Bush a blank check to rain death and destruction on Iraq. He has been even more energetic than Bush in advocating that the U.S. begin bombing 'Serbian targets' in Bosnia-Herzegovina and tighten the embargo on Serbia."

In Cleveland, campaign supporters have been locked in a fight with the Cuyahoga County Board of Elections for the right of Ronald Garnez Parks, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, to appear on the ballot. Parks had filed 3,109 signatures June 1. The election board then announced plans to inval-

idate 1,800 of these names, leaving the campaign 276 short of meeting the requirement.

Dozens of letters have been sent to the board of elections from unionists, lawyers, professors, and young people expressing the support for Parks's democratic right to appear on the ballot.

On August 12 after a heated exchange of opinions, the election board agreed to grant Parks additional time to show that the disqualified signatures are valid.

Socialist Workers candidates in Cincinnati were also granted an extension at a ballot hearing held August 13. One candidate lacks a mere 38 signatures, according to the election board.

Meanwhile, socialist campaigners have collected an additional 8,000 signatures on petitions to place Warren and DeBates on the Ohio ballot.

In Vermont, campaign supporters collected nearly double the 1,000 signature requirement to place the presidential ticket

on that state's ballot.

In Montpelier, the state capital, signs on campaign tables defending abortion rights and calling for justice for framed-up union and political activist Mark Curtis prompted much discussion. In Burlington, supporters organized a public class on the *Communist Manifesto*.

Through nine days of intense petitioning, campaigners succeeded in selling 219 *Militants*, 7 subscriptions, 4 *New Internationals*, and almost \$200 worth of Pathfinder literature. In addition 60 new endorsers of the campaign were obtained from all over Vermont. Many of these endorsers expressed interest in setting up a speaking event for one of the candidates this fall.

The following people contributed to this article: Mike Fitzsimmons in Washington, D.C.; John Studer in Des Moines; Susan Hope in Cleveland; and Bill Lambert and Roz Howell from Vermont.

DeBates dicusses U.S. war drive with sailors in Seattle

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — "We are totally opposed to the policies of the U.S. government and are campaigning against its threatened wars in Iraq and Yugoslavia," Estelle DeBates told dozens of sailors here July 31. DeBates, the Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president, spent time talking with sailors from the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* and other warships moored along the Seattle waterfront. "We're not against GIs," she explained. "We think you and other workers and farmers should discuss and decide if we go to war or not."

Campaign supporters set up a literature table on the sidewalk at the entrance to one of the piers where the ships had tied up and passed out flyers to sailors going to and from the ships. A few refused to speak with the socialist candidate and some just rushed by on their way to a night on the town. Many did stop, however, often saying they were worried about reports that Washington was preparing to launch new military attacks against Iraq.

"See that ship over there," said one sailor, pointing to the guided missile cruiser *Reeves*. "If a war starts, we'll be the first to go."

Another said he had no opinion on the war and would fight "because I signed a contract to fight when they tell me to." Many, however, agreed with DeBates on the need for a broad discussion about the war and the right of GIs and other working people to participate in making such decisions.

Several sailors bought copies of the *Militant* and hundreds took pieces of campaign literature. One young sailor looked carefully through the many books on the campaign table before deciding to buy a copy of *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. Two others made their way to the local Pathfinder Bookstore and bought a dozen pamphlets by Lenin and Fidel Castro.

DeBates also spent two hours talking with rail workers on the night shift at a Burlington Northern yard breakroom. After meeting DeBates, one worker decided to rearrange his work schedule so he could attend a campaign rally the next evening. "It was a meeting of like minds," he said later. "We've got to get more workers to start coming to these meetings."

Harvey McArthur is a member of UTU Local 845 and a switchperson on the Burlington Northern.

The fight to put socialists on the ballot in 1992



* District of Columbia: petitioning is completed

Supporters of the Socialist Workers 1992 Campaign are petitioning to put James Warren for U.S. president and Estelle DeBates for vice-president on the ballot in 19 states and the District of Columbia. In addition, efforts are underway to place on the ballot socialist candidates for Congress and Senate in many of those states plus Florida, Michigan, and Pennsylvania, where antidemocratic restrictions have made petitioning for the socialist presidential candidates prohibitive for the 1992 elections.

Militant map by Eric Simpson

Socialist Campaign in the News

Trabajadores

Organo de la Central de Trabajadores de Cuba
La Habana
Año 4 de la Revolución
Precio 15 ctvs. Año XXIII No. 6
Segunda Edición Cierre 12:00 noche

James Warren: 'There is no multiparty system'

The following article appeared in the June 29 issue of *Trabajadores*, newspaper of the Cuban Workers Federation (CTC). The translation from Spanish is by the *Militant*.

BY ERNESTO MONTERO ACUÑA

For James Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president of the United States, "the Cuban revolution is also ours and is part of what we are fighting for in the world."

Warren, who visited Cuba for several days, said that "identification and solidarity with the Cuban revolution is a responsibility of all conscious people in the United States." But he points out that the ties "go beyond solidarity."

Describing the current U.S. political situation, he explained that "it is not possible for a candidate of a communist party to win the elections." However, "if we carry out a good election campaign, we can take advantage of the opportunity to build a stronger, more influential party with a greater impact that can attract the youth."

He believes that a successful campaign consists in placing the SWP on the ballot in a large number of states as a working-class and internationalist alternative in the 1992 elections. But in addition, "we can win a layer of those who are already fighting," he said, "if we take maximum advantage of the crisis of world imperialism today."

He considers it important to use the potential that exists to build a party that will have an impact on U.S. politics in the future, and to do so in the only place that really matters — the streets.

He characterized last week's rail strike in the United States as very important, because of its magnitude and length. In his opinion the Los Angeles riots are a confirmation of the failure of capitalism.

Commenting on the cost of the present election campaign, he said that "each of the three major candidates will end up spending \$25 million or more. And Perot has even raised the possibility of spending \$100 million to occupy a position that would pay \$200,000 a year. It is irrational to spend all this money to become the

executive official of imperialism."

Warren assures that "there is no multiparty system in the United States" and this explains the Perot phenomenon, because people do not see how to advance within the framework of the two traditional parties, the Democrats and Republicans. This is principally true of the middle class, who are the ones that elect the candidates in the primaries.

They [the middle class] "are in a total panic," he said, "as a result of the social crisis in the United States, which is part of the current worldwide depression."

Regarding the so-called Perot phenomenon, he said "it is something totally new" and that "never before had one of the traditional parties been faced with the threat of being destroyed," which is what could happen if one of them was displaced by the Texas millionaire.

If elected, "Perot says that he will go beyond the executive and judicial branches to fix the current disaster, but this is a horrendous perspective from the point of view of the working class, against whom

he will use this power."

Warren believes that the "capitalist class" of his country — a section of which would also be affected — is debating whether to use or destroy Perot. If they decided on the latter they would do so by discrediting him or putting forth alternative policies. But he could base himself on the supposed integrity of the army and choose Colin Powell as vice-president, if he really wanted to be president.

The SWP candidate stated that "Perot is the most important fact in U.S. politics and a reflection of its decay." But he thinks the Republican candidate has the greatest chances of winning, because the Democrats are identified with tax increases.

Referring to the two-party system, he said, "Both are imperialist parties and have always agreed on foreign policy. They had differences on domestic policies, but in the early 1980s they began to agree on this too."

That is why "now they are not different from each other."

U.S., Canada, and Mexico sign accord to form trade bloc

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Negotiators for the U.S., Canadian, and Mexican governments signed a trade accord August 12. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as it is known, would create the largest trading bloc in the world.

The agreement was reached at a time of worldwide depression and intensifying economic rivalry between U.S., Canadian, Japanese, and European capitalists.

"The principal challenge now facing the United States is to compete in a rapidly changing, expanding global marketplace," President George Bush declared in a press conference announcing the signing of the pact. He hailed NAFTA, saying it would strengthen the U.S. economic position in the world.

The treaty, the text of which has not yet been made public, was concluded after 14 months of negotiations. If approved by the legislatures of all three countries, it will take effect on Jan. 1, 1994.

The main elements of the proposed agreement are the following:

- Customs duties on nearly 10,000 products from tomatoes to car windshields will be eliminated, some immediately and others over a period as long as 15 years.
- Protectionist conditions were established to block Japanese and European companies with plants in Mexico from shipping their products duty-free to the United States.
- The treaty will open up Mexican banking, insurance, securities, and state-owned companies to U.S. and Canadian investment.

The owners of most large U.S. businesses — from Caterpillar to the Bank of America and textile companies like Guilford Mills Inc. — greeted the trade agreement enthusiastically. *The Wall Street Journal* said it would "create a free-trade zone stretching from the Yukon to the Yucatan."

The first industries to benefit are likely to be autos, textiles, electronics, telecommunications, and petrochemicals, all of which already have been expanding their investments in Mexico.

The pact has support in both the Republican and Democratic parties, although it is likely to be hotly debated in Congress. Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton stated, "I believe we could have a free trade agreement with Mexico that would be good for the country" but said he would do more than Bush to "save jobs" supposedly threatened by the accord.

Free-trade and protectionist capitalists

Because the United States remains the dominant economic power relative to its imperialist rivals in the world, Washington has been the biggest force for eliminating many of the existing obstacles to the free flow of U.S. capital and goods.

The wealthy U.S. and Canadian ruling families seek greater access to labor, raw materials, and markets in Mexico and the rest of the continent. The chairman of Eastman Kodak Co. expressed the hope that the pact would "unleash a surge of trading activity with Mexico, already our third-largest trading partner and fastest-growing market."

While stronger U.S. businesses favor such "free trade" policies to break down barriers to new markets, weaker capitalist interests have pushed for relatively greater use of protectionist measures as a weapon against their competitors.

Some of the loudest opposition to NAFTA has come from agribusiness, which is heavily protected with tariffs. The United States currently imposes more than 500 different tariffs on food imports, such as duties of 40 percent on frozen orange juice.

As a result of heavy lobbying by groups like the Florida citrus growers' association, NAFTA will maintain tariffs and quotas on almost half of agricultural trade between the United States and Mexico for a period of up to 15 years.

Other key components of NAFTA show that it is far from being a model of free trade. A "local-content rule" will allow cars to qualify for duty-free treatment only if 62.5 percent or more of their value is produced

in North America. This measure is aimed particularly against Japanese auto manufacturers, which have gotten a foothold in Mexico.

Stiff rules will require that textiles and garments be manufactured entirely in North America to be traded duty-free. Owners of U.S. apparel companies thus hope to shift more of the labor-intensive part of the clothing industry—such as cutting and sewing—away from Asia to Mexico.

Other textile manufacturers oppose the trade agreement, fearing it will sharpen their competition from Mexican companies.

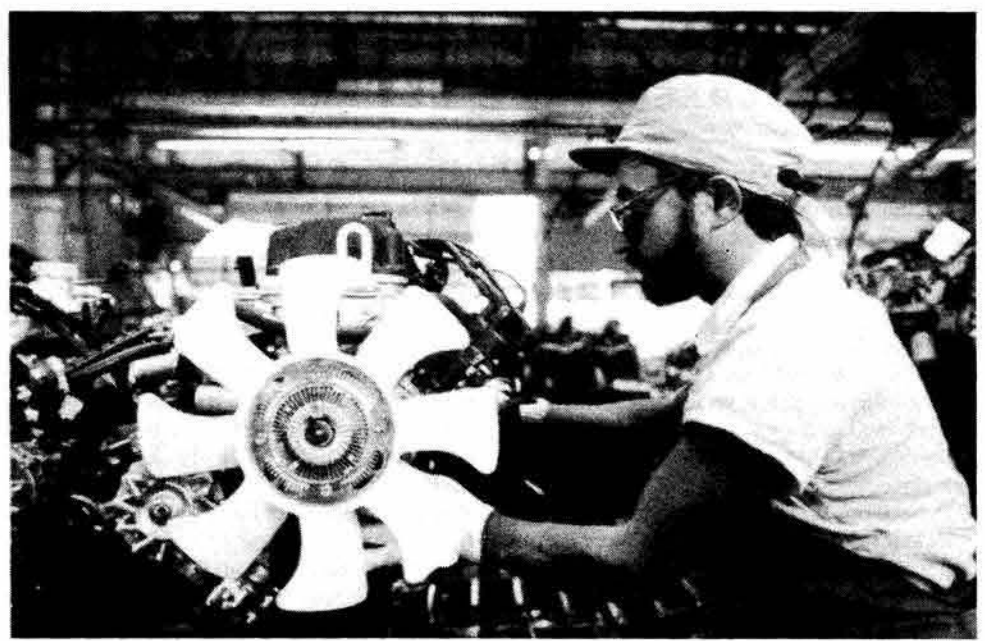
Canadian capitalists

The Canadian government entered into the NAFTA talks to maintain the conditions of its 1988 trade agreement with the United States.

More than 75 percent of Canada's trade is with the United States. This puts recession-battered Canada in a vulnerable position, given the sharpening trade wars between imperialist powers in the world. It hopes the agreement will reduce trade conflicts with the United States.

In addition, Canadian capitalists are competing for a bigger share of markets and investments in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

The trade agreements, however, cannot change the fact that U.S.-Canada trade conflicts continue to increase, not decrease. This intensifying competition is driven by the steadily dropping profit rates that have pushed the capitalist world into depression



Auto plant in Mexico. Signing of North American trade agreement will not stop increasing trade conflicts, especially between United States and Canada.

for the first time since the 1930s.

Several trade disputes between the two countries have exploded in recent months. In June, U.S. steel companies used antidumping laws to charge Canada and 20 other countries with dumping steel, that is, selling below cost. The Canadian government retaliated by naming U.S. companies as unfair sellers in Canada.

Such antidumping laws, now covering 10 percent of total U.S. imports, will allow U.S. companies to continue suing foreign businesses and slapping tariffs on them despite the "free trade" agreement.

Barely three weeks before the signing of NAFTA, Washington imposed a 50 per cent duty on beer from Ontario, in retaliation for "discriminatory" practices against U.S.-made beer. Washington has demanded huge retaliatory duties on shipments of Canadian lumber, carpets, and cars built in Canada by Japanese companies.

The government of Mexico has been eager to reach a trade agreement with its powerful imperialist neighbors. This is the Mexican capitalists' response to the world economic crisis, which has ravaged Mexico.

The real minimum wage in Mexico has fallen by more than half over the last decade. Official unemployment has risen to 18 percent and even more workers are underemployed.

Since the failure of a U.S.-sponsored debt-reduction plan, Mexico's foreign debt has again risen above \$100 billion. In the name of paying the debt, the government has slashed social programs, raised prices, and laid off thousands of workers.

'Free trade zones'

Since 1985 the government of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari has pursued pol-

Continued on Page 12

Socialist candidate: Defend Malcolm X school from racist threats in Detroit white enclave

BY ARLENE RUBENSTEIN

DETROIT — James Harris, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 15th District, demanded that "the Detroit school board and the city administration guarantee the absolute safety" of children at the Malcolm X Academy.

Harris was speaking at an August 11 school board meeting discussing the controversy over plans to open the public elementary school in Warrendale, a mostly white Detroit neighborhood.

The sharply divided meeting was attended by 500 residents of Warrendale. The big majority of the crowd opposed the academy's presence. They broke into loud applause when shouts like "Is this the forcible integration of Warrendale?" and "Open your school in a crack house" repeatedly interrupted school superintendent Deborah McGriff.

Dozens of Detroit police were on hand for the meeting and passively watched as groups of racist youths tried to intimidate the Black parents and teachers, as well as supporters of the academy from Warrendale who attended the meeting. Many Detroit police, who are required to be city residents, live in Warrendale.

The Malcolm X Academy is one of three such schools in Detroit that opened their doors in 1991-92 as all-male academies. A lawsuit by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Organization For Women Legal Defense Fund ruled that these schools must admit girls. The school has a regular curriculum but uses methods which its supporters describe as "African-centered" with a "Rites of Passage program of mentors, tutors, and extended school activities." Many teachers at the school are members of Teachers for African Centered Education.

The Malcolm X Academy was housed previously at the Woodward Elementary School; the Leslie Elementary School in Warrendale was chosen as the new site for the Academy, according to McGriff because, "it was the only available building in repairable condition."

More than 170,000 students are enrolled in the Detroit public school system. Ninety percent are Black. The high school graduation rate for females in Detroit is about 60

percent and about 45 percent for males.

According to a report by the Children's Defense Fund, based on the 1990 census, 46.6 percent of children in Detroit live in poverty, a 6.7 percent jump since 1979. Detroit is number one on a list of 168 cities in the United States for children under 18 who live in poverty — homes with incomes under \$9,885 a year for a family of three.

Meeting condemns racist attacks

The opposition to the academy has sparked a response in Detroit's Black community. The Detroit NAACP called a "Community Support Meeting for the Malcolm X Academy and for the Education of All Our Children, on August 11, which was attended by over 250 people. This followed the school board meeting. Speaker after speaker condemned the racist attacks. Participants at the meeting included Detroit school board president Frank Hayden; Ernest Lofton, international vice-president of the United Auto Workers union; Helen Moore, of Black Parents for Quality Education; candidates for public office, and others.

Tandrea Black, president of the Malcolm X Academy parents' organization, explained, "I believe those people's threats. We are concerned with the safety of our children." Black said that although parents believe they have a right to the Warrendale site, "If we move into a neighborhood where we'd have a culturally compatible climate, we would consider that a victory."

Others at the meeting disagreed. "I am opposed to moving, tired of running. We should let everyone in the world know about this," said William Washington. One parent of a Malcolm X Academy student said in an interview that she would take her son out of the school if it was moved. "It's about fight, self-respect, and dignity."

Several committees were set up, including a committee to organize monitors to protect the children while they are attending school. Fifty-five people volunteered.

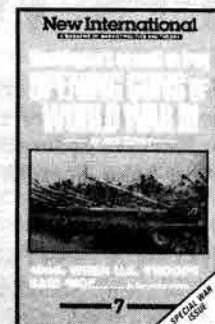
Socialist candidate Harris also participated in the community meeting. "Allowing the racists to determine where and when Black children will be educated would be a

big blow," Harris said in an interview. "All working people — Black and white — should join with the parents and students of the Malcolm X Academy in this fight." Harris signed up to be a monitor, and is encouraging abortion rights activists and union members, as well as his campaign supporters, to sign up and be part of this effort to defend the academy.

Arlene Rubenstein is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 26 and a meat-packer at Thorn Apple Valley in Detroit.

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Kosovo faces repression from Belgrade

BY ANNE HOWIE
AND NATASHA TERLEXIS

PRISTINA, Kosovo — From the moment you enter Kosovo, tension is palpably in the air. At the approach to the area's main city, Pristina, all incoming and outgoing vehicles are stopped, boarded by armed police, and checked for young men evading the draft.

Kosovo is a plateau of good farmland surrounded by mountains. Ninety percent of its 2 million inhabitants are ethnic Albanians. As Yugoslavia disintegrates, a tug-of-war is going on over demands for independence raised by many Albanians in hopes of a better future and the attempts by the government of Serbia to maintain its control over the region.

The village homes in the area are built in the traditional manner, with interior courtyards surrounded by high walls. This predominantly agricultural area has seen considerable industrial development in the past four decades. It was a major producer of electricity for the former Yugoslavia and is the site of coal and other mines.

Today factories surrounding Pristina seem to be closed for the most part with broken windows and tall grass in the yards. Around a stark center of government buildings wind communities of pre-fabricated housing dotted with small shops and cafes. Police guards in town carry semi-automatic weapons and a tank stands at the entrance of the police station. Photographs of the city center are not permitted.

The victorious partisan struggle against Nazi occupation in World War II turned into a deep-going revolution, actively involving hundreds of thousands in Yugoslavia. Farmers and working people from the cities of all nationalities, including Albanians, participated. By the mid 1940s the vast bulk of the country's industry had been nationalized, while 95 per cent of arable land was distributed to small peasants who previously had none.

Gains under revolution

In the years that followed, Albanians were recognized as a distinct national group for the first time, their language became one of Yugoslavia's official languages, and Albanians won the right to education in the vernacular.

The country's first 5-year plan was inaugurated in 1947, including an allocation of additional resources to the more economically backward regions of Yugoslavia.

Flaka Surroi, member of the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF), based in Pristina, Kosovo, says that Kosovo realized the highest level of economic development since its existence following these measures.

In spite of this, Kosovo remains the poorest region of former Yugoslavia. According to Mihailo Markovich, a Serbian academician and vice-president of the ruling Serbian Socialist Party, if the average of leading economic indicators for all republics in 1980 were 100, then Kosovo would be at 28 as compared with Slovenia at 230. In the early '80s the economic situation began to deteriorate, Surroi explains.

In 1974 Kosovo was granted autonomous status following demonstrations demanding a republic.

"In 1981 student demonstrations revived the demand for the status of a republic within the federal state of Yugoslavia," Surroi explained. "Such ideas were met with increasing repression." The authorities claimed the Albanian government was behind these demands. Writing the slogan "Kosovo Republic" usually carried a sentence of six years, according to the Minority Rights Group based in London. Since 1981 Serbs and Montenegrins have emigrated from Kosovo, accusing ethnic Albanians of intimidation. Since 1985 the situation of Serbs in Kosovo began to feature prominently in the Serbian press, the rights group says. In 1987, 60,000 Serbs signed a petition, alleging "genocide" against Serbs in Kosovo.

The Minority Rights Group reports that "there appears to be no basis for the highly emotive charge of genocide."

Serbian nationalism promoted

In the 1990 elections in Serbia, the former Communist Party, renamed the Serbian Socialist Party, won by a landslide. President Slobodan Milosevic ran on a program of uniting Serbia once again, protecting Serb minorities in other republics, and deepening moves toward the market system. The same year nationalist regimes came to power in the other republics of former Yugoslavia, promising greater economic prosperity. Their moves to secede from Yugoslavia were accompanied by restrictions of the right of these nationalities.

In Serbia, the alliance of opposition parties which is presenting a program of ousting the Milosevic government and stepping up efforts to stop the war in Bosnia shares the view that Kosovo should remain part of the republic of Serbia.

In 1988 the Serbian government began the process of changing the constitution of Serbia, in order to eliminate Kosovo's autonomous status. This was complimented in July of 1990, when Belgrade cracked down,

dissolving the Kosovo parliament.

Strikes and demonstrations rocked the area in response to each turning point in this process, followed by more repressive measures against the population.

"Five hundred thousand Albanians demonstrated in Pristina in November 1989," says Surroi. This was followed by strikes of construction, mine, and other workers.

The Independent Trade Union of Kosovo

private shops as well. But in the following months, 64,000 workers were dismissed, and many shops were forced to close for 6 months to a year." Surroi explains that it is no small matter for the union to function today, since it has "200,000 members — all of them fired."

Workers dismissed have "no access to any form of social security payments." Many live on food sent to the towns by



Protest by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo in early 1990. Crackdown by Serbian government has sparked strikes and demonstrations over the last few years.

(ITU) was formed in 1989. Starting with construction workers, it began to recruit members in all industries and services, disillusioned by the unions dominated by the former Communist Party, which were not seen as representing the interests of Albanian workers.

The membership of ITU, according to Surroi, includes "only a small number of Serbs, maybe four or five." The ITU, in September 1990, organized a one-day general strike protesting the new labor law. "Most of industry shut down, and 3,000

relatives and others in the countryside. Thousands have sought work abroad.

Surroi stated that 1,657 medical personnel have been dismissed, all Albanians, leading to the closure of 38 clinics in Pristina alone. "Many medics now work on a voluntary basis."

For more than a year now, Albanian language schools — from elementary schools to Pristina's university — have been closed. Previously, Kosovo had a parallel school system in both Albanian and Serbo-Croatian.

Continued on Page 12

Baltimore martial law proposal sparks debate

BY MALCOLM JARRETT
AND YVONNE HAYES

BALTIMORE, Maryland — A debate broke out here at an "anticrime summit" organized by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

George Buntin, executive director of the Baltimore NAACP, promoted the group's proposal that martial law be declared in parts of the city. "What we really want is the National Guard troops, but we want [the city] to control it," he said.

The July 29 meeting took place in the wake of several shoot-outs in the streets. Among the bystanders killed or wounded have been children and infants. Fearful of allowing their children to play outside, some workers call the streets a war zone.

The "summit" at Mount Sinai Baptist church drew a standing room crowd of more than 400 — workers from the neighborhoods, community activists, church and NAACP leaders and city officials. Participants entered the building through a phalanx of uniformed cops, and had to file past them inside the church to reach their seats. Uniformed police, three rows deep, were also seated in the choir stalls on one side of the front of the church alongside the mayor, several city council members, and other officials.

Buntin opened the meeting, explaining that the call for martial law was made to "get people's attention" and recruit them to the NAACP. He said that the NAACP does not favor the suspension of civil liberties that accompanies martial law, but pointing to recent events in Los Angeles, he said, "When the troops were on the corner, we didn't have shooting in the streets."

"Suggesting the imposition of martial law — even just to 'get peoples attention' or calling for more cops is extremely dangerous," responded John Gaige, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Maryland, in an interview after the meeting. "These measures strip working people of the rights we have fought for and won, and

destroy our ability to use those rights in our current battles against racism, cop brutality, economic injustice, and war."

At the meeting a floor microphone was opened up to victims of the shootings and others from the community to express their views. The first to take the floor was the mother of three-year-old Andre Dorsey, killed by stray bullets a month ago just a block from Mount Sinai Church. She described the devastation her family had suffered. Following a few speakers, the mike was turned over to half a dozen area ministers. Each sounded familiar themes: the solution to crime, the drug trade, and the presence of weapons in the streets is faith and family. "Afro-American men need to stand up and be men, begin taking care of our women, respecting our women," said one preacher.

All of them called for better collaboration with the police and government officials.

A speaker from the floor picked up on the ministers' views, saying that responsibility for the drug trade lies with parents who should begin to bring their children up right, and should turn them in to the authorities if they appear to be involved with drugs.

Each speaker who called for more cops was met with a mix of applause and boos, cheering and jeering. Some speakers were shouted down. One or two speakers from the floor pointed out that the drug trade is big business, and placed responsibility for the influx of drugs on Washington's doorstep. "It was cocaine money from the streets of our cities that financed the arms for the contras," one community activist said. Rather than meeting to discuss martial law, we need a tribunal to expose the real criminals."

A minister of the Nation of Islam offered up his program as a solution. He pointed to the example of Washington, D.C., where the Nation of Islam mobilized its forces in several neighborhoods to police the streets and educate people in the Muslim religion.

With a long line of people from the community still waiting to speak at the floor

mikes, the meeting was wrapped up with responses by Mayor Kurt Schmoke and Police Commissioner Edward Woods.

Woods cited programs already in place to control guns and establish a "violent crimes task force."

Mayor Schmoke said the city is hiring more cops and that he supports federal legislation to convert old military bases into national "boot camp" prisons for youth.

More cops is no solution

SWP candidate Gaige was among those left standing at the microphone when the meeting was shut down.

"None of the speakers tonight offered a perspective for working people," Gaige said. "Their ideas — faith, family, and more cops — are the solutions raised by the enemies of working people, from Bush and Clinton to Perot, Buchanan and Duke."

"The real criminals are the employers and the source of crime and violence is their system, which daily robs working people of the wealth we create, and which is responsible for violence and carnage from the killing fields of Iraq to the streets of Baltimore," the socialist said. "Instead of calling for more cops, we need to set our sights on building a working-class movement to fight for jobs, affirmative action, an end to racist and sexist discrimination, and against the march toward war in Iraq and Yugoslavia."

"A fight for working-class solutions would begin to rebuild human solidarity and would reduce violence within our communities," Gaige stated. "The real lesson of Los Angeles is not that we need troops in the streets but that we need a leadership that will organize a fight to defend the Rodney Kings and other victims of the criminal capitalist system."

Malcolm Jarrett is a warehouseman and member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Yvonne Hayes is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 14019. Jarrett is running for Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.



ANC leader on campaign of mass action

'Central question in negotiations is the transfer of power,' says Mnumzana

The following interview with African National Congress leader Neo Mnumzana was conducted July 15 in Johannesburg, South Africa, by Estelle DeBates and Greg McCartan.

Mnumzana is a member of the Secretariat's Office of ANC president Nelson Mandela, political assistant to ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Chairperson Oliver Tambo, and head of Foreign Policy Research for the ANC. In the Department of International Affairs, he directs work in Europe and the Americas.

Question: Could you explain why the African National Congress has called the campaign of mass actions and what its goals are?

Answer: The campaign of mass actions has four objectives. One is to impart a greater sense of urgency around the need to search for a peaceful resolution to the South African conflict. Another is to generate political pressures in support of the peace process.

Third is to campaign against the scandal and corruption in which the government is involved and at the same time to campaign against the illegitimacy of this government. The fourth objective of the campaign is that it become an instrument of political education around issues that affect the masses in their daily lives. The campaign will try to show how, in a democratic society, some of these issues can be resolved and how a democratic society can create the only basis for a lasting solution to some of these problems.

In this process people prepare themselves for democracy in terms of their ability to function effectively in making their will known. This also ensures that democracy is not a one-shot thing but a continuing process. Ultimately, the objective of progressive forces is to go on struggling to ensure that democracy becomes more effective and more democratic all the time.

As far as its impact on the government is concerned you have to draw a distinction between its tactical impact and strategic impact. Tactical impact would be defined in this case as getting the regime to be a more responsible party to the negotiations — recognizing its own limitations, its illegitimacy, and persuading it to say that it cannot hold the entire process of democratization ransom to the strength of its weakness.

We think, for example, it is very counter-productive for the regime to go to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] and say, "After all, we are the legitimate government and we cannot be persuaded to surrender power."

Tactically, you want to push the regime so it shifts from that position.

Two, you want to create a situation where it becomes clear even to the regime that it no longer has the initiative. The initiative is passing into the hands of the democratic process. You want to be able to do this by ensuring that the masses, through this campaign of mass action, send a signal to the regime saying: "We cannot afford your time-delay tactics. Too much is at stake. What is at stake is more than the survival of your party, but the future of the whole country." This is the message that must come from the masses.

Show where power resides

In terms of the strategic impact you are actually aiming at a transformation of the political playing field in the country. You do this by making it clear that even though in formal terms power resides in the hands of the regime, in terms of history, it is the people who have the power in their hands — they've got the power to force the regime and the government to grind to a standstill.

We have economic power which can be translated into political power in favor of the process of democratization. In the process you are isolating the regime and showing that it is becoming an increasingly minor player in the situation. This is essentially the strategic impact of the campaign of mass actions.

It's important having said that to underline that the target of the campaign is not the regime but bringing apartheid down and creating democracy. The regime is incidental to that enterprise and is significant to the

extent that it remains a political force — not as powerful as it was four decades ago and certainly on its way out — but still significant enough not to be walked over unduly.

The objective is democracy. That is the ultimate impact we hope the campaign of mass actions will have on the current situation: to transform it, to speed up the process of transition and democratization, and to install a democracy in the country.

Q: What does the ANC mean when it says it is fighting for majority rule?

A: By majority rule we mean a system in



Militant/Margarethe Siem

African National Congress leader Neo Mnumzana

which the majority not only has the right to express itself freely, but that the system has an obligation to translate that expressed will into a dispensation which advances the legitimate interests of the majority.

A democratic majority

When we talk about a majority we are talking about a democratic majority, a democratic majority which recognizes all fundamental human rights and which takes a nominative position against oppression and exploitation in whatever form against whatever section of society.

We also mean a democracy which recognizes its obligation not to obliterate minorities or to trample over their fundamental human and civil rights.

Q: Could you say the government came to the brink of agreeing to these demands in the negotiations but then backed off? Is the outcome different from the ANC's expectations?

A: I think we were actually the victims of the momentum of expectations. You can cut out the process into three phases and see how, with each advance, expectations rose higher.

The first phase was the expression of intentions and commitment of the different political parties in terms of those intentions. As they say, the road to hell is paved with good intentions. So Codesa I was basically good intentions. Everyone said, "Yes, we want democracy, we are through with apartheid."

We tended to read too much into that little agreement.

The next phase was the deliberation on form, forms through which you were going to translate these intentions into reality. In this specific case it was going to be the form that the process of transition should take in terms of governance. And again there were, relatively speaking, no problems in terms of fundamental differences between the various parties. Everybody said, "yes, of course," we will have a two-phase continuum of governance. In the first phase we'll

have an appointed government and the next phase would be to elect an interim Parliament whose major task would be to draft a constitution.

But even when discussing form you are not actually discussing constitutional issues — the understanding being that those issues will become more relevant the more you move toward the creation or election of this interim Parliament, which will be the body which will discuss constitutional issues. As far as the agenda is all about form there is no problem.

With the exception of Working Group II of Codesa, which dealt with constitutional issues, the work of the five working groups were almost all deliberating on form and procedure. This is where the problems that led to the collapse of Codesa II first manifested themselves.

We went through intentions and we went through forms relatively easily. People said, "Oh, it is just a matter of time before we jump ahead on substantial issues." It didn't happen. We ran into a snag in Working Group II because it raised the issue which is central to the whole exercise of the negotiations — the issue which is intimately linked to the objective of our struggle: the question of transfer of power. This is at the heart of the whole constitutional exercise.

Question of power

When you talk about the creation of a united, nonracial, nonsexist, and democratic South Africa it is implied that sooner or later the forces of racism, the forces of minority domination, must surrender their power. They must surrender their power in order to empower the process of democratization. This is the issue that Working Group II ran into.

There had been intimations on how the regime was going to relate to this issue and it had come up before. In 1989 the regime issued their five-year plan and they said, "OK, apartheid must go." But they said as well that there must be a democracy that ensures the rights of the minorities are not violated, that they are protected. They were talking about "group rights."

We pressed them to explain what they meant by group rights. It turned out they based this whole notion of power-sharing on the ludicrous assumption that the people of South Africa are a very uneasy aggregate of incompatible racial and ethnic minorities. In other words, you cannot talk about a majority in South Africa because whoever you are — either racially or ethnically — you come from a group which is a minority.

We were very quick to say to them that they are making a fundamental mistake in equating a demographic majority with a democratic majority. A democratic majority transcends racial and ethnic bounds in the sense that it unites people who defend democracy and who want to build a democracy. This has nothing to do with whether you are white or Black, Xhosa, Zulu, or whatever.

The assumption behind this power-sharing proposal was fundamentally flawed and has nothing to do with what needs to be done in this country. If anything, it is actually a throwback to apartheid, which, if you like, has been a government of the minority, for the minority, by the minority, and through the minority. When you talk about power-sharing and an arrangement for the protection of minority group rights you are talking about apartheid.

They seemed to be retreating from that position for a while. We heard no more about that — not at Codesa I, not inside the working groups — but it came back on the eve of Codesa II and it came to full bloom at Codesa II itself. When we came to the question of the

size of majority you needed in order to take a decision on major or important questions they then said, "I would think you would need an 80 percent majority decision."

We had said a two-thirds majority decision would suffice because one, it has universal precedent. Two, South Africa itself agreed to a two-thirds majority in Namibia where the situation is arguably comparable to the situation in South Africa.

Even in the past in its own racist parliamentary experience the regime had successfully insisted on a 51 percent majority to decide on major issues of governance and constitution-making.

Minority veto power

We were hard put to understand where they had come up with this 80 percent majority and of course they couldn't explain it themselves. It then became very clear to us that we were seeing this insistence to protect group and minority rights in a new guise. Because when you say you need an 80 percent majority in order to carry a decision, instead of transferring power to the majority in terms of its ability to make decisions, you are actually transferring power to the minority enabling it in fact to frustrate the ability of the legitimate majority to make decisions. In all known parliamentary experiences it is difficult enough under normal circumstances to marshal a two-thirds vote on important issues. What more if you say 80 percent?

It became very clear that the regime was not only seeking to ensure that the minority retain the power to veto the will of the majority, but that the new dispensation would both guarantee the survival of the National Party and its continued wielding of power far in excess of its political strength, as measured by electoral performance.

We immediately understood that we had hit the jugular of the issue — the question of power. You might say that the contradiction of the fact that we seemed to be making progress at a miraculous rate from December last year to June this year came to the surface. In six months you moved from nobody talking to anybody into a situation in which people are talking together so well. We wished it could have happened. But when it didn't we understood that maybe we were too optimistic.

So that is where the whole question of negotiations is hung up, on the question of the transfer of power. The regime showed very clearly that it was not ready to surrender power in order to empower the process of democratization.

Q: What are the social and economic interests the regime seeks to protect in demanding such veto powers?

A: You remember the hysteria that was precipitated by the very mention of the possibility of nationalization. They were prepared to forget everything else you were saying and just latch onto this one thing, that the ANC might nationalize. That was an admission in the end that property was an important component in terms of the objective of our struggle, as well the objectives of those who are resisting — the forces of reaction.

In South Africa of course if you ask yourself a question, who are the people who have? the answer is: it is the minority. The people don't have. The majority of white people don't have. It is a very tiny minority which has and they naturally want to protect what they have. When you start to talk about redistributive justice, the first thing they think of is that they are going to lose everything they have won thanks to apartheid. So, they must have some power to frustrate efforts toward redistributive justice.

In the end it is about power and property, which are very closely interlinked.

Q: How do you respond to the charges in the press that the mass action campaign is a result of ANC president Nelson Mandela conceding to militant youth and trade unionists who are tired of negotiations?

A: Mass action campaigns in South Africa are as old as the ANC, if not older. What

would you call the defiance campaign of 1952, which was led by Nelson Mandela? In 1957 when the women of South Africa marched up to Pretoria to protest against pass laws, that was a mass action campaign. But nobody was saying at that time that the leadership of the ANC was succumbing to pressure of radical elements. Everybody recognized those campaigns were a very understandable part of the strategy of the national liberation struggle in South Africa.

The broad mass action campaigns to which the regime responded with things like the Sharpeville massacre — those were mass action campaigns. The things the students were doing in 1976 from June 16 — those were mass action campaigns. During the period of the state of emergency, from 1985 to 1989, the mass democratic movement struggled through mass action campaigns. So we are hard put to understand why people treat mass action campaigns as if they are a completely new thing in the South African lexicon of struggle. After all these decades of mass action campaigning, all of a sudden this indicates that the leadership of the ANC is succumbing to the pressure of radicals.

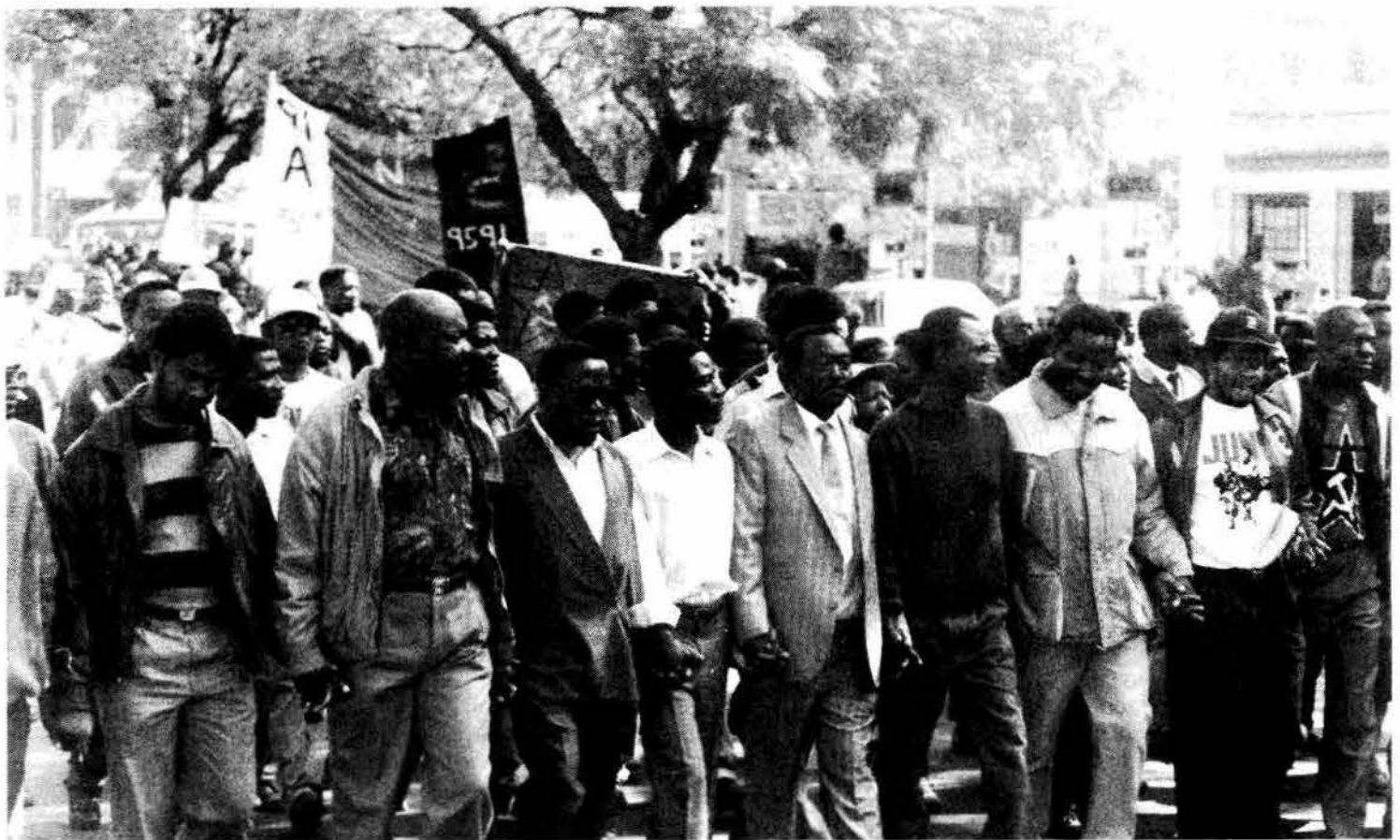
Attempts to divide ANC

And of course which radicals are you talking about? According to interested observers who could not be said to be impartial to apartheid, the ANC has always been divided one way or the other. Either we are divided between radicals and moderates, between communists and anticommunists, you could go down the line.

The one thing that has been constant is that none of those divisions have ever been made to fit the ANC. At one point the ANC was going to be divided between the hawks and the doves who were either opposed or in favor of the negotiation process, but we knew this wasn't going to materialize.

In a more general sense the ANC has not functioned like a monorail in struggle. We followed any number of tracks at any one given time, depending on the objective situation on the ground. And we have never thought that the different strategies we have used were mutually exclusive. In certain cases they were mutually reinforcing, as a matter of fact. When people say to you, "Negotiations are struggle," they mean it, because we are not negotiating for the sake of negotiating, we are negotiating for an objective, which is a democratic South Africa.

If at one point it is important to use armed



Militant/Greg McCartan

Cosatu march of 30,000 in Pretoria, July 13, 1992. Mass action campaign reaches out to millions of working people.

struggle for that objective then armed struggle is used; if the situation is transformed and we think there is a chance to move even further toward that objective through negotiations we use negotiations. There is no discontinuity, just a shifting of tracks — a different packaging of strategic options with the intention of always moving forward. So there is no question of radicals or whatever prevailing upon the leadership to abandon one track in order to adopt another.

Move the struggle forward

There is a very simple reason for launching the campaign of mass actions — to carry the struggle forward. All of us in the ANC would get very worried, for instance, if we began to say, "Shouldn't we compromise on the objective of a united, nonracial, nonsexist, and democratic South Africa? Okay, maybe we could have a nonracial, united South Africa, not necessarily a democratic or not necessarily a nonsexist South Africa." Then we would be in serious trouble.

But as long as you don't hear that objective has been subject to alteration it simply means the forces are on track in struggle and the struggle is moving forward.

Q: This mass action campaign is unprecedented in its scope and participation. What steps has the ANC taken over the past two

years to make this possible?

A: It is the transformation of the situation itself which is undoubtedly the fruit of the efforts of the people in struggle.

The fact that the ANC is unbanned — along with all the organizations of the people — and that you don't just have to stop at making a general appeal to an indiscriminate body of people has made an enormous difference. Today you talk to your own membership — whether it be the membership of the ANC, Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], or the party [South African Communist Party] and say, "Okay, we are going into this mass action campaign and you, in your millions, are going to be the disciplined, cutting edge of this campaign." That hasn't happened in South Africa since the ANC was banned in 1960.

The fact that it is now possible to throw in millions of people who are disciplined members of progressive organizations is what makes the difference.

Q: Since the unbanning of the ANC broader layers of the population have been drawn to its ranks, including from the middle class. Recently five members of Parliament who belonged to the Democratic Party joined the ANC. Has the ANC become more or less of an organization that is made up of and represents workers and rural toilers?

A: There is no way it can be less. In the past you can say with a lot of accuracy that a majority of people of this country are workers and peasants. Today you can go further and say that, with the rapid growth of the labor movement, this majority that has always been there has become the most highly organized political formation. If you are talking about majority rule, which majority are you talking about if it does not include the workers and the peasants?

If it is understood that majority rule means a system which facilitates the transformation of the will of the workers into reality, insofar as this is directed at improving their circumstances in life and providing them the necessary security, then of course you have to take the workers and peasants more seriously.

Millions support ANC campaign

Q: Has the ANC been successful in winning a broader layer of the population to support it, even if they have not yet joined?

A: Each member is expected to be a leader of this campaign to ensure discipline, consistent political direction, and continuity. If you want to use the multiplier factor you can say that for every ANC member that you can deploy on the picket lines or behind the barricades you can count on at least six more non-ANC people who are supporters. You can count on maybe 20 more people who are not necessarily supporters of the ANC, but identify with the objectives of the campaign. So, in terms of scale and quality it really is unprecedented.

Q: When visiting the Venda Bantustan we spoke with an ANC leader who said more

people are joining the organization since the mass action campaign began. Is this true across the country?

A: The campaign is going to further politicize an already politicized situation. It's going to do this in rather specific ways: tying people's day-to-day concerns to the objectives of the struggles, showing people why under the present circumstances certain things are not possible, and how under different circumstances these things will become possible.

It more than supplements the type of political education you make available to members of the ANC because now you are literally politicizing the whole country. So in a way, this campaign cannot but help being a recruitment drive for the triple alliance [the ANC, Cosatu, and SACP]. We fully expect that at the end of the campaign the ranks of the ANC and the other organizations which are members of the triple alliance will have swelled significantly.

Campaign of education for democracy

As I said at the beginning, we want to see this campaign as a campaign of education for democracy. If it is going to be that, we are going to popularize the political positions of the ANC and increase our ranks. Since we've committed ourselves to a cause which might go via elections, the more troops we have the better, in terms of the chances of having our positions prevail in the end.

Q: Is this one of the reasons business organizations and the government have come out against mass action?

A: In a general sense I think that is a concern, but in a more specific sense what is important to them is that the campaign is going to hit them where they keep their hearts — in their pocketbooks. That is their main worry.

The government is concerned that the mass action campaign will leave it completely stripped of the power to govern. Once you have a government that cannot govern, you don't have a government. I don't know any government that has been inclined to commit suicide.

They would have no problems with the mass action campaign if the objectives of our struggle did not pose a direct threat to the monopoly of property and the use of property to deny people their fundamental human and civil rights and to maintain their regime of repression and exploitation — they would have no worry.

If this was a mass action campaign for the purpose of bringing more people into the Christian movement, they would finance it. There would be no talk about how it might spawn violence or accentuate the economic crisis — there would be no problem there. But the campaign is putting their real interests on the line. Sooner or later you'll be able to see who is on what side and who stands for what. I think this is what lies behind the hysterical response of the government.

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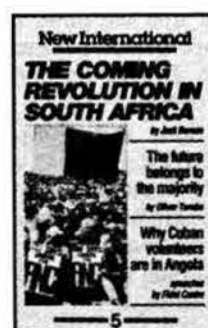
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TV program exposes New Zealand cop frame-up

The Remand of Ivan Curry: Television New Zealand documentary, produced by Keith Hunter. 64 minutes.

BY JAMES ROBB

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — "The Remand of Ivan Curry" tells the story of how an innocent man spent two

IN REVIEW

years in prison on account of a phony confession concocted by the New Zealand police.

In 1988, police in Wanganui were called to investigate the death of a 15-month-old boy, Curry's nephew. Curry and his wife had been staying at the house where the boy and his mother lived. The boy's body was found with severe internal chest injuries. Curry had been alone in the house with the boy when he was last seen alive.

After interviewing Curry and the two women, the police arrested and charged Curry with murder, saying he had confessed to punching the boy. A further written confession, certified as true and correct and signed by Curry, was obtained at the police station. When Curry was committed for trial at a preliminary hearing, these two confessions

constituted the sole evidence against him.

Bail was denied on the grounds that Curry was a confessed child murderer.

Curry has been deaf since he contracted meningitis at the age of 12 months. He has never learned to speak in complete sentences, but communicates in isolated words and gestures.

Through reconstructions of the trial proceedings, interviews with Curry, his lawyers, interpreters, and friends, the documentary calmly and dispassionately reconstructs the process by which the full and literate confession statements were constructed by the police. An interpreter for the deaf explains how he himself wrote the final sentence of the statement and instructed Curry to copy it word by word.

The documentary also reveals the most probable explanation of the child's injuries: when his mother and aunt returned home to find the boy unconscious, they attempted, frantically and forcefully, to apply cardiopulmonary resuscitation.

Three days after Curry's arrest, the two women went to the police station to discuss this possible cause of death. No record of this meeting was kept by the police, who considered the case "solved."

Curry spent almost two years in prison awaiting trial. During most of this time, he believed he had been jailed

for drunken driving. When by chance another deaf prisoner was able to explain to him that he had been charged with the boy's murder, Curry attempted suicide. When the case finally came to trial, a jury found him not guilty.

The screening of this documentary in July of this year sparked several days of public discussion in the news media. The Police Association criticized the documentary as "one-sided." Police Minister John Banks admitted that it "raises serious questions about police procedure," and referred the matter to the police complaints authority.

Much of the public discussion has centered on providing for the special needs of deaf people accused of crimes. While this is an important issue, the biggest question raised by "The Remand of Ivan Curry" is the credibility of police-station confessions as evidence.

This case throws doubt on the credibility of such confessions at a time when they are being used more widely to obtain convictions.

In March of this year, for example, a new precedent was set when an Auckland man, Kalefa Puaga, was convicted of rape solely on the basis of a confession videotaped while police were questioning him on an unrelated matter. No complaint was ever made. Puaga was sentenced to preventive detention — an indefinite sentence — in May.

Oregon rightists promote anti-gay rights vote

BY SETH GALINSKY

"The anti-gay rights referendum in Oregon is an attack on the rights of all working people," said Estelle Debates, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president. "This right-wing campaign is dead serious and must be answered."

DeBates was referring to a referendum that will be on the ballot in Oregon in November, backed by the Oregon Citizen's Alliance (OCA).

The Citizen's Alliance submitted 136,000 signatures, many more than the 89,000 minimum required to place the anti-gay rights Measure 9 on the ballot.

"State, regional, local governments... shall not be used to promote, encourage, or facilitate homosexuality, pedophilia, sadism, or masochism," Measure 9 states. It specifically instructs public school authorities and other government bodies to teach that homosexuality is "abnormal, wrong, unnatural, and perverse and that these behaviors are to be discouraged and avoided."

"Cultural diversity is the buzzword being used to make homosexuals full-fledged minorities that require civil rights protection," Lon Mabon, a leader of the OCA, told the *New York Times*. "Homosexuality is not a civil right, but an aberration."

As part of the propaganda campaign to back Measure 9, Mabon is using edited videotapes from gay pride marches, highlighting banners from the "Bay Area Sodomasochists" and "The North American Man/Boy Love Association."

In Colorado, a similar ballot initiative would amend the state constitution to prohibit "protected status" for gays and lesbians.

'A well-organized campaign'

The main organizers of the anti-gay rights referendum in Oregon are a group of conservative church leaders, said Carol Young, a spokesperson of the Campaign for a Hate Free Oregon, a statewide coalition fighting the measure, in a phone interview August 22.

"They are very well-organized," Young said. "And they are proud of their affiliation with Pat Robertson," a well-known right-wing preacher with a syndicated radio and television program, who also made an attack on gay rights a key part of his speech at the Republican Party convention in Houston.

The OCA has backed right-wing candidates for office, Young said, and backed efforts to restrict a woman's right to choose abortion.

Young noted that OCA attempts to link supporters of democratic and civil rights for gays to groups like the Man/Boy Love Association, which advocates the "right" of adults to have sexual relations with children. "That's already illegal," she stated. "You don't need some amendment to the constitution for this."

The OCA has set up the No Special Rights Committee to promote its anti-gay rights effort. One of its leaflets has subheadings like "Protecting our children from an unhealthy lifestyle," "No special rights for private behavior," and "Misuse of Public Funds."

"The whole point of these initiatives," DeBates said, "is to play on the fears, especially of the middle class, and invent scapegoats for the economic decline, insecurity, and social crisis of capitalism — in this case, homosexuals. We will see more attacks like these as the depression deepens."

"The proponents of Measure 9 tell out-right lies to win support," the socialist continued. "Gays and lesbians do not receive any special privileges in hiring, housing, or education, but in fact have been the victims of discrimination at all levels of government."

"It is also a slander," DeBates said, "to claim that defending the democratic rights

of gays and lesbians has anything to do with reactionary groups like the Man/Boy Love Association, which seeks to eliminate age-of-consent laws."

"Measure 9 has nothing to do with protecting children from sexual abuse," she stated. "Instead, OCA uses these arguments to try to intimidate anyone who does not agree with their right-wing agenda."

"The right to privacy is an essential democratic right won through hard struggle," DeBates explained. "The government should not be advocating, discouraging, or have any opinion whatsoever on consensual relations between adults."

"The OCA also wants to limit the right to free speech. They specifically target a 'les-

bian speaker' at Oregon State University to ban her from speaking," she noted.

The "No on Measure 9" effort to defeat the rightist initiative has garnered support from a diverse coalition, Young reported, including the Oregon State AFL-CIO, the Oregon Education Association, the Public Employees' Union, and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

"We need to get out the truth about this measure's attack on democratic rights," DeBates said. "We need to mobilize workers, unionists, students, and everyone we can to take on the reactionary views of the promoters of Measure 9. That is the only way we can defeat this initiative."

Imperialists weigh military role in Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

Slobodan Milosevic had just announced a series of across-the-board price increases. "Electricity went up by 67 percent, rail tickets by 80 percent, and the price of bread doubled," she said.

In a reversal of previous policy, the British government announced August 18 that it is ready to send 1,800 ground troops to Bosnia to escort UN convoys delivering food. Under a new NATO plan drafted in Brussels August 20, mechanized infantry forces would accompany UN convoys to Sarajevo from the Adriatic port of Split in Croatia. The NATO plan proposes a force of 6,000 to 11,000 troops.

The U.S. administration, however, remains hesitant to commit any ground troops to the conflict. U.S. officials say they are only prepared to give air cover to any ground troops deployed.

U.S. deputy secretary of state Lawrence Eagleburger said August 21 that Washington is worried the Yugoslav war might spread to the autonomous region of Kosovo in Serbia, and to the republic of Macedonia.

Onslaught continues in Bosnia

The war for the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina continues to rage. One side is led mainly by Radovan Karadzic's Serbian Democratic Party, with behind-the-scenes backing from Belgrade. The other side is led by Mate Boban's Croatian Democratic Union, which is supported more openly by the Croatian government.

As many as 200 homes are being destroyed every day. "Not only is there massive destruction of buildings but there are no windows left [in Sarajevo]," Charles Lamunier, director of the UN department of humanitarian affairs, told the *London Financial Times*. If the war persists, as many as 2 million people in Bosnia could be at risk from lack of food and heat when the cold winter months approach.

Karadzic's troops have consolidated control of some 70 percent of Bosnia. A corridor "cleansed" of nearly all Muslims and Croats now stretches 200 miles from Belgrade to the northwestern Bosnian city of Bihac. The area under Karadzic's control has been named the "Serbian Republic of Bosnia-

Herzegovina," with Banja Luka as its capital.

Last week, anti-Muslim rioting in Bosanska Gradiska, 30 miles north of Banja Luka, claimed 500 lives. An official of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) told *Newsweek* that local authorities abetted the rioting by armed gangs.

"It was like a party," he said. "The crowd was going from house to house, throwing grenades in, lighting fires, and laughing." Local Serbian authorities categorically denied the claims, blaming the violence on a failed raid by Croats.

Opposition to these crimes is widespread. In some towns Serbians from Bosnia have protected prisoners held in detention camps from rightist militias, putting their own lives at risk. In many cases they are protecting old friends and neighbors on the other side of the prison fence.

There are no signs of an ebb in the months-long shelling of Sarajevo, Gorazde, Bihac, and other cities that remain under the control of Bosnian or Croatian army forces. Karadzic is using the bombardment as a negotiating card leading up to the London conference on the Yugoslav war, set to begin August 26.

The governments of France, Britain, and a few other countries are expected to support the division of Bosnia along ethnic lines as the way to achieve a quick end to the war. Washington says it opposes such a division.

In Kozarac, a town between Prijedor and the iron ore mine at Omarska, there were once 20,000 Muslims. Now, a reporter for the British *Economist* reports, it is destroyed.

Serb authorities in Bosnia told the UNHCR they had a list of 28,000 people who wanted to leave Bosnia "voluntarily." The hitch is that those departing can get exit papers only if they sign a document relinquishing all claim to their property and possessions.

"There is no ethnic cleansing," said Karadzic in a widely publicized interview, "but ethnic shifting. We are doing it to protect people." On August 21 Karadzic pledged he would attempt to close all

prison camps under his control and return property seized by force. But he insisted that refugees are fleeing of their own accord.

Croatian 'ethnic cleansing'

More evidence has begun to surface recently that Croatian government forces are conducting similar campaigns of "ethnic cleansing."

Ed Vulliamy, a reporter from the *Manchester Guardian*, visited a Croatian prison camp outside Capljina in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The camp was run by soldiers of the Croatian Defense Association (HOS), the military arm of the right-wing Croatian Party of Rights. The soldiers were dressed in black and sported Ustasha signs. Ustasha was a fascist group that headed a short-lived independent Croatia in collaboration with the German occupying forces during World War II.

In this and other camps many Serbs, "including civilians, are being held in harsh and humiliating — though not inhuman — conditions," he wrote. It is not only HOS that is holding undeclared civilian prisoners. "At another camp run by the official Croatian military police, men and women who say they are civilian captives are also held, in defiance of the Geneva Convention," he added.

The International Committee of the Red Cross recently stated that "innocent civilians" are being held in inhumane conditions in camps run by Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim forces.

Croatian police have also begun rounding up male Bosnian refugees in Croatia, most of them Muslim, and shipping them back to Bosnia for forced induction into military units fighting Karadzic's army. Mate Granic, a Croatian government vice-president, acknowledged August 18 that the practice violated the rights of those involved but claimed it was necessary to head off a social explosion in Croatia.

"It's forcible mobilization," Mefail Jasikovic, a cook from the northern Bosnian city of Prijedor, told the *New York Times*. "You have no idea whose army you will end up in. Private army? Who knows?"

Fund to reconstruct Pathfinder print shop

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

One of the highlights of the International Socialist Conference held August 5-9 in Oberlin, Ohio, was a slide show and feature presentation entitled, "Reconstruction of the Pathfinder Building — Expanding the Revolutionary Arsenal." Close to 850 people attended the conference.

The presentation included an appeal for funds to complete the reconstruction and modernization of the Pathfinder Building.

Located in New York City, the Pathfinder Building houses the editorial and business offices of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, and Pathfinder Press, the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party, and the Pathfinder print shop.

Rebuilding the Pathfinder print shop is the final, and most challenging, stage of the reconstruction project. The upgrading will provide clean and modern surroundings, with more space, better lighting, and a safer factory environment.

The International Expansion Fund was launched in August 1990. It makes possible major capital expenditures designed to strengthen the ability of the communist movement to produce the political weapons needed by working-class fighters to chart a course against the ravages of capitalism.

Contributions to the fund have come from such sources as trust funds, insurance payouts, inheritances, buyouts, and contract-signing bonuses. They have ranged in size from the minimum of \$1,000 to one donation of \$200,000.

Expansion fund coordinator David Prince reviewed the tremendous response the campaign fund has thus far received. Prior to the start of the International Socialist Conference \$1.8 million had been pledged by 169 contributors, with more than \$1.6 million of this collected. This included \$311,000 from rail workers in the United Transportation Union who contributed as a result of buyouts and signing bonuses. It also included nearly half a million dollars from supporters in Britain, Canada, France, Sweden, and New Zealand.

An additional \$1 million dollars will be needed to complete the reconstruction of the print shop and to purchase new printing equipment.

At the conference more than a quarter of a million dollars was raised in pledges toward this project. A portion of this came from further pledges of \$1,000 or more to the International Expansion Fund. Another \$120,000 was raised at a special session following the slide show in which everyone at the conference participated. This session launched the George Novack Pathfinder

Building Reconstruction Fund.

Novack, who died July 30, was a leader of the communist movement in the United States for nearly 60 years, and was closely associated with the publishing work of the Socialist Workers Party.

The launching of the Novack Reconstruction Fund took the form of a lively — and very noisy — auction, as master of ceremonies Craig Gannon, who is the director of the reconstruction project, called out for pledges of different amounts.

The George Novack Pathfinder Building Reconstruction Fund has a deadline of December 1 for payment of pledges. Results will be published in the *Militant* starting next week.

Openings for communist ideas

As part of the slide show *Militant* staff writer Argiris Malapanis reviewed the international trips undertaken during the past several months by socialist campaigners and *Militant* reporters to South Africa, Japan, Cuba, Nicaragua, Yugoslavia, Brazil, and Argentina.

"Communists have turned outward all over the world to meet youth and working people resisting the future offered by capitalism," Malapanis stated. "Today there exist the biggest openings in our lifetime to get communist literature in the hands of fighting youth and working people around the world."

Alan Harris, who has been centrally involved in promoting Pathfinder literature in Britain for the past two decades, explained, "Today, Pathfinder books, pamphlets, and *New Internationals* are read, studied, and discussed by a growing number of vanguard workers, farmers, and youth around the world, who are hungry for literature that points the way forward. Wherever we seriously promote Pathfinder titles, it leads to increased sales."

During the past six months, orders for Pathfinder books from large wholesale book distributors such as Waldenbooks, Ingram, and Baker and Taylor have substantially increased, Harris reported. Sales by major commercial bookstores account for the vast majority of Pathfinder's sales.

The remainder of Pathfinder's sales come from the 36 Pathfinder bookstores around the world, whose supporters take literature tables to a great variety of political activities, workplaces, and university campuses.

The distribution of Pathfinder books in South Africa has taken a giant leap forward, Harris stated. Recently a long-established publisher and distributor based in Cape Town signed a contract to sell some of



Militant/L. Paltrinieri

Working on the floor of the new Pathfinder print shop bindery

Pathfinder's most popular titles.

"The world is opening up further for Pathfinder," said Harris, "as is shown by the orders we have received in the last weeks from a book distributor in Japan for 600 Malcolm X titles . . . and by the dozens of orders and letters we receive from military bases, from individual soldiers, and other workers in uniform."

Harris outlined the new titles Pathfinder will be producing in the coming months. A Spanish-language edition of the *Communist Manifesto* has just been published. Coming soon will be the French-language edition of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, by Carlos Tablada.

Other titles include: *Lenin's Final Fight*; *Malcolm X: February 1965, The Final Speeches*; *To Speak the Truth*, with speeches by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara at the United Nations; *Carlos Fonseca Speaks*; and a new issue of the journal *New International*, on the rise and fall of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Mamie Klement of Sydney, Australia, described her experiences participating in an international team that promoted Pathfinder literature at recent book fairs in Sydney and Havana, Cuba. "These exhibitions allow us to make contact with thousands of people at a time and to establish relations with buyers for bookshops, wholesalers, and libraries," she said.

During the past year Pathfinder has also participated in book fairs in London; Montreal, Canada; Tehran, Iran; and at the meeting of the American Booksellers Association in Los Angeles. In the next two months Pathfinder plans to attend major book fairs in Gothenburg, Sweden, and Frankfurt, Germany.

Pathfinder library project

One of the big accomplishments of the reconstruction crew this past spring was the renovation of the fourth floor of the Pathfinder Building, where the offices for Pathfinder Press and an attractive library are located.

"The library is a working tool for the production of our movement's periodicals, books, and pamphlets," explained Frank Forrestal, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. "What we have assembled in this library is an honest account of the gains, experiences, and fights of the Marxist movement." Among the invaluable items on file here are materials on the history of the Cuban revolution, the history of the workers' movement, transcripts of speeches by working-class leaders like James P. Cannon and Malcolm X, some 150 tape recordings of talks and classes given by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party from the 1940s through the 1970s, and much more.

Setting up the new library in the Pathfinder Building was a huge undertaking, explained Marilee Taylor, a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union from Newark, New Jersey. For seven weeks this spring, more than 200 supporters from 23 cities in the United States as well as from Britain, New Zealand, and Canada

volunteered their time and energy to work on this project.

(A full account of the achievement of the library project appears in the August issue of the *International Socialist Review*, available from the *Militant* for \$1.50.)

The print shop produces the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, and Pathfinder books. It also generates extra income through commercial printing.

The reconstruction of the shop bindery, which began in June, aims to create more space and an efficient modern printing facility. "As George Novack always explained, each expansion and improvement of our print shop prepares us for the bigger class battles and the bigger *Militant* runs to come," said Margaret Trowe organizer of the steering committee of the Pathfinder print shop.

For the shop reconstruction project to proceed while the print shop continued to produce, it was necessary to stop warehousing large volumes of paper in the limited floor space of the shop. "Our watchword now is 'just-in-time inventory,'" said Jason Redrup, a member of the shop steering committee.

To enable the reconstruction work to proceed rapidly, the entire warehouse section of the print shop was turned over to the construction brigade. This has meant placing in storage for the next 10 months several pieces of vital bindery equipment.

Once the plant infrastructure is in place, the next target will be to upgrade the printing equipment. A centerpiece of this effort will be the reconstruction of the four-unit web newspaper press, which is more than 20 years old.

'Rebuilding every square foot'

"We are rebuilding every square foot of the existing print shop," explained Ken Riley, a member of the reconstruction crew. "We have just built a new entrance between the two buildings in the print shop and dug a pit for the installation of a new 10,000-pound lift table and stairway." This will make the movement of equipment and materials between the printing and bindery areas faster, easier, and safer. Plans are also in the works to expand the mezzanine on the shop's second floor, which will add an additional 600 square feet for production.

Riley described several of the other projects the crew has undertaken. It has been redoing the plumbing — tearing out old floor drains and laying new pipe — and installing a network of wires for the new phone and computer system.

"The biggest job we have right now is leveling the floor," Riley stated. There is an 18-inch drop in the floor from one end to the other. It will take several dump trucks full of sand and 10 or 11 truckloads of concrete."

"The construction crew is based on a simple, but deeply revolutionary concept — volunteer workers mobilized and organized in a brigade," said Peter Evans, a member of the executive committee of the reconstruction project. "The brigade stands on the best traditions of the world communist movement, and being a volunteer on it is a big political experience."

During the past 16 months, 89 people have participated in the brigade. Volunteers have come from cities throughout the United States as well as from Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden.

The brigade spans several generations of working-class fighters. To date, 24 brigade members have become candidates for membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Evans made a special appeal for skilled electricians, plumbers, brick masons, or carpenters with concrete-form experience to volunteer for the brigade for the next several months. This will be essential to increase the brigade's productivity for the successful completion of this final stage of the reconstruction project.

To contribute to the George Novack Pathfinder Building Reconstruction Fund, use the coupon below.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ to the George Novack Pathfinder Building Reconstruction Fund.

Name
Address
City State
Zip Phone

Send to George Novack Pathfinder Building Reconstruction Fund, 406 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Rescuing works of Marx, Lenin, in Moscow



Militant

Progress Publishers' warehouse in Moscow, where Pathfinder representatives are attempting to rescue works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin from pulping.

One of the projects funded by the International Expansion Fund is purchasing volumes of writings of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin from warehouses in Russia. These communist leaders of the working-class movement left a huge legacy in books and articles that incorporate the lessons of centuries of struggle and world politics.

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the ruling bureaucrats in Russia

finally abandoned all pretenses of being communists. They have since begun turning huge quantities of these valuable books into pulp.

Supporters of Pathfinder Press have gone to Moscow to rescue and ship back to the United States as many of these volumes as possible. Pathfinder will preserve and warehouse these books, and make them available to working class fighters throughout the world and all those who want to study these writings.

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

San Francisco

The Fight for Women's Rights Today. A panel discussion. Sat., Aug. 29, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Defend Abortion Rights! Stop Operation Rescue! Speaker: Jill Fein, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Defend Immigrant Workers' Rights! Hispanic Workers Threatened in Chamblee. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. S.W. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Pittsburgh Press Strike. Speaker: Sheila Ostrow, Socialist Workers Party, member, ILGWU Local 445 in Pittsburgh. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass Ave.)

North America free-trade pact

Continued from Page 6.

ities to open Mexico's economy to foreign investment. It has reversed many protectionist measures and sold off hundreds of state-owned companies.

"Free-trade zones" have been established, particularly along the U.S. border, where foreign-owned companies have set up 2,100 assembly plants known as *maquiladoras*. The companies are allowed to bring machinery and raw materials duty-free, exploit Mexican labor at the minimum wage of 68 cents an hour, and export the products back to the United States or Canada with reduced customs duties.

Free-trade policies have thus been an expanding reality in Mexico for several years before NAFTA. Trade with the United States has tripled since 1986. Some \$20 billion in foreign investment has poured into Mexico in the last year and a half alone.

While U.S. companies account for 60 percent of the foreign investment, a substantial amount is coming from Germany, Britain, and Japan.

Besides knocking down thousands of tariffs, the proposed pact would phase out Mexico's long-standing legal restrictions on foreign banks, insurance companies, and securities firms doing business there. U.S. oil companies will be encouraged to expand drilling services and production of petrochemicals, although the Mexican constitution still bars foreign ownership of oilfields.

For Mexican capitalists the new agreement also means greater access to U.S. markets and edging out its Latin American and Caribbean rivals. Salinas declared that NAFTA was "inevitable because we already have a very intense trade relationship [with the United States] and the agreement will bring order to that relationship. The longer it takes, the more it will benefit our competitors."

NAFTA will grant Mexico a 1.5 million-ton sugar quota, allowing it to outsell Caribbean sugar producers, who complained about this measure.

As in Canada and the United States, the current trade agreement is opposed in Mexico by a minority section of the capitalist class that favors heavier reliance on protectionism to defend its national class interests.

The trade union officialdom in the United States and Canada, and a wing of it in Mexico, oppose NAFTA, echoing the protectionist arguments of these bosses.

For example, U.S. Teamsters union president Ron Carey denounced the accord, saying it would allow employers "to

Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Celebrate the Life and Contributions of George Novack to Building the Communist Movement. Speakers: Doug Jenness, chairperson, Twin Cities SWP, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 15199; Charles Scheer, retired rail worker, worked with Novack in defending Minneapolis frame-up victims in 1940s, founding member of the SWP; Karen Stocks, member Youth for Warren and DeBates. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Open the U.S. Borders to the Haitian Refugees! U.S. Hands Off Haiti! Speakers: Dr. Rene Julien, Concerned Haitians and Friends; Fred Stanton, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

Iran and Neighboring Republics of the former USSR. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, recently visited Iran. Sat., Sept. 5, 7:30 p.m. 1622 S Broadway. Donation: \$5. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Hear Estelle DeBates, SWP candidate for U.S. vice-president. Fri., Aug. 28, 7 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

Reception and Open House with Estelle DeBates SWP candidate for U.S. vice-president. Mon., Sept. 7, 5 p.m. - 9 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 675-6740.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Defending Abortion Rights: On the Clinic De-

exploit workers on both sides of the border" and pollute the environment. Teamsters officials oppose the treaty because it would allow Mexican truckers to transport cargo into the United States; currently cargo must be transferred to U.S. trucks at the border.

While shedding tears over the plight of workers in Mexico, the union officials' real line, as the United Auto Workers magazine *Solidarity* put it in a full-page ad, is: "Keep Our Jobs Here." Their perspective is to tie the interests of workers to the profit concerns of their employers.

Meanwhile, the response of workers in Mexico has been of a different sort. In recent weeks, thousands of auto workers at the giant Volkswagen plant in Puebla have gone on strike to reject the employers' proposed concession contract. Some 20,000 textile workers have shut down 200 factories in central Mexico for more than a month, opposing company demands for speed-up and harsher work rules. Oil workers have also struck against proposed layoffs at the state-owned company.

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Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the Militant, Perspectiva Mundial, New International, Nouvelle Internationale, and Nueva Internacional.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079, 328-3314.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2552-B W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

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

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

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

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

MARYLAND: Baltimore: 2905 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 5019 1/2 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 831-1177.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway.

fense Lines in Houston. Hear an eyewitness report. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Stop U.S. War Moves Against Iraq! Speaker: Bob Bruneau, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 751A. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

New Zealand Workers: Ally or Enemy? Speaker: Brigid Rotherham, Communist League candidate for Mayor of Auckland, member, New Zealand Engineers' Union. Sat., Sept. 5, 6 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

BRITAIN

London

Yugoslavia—An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Anne Howie, participant in *Militant* reporting team to Yugoslavia. Sat., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993. **No More Gulf Wars!** Speaker: Communist League representative. Sat., Sept. 5, 7:30 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993. **How Millions Fight Apartheid Today: Eyewitness Report from South Africa.** Speaker: Shelia Kennedy, member of *Militant* reporting team to South Africa. Sat., Sept. 12, 7:30 p.m.

Belgrade represses Kosovo

Continued from Page 7

ation through all levels of education.

"The Albanians are not going to school because they don't want to study the history of Serbia," a Pristina-area Serb high school student said in an interview. "But they live in this country, they have to."

Surroi, on the other hand, said that the Serbian government introduced a new curriculum which was not accepted by Albanian teachers. "They were asked to sign a loyalty oath to Serbia, and were fired on refusal." Despite the fact that their diplomas are not recognized, says Surroi, students continue to receive instruction and to graduate out of the private homes of volunteer teachers.

Albanians killed

A CDHRF report states that "since 1989 the Serbian police and army arbitrarily killed 96 Albanians, mostly young people. Eighteen of the victims were minors. No police officers or soldiers have been arrested."

Many Albanian youth are due to be drafted into the army of Yugoslavia, which now comprises just Serbia and Montenegro. "Nobody wants to join up," says Surroi.

47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Sheffield

The Communist Manifesto Today. A Report from the International Socialist Conference held in Ohio. Sat., Aug. 29, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-729469.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Open the Borders to Yugoslav Refugees. A panel of speakers. Sat., Sept. 5, 7 p.m. 203 La Gonda Arcade, Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 793-075.

Christchurch

Union Resistance to the Employment Contracts Act. Sat., Sept. 5, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington

The 1992 International Socialist Conference: Report-Back by a Participant. Speaker: Brigid Rotherham, Communist League candidate for mayor of Auckland. Sat., Aug. 29, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

The Cuban Revolution Today. Sat., Sept. 5, 4 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

Why is the Abortion Issue Such a Headache for Bush? Speaker: Communist League representative. Sat., August 29, 4 pm. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

The UN sanctions against Serbia are hitting the people of Kosovo hard, after the economic dislocations of the past period. "People are really suffering now. The economic base just keeps going down and down," she adds.

Has she found support for the human rights struggle among the working people of Serbia? "I have given up looking to them for help," Surroi responds. "Things have gone too far. Only Albanians care about what's going on here."

On May 24 ethnic Albanians held parliamentary elections in Kosovo. The Serbian government refused to recognize these elections. Ninety six out of 130 seats went to the Democratic League of Kosovo, the new name of the Kosovo wing of the old Communist Party, which disintegrated.

Ibrahim Rugova, the party's president, recently held talks with Lord Carrington, the European Community envoy to Yugoslavia, as well as with the prime minister of Greece, seeking support for Kosovo's independence.

At present, the province is effectively under military rule by the Belgrade-controlled army. Government and economy are in the hands of the local Serb minority.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 071-928-7993.

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

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

CANADA

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

Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

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

MEXICO

Mexico City: Nevin Siders, Apdo. Postal 27-575, Col. Roma Sur. Mexico DF.

NEW ZEALAND

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

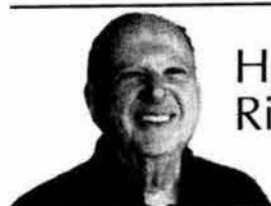
Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington: 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Postal address: P.O. Box 9092. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

SWEDEN

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

Sleep Well — "Federal regulators are asking owners of 37 nuclear



Harry Ring

reactors to implement short-term backup plans for monitoring possible meltdowns, after finding that a safety device used for that purpose could fail." — News Item

The can do system — The gov-

ernment is building a processing plant for nuclear weapons waste at a Savannah River site in Georgia. It's years behind schedule and, a federal study found, when it's finished, it may not work. Meanwhile, some of the world's most radioactive waste is stashed in 51 underground tanks at the site. Nine of these have already begun leaking.

Whack — In Harlem, where tobacco is reportedly the leading cause of adult deaths, a health coalition has placed ads throughout the New York subway system. The ad features a cowboy skeleton, suggestive of the Marlboro man, lighting a cigarette for a Black youth. "They used to make us pick it," the caption declares. "Now they want us to smoke it."

Cows need it more? — Johnson and Johnson, the pharmaceutical company, markets an anticancer drug that can cost as much as \$3,000 a year. According to CNN, American Cyanamid produces the very same formula for livestock. The cattle version goes for \$15 a year.

"If it's six o'clock this must be..." — tired of those ho-hum budget vacations? Check out the around-the-world flight in a supersonic Con-

corde. \$48,800 per person.

Share and share alike — The South American continent may be mired in poverty, but, *Forbes* magazine excitedly reports, it now boasts 22 billionaires in six countries. That's compared to 101 in the United States alone.

New beginning — When dictator Ferdinand Marcos and his spouse Imelda were booted out of the Philippines, she left behind 1,200 pairs of shoes. But apparently she's rebuilding her collection. In Hong Kong, she scooped up six pairs of crocodile shoes for \$5,806.

And what was your tax bill? — Former vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro and her spouse own a real estate company which netted \$162,468 last year. After totting up the deductibles, they paid \$1,263 in taxes.

Homes? Later — The United States boasts more golf courses than any other industrialized nation.

It figures — In the advanced countries of the West, researchers found, dog and cat food contains more riboflavin, niacin, vitamin A, and iron than the same quantity of refugee rations.

Court orders full payment of legal fees to Curtis

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

DES MOINES — "A big victory — both in my fight for justice and for all those battling against police injustice."

That was the response of Mark Curtis when his attorneys, Bill Kutmus and George Eichorn, told him that Federal District Court Judge Charles Wolle had ordered the City of Des Moines and police officers Daniel Dusenberry and Charles Wolf to pay more than \$60,000 to Curtis.

The monetary award concludes a federal civil rights lawsuit that Curtis had filed against the city and police three years earlier. Curtis charged that they had violated his constitutional rights by viciously beating him in the city jail on March 4, 1988. The cops beat Curtis after falsely accusing him of rape.

In ordering the payment of more than \$49,000 in legal fees and \$11,000 in compensation to Curtis, Judge Wolle rejected a challenge from Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the woman Curtis was accused of raping. The Morris' attorneys had asked the court to pay the money to the Morris family.

Curtis has explained from the beginning that he was framed-up on rape and burglary charges because of his union and political activities. He was arrested and beaten just hours after speaking out publicly in defense of 17 Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers.

Sentenced to 25 years in prison, Curtis remains a political activist in prison and is appealing his conviction in federal court.

"[Charles] Wolf and [Daniel] Dusenberry [the cops who beat Curtis] used excessive force against the plaintiff," Wolle had ruled January 17. "The court finds not credible the officers' testimony that plaintiff was trying to bite and kick them... Reasonable officers confronting the situation would not have believed it was necessary to strike plaintiff in the face and groin — and pummel him bloody — in order to remove his pants... [and]... a reasonable person would have known that the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments to the constitution prohibit the beating they gave plaintiff."

At that time, the City Council voted to take responsibility for the cops' actions. The week after the June 30 ruling, Kutmus and Eichorn, Curtis' attorneys, received checks from the city totaling \$63,909.35.

Largest award in years

Curtis' victory has made a significant impression in Des Moines. An article in the July 18 *Des Moines Register* reported that city officials acknowledged the Curtis award was the largest against the Des Moines cops in recent years.

According to a city report, Curtis' victory more than doubled the amount the city paid to settle or pay court-ordered awards involving police brutality since 1985.

"We believe this ruling will bring closer the day when Mark Curtis will win his freedom," John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, told the press. "The fact that the cops lied about beating him — and were found guilty in federal court — casts a pall over the entire arrest and conviction. It raises questions about the testimony of police officer Joseph Gonzalez, the central witness against Mark at his trial. And it raises anew the denial of his rights when the judge refused to allow the jury to know that Gonzalez had been suspended for lying and brutality in a previous case. It reminds us that the judge

refused to let the jury even be told that he had been beaten by police officers after his arrest — let alone the brutal and unprovoked character of the beating."

"For those who haven't heard of Mark Curtis or who have not really looked at the facts about his frame-up, this ruling will help us get a new hearing and win new support," Studer said.

Not everyone was pleased with Curtis' victory, which came in the middle of another fight against police brutality: the case of Larry Milton who was beaten by Des Moines cops in December 1991.

Political forces who back the police moved to attack and defuse the mobilizations in response to the police beating of Milton. The ruling in favor of Curtis became a central target.

Denise and Keith Morris had publicly backed the cops against Curtis' lawsuit. They attended the trial in the case every day, and explained they were there in support of the cops. They fraternized with them and the city attorneys.

Attorneys Stuart Pepper and Jeffrey Flagg, representing the Morris, filed papers with Judge Wolle demanding that the damages and attorney fees awarded to Curtis be denied him and given to the Morrises instead.

Pepper and Flagg based their motion on a civil suit they prosecuted for the Morrises more than two years ago. In this suit, the Morrises argued that Curtis' criminal conviction entitled them, as the parents of the alleged victim, to money damages. Polk

County Judge Arthur Gamble awarded a judgement of \$80,000 against Curtis to the Morrises.

When Curtis won his civil rights lawsuit against police brutality, the Morrises' attorneys moved. They said Gamble's ruling two years earlier entitled the Morrises to get all the award Curtis won.

The civil rights law under which Curtis won was written to provide that attorneys who prosecute such suits against government agencies be repaid for their efforts.

Political rights at stake

At issue is a crucial political right. If victims of government frame-ups and cop brutality are not able to use the funds they win in proving their civil rights were violated to pay their attorneys, they will find it much more difficult to get lawyers to take on their fight for justice.

In addition to the attorney fees in this case, Curtis owes his lawyers more than the amount of the \$11,000 damage award. His lawyers petitioned the court to award them this money as well.

The attorneys for the Morrises argued that since Curtis — not his lawyers — formally won the case, the money was his, and all of it, both damages and attorney fees, should be handed over to the Morrises.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
September 4, 1967 Price 10¢

Plans for organizing a nationwide youth campaign to back 1968 Socialist Workers Party presidential candidates Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle were announced here today.

Melissa Singler, an initiator of "Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle," reported they would campaign for the antiwar and black power spokesmen nominated by the Socialist Workers Party.

Miss Singler said that a meeting is being planned sometime this fall for young people from all over the country who are interested in supporting the Socialist Workers ticket. The meeting will discuss how to take this socialist campaign onto every college campus and high school in the country.

Several attractive posters put out by the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle were displayed.

The views of the two socialist candidates on the major questions facing this country are summarized by their young supporters: "Halstead and Boutelle stand for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. They will be campaigning to build the massive October 21 mobilization to confront the warmakers in Washington, D.C."

"Halstead and Boutelle support the right of black people to control their own communities and determine their own future."

"They support the Cuban revolution as the example other colonial peoples should look to in their fight for liberation."

"Halstead and Boutelle stand for a total break with the two parties of war and racism. They call for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions."

The call for support indicates some of the activities Young Socialists for Halstead and

Boutelle can carry out: "Everyone's help is needed. Signatures must be gathered; posters, leaflets, buttons and stickers made and distributed; tours scheduled; radio and TV time secured; meetings, rallies and protests organized. In 1968 every black community, high school, college, factory and army base in the country that can be reached must learn that there is an alternative to voting for war, racism and oppression."

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

September 5, 1942

Some new light was shed on the character of the second "war for democracy" when President Roosevelt announced last week a plan to strengthen the regime of the fascist dictator of Spain, General Francisco Franco, by "an important step" to put the government "on its feet economically."

Along with this spoken pledge of financial aid and blessings to Franco if he remains neutral in the war goes the implied assurance that no efforts will be made by the "democracies" to establish in Spain any of the "freedoms" which Roosevelt so often proclaims and which were abolished by Franco through the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. Plainly, Roosevelt sees nothing wrong with fascists who are on his side or neutral.

Almost every week Roosevelt makes a speech or a statement denouncing the criminal cruelty or inhumanity of the Axis chiefs, but apparently he is quite satisfied to collaborate with a government headed by the butcher of tens of thousands of Spanish workers and many heroic fighters of other lands, including the United States, who went to Spain to help the Loyalists in the Civil War.

The American workers must not let them down! No help to the butcher of the Spanish workers, Franco!

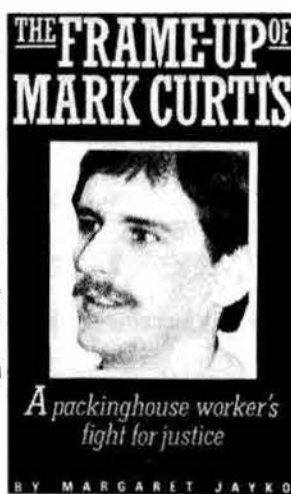
From Pathfinder

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 listed on page 12 or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Add \$3.00 for postage and handling.

Important victory in Houston

Abortion rights supporters, opponents of police brutality, unionists, defenders of democratic rights, those who oppose Washington's wars abroad, and all working people can take heart from the defeat of Operation Rescue's two week campaign to blockade abortion clinics in Houston, Texas.

This victory follows earlier ones in Buffalo, New York; New York City; and Boston. Like those, it was won by the mobilization of hundreds of people, mainly youth, in the streets, to physically defend the clinic doors. Out of these battles a new generation of leaders is emerging, prepared to organize the fight necessary to defend the right of women to control their own bodies.

The overwhelming majority of people in the United States are in favor of the right to abortion. The fight in Houston shows that a broad movement can be built to defend this right. Among the clinic defenders were high school and college students, unionists and other workers, religious people including Protestants and Catholics, and people who look to the Democratic and the Republican parties.

The fight to defend the right to abortion will not go away. Just weeks before the victory in Houston was won, Missionaries to the Preborn, an antiabortion group, successfully mobilized 4,000 people to briefly close down a Milwaukee clinic.

Restricting or denying women's abortion rights is part of the efforts by the rulers to heighten the burdens on working women and undermine their self-confidence.

As the crisis of capitalism advances, bringing with it more wars and economic depression, the attacks on women's rights will increase. Organizations like Operation Rescue, Rescue America, and the Lambs of Christ feed on the insecurity, fear, and resentment that a layer of the middle class and sections of the working class feel in the face of this crisis.

Mobilizations, along the lines of those organized in Houston, are the only road forward. Working people will increasingly find it necessary to bring their organized power, through the industrial unions, into this and other fights, from the fight against police brutality to the struggle against imperialist war.

'Family values' and capitalism

Unable to offer any proposals to alleviate the crisis facing millions of working-class people in the United States, the Republican Party convention staked out "family values" as the theme of President Bush's reelection bid.

"The traditional family is under assault," declared the platform adopted by Republican convention delegates, and speaker after speaker accused Democratic presidential aspirant William Clinton and his wife Hillary of leading the charge.

Laws that guarantee women the right to abortion, separation of church and state, equal rights for homosexuals, welfare for poor people, and other social programs are the root of society's ills, according to the Republicans. Only a return to the traditional family and moral values, as exemplified by the president's own family, can turn the country around.

The strains and pressures that afflict the family are caused by the normal workings of capitalism. Under this system, where the labor of working people is exploited for the benefit of the wealthy few, the working class is being driven down to ever more desperate conditions.

The effects of the long economic downturn are having a devastating impact on many families — not the Bushes or the Clintons, but many working-class families. Not only are more women being forced to work but increasingly more children as well.

The "traditional family" — with husband working and wife at home — is a distinct minority in today's society. The standard of living that used to be attainable with one income now must be met with two family members working. Soon it will be three and more.

Blaming women who work for the deteriorating social conditions in the country is a diversion from the real source

of the problem — the capitalist system and the policies that the Democrats and Republicans pursue to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of working people.

Promoting "family values" — whether by Bush and Quayle or Clinton and Gore — is basically an attempt to shift onto working people the responsibility for what the capitalist system is doing to us.

Not only do the Democrats and Republicans have no real proposals to overcome joblessness and declining living standards, but even the minimum social programs that provide aid to dependent children, health care, education, housing, and social services for the poor and working people are being cut back so that more money can be diverted to aid business out of its crisis.

Bush condemns Congress for being big spenders when it comes to social programs, but that is a charge that the Democrats who control Congress can honestly deny. And Clinton explains that working people shouldn't expect more social spending under his administration. The Republican platform also echoes the views of Clinton himself on welfare since he portrays himself as the candidate who can "put an end to welfare."

The big-business parties are worried about the crisis of "family values" because they are concerned that, as more women gain a measure of economic independence, they also gain more self-confidence to fight for their rights.

James Warren and Estelle DeBates, the Socialist presidential ticket, are using their campaign to promote the real concerns that working-class families value and want to fight for — the right to a job and a decent standard of living.

Workers' fight is international

The recently concluded negotiations by the U.S., Mexican, and Canadian governments over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) have sparked sharp debates in all three countries. The predominant section of the employers in all three countries has promoted NAFTA. Other employers have pushed for maintaining more protectionist measures favorable to their own interests. Both sides appeal to working people for support, claiming that either "free trade" or protectionist policies will save jobs.

Labor officials in the United States and Canada — echoing the bosses — argue for anti-import measures on the basis of "protecting American jobs" or "Canadian jobs," respectively. They try to give a progressive cover to this chauvinist, pro-business position by alleging concern over increased exploitation of Mexican workers under NAFTA. Labor officials in Mexico likewise back either the "free trade" or protectionist sections of the capitalists in Mexico, tying the workers' fate to that of their masters.

The fact is that free trade and protectionism are two sides of the same coin. Both are weapons used by capitalists to defend their profits against competitors.

The U.S.-led attempt to form a North American trading bloc is a response by the ruling classes in all three countries to the growing world depression and heightened competition between capitalist powers.

What should be the position of working people? Karl Marx explained in a similar debate in the labor movement in 1848 that protectionism and free trade are both policies wielded by the employers. Under either one, he pointed out, workers "will go to the wall."

The cause of the growing unemployment is not foreign imports or trade agreements. It is capitalism. This system is dragging us into depression as it did in the 1930s.

Employers seek to take advantage of the permanent competition for jobs that workers face under capitalism. The only way working people can successfully fight for jobs is not to increase this competition but to overcome it — by uniting in a common struggle as a class against the bosses' profit drive.

The labor movement can take this road by launching an international fight around these basic demands:

- Shorten the workweek with no pay reduction to create jobs for all.
- Cancel the Third World debt that is squeezing working people around the globe.
- Defend the rights of immigrant workers—for an open border and freedom of travel.

As capitalists seek to expand their access to raw materials and labor throughout North America, they will keep squeezing workers through wage cuts, speed-up, longer work hours, and union-busting. These conditions are provoking resistance. Outstanding recent examples are the militant strikes by Volkswagen workers and textile workers in Mexico; the fight by locked-out steelworkers in Ravenswood, West Virginia; and strikes by gold miners and fish plant workers in western and eastern Canada.

This resistance provides growing opportunities for working-class fighters to reach out to each other across national borders in order to wage a common fight.

U.S. prepares new Iraq war

Continued from front page

ment, "In an effort to repeat past glories and exploit his foreign policy strong point, President Bush has amassed a wealth of new intelligence justifying a massive air attack against Saddam Hussein in a pre-election surprise that might revive Bush's forlorn presidency."

In "Saddam to the Rescue," right-wing *New York Times* columnist William Safire writes that Hussein is Bush's best "poll-booster." Safire urges that any surgical strikes against Baghdad be connected to "removing Saddam and ending the Baathist threat to the region."

In the *Washington Post* article "Saddam Won," Charles Krauthammer argues that the issue is not Baghdad's violations of UN rules. "The issue is Saddam's general resurgence and his new bid for power in the region."

Since the end of the war, Iraq's armed forces have refurbished one large air base, reactivated others and revived air-defense networks as a part of their increased activity in southern Iraq.

In a similar vein, the ultraright *National Review* editorialized: "No military or political program makes sense that does not have as its aim the replacement of Saddam Hussein by a more tractable regime."

'Bush needs extravaganzas'

Still more bluntly, *New York Times* columnist Leslie Gelb wrote, "Mr. Bush must resort to foreign extravaganzas for November. He cannot hope to turn the economy around in the next 70 days."

All accounts point toward a deeper military intervention by Washington. The only debate is over how far to go at this stage.

This past week Britain and France authorized sending fighter aircraft into the region to help enforce a proposed "no-fly zone" in southern Iraq.

They will join a large U.S. military build-up that includes, according to the *Manchester Guardian*, "up to 190 land and carrier-based combat aircraft, 19 warships in the Gulf, 18 in the Mediterranean, 6 in the Red Sea, an unknown number of attack submarines, and 5,000 troops in Kuwait." In all, 23,800 U.S. military personnel are in the region.

Iraqi air attacks on Shiite civilians in the southern part of the country are the pretext for the latest war moves against Baghdad. By cynically posturing as a protector of the Shiites — something it refused to do at the close of the Gulf War — Washington figures it will be easier to win public opinion to support its war aims.

In an attempt to slow Washington down, Baghdad agreed to allow UN officials to inspect the southern marshes where Iraqi Shiites are reported to be under attack.

Brent Scowcroft, Bush's national security advisor, said the proposed no-fly zone, which encompasses all of Iraq south of the 32nd parallel, had been "solidified." Any helicopters or fixed-wing aircraft Baghdad uses against the Shiites within that area will be open game to U.S. and allied warplanes.

The *New York Times* editors strongly disagree with that perspective, arguing that shooting down any Iraqi aircraft that try to repress "rebellious Shiites in southern Iraq... would be legally untenable and politically unwise."

The proposal to establish a no-fly zone is not popular with most of the surrounding regimes. Syria has rejected it outright, and Egypt has stated its opposition to any attempt to "partition" Iraq. Iran has warned Washington to stay clear of Iraq. During the 1990-91 Gulf War, Cairo and Damascus not only furnished important political cover for the U.S. war, but they contributed troops to the multinational force, some 35,000 from Egypt and about 20,000 from Syria.

Keeping up squeeze on Iraq

On the economic front, the rulers of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia call for keeping Iraq out of the world oil markets as long as possible. The market is saturated and prices are generally weak. If Iraq were allowed to sell, world prices would drop further, cutting into Saudi and Kuwaiti profits.

The UN economic embargo against Iraq is now two years old. Recently, as part of the growing imperialist pressure, the embargo has been tightened, particularly along the Jordan-Iraq border. Eyewitnesses say the number of trucks crossing the border has dwindled to a trickle.

The new tight controls result from a visit to Amman this summer by Robert Gates, director of the Central Intelligence Agency. According to the *New York Times*, "The United States, Britain and France, which have stationed warships outside Aqaba to enforce the sanctions, have also stepped up searches of cargo vessels using the port to look for banned Iraqi imports or exports."

Despite the sanctions, Iraq says that 70 percent of the damage Washington inflicted during the war has now been repaired. The *Petroleum Intelligence Weekly*, a New York-based newsletter, said that Iraq has "rehabilitated a significant portion of its oil producing, exporting and refining capability."

The Iraqi currency has been devalued from about 14 dinars to the dollar to 22 or 24. This is reportedly the result of a CIA and Saudi Arabian destabilization plan of forging dinar notes in order to create hyperinflation.

There has also been a sharp drop of imports into the country. In July, Baghdad executed some 42 merchants on charges of speculation and profiteering. With food prices skyrocketing from the currency devaluation, Iraqi working people have suffered the most.

California farm workers rally for wage increase

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about

revival of the union.

"We will win," he said, "but we have to be united." Chavez hailed recent victories won by farm workers and the UFW in the Coachella and San Joaquin valleys.

In the Coachella Valley, farm workers who had not received wage increases in eight years organized

out these cuts for unionized retirees as contracts expire. Its contract with the United Auto Workers, (UAW), which represents 7,000 active and 20,000 retired workers, expires Oct. 1, 1993. Cuts would begin October 1 this year with the expiration of its contract with the United Plant Guard Workers of America. Benefits of nonunion retirees would be cut Jan. 1, 1993.

The UAW announced that the union would ask a judge to block the cuts.

Bill Casstevens, UAW secretary-treasurer, said that the union understood the "difficult nature of Navistar's financial difficulties."

He continued, "What's needed here are serious negotiations that balance the needs dictated by the company's situation with the rights and needs of its workers."

Company officials claim the cuts are needed to keep Navistar out of bankruptcy.

The company's chief financial officer, Robert Lannert, said that Navistar expects to reach an agreement with the UAW on the cuts. "I don't think there's going to be a strike about this," he said. "I think the UAW is smart enough to know the facts and will represent their constituencies in a constructive manner."

No one has yet asked the workers and retirees of Navistar in Indianapolis and Fort Wayne, Indiana; Springfield, Ohio; and Melrose Park, Illinois, what they think would be a constructive solution.

Steelworkers in Ohio strike bus manufacturer

Steelworkers shut down production August 10 at Flexible Corp. plants in Loudonville and Delaware, Ohio. By a vote of 584-46, members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Locals 4781 and 8265 rejected management's last offer and went on strike. The company's proposal included a three year wage freeze, a cut in cost-of-living adjustments, the introduction of monthly payments

for medical coverage, and an increase in medical deductibles.

Flexible, a manufacturer of transit buses, is a major industry in Loudonville, a town with a population of 3,000 in central Ohio. Despite earlier concessions, union members have held onto a base wage of about \$14 per hour. Many travel 30-40 miles from around the area to get to work.

The union gave up concessions in 1983 to help General Automotive Corp. buy the plant from Grummond and the membership doesn't want to give up any more. As one picket put it, "This is concession bargaining, and I don't want any part of it."

Part of the company's initial demands included the introduction of a second wage tier, with new hires making \$4 per hour less than current employees. Audrey Gore, an assembler at the plant, explained, "I don't want to lose the cost of living, and it just isn't fair to have a lower starting wage."

Flexible president Edward Kravitz claims concessions are needed because of "extremely competitive competition in a depressed transit market." He further defended the company stand, telling the *Ashland Times Gazette*, "We simply must ask that our employees not expect or demand an automatic improvement in each and every new contract."

Strikers disagree with Kravitz and see his demands as part of the general assault on workers over the past decade.

Communication workers rally for decent contract

Members of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) in Denver, Colorado, and Seattle, Washington, participated in rallies demanding a decent contract leading up to the August 15 deadline for the expiration date of their contract with U S West Telephone company. The company operates in 14 states from Minnesota to New Mexico and Washington.

In Denver more than 1,000 members of CWA Local 777 joined in one of several protest actions. In Seattle several hundred telephone workers and supporters rallied at a downtown plaza August 13.

U S West announced August 16 that a tentative agreement had been reached with the CWA. The accord, which must be approved by 39,000 CWA members, provides a 12.1 percent wage increase over three years and a 13 percent increase in pensions for all U S West workers with an additional 2 percent pension increase for operators. The agreement also preserves paid health benefits for retirees.

Meanwhile, in Seattle, CWA members are walking picket lines at the Book Publishing Co., a small CWA-organized shop. Some 30 workers struck more than three weeks ago; only four have crossed the picket line. The company has also hired a dozen strikebreakers.

The workers rejected the bosses' offer of a 3 percent wage increase and are demanding "at least enough to maintain what we got in the last contract and keep up with inflation," explained striker Mary Keils.

"I've never been on strike before," she added, "and taking part in this one is exciting. I wouldn't trade this experience for anything."

"I'm proud of what we're doing," said Steve Bonner. "A lot of people could have just gone and gotten another job, but we're going to see this strike through."

The following people contributed to this week's column: Ved Raj in San Jose, California; John Sarge, member of United Auto Workers Local 900 in Wayne, Michigan; Michael Italie, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 14919, and Sandra Nelson, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1130, in Cleveland; Harvey McArthur, member of United Transportation Union Local 845 in Seattle; and Ron Richards in Colorado.

ON THE PICKET LINE

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.

Demanding their first wage increase in nearly a decade, 3,500 farm workers marched in Salinas, California, July 27.

The streets of Salinas were an ocean of red and black flags, the colors of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union, carried by jubilant workers and members of the community to chants of "Se ve, se sienta, la unión está presente" and "Chavez sí, contratistas no!" ("It's clear, you can feel it, the union is present" and "Chavez yes, contractors no!") Cesar Chavez is UFW president.

As the march proceeded through town many people joined in and voiced their support for the UFW. Clearly evident was the support from Teamsters Local 890, whose blue flags stood out against those of the UFW.

The UFW won a major victory in 1979 by breaking the \$5-an-hour wage barrier in negotiations with the vegetable growers. Most growers, however, have refused to negotiate contracts since the early 1980s. Since then wages at most companies have been frozen at \$5.50 per hour.

Chavez addressed the rally at the end of the march, saying that this protest marked the beginning of a fight for wage increases and the

three weeks of protests. This began June 5 when 600 workers walked off their jobs in the vineyards. On June 8, another 1,200 marched out.

The Salinas rally came in the wake of these UFW organized walkouts and protests against low wages and dangerous working conditions. A central demand has been to ban the use of a number of carcinogenic pesticides on grapes. The UFW has been organizing a boycott of grapes and has set up pickets at stores in the San Jose area.

Chavez appealed to all workers present at the rally to sign union cards. He also urged everyone to join a vigil in Sacramento, the state capitol, at the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) offices. The ALRB has been sitting on a number of complaints filed by the union, which resulted from the growers' refusal to negotiate with the UFW following union certification votes.

Navistar demands big cuts in health benefits

Navistar, the biggest maker of medium and heavy trucks in the United States, went to federal court July 28 seeking approval to slash medical benefits for its 40,000 retirees and their families.

The company also announced plans to cut benefits for its 13,000 active workers.

The reductions the company wants would cost each retiree between \$330 and \$3,400 a year. They would also lose dental, vision, and hearing care.

Navistar said it plans to carry

LETTERS

'Miscarriage of Justice'

We are three innocent black brothers in British penal dustbins for crimes we did not commit. In June 1992 Estelle DeBates, S.W.P. candidate for vice president, came to visit me in prison to offer her support and strength for our fight against the barbaric miscarriage of justice the police and law courts impose consistently around the world on innocent working people.

I would like to thank Estelle and the S.W.P for spreading our campaign and for the knowledge they shared with me about the brutal injustices carried out throughout the capitalist world. Brothers and sisters, our struggles are not in vain. It is possible to win victory against any injustice of any kind if we join each other's struggle.

Send letters of support to the M25 Three Campaign, 46 Atherfold Road, Clapham North, Clapham, London, SW9 9LW. Raphael Rowe
Leicestershire, Britain

Editor's note: An article on the M25 case appears on page 16.

George Novack

It neither surprises nor offends me that George Novack's death went unnoticed in the capitalist press. I expected nothing more from the paid shills of the ruling class, who, finding their job getting harder all the time, have no stomach for recognizing a man whose life work so powerfully exposes the social and economic system they defend.

But to young fighters seeking answers to such questions as, "Is there really 'democracy' in the United States?"; "Is capitalist society as we know it the highest form of civilization possible?"; "Is the struggle of the international working class for socialism still on the agenda in a century that gave us Stalinism, two world wars, and the atomic bomb?"; and, "Hasn't Marxism been discredited by the intellectuals?"; Novack's works have no rival as recruiting tools to the communist movement. In fact, as he told me himself two years ago, this was his main purpose in writing them in the first place.

Knowing this, I am confident that the greatest homage's to George Novack will be found in the ranks of the young workers and students who, armed with such weapons as *Democracy and Revolution* and *The Long View of History*, will fight their way through the mountain of lies taught them in school, become communists, and join the fight for a better world.

And if the silent treatment from bourgeois editors means anything, it is that this prospect has not occurred to me alone.

Peter Anastos
Washington, D.C.

Requests the 'Militant'

I would very much like to be granted the chance to review your publication. Would you please place my name on your mailing list. I run an underground prisoners'



assistance program and I would share your publication with inmates who would like to read it.

We five are a group of convicts struggling to form unity with all prisoners regardless of race or religion.

I thank you in advance for the chance to review your publication.

A prisoner
Somers, Connecticut

ANC leader speaks

Some 50 people turned out for a public talk here July 25 by Jabu Dube, information officer in Canada for the African National Congress (ANC).

Dube told his audience that the current campaign of mass protests led by the ANC is aimed at forcing the apartheid regime to cede to an



interim government made up of all forces that came together in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The interim government needed, said Dube, must be one that takes control of the state bureaucracy, the budget, the army and police, and local governments in order to prepare for the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. Such an assembly cannot be democratically chosen under the current regime, the ANC leader continued. "Apartheid is still very much in existence," he pointed out, noting the institutionalized oppression of Africans and the simple fact that they are still denied the right to vote.

De Klerk has labelled the murderous attacks on ANC supporters by backers of the Inkatha Freedom

Party "tribal violence," claiming its root cause is hostility between Zulu-speaking Inkatha members and non-Zulus in the ANC. Dube said this characterization was false.

When Inkatha hit squads mount a train to sow terror, none of their passenger victims "have their tribe written on their forehead," Dube said. "Their common identity is simply that they are Black workers."

The ANC "is not an ethnic party, but the party of all the people of South Africa he said. Its supporters come from all ethnic groups, including Zulus.

"The ANC's perspectives have never been based on ethnicity, but on a political program. The differences between the ANC and other organizations are not tribal differences, but political ones."

Cindy Jaquith
Detroit, Michigan

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.

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.

London Black youth fight frame-up

BY JULIE CRAWFORD
AND JOYCE FAIRCHILD

LONDON — From behind bars, three Black youths have been actively fighting to reverse their frame-up and conviction for a crime they did not commit. The M25 Three Campaign, as their public defense effort is known, has helped to expose the true face of justice for working people in the British court system.

On December 15, 1988, two men were attacked and robbed in a field off the M25 motorway near London. One of the men died of a heart attack. Two further armed robberies occurred that night as well. Immediately after the attack, one of the victims described the attackers as two white men and one Black man.

The police proceeded to arrest three Black youths. Within days they picked up Michael Davis and Raphael Rowe, and in early January 1989 arrested Randolph Johnson.

The three were charged with committing murder, robbery, and grievous bodily harm. On February 26, 1990, a majority white jury found them guilty.

The trial was a mockery of justice. Davis and Rowe had positive alibis from seven other people whom they were with at the time the crimes were committed. Some key witnesses changed their stories following interviews with the police. Additional evidence proving Rowe and Davis could not have committed the crimes was simply ignored.

In an interview with the *Militant* conducted during a June 16 visit to Swaleside prison, Raphael Rowe described how during the trial the defendants were not even allowed to explain their case. "They shut me up," said Rowe. "They didn't let me speak."

The M25 robberies occurred in what is known as the "stockbroker" section of London, a residential area where businessmen live.

"The police are not interested in solving crime, just politics," explained Rowe. "In the stockbroker belt they just want bodies. When they frame us up it's not just us who are affected, it's our families, friends, everyone. And the victims of the crimes and their families who thought justice had been done."

"There are only two laws in this country. One for the rich and one for the police. We don't have any laws," said Rowe.

The M25 Three Campaign was started by the prisoners themselves. Rowe explained that initially he was so angry at the wrongful

conviction that he wouldn't speak to anyone. Then he decided to fight.

"First I went on a hunger strike and fought physically," said Rowe, "but then I started to use the pen and paper, which is the most powerful weapon. . . . My life sentence is going to be used to educate myself to fight for justice."

"I want to see the police officers in my case and others who committed the crime brought to trial," explained Rowe.

Strike ends at Nova Scotia fish plant

BY MONICA JONES

MONTREAL — By a margin of three votes the strike of 80 members of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 1970 at Clearwater Fine Foods in Arichat, Nova Scotia, ended on July 2 amid considerable controversy.

The union went on strike May 14 after working without a contract for a year. The right of women to continue working in the plant was a central issue of the strike. In the end the company succeeded in driving the 20 women out of the plant.

Clearwater opened in 1987 and in 1990 agreed to transfer women workers to live lobster operations when it shut down the cooked lobster section, where women had been working. The union wanted to make this agreement permanent and part of the new contract but the company refused. The company claims the work, pulling crates of lobster from holding tanks, is too heavy for women. But Lana Boudreau said, "I trained a lot of those men in jobs that they say I'm not capable of doing."

The union considers the work heavy for men and women alike. Paul Tyrrell, a member of the local bargaining committee, explained that "Clearwater used the issue to try to divide the work force."

Striker Genevieve Boudreau said in an interview, "We were good enough for five years since the plant opened but now they don't want us."

The new contract includes a letter of understanding that states women will get called to work in peak seasons — 8–10 weeks of the year — but only at the company's discretion. "It's written that 25 regular men get called before the women, but they could call 30 men and we can't grieve it. In my opinion, women won't get back in," Tyrrell said. Six weeks after the end of the strike no women have been recalled. The work force is down to 30 regular

The M25 prisoners asked their families to help them campaign outside the prison. Joanne Rowe and Valerie Davis, both sisters of the prisoners, are leaders of the defense effort.

Pointing to the success of the defense campaign, Rowe stated, "At the beginning I was in a box. There was only family and close friends. Now the whole world is opened up. Suddenly it just happens. There's a window in my cell but its getting bigger

and bigger every day. I'm on a path, a mission for freedom and I'm going to get it."

For more information on the M25 Three Campaign, contact Joanne Rowe or Valerie Davis at 46 Atherfold Road, Clapham North, London SW9. Telephone: 071-738-7477.

Joyce Fairchild is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union at Heathrow airport.



Militant/ Monica Jones

Union members on picket line in Arichat, Nova Scotia. End of strike saw a setback to right of women to continue working in plant, which was a central issue in the fight.

men on two shifts plus about a dozen students hired since the strike.

Clearwater processed lobster during the strike with replacement workers who stayed in the plant 24 hours a day. Lobster was escorted through picket lines by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and its riot squad.

On June 11, hundreds of unionists mobilized in Arichat from across Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia against union-bust-

ing and the use of scabs. Together with the strikers, the unionists pushed through police lines and entered the plant, sending scores of scabs, security guards, and company managers fleeing by helicopter. Clearwater ended its attempt to keep the plant running.

Instead they began threatening to close the plant down. This was the situation facing the strikers when they came to the July 2 meeting. According to Tyrrell and Lana Boudreau, another member of the bargaining committee, workers attending the meeting believed it was an information update only. Almost half the strikers were not present. But the contract was put to a vote and accepted 25-22. All four members of the local bargaining committee recommended rejection.

According to Lana Boudreau, "The reason the vote went through is because the CAW national office threatened to withdraw strike funds. It's the same package we voted down twice before."

Immediately after the strike Clearwater began firing workers. Eight workers, including Lana Boudreau, were fired, mostly for "illegal activities during the strike," or in Boudreau's case because during the recent strike she "participated in improper and serious action . . . [and for] irresponsibility in not taking proper action as a committee person." The union filed grievances protesting the firings. Now the cases go to arbitration.

Despite the bitter end to the strike and the continual attacks from the company many workers see the fight as being far from over. According to Tyrrell, "We're not finished with it yet."

Monica Jones is a member of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 2309 and works at Canadian Airlines at Dorval.

Racist attacks on the rise in Britain

BY CELIA PUGH

MANCHESTER, England — Racist attacks are on the rise in Britain along with government moves to deport immigrant workers and restrict the ability of refugees to obtain asylum here.

Some 70,000 racist incidents are estimated to occur in Britain every year. According to police figures, a racist attack occurs every 28 minutes.

In January 1992, Siddik Dada, a 60-year-old shopkeeper was hacked to death in a racist machete attack. Four days later Mohammed Sarwar, a 46-year-old taxi driver, was dragged from his cab and brutally beaten to death. A gang of white youth has been arrested and charged with both murders, though the cops deny there was a racist motive for the killings.

On the day Mohammed Sarwar's body was released, more than one thousand taxi drivers and members of the community accompanied it from the mosque to the airport for a flight to Pakistan. A convoy of more than 800 cars brought part of the city to a standstill. Taxi bases stopped work for the procession.

In May a memorial committee was launched with the backing of the victims'

families as well as local community and antiracist organizations. The committee has been organizing for a national demonstration August 22 in Manchester.

'William Weekes Must Stay'

On July 11, demonstrators marched through Moss Side — the Afro-Caribbean section of this city — to protest government moves to deport William Weekes. Weekes who was born in Monserrat has been living in Manchester for the past 14 years. He has been married to a British citizen for six years, which makes him eligible for British citizenship.

In September 1989, after Weekes was arrested for a driving offense, the police checked his immigration status and found that he had forgotten to submit his passport for formal endorsement.

"This is how these immigration laws are used," said John Weekes, William Weekes's brother. "If William had been a white South African or European, they would not have checked him out or deported him."

Since the beginning of 1992, campaigners supported by Weekes's family have been fighting this deportation. Many street cor-

ners and shops display "William Weekes Must Stay" posters. Speakers have been addressing public rallies and distributing leaflets about the case.

In a related development, the Manchester Campaign Against the Asylum Bill is renewing its opposition to proposed government legislation to restrict refugee to asylum seekers. Plans include support for a national demonstration, and a national conference October 15 in Manchester, which will be organized by the British Refugee Council.

The June 25 London *Guardian* reported that, in 1990, 44,800 people applied for refugee status, compared to 11,600 in 1989. The British government acted on 4,690 of these cases, granting full refugee status to only 9 percent, compared to 32 percent in 1989.

The Mohammed Sarwar and Siddik Dada Memorial Committee can be contacted c/o WFA, 9 Lucy Street, Old Trafford, Manchester, M15 4BX. William Weekes Must Stay can be reached c/o South Manchester Law Centre, 584 Stockport Road, Longsight, Manchester M13.

Celia Pugh is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union.