

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
The life of George Novack —
socialist fighter for six decades

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Socialists condemn South Africa massacre, U.S. threats to Iraq



Protesters flee as troops open fire in Ciskei, South Africa. Slaughter left 32 dead.

'Pretoria gov't is responsible for killings'

BY SARA LOBMAN

Police and army troops in the Ciskei homeland in South Africa massacred 32 people and injured 200 September 7 when they fired automatic weapons into a peaceful anti-apartheid demonstration of more than 50,000 led by the African national Congress (ANC).

"This brutal attack was completely unjustified," said Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president of the United States. "The bullets that gunned down these 32 fighters were bought and paid for by the South African government which bears sole responsibility for the violence."

"The ANC correctly points out," DeBates continued, "that the homelands are creations of the apartheid regime, which seeks to shore itself up against the growing revolutionary democratic movement."

The Ciskei is one of four so-called homelands or bantustans that the South African government considers "independent." Six

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'Washington's goal: pro-U.S. regime in Iraq'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

"Washington's renewed war moves against Iraq exemplify the new world disorder under which we live. They are a clear violation of that nation's sovereign rights," said James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for president of the United States. Warren was responding to new actions by the United States and its allies to tighten the noose on the government in Baghdad and provoke a confrontation with the Iraqi regime.

Since August 27 Washington has been enforcing a "no-fly zone" over more than 47,000 square miles of southern Iraq, similar to one it has established for more than a year in northern Iraq. U.S. warplanes policing the skies have vowed to shoot down any Iraqi planes entering the area. "We see this as a long-term commitment," commented Rear Admiral Brent Bennett, commander of the fleet of U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf.

The United States, together with Britain and France, are now tightening by one more

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United Nations to approve more troops to Yugoslavia

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposed September 10 to enlarge the UN military force in former Yugoslavia by adding at least 5,000 NATO troops to those already in Bosnia-Herzegovina, ostensibly to protect UN relief convoys. The UN Security Council is expected to approve the proposal and to impose a ban on all military flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The governments of Britain, Canada, France, Spain, and possibly Italy are expected to contribute troops to the NATO force. Washington, which made the proposal for the "no-fly zone" over Bosnia, is not likely at this point to deploy any ground forces.

Bush administration officials accused Serbian Democratic Party forces in Bosnia of shadowing UN relief flights with planes based in Banja Luka. The warplanes have allegedly followed UN flights to take advantage of the air corridor used for delivery of relief supplies.

Speaking to the *Washington Post*, an unidentified U.S. government official ruled out, for the moment, the involvement of U.S. planes in imposing such a "no-fly" zone over Bosnia. "Some other countries have been reluctant to have the United States engaged directly," the official said.

The debate in U.S. ruling circles over the extent of Washington's involvement in the Yugoslav war continues. In the *Washington Post*, columnist Charles Krauthammer argued against the calls for deployment of U.S.

ground troops made by George Kenney, the State Department official who resigned to protest the Bush administration's hesitant Yugoslav policy.

"This is not just a serious military undertaking but a prolonged one," Krauthammer wrote. "The loss of American life would not be as large as in a ground war, but it would be significant and steady. Liberating Bosnia means a long proxy war with Serbia." Krauthammer called for a negotiated partition of Bosnia to end the war.

When the new forces arrive, the number of foreign troops in Bosnia will rise from the current 1,500 French, Canadian, and Ukrainian soldiers in Sarajevo to between 6,500 and 8,500. These would be in addition to the 12,000 UN troops already deployed in neighboring Croatia.

This escalation of military intervention in the Yugoslav conflict came a few days after an attack on UN soldiers near the Sarajevo airport September 8, in which machine-gun fire riddled a UN convoy from Belgrade. Two French soldiers were killed and five others wounded.

It was not clear whether Serbian rightist militias that have laid siege to the Bosnian capital since April, or Bosnian army troops, fired on the convoy, which was carrying food, fuel, and water. Food supplies in Sarajevo have been running desperately low since the UN suspended relief flights after the downing of an Italian plane September 3.

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Tour schedule for the Socialist Workers candidates for president and vice-president



James Warren (left), Socialist Workers candidate for president of the United States, and Estelle DeBates (right), candidate for vice-president, will be on tour until the November 3 elections. Below are their schedules.



James Warren

September 11-14	Detroit
September 17-19	Chicago
September 20-22	Portland
September 23-25	Seattle
September 26-30	Salt Lake City
October 2-6	San Francisco
October 8-10	New York/New Jersey
October 13-14	London
October 15-16	Sweden
October 19-20	Boston
October 22-24	Cleveland
October 26-27	Cincinnati
October 29-30	Washington, D.C.
November 1-2	Chicago

Estelle DeBates

September 10-15	Boston/Connecticut
September 17-18	Montreal
September 19-22	Greensboro
September 24-26	Morgantown
September 27-29	Baltimore
October 1-3	Pittsburgh
October 4-6	Birmingham
October 8-10	Atlanta
October 11-13	Miami
October 14-20	Philippines
October 22-24	Twin Cities
October 25-27	St. Louis
October 29-31	Des Moines
November 1-3	Los Angeles



Police attack strikers in Greece

Hundreds of police officers clashed with striking construction workers outside Parliament in Athens September 8, a few hours before the introduction by the government of a new law proposing major cutbacks in social security and raising the retirement age to 65. The cops attacked the workers with tear gas and clubs and arrested nine strikers. The clashes began after 1,000 construction workers marched to the ministry of the economy and demanded to meet with the minister, who refused to see the strikers.

Thousands of Athens bus drivers, who have been on strike since June protesting government lay-offs, joined a march of construction workers organized immediately after the clashes to demand the release of those arrested. A 48-hour general strike against the same law, called by both major trade union federations, began the next day. Nationwide strikes have swept the country for the last two months over a series of austerity measures by the conservative government of Constantinos Mitsotakis. A two-week-old strike by electricity workers has led to twice-daily power cuts in the Greek capital.

Finland devalues currency

A decision by the Finnish government to devalue the country's currency by 13 percent rippled through the financial markets September 8, setting off another surge of the value of the German mark and pushing most European stock prices lower. The rise in the mark sent the U.S. dollar plunging to a new low. The Swedish central bank raised its key lending rate by 8 points to 24 percent the same day, following the Finnish move. Both countries are faced with debt deflation, negative economic growth, and rising unemployment.

Sweden raises interest rate to 75 percent!

The government of Sweden raised its lending rate to commercial banks to an unprecedented 75 percent, one day after the devaluation of the Finnish currency. The dramatic jump in the rate, which governs bank deposits and borrowing from the central bank, stabilized the exchange rate of the



March of striking construction workers, bus drivers, and other workers in Athens, Greece September 9. A general strike had been called the day before.

krona, the Swedish currency, but caused Stockholm stock market values to drop by 2.2 percent. Gota Bank, the country's fourth largest commercial bank, immediately forecast a sharp deterioration in its financial position and warned that its losses in 1992 will surpass \$1.5 billion. Many other governments in Europe will now be forced to either devalue their currencies or raise interest rates to defend them.

Tajikistan on brink of war

Tajikistan's president Rakhman Nabiyev was forced to resign September 7 after being prevented by armed anti-government militants from leaving the former Soviet republic's capital Dushanbe. The episode followed a week of armed demonstrations against his rule. Nabiyev, the former Communist Party chief of the republic, won 57 percent of the vote in elections last year. The opposition charged the result was rigged. In May Nabiyev was forced to agree to a coalition government with the small Democratic Party and the increasingly powerful Islamic Renewal Party. The republic, which borders Afghanistan and China, came to the

brink of civil war as Nabiyev refused to budge to opposition demands for his resignation last week.

Lebanese elections completed

The third and final round of parliamentary elections in Lebanon was completed September 6 with voting in the southern part of the country. Amal, a right-wing Syrian-supported Shiite Muslim movement, and the Party of God, Amal's pro-Iranian rival, won 22 of the 23 seats. Both parties are strong opponents of the Israeli regime and their militias have frequently clashed with Israeli troops that occupy a section of southern Lebanon. The right-wing Phalangist Party, which has strong support among Christians, and among other Maronite Catholic groups, boycotted the elections.

Japan to send 1,800 troops abroad

The Japanese government announced September 8 that it will send more than 1,800 troops to join UN forces in Cambodia over the next year. It will be the first deployment of Japanese armed forces abroad since World War II. After a bitter debate in the Japanese parliament for more than two years, the government succeeded in passing a bill last June allowing limited military overseas operations. This "is a center piece of Japan's efforts to play a more active role in world affairs," commented a September 9 article in London's *Financial Times*.

Seoul reports roundups of 'spies'

South Korea's secret police have carried out a series of arrests, claiming it had broken up a large, well-financed spy ring that was seeking to "communize the Korean peninsula." The allegations might threaten the faltering negotiations for closer ties with the government of North Korea. Seoul charged that the more than 40 detained have been operating secretly in support of the leading South Korean opposition group, the Democratic Party headed by Kim Dae Jung. A presidential election is expected in South Korea by the end of the year.

Angola factions to form coalition

The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the country's ruling party, has reached an agreement with the U.S.-backed National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (Unita) to form a coalition government after elections set for September 29 and 30. A Portuguese government official said in televised remarks from Angola's capital, Luanda, that the future coalition government would proportionately reflect the results of the elections.

Cuba halts work on nuclear plant

The Cuban government has suspended work on a nuclear plant under construction in Juragua. Havana hoped the plant would help the country solve a shortage of energy fuel. "We don't have any alternative but to halt the construction of the project," Cuban president Fidel Castro said in a speech to a large crowd in the city of Cienfuegos, commemorating the birth of the July 26 movement, the main organization that led the successful struggle to overthrow the Batista dictatorship. Castro blamed financial conditions required by the government of Russia, which demanded, among other things, \$200 million in hard currency to continue work on the plant. "Continuing the project under the new proposed conditions and with so many difficulties and obstacles is something that is unbearable for our economy," he added.

U.S.: more jobs lost in August

Private employment in manufacturing and other U.S. industries fell by 167,000 jobs in August. The big drop came even though the government added roughly 88,000 jobs last month through its emergency summer jobs program. At the same time the unemployment rate fell to 7.6 percent from 7.7 percent in July, most likely because many more people have given up looking for jobs and are thus not counted for this figure. Manufacturing employment, which had been holding steady in recent months, fell by nearly 100,000 in August. The industrial machinery, electronic equipment, transportation equipment, and instruments industries posted big declines. Retail trade businesses lost 71,000 jobs.

TWA announces layoffs

Trans World Airlines announced September 8 it will begin operating next month as a scaled-down operation, with more than 7 percent fewer employees, and shrunken domestic and international services. TWA said its new plan is contingent on ratification by the unions organizing the workforce. The plan includes a 15 percent cut in wages and benefits, and work rule concessions from all TWA unions, whose leaders agreed to the terms last month. A widespread discussion is taking place among the workforce on the proposed concessions. TWA has filed for bankruptcy protection under Chapter 11 of the U.S. bankruptcy law.

—ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

'Our task is to keep the revolution alive,' says Cuban youth during her U.S. tour

BY JUAN VILLAGÓMEZ

LOS ANGELES — More than 600 people came to hear Cuban youth leader Ibis Alvisa González, a researcher at the Center for Youth Studies of Havana, during her tour of Southern California August 24-31. She spoke at eight meetings, four on college campuses.

At the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA), she met for an hour with 150 students at a freshman orientation. She also spoke at a meeting sponsored by the Latin American Student Alliance where Professor Ray Rocco of the political science department welcomed her to the campus.

At UCLA Alvisa pointed to the importance of the direct participation of the Cuban people, youth in particular, in solving Cuba's economic problems. She reported that 100,000 university students used their summer vacations to work as volunteers in agriculture. This is part of Cuba's effort to become 70 percent self-sufficient in food production by 1994.

"This participation is the secret of the survival of our revolution," she said.

One questioner asked if Cuba would be forced to abandon its aid to other countries, given the economic hardships. "If we abandoned the internationalism of the revolution, we would abandon the revolution," Alvisa replied. "Our task, and the key task of youth, is to keep our revolution alive as part of the struggle of Third World peoples."

"Whenever a country of the Third World asks for help, Cuba sends it. Cuba has more doctors in the Third World than the World Health Organization."

"Nothing besides socialism will give countries of the Third World independence. And on a political and moral level, nothing except socialism can provide things like health care for all people. This is why we have been able to resist the blockade for 33 years."

Referring to the Cuban athletics team, which won fifth place at the Barcelona Olympics, she said, "Many of these athletes have been offered millions of dollars to desert. If they weren't conscious of what they were defending, they would not continue to make the effort they are making for Cuba."

At a meeting of 180 people sponsored by the Student Organization of Latinos at Los Angeles City College (LACC) Alvisa explained the importance of Cuba's role in defeating the apartheid army in Angola. "We added our grain of sand to the historic task of winning independence for Namibia, the freeing of Mandela, and the weakening of the apartheid regime." Alvisa was welcomed to LACC by the president of the Associated Students Organization, Jill Bundy.

Alvisa asked the students to describe what their life is like at a meeting with members of the Chicano student group MECHA at Cal State Northridge.

Many students responded, including Teresa Bautista, who explained that she may have to hold two jobs due to the tuition increases and cuts in spending for education. Other students pointed to the cutting of 500 classes and the dismissal of all part-time professors. Tuition has been raised 40 percent and only 1 out of 4 students who qualify for financial aid receives it.

Alvisa explained that despite the economic difficulties faced by Cuba, all education remains free.

Rodolfo Acuña, professor of Latin American Studies at Cal State Northridge, responded to Alvisa's question by referring to the closing of the nearby General Motors plant on the very day of her meeting. He also pointed to the fightbacks taking place among workers — the struggle of "Justice for Janitors" and the thousands of drywall construction workers on strike.

At a house meeting with McDonnell Douglas Corp. workers, Alvisa discussed the role of trade unions in Cuba in defending workers in all areas, from workers in industry to cultural workers.

Another house meeting took place with 20 members of a high school group, the Los

Angeles Student Coalition, where a number of questions were asked about Cuban women. "Cuba was the first country in Latin America to legalize abortion," Alvisa explained. She described the giant steps of Cuban women in becoming 40 percent of the workforce, more than 50 percent of students and in playing a role in all areas, including the army.

She spoke of the importance of Cuba's child-care centers in allowing women to participate. "My husband is watching our daughter while I'm here on tour," she said.

Alvisa also took up the changing attitudes towards gays. "Cuba has a pretty bad history on this," she told the audience at Los Angeles City College. "In the 1970's if there was a gay person in the classroom, they would be rejected by the other students. People didn't want them in the class. Now there is more tolerance, gays are more open on streets." She explained that no laws exist in Cuba against gay sex, as in the U.S.

Alvisa spoke to 40 people in Santa Barbara and appeared on Radio Coyote, the University of Santa Barbara student station,



Militant / Tim Elliot

Cuban youth leader Ibis Alvisa González, speaking at the University of California in Los Angeles. She reported that 100,000 university students in Cuba have used their summer vacations to work as volunteers in agriculture.

and on Channel 13 on the program "Third World News." She spoke on two call-in shows on KPFK radio in Los Angeles.

In Vista, California, north of San Diego, Alvisa talked with 50 workers and farmers at a meeting sponsored by the Comité Cívico Popular Mixteco, a group of indigenous Mixteco workers and farmers from Mexico. Many questions focused on how Cuba can survive economically and the demand by the U.S. and some Latin American governments for a plebiscite in Cuba.

Returning from this meeting, Alvisa saw the immigration checkpoint between Los Angeles and San Diego, where signs are posted along the highway warning motorists about people crossing the road as they flee the Border Patrol police.

On her last night in Los Angeles, Alvisa traveled through the downtown area where homeless people on the sidewalks were preparing to sleep, covering themselves with newspapers, plastic bags, or anything available.

Communist League local candidates in New Zealand denounce war drive

BY BRIGID ROTHERHAM

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — The Communist League has announced that it is standing candidates for mayor in each of New Zealand's three main cities. The elections, for city council and other local bodies, take place October 10. In a statement, the candidates explained that "the campaign offers a working-class voice and a perspective to fight the effects of the world capitalist crisis."

Speaking out against Washington's drive to war in the Middle East and elsewhere, in which the New Zealand government is a close ally, is a central aspect of the candidates' campaigns. The candidates — Brigid Rotherham in Auckland, Patrick Brown in Wellington, and Joan Shields in Christchurch — are all active unionists who campaigned on the job and helped build protest activities against last year's US-led war against Iraq.

They are long-time campaigners for abortion rights and in solidarity struggles against apartheid. Support for a woman's right to abortion and of the struggle for a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa are demands that the socialist campaign is championing.

The candidates are placing central importance on explaining to working people and youth that the United States rulers and the other imperialist powers are leading the world into war. They have been speaking out against Washington's renewed aggression against Iraq, and against the threat of imperialist intervention in Yugoslavia.

The Communist League campaign announcement declared: "All that the ruling rich offer us — both in New Zealand and elsewhere in the world — are more and bloodier wars, racism, attacks on our democratic rights, and economic depression."

"Capitalist politicians try to convince working people to think of ourselves as 'New Zealanders' first and last, and that we must all pull together for the sake of 'our' country. In reality they are asking us to fight for profits, not only at the expense of our living standards, but against our brothers and sisters around the world."

Opposition to war, racism, and sexism is attracting a number of young people to campaign events and activities — from meetings featuring the candidates, to seminars on the *Communist Manifesto*. Some have volunteered to campaign for the candidates, help arrange meetings, or distribute campaign materials.

One volunteer is a soldier who is distributing campaign statements and copies of the *Militant* at the army base where he is stationed.

In Wellington, campaign activists joined with other supporters of the African National Congress in July to help organize a meeting at the university campus in solidarity with the struggle against apartheid. Ninety students came to hear Vusi Mthethwa, an ANC member studying in New Zealand.

The ideas of the campaign are receiving a good hearing among workers who are fighting stepped-up attacks by the bosses on their unions and working conditions.

Campaign goes to picket lines

Rotherham and campaign supporters in Auckland have been participating regularly in picket lines of pulp-and-paper workers there and have also joined the picket line in Tokoroa, 150 miles south. The pulp-and-paper workers have been on strike since July 17 to demand a contract.

Campaign supporters in Christchurch have visited the pulp-and-paper workers in Matura, some six-hours drive from the city. Shields earlier sent a letter of support to the striking workers. Nationally, the Communist League campaign has distributed hundreds of leaflets explaining the issues in the strike and urging solidarity.

Auckland campaigners have also joined the striking meat packers in the town of Morrinsville. These workers have been out for three months following their refusal to accept a contract that would have cut pay and worsened conditions on the job. Both meat workers and pulp-and-paper workers have faced attempts by the bosses to use scab labor to break their strikes. Their picketing has successfully turned back these attacks.

The socialist campaign has also reached out to other workers by canvassing at plant gates. One regular location in the 10:00 p.m. shift change at Christchurch Carpet Yarns (CCY), where about five to ten copies of the *Militant* are sold weekly. The CCY workers waged an 11-week strike earlier this year to win a union contract. US socialist presidential candidate James Warren spent time on the picket line when he toured New Zealand in April.

In past campaigns, socialist candidates have often found it difficult to gain media coverage and invitations to speak at official engagements. However, the Communist League candidates are now finding an increased interest in what they have to say.

Reports announcing the campaign were carried in all the daily newspapers in each of the three cities. Wellington's *Evening Post* carried its report on the front page, explaining that Patrick Brown was running for mayor "because he believed in workers' rights and the need for workers and the unemployed to take control to avert a world war."

Statements by Brown have also been carried on national and local radio news bulletins. In Christchurch, the local television channel interviewed Shields live for six minutes, and a local radio station has recorded a five-minute campaign broadcast.

Rotherham and another campaign supporter were interviewed for three hours on Radio Tainui, a Maori radio station in Hamilton, which has programs rebroadcast by a number of other local Maori stations. The discussion ranged from the role of Cuba in the world today to how to fight unemployment and racism.

Brown has received invitations to speak at official engagements ranging from the Chamber of Commerce, to the National Press Club, to local community meetings. Rotherham addressed an environmental protest rally in Auckland.

These candidates have issued media releases on the struggle in South Africa, the war threats against Iraq and Yugoslavia, the fight for jobs and affirmative action, support for union struggles, and other issues. Many of these have been reproduced as campaign leaflets and distributed along with the *Militant* and other campaign material from tables on the streets and campuses; door to door; at political events; and at picket lines, plant gates, and workplaces.

Campaign supporters are now planning to build on their successes to date during the final weeks of the campaign. They are writing to high schools requesting to address students. Meetings are planned at universities, polytechnics, and teacher training colleges.

The campaign will take up opportunities to reach beyond the cities where the candidates are running. Rotherham recently traveled to Sydney, Australia, to address a Militant Labour Forum on a central theme of the socialist campaign: how working people of different countries can unite to fight the effects of the capitalist crisis and the world economic depression.

Brigid Rotherham is a member of the Engineers Union and is the Communist League candidate for mayor of Auckland.

New printshop floor nears completion

The George Novack Reconstruction Fund was launched in August at the International Socialist Conference in Oberlin, Ohio. The aim of the fund is to raise more than \$150,000 by December 1.

This effort is part of the International Expansion Fund, launched in 1990, that makes possible major capital expenditures designed to strengthen the communist movement's ability to produce the arsenal of books and periodicals needed by working-class fighters.

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

As the *Militant* goes to press, the 10th and final concrete pour is being prepared by the Pathfinder reconstruction team in the new printshop. The team will finish this phase of the project by the end of October.

Much more needs to be done in the coming weeks. Four new skylights will be put on the roof this week. Crews are building new bathrooms and a shipping and receiving

office. Electrical service by an outside contractor will be connected by week's end.

Supporters of the fund now need to step into high gear. Weekly collection of funds is indispensable to completing the current project. This week \$2,910 was receipted, putting the total collected at \$14,191. Twelve supporters in the San Francisco Bay Area led the way by sending in a total of \$1,495, and nine from Minneapolis and St. Paul sent \$690.

This weekend Novack's life and contributions to the communist movement will be celebrated in Los Angeles and San Francisco. Raising funds will be a central feature of both these events.

Throughout his life, Novack pointed out how V.I. Lenin's Bolsheviks in Russia were similar to revolutionary fighters today. As with today's communist movement, the Bolshevik Party had to raise money and build printshops. In the early years of the Russian

revolutionary struggle, the Bolsheviks were forced to build their printing facilities in the harsh conditions of the Tsarist underground.

"In 1901 Lenin arranged with the Marxist electrical engineer Leonid Krassin to take a job constructing an electrogenerating station in the Baku refineries of southern Russia. Within a year Krassin had turned this generating station into a powerhouse of another sort," Novack said in a talk at a 1972 socialist fund-raising meeting.

"In order to get around the difficulties of smuggling party literature into Russia from abroad, which was slow, risky, and time-consuming, Krassin decided to develop a secret printing press. With the help of an experienced party member and printer from Georgia, he set up a press staffed by a dozen operatives, including compositors who could set type in Russian, Georgian, Armenian, and German.

"They lived and worked in rigid seclusion. The plant was never discovered by the Tsarist police throughout the six years of its existence, despite the arrest and torture of the Georgian printer."

Novack explained that Krassin helped design and build a rotary stereotype press. He also acquired a flatbed press, a folding and cutting machine, and a binder. Like Novack, Krassin was a crafty fund-raiser who used his business connections to build the movement.

"Krassin, a true entrepreneur, went straight to the big money," Novack explained. "Through the

writer Maxim Gorky, he was introduced to a radical millionaire, who was so impressed that he contributed 24,000 rubles a year to the expansion efforts of the Russian revolutionary movement."

United States	Pledged	Goal
Atlanta	\$2,725	\$5,500
Baltimore	3,575	4,500
Birmingham	2,050	3,000
Boston	4,113	6,000
Chicago	3,030	6,500
Cincinnati	1,000	1,500
Cleveland	2,700	3,500
Des Moines	2,575	3,500
Detroit	5,825	7,000
Greensboro	2,450	3,000
Houston	2,275	6,000
Los Angeles	5,970	15,000
Miami	2,725	3,250
Morgantown	1,860	3,000
New Haven	300	500
New York	12,789	15,000
Newark	8,840	12,000
Philadelphia	3,105	4,000
Pittsburgh	2,850	4,500
Portland	450	750
St. Louis	5,250	6,500
Salt Lake City	4,235	6,500
San Francisco	6,245	12,000
Seattle	4,520	6,000
Twin Cities	7,005	9,500
Washington, D.C.	3,300	4,500
Australia	650	
Canada	2,765	
Britain	1,700	
France	1,030	
New Zealand	710	
Sweden	2,250	
Belgium	1,050	
Netherlands	50	
Puerto Rico	100	
Total	\$112,067	\$150,000

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Japan's stock market plummets to six-year low

The economic crisis is having a growing impact on working people.

BY SARA LOBMAN

A falling stock market, sharply devalued land prices, and a deepening bank crisis are indications that Japan is not escaping the impact of the world economic depression. Underlying the financial crisis is a crisis of overproduction, which has forced factories to produce at far below capacity and has led to bankruptcies, rising unemployment, shorter working hours, and less take-home pay for millions of Japanese workers.

On August 18 the Nikkei stock index plunged 620 points, or 4 percent, to its lowest close since 1986. Overall, the Japanese market has dropped by a massive 63 percent from its high in 1989. This represents a loss of almost \$2.8 trillion.

This huge loss of value has been accompanied by a steep drop in the value of land in Japan. In Tokyo, for example, land-price declines have averaged 30 percent since 1990.

Bank crisis

These developments have contributed to a bank crisis. Japan's banks now hold billions of dollars in bad debts. The debt is so high that government officials have asked banks not to reveal the figures for fear that the news would further depress the markets. But a confidential Bank of Japan report, leaked in early April, placed the amount at \$215 billion. Seventy percent of the country's property developers are no longer paying interest on their loans.

A series of scandals has contributed to the instability of the banking system. The heads of five of Japan's largest banks have been forced to resign in the last year and a half because of questionable financial dealings.

In the months since the previous big stock market fall in April, the Japanese government has put forward a series of proposals to try to stabilize the financial

system. On August 18 a plan was announced that allows banks and other financial institutions to postpone reporting losses until March 1993. It also waives a requirement that banks limit dividend payments to 40 percent of their profits. Both steps are aimed at preventing banks from dumping even more shares on the market, in the first case to have a good showing at the September 30 reporting deadline, and in the second, to give dividend holders a more acceptable payment.

"Nothing has changed," said Alicia Ogawa, an analyst at S.G. Warburg Securities (Japan) Inc., referring to these proposals. Japanese finance minister Tsutomu Hata, she added, "has just said to banks: 'It's okay to keep quiet. Maybe things will get better by March 31.'"

There is a growing assessment in Japan that the financial crisis is a reflection of a more general economic slowdown. The weekly international edition of the *Japan Times* admitted at the end of August that the stock market decline "indicates that our

economy already has slid into a worse state than generally anticipated."

Industrial production falls

The root of this financial crisis is the overproduction of basic goods, that is, the production of more goods than can be profitably sold on the market. In May industrial output fell by 8.7 percent compared to the year before, the worst decline since 1975.

Nissan Motor Company's state-of-the-art auto assembly line in southern Japan is producing only 166 cars a day, which is 25 percent of capacity. Orders for machine tools in the country are down 45 percent this year. Domestic sales of passenger cars fell 6.5 percent in 1991.

Profits are down and bankruptcies up. Nissan's profits fell 72 percent in the first quarter of this year. Toyota and Mazda reported smaller falls. The number of corporate bankruptcies rose in June to 1,170 — the highest in nearly seven years.

The economic crisis is having a growing impact on working people in Japan. Nissan

announced that it will ax 4,000 jobs over the next three years. Hitachi, Japan's leading electronics company, will lay off 2,200 workers for two days this fall, its first such step since 1973.

In July unemployment rose to 2.2 percent from 2.1 percent the previous months and is expected to continue to climb. Higher unemployment exists in areas hit by the closing of mines, steel mills, and shipyards. The government has designated 38 of these areas as depressed and eligible for special assistance.

Only one out of five workers are covered by the much-talked-about lifelong tenure and even they are not immune. Companies have begun to reduce working hours. Since basic wages in Japan are relatively low, workers put in long hours of overtime — more than workers in any other industrialized country — to bring home a decent paycheck. Both wages and bonuses will go up this year by the smallest amount in at least four years.

With the rise in unemployment, there is less job security and more work-related stress. Many workers suffer from chronic fatigue and work-related illness. Since 1989, an average of 10,000 workers a year have died of diagnosed work-related brain hemorrhages.

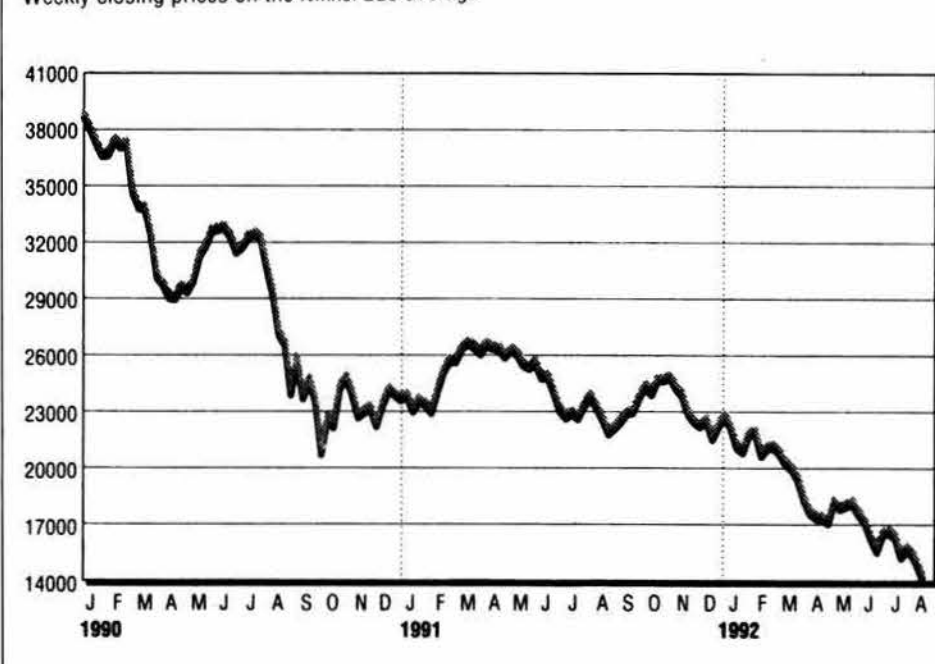
Part-time, immigrant, and women workers are the first to be laid off. At Nissan, for example, more than half of the part-time workers were laid off in 1991. A recent survey of 2,000 major firms found that while new hires who are male would be reduced by 5 percent in the coming year, 24 percent fewer women would be hired.

There are currently almost 1 million workers in Japan who are immigrants or whose families immigrated from other countries. The majority of these are Koreans and Taiwanese, many of whose families were brought to Japan by force decades ago. Another 240,000 are undocumented workers from other countries. Nearly 50,000 Iranians entered Japan last year; most now work in small factories or service establishments with no legal papers.

These workers are the last hired and the

Tokyo Tumbles...

Weekly closing prices on the Nikkei 225 average



Socialist candidate ends Caribbean tour with Trinidad visit

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

PORT-OF-SPAIN, Trinidad — James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president, concluded a highly successful four-nation tour of the Caribbean with a visit to Trinidad and Tobago September 7-8.

The socialist candidate's full schedule included discussions with trade union leaders from the Bank and General Workers' Union (BGWU), the Communication Workers' Union (CWU), the Oilfields Workers' Trade Union (OWTU), and the February 18 Movement. He held a public meeting at the BGWU hall and a news conference, resulting in articles in the *Trinidad Guardian* and *Daily Express* and coverage on two TV stations.

The news conference was organized by OWTU leader David Abdulah and held in the office of Classline Publications.

TV Channel 6 promoted Warren's visit as one of its top news items. "The socialist campaign reaches our shores," the commentator announced as he encouraged viewers to stay tuned for further coverage.

Warren called for canceling the Third World debt, explaining that this was one of the central planks of the socialist campaign platform. "This is not our debt," said Warren. "We don't get a dime from them going out and extorting people around the world. The rulers don't come back to the United States and start handing out bonuses to U.S. workers because they have successfully robbed working people in some other country."

Articles about the socialist candidate's visit, which appeared in both the *Trinidad Guardian* and *Daily Express*, announced the

time and place of Warren's public meeting scheduled for that evening.

In his public talk, Warren explained the new world disorder facing imperialism and sharply condemned Washington's moves toward war against the people of Iraq and Yugoslavia.

"The U.S. government's renewed war moves against Iraq are aimed at imposing a government subservient to Washington that will carry out their policies in the region. This is the only reason they're in Iraq today," Warren stated.

Addressing himself to the situation in Yugoslavia, the socialist candidate explained, "The governments in power there are not stronger than before the breakup of the Yugoslav state, and the people in that country are not weaker. We oppose imperialist military intervention and the imposing of economic sanctions, and we're for all possible humanitarian aid. We believe the people of Yugoslavia can and will resolve this conflict."

Reading from a growing list of countries where United Nations troops are stationed, the socialist candidate explained, "More and more we will see the United Nations being used as a force to intervene around the world. This gives the impression that it's not direct U.S. intervention but that's what it really is."

'A campaign of action'

"This socialist election campaign is a campaign of action and ideas," Warren continued. "Our ideas are not promises of candidates to the people but a political perspective that working people must fight for. We tell the truth. We don't just say things to



Militant/Brian Williams

Leaders of the Communication Workers' Union meet with Warren in Trinidad

maximize the number of votes we might get."

Pointing to the recent mass action campaign in South Africa and the successful ANC-led general strike that occurred there August 3-4, Warren explained, "We're seeing the highest level of politics being practiced in South Africa today by people who don't even have the right to vote."

Following Warren's presentation, a far-ranging discussion ensued among the political activists, both unionists and students, who attended the meeting.

The two dozen participants were eager to find out more about political developments inside the United States. Warren answered questions about the significance of the anti-police riot in Los Angeles, the current state of the U.S. union movement, and whether U.S. workers can be won to the perspective of joining the fight to cancel the Third World debt.

During this meeting, which went on for two and a half hours, there was a great deal of interest in the socialist candidate's view of the breakup of the Soviet Union and the overthrow of the Stalinist governments in Eastern Europe. Warren pointed out that communist leader Ernesto Che Guevara's ideas for moving the Cuban revolution forward were the opposite of what was being done in the former Soviet Union.

"The ruling Stalinist bureaucracies in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe didn't represent bad socialism," Warren stated, "but a transition from socialism back to capitalism. It was a process that started in the mid- to late 1920s." Despite recent developments, capitalism has not been restored in any of these countries.

At the conclusion of the meeting, participants purchased two subscriptions to the *Militant* and more than \$50 worth of literature including several copies of the issue of *New International* containing the feature article "Washington's Assault on Iraq — Opening Guns of World War III."

Among those participating in this meeting were members of the February 18 Move-

ment, the BGWU, the CWU, the Trinidad and Tobago University of Woodford Square Association, and the United National Congress, which is the main opposition political party.

In a discussion with leaders of the CWU, Warren explained how unions in the United States, under the impact of increased attacks by the government and employers, will be transformed into fighting instruments capable of defending the interests of the entire working class.

"We should work in solidarity with each other because our struggles are similar," CWU president Anthony Fritz stated. "We can learn from each other and exchange ideas." The union's office was decorated with posters of Cuban revolutionary leaders Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

OWTU leader David Abdulah invited Warren as well as Pathfinder Press to participate in the Third Caribbean People's International Bookfair and Bookfair Festival, to be held in Trinidad and Tobago November 2-19. The brochure announcing the bookfair explains that its purpose is "to take stock of what has been created by the human spirit in the Caribbean, from the indigenous peoples to the radical trade union movement."

As Warren returned to the United States to continue his campaign, he promised to take the discussions and knowledge he gained from his Caribbean trip to working people he meets at his upcoming campaign stops.



Militant/Brian Williams

Warren with workers at Coca-Cola plant in Grenada. The socialist candidate toured Grenada, Barbados, Curaçao, and Trinidad.

— Socialist Campaign in the News —



September 8, 1992

In the race for U.S. Presidency

THE SOCIALIST Party is alive and well, James Warren, U.S. Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate said yesterday.

He was speaking at a press conference at Classline Publications on Charlotte Street, Port of Spain.

"No one should be fooled into believing that socialism is on the decline because the Soviet Union has broken up," said Warren. "What we were wit-

nessing there was the fall of Stalinism — a police state that oppressed the working class people. That was not socialism," said Warren.

The socialist candidate, who will be taking on Democratic hopeful Bill Clinton and incumbent President George Bush in the Presidential elections in the U.S. this November, is running on a platform that advocates greater human and social rights for



James Warren

the working class people.

"We're trying to get people to look at themselves and the conditions that surround them and make a choice in their favour," said Warren, a 40-year-old steelworker. Warren's running mate is Estelle DeBates, a 32-year-old who has worked in the garment and machine tool industries.

Together they are advocating an increase in the minimum wage for American workers along with a 30-

hour work week with 40 hours of pay for American workers. This, said Warren, would combat the capitalists' who have consistently increased the work-week by firing or laying off employees leaving overstressed, overworked workers to deal with long hours and little pay.

Warren will hold a public meeting tomorrow at the Bank and General Workers' Union headquarters at 6 p.m.

UN to approve more troops to Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

On September 9 the commander of the UN forces in Sarajevo accused "irresponsible elements" among the Bosnian troops who had "failed to respond to the local Bosnian commander's orders" and had deliberately fired on the UN convoy.

Serbian Democratic Party forces resumed the siege of Gorazde with heavy bombardment September 7, after pulling back from the perimeter of the majority-Muslim city August 27. Meanwhile, evidence surfaced that Bosnian army troops have expelled hundreds of unarmed Serbian civilians from small towns around Gorazde, a practice similar to the "ethnic cleansing" of the Serbian and Croatian rightists.

In Sarajevo, Velimir Maric, the commander of the Croatian Defense Forces, has threatened to attack the rest of the forces that are defending the city. Maric's militia is loyal to Mate Boban's Croatian Democratic Union, which has laid siege to one third of Bosnia and proclaimed it the independent republic of Herzeg-Bosna.

Maric charged September 6 that the majority-Muslim Bosnian government troops had tried to loosen his grip of Stup, a suburb of Sarajevo. Maric and his troops maintain a shadowy relationship with their supposed enemy, the Serbian rightist militias that encircle the city. Officers of this group have moved freely across Serbian lines, according to their own statements to *Washington Post* reporters.

As more reports confirm that economic sanctions are having an effect in Serbia and Montenegro, the governments of Croatia and Serbia agreed on September 11 to re-open a major highway linking their two capitals, Zagreb and Belgrade.

Socialist campaign fights ballot exclusion

BY SARA LOBMAN

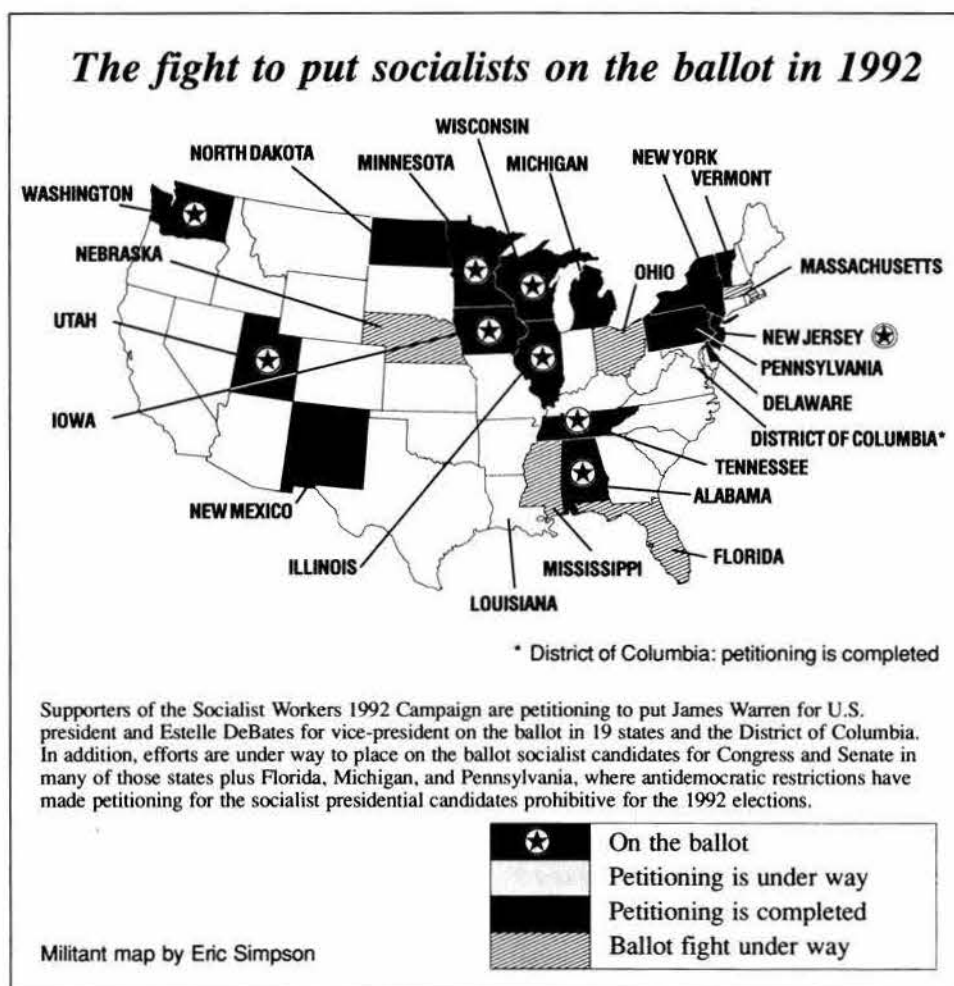
"The fight to prevent the exclusion of Socialist Workers candidates continues to be a central part of the campaign effort," said national campaign director Greg McCartan. Campaign supporters are fighting the undemocratic exclusion of socialist candidates in five states — Missouri, Nebraska, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Mississippi.

A victory was registered in Alabama this week when state officials ruled that John Hawkins, candidate for U.S. Congress, would be placed on the November ballot along with presidential and vice-presidential candidates James Warren and Estelle DeBates. Director of Elections Jerry Henderson had earlier informed the campaign that the number of signatures required on nominating petitions had been raised and therefore Hawkins would be disqualified. He backed off when supporters showed him an earlier letter, over his own signature, clearly stating that only 1,700 names were needed.

In Missouri the socialist campaign immediately launched a fight when Secretary of State Roy Blunt ruled Congressional candidate Deborah Lazar off the ballot. Among those who responded by sending protest messages to Blunt's office were Eldora Spiegelberg, president of the St. Louis chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Rev. Ted Schroeder, pastor of Immanuel Lutheran Church in St. Louis; and Daniel Hellinger, professor of political science at Webster University.

Campaign supporters collected 4,234 signatures to get Lazar, an assembly line worker and member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9014, on the ballot. This was more than double the requirement. Blunt's office ruled more than 2,700 of these invalid.

When supporters went to one election office to review the names themselves, they were told they would either have to pay



\$8.50 an hour for a Board of Elections employee to operate the video terminal with the computerized registration lists, or pay \$157 to obtain a printed version.

Lazar and campaign activists will be taking the ballot fight and the perspective of the socialist campaign to Teamsters on strike against Doe Run Co., in Herculaneum, Mis-

souri; to an anti-Ku Klux Klan rally in Alton, Illinois, near St. Louis; and at workplaces and college campuses throughout Missouri.

In Nebraska, where Secretary of State Alan Beermann ruled Warren and DeBates off the ballot due to allegedly insufficient valid signatures, election officials have stepped up their attack. Lancaster County officials started an investigation claiming petition signatures were forged. County election commissioner Patty Hansen has turned petitions over to the police. Forging petition signatures is a felony punishable by up to 25 years in prison and a \$25,000 fine, she said. The *Omaha World-Herald* has joined the attack, publishing an editorial that urged officials to continue the inquiry.

In a letter to Beermann, Andrew Pulley, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from Iowa, and Héctor Marroquín, national co-chair of the Socialist Workers campaign, condemned the efforts to exclude the candidates from the ballot. Supporters gathered close to twice the 2,500 signatures required, they pointed out. In doing so, they said, "we met dozens of Nebraskans we had not known before who were inspired by the political platform of the Socialist Workers Party, volunteered to help us, and looked forward to supporting the ticket in the election."

Socialist campaigners are responding to the attack by approaching student groups at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln with the goal of organizing a public meeting, and preparing a fact sheet to distribute.

Ohio invalidates most signatures

In Ohio the secretary of state's office has informed campaign supporters that only 2,800 of the 8,000 signatures submitted to place Warren and DeBates on the ballot were valid. State law requires 5,000.

Hamilton County Board of Elections officials in Cincinnati have already ruled the socialist candidates for the Ohio House, Mark Gilsdorf and Valerie Libby, off the ballot. In Cuyahoga County, which includes Cleveland, officials have said that Ronald Garnez Parks, candidate for U.S. Congress, submitted insufficient valid signatures.

Campaign volunteers spent 75 volunteer-hours combing through Parks's petitions to document valid signatures. They were able to check 390 signatures out of the 1,800 that had been ruled invalid and found at least 50 that were good, even by the board of election's own narrow standard. Errors by

\$30,000 campaign fund

Enclosed is my donation of \$_____ to the Socialist Workers 1992 Campaign Fund.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ Zip _____ Phone _____

Mail to Socialist Workers National Campaign Committee, 191 7th Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

the board included mistakes in tallying good signatures, marking names as "unregistered" when records show the voters were registered, and claiming that easily readable signatures were illegible. Hundreds of voters who have changed address since the last election were discounted.

Volunteers also found the board's records are out of date, computer files are inaccurate, and that voter registration cards are missing.

They submitted a six-page report to the board of elections documenting their research and demanding Parks be placed on the ballot. The report could have an impact on the secretary of state's decision on Warren's and DeBates's ballot status. More than 3,200 signatures for the presidential slate were invalidated in Cuyahoga County. The county board of elections will issue a ruling on Parks's case September 17.

The socialists' discoveries come as the Cuyahoga County board has been rocked by a series of scandals revealing rigged computers, lost records, and inaccurate vote counts. A September 9 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* article said reforming "the scandal-ridden Board of Elections will require not just a little organizational tinkering, but a cultural revolution."

'Tools of big-business parties'

"The county board of elections are not impartial arbiters of elections," Peter Thierjung, spokesperson for the socialist campaign, said. "They are the tools of the two big-business parties. Board members are chosen representatives of either party. They have no interest in making sure the Socialist Workers candidates or other third parties have access to the ballot."

At a September 10 press conference, Thierjung called on Secretary of State Robert Taft to reconsider and put Warren and DeBates on the ballot. "This attempt to exclude us from the ballot is a direct result of the ballot monopoly built up over decades by the Democrats and Republicans," Thierjung said. "Their laws and procedures are designed to keep others off the ballot."

In Boston, the Socialist Workers campaign of Warren, DeBates, and Karen Ray for U.S. Congress (9th C.D.) are in the process of filing an injunction to postpone the printing of election ballots. The socialists had filed a lawsuit demanding that the state reverse its decision to rule the candidates off the ballot, but the date of the court hearing was set for January 15, well after the elections. The injunction also asks that an earlier date be set.

The Mississippi Board of Election Commission, composed of the governor, the secretary of state, and attorney general, ruled on September 9 that Warren and DeBates would not be on the ballot, again due to allegedly insufficient signatures. Campaign supporters are considering whether to launch a legal fight.

David Sandor from St. Louis, Missouri, and Peter Thierjung from Cleveland, Ohio, contributed to this article.

Send protest messages

The Socialist Workers 1992 Campaign is urging supporters around the country to send messages protesting the undemocratic exclusion of socialist candidates from the ballot. Messages can be sent to the following addresses:

Ohio: Secretary of State Robert Taft, 30 E. Broad St., Columbus, OH 43266. Copies should be sent to Socialist Workers 1992 Ohio Campaign, 1863 W. 25th St., Cleveland, OH 44113.

Massachusetts: Michael Connolly, Secretary of State, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, State House, Boston, MA 02133.

Mississippi: Secretary of State Dick Molpus, P.O. Box 136, Jackson, MS 39205.

Missouri: Roy Blunt, Secretary of State, P.O. Box 778, Jefferson City, MO 65101.

Nebraska: Address letters to Allen Beermann, Secretary of State, and send them to Iowa Socialist Workers 1992 Campaign, 2105 Forest Ave., Des Moines, IA 50311.

Socialist campaign supporters 'shake cans, seek donations'

BY GREG McCARTAN

"We need to raise funds now from thousands of youth and working people who want to see the socialist campaign have the biggest impact possible over the next seven weeks," James Warren, socialist candidate for president, said on a stopover in New York on his way to Detroit.

Rail workers at Amtrak and Metro North in New York; students at Queens College; young women and men fighting to defend abortion rights; marchers in New York City's Labor Day parade — these are just a few of the people Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for vice-president, met

on one of her first stops in the fall tours of the socialist presidential ticket.

Meanwhile, Warren was speaking at public meetings, gatherings of unionists, to the media, and with young people in Barbados, Curaçao, Grenada, and Trinidad.

At events large and small the socialist candidates are getting their best hearing in years because they present a fighting working-class road forward to confront the effects of the capitalist economic crisis, organize opposition to the growing threats of U.S. wars abroad, and defend the labor movement.

Warren said the campaign needs the help of young people, workers, and working farmers, who in a variety of ways want to join in getting out the message of the candidates and become a part of the fights and struggles today. Volunteering to make campaign posters, set up meetings at college campuses, join a campaign team at a plant gate or street corner, or help get out a mailing are all important contributions to the effort.

"We encourage everyone we meet to make a financial contribution to the campaign," Warren said. "Ours is not a campaign funded by big business or wealthy individuals. Our supporters shake cans at tables on the street, seek donations from their fellow students and coworkers, and dig deep into their own pockets to mount the most effective and fighting campaign possible."

"These contributions — large and small — are what has made it possible for the campaign not only to wage a fight in two dozen states to get on the ballot, but to become a part of the strikes, protests, and political meetings across the country and around the world," the presidential candidate said.

"Our campaign — the campaign of all the socialist candidates and their supporters — is accomplishing a lot politically," he said. "We'll use every dollar toward this end. We need to collect more than \$30,000 in the coming weeks to make the most of every day between now and November 3."

Greg McCartan is the director of the 1992 Socialist Workers campaign.

\$30,000 Campaign Fund goals

Atlanta	\$1,000
Baltimore	800
Birmingham	900
Boston	1,200
Chicago	1,300
Cincinnati	200
Cleveland	800
Des Moines	900
Detroit	800
Greensboro	600
Houston	1,500
Los Angeles	2,500
Miami	700
Morgantown	600
New Haven	500
New York	3,000
Newark	2,000
Philadelphia	1,000
Pittsburgh	1,000
Portland	200
Salt Lake City	1,200
San Francisco	2,000
Seattle	1,500
St. Louis	1,200
Twin Cities	1,500
Washington D.C.	1,000
Other	1,500

TOTAL \$31,400

'Militant' supporters around world launch campaign to win new readers

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Beginning with this issue the *Militant* is launching a nine-week international campaign to win new readers. On Saturday, September 19, hundreds of supporters from Stockholm to Los Angeles to Sydney will be at street corners, campuses, plant gates, and working-class communities to expand the paper's circulation.

The goal is to win new subscribers to the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*. Supporters of these publications are beginning the campaign with a three-week effort to sell single copies of the paper. The single-sales campaign, ending October 9, is designed to help supporters reach out broadly, thus laying the basis for a successful subscription drive.

This will be followed by an effort to win subscribers starting Saturday, October 10, which will last for 6 weeks through November 21. During the entire 9 weeks of the drive *Militant* distributors will also sell copies of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics.

In August, James Warren, Social-

and Leon Trotsky." The *Pulse* item featured the cover of the Pathfinder book *The Last Year of Malcolm X*, and gave readers Denny's telephone number to begin their orders.

Campaigning with the *Militant*

As proven in Barbados, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are the best political weapons for supporters of the 1992 socialist election campaign.

On September 8 Jane Harris, a member of the United Transportation Union from Newark, New Jersey, and other campaign supporters introduced Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president, to workers at New York's Penn Station. In the course of discussions eight workers bought the *Militant*. A train conductor who has been reading the paper for three years renewed his subscription for another year.

A team of supporters joined socialist congressional candidates Laura Garza, Dan Fein, and Jill Fein at a bus station in downtown Miami for street campaigning September 11. The socialist campaign-

ion. "People lived in peace side by side, neighbor by neighbor until the politicians started this," he told Ellen Haywood and David Sandor, socialist congressional candidates in Illinois and Missouri, who were campaigning at the demonstration.

"It's a dilemma," Dedic added. "I see my brother on CNN in a concentration camp, something has to be done. But I also know these powers only intervene for their own economic interests."

Next week the *Militant* will feature an article taking issue with the New York-based *Guardian* newspaper and others who support imperialist military intervention as the way forward for working people in Bosnia.

The U.S. drive to war in Iraq and Yugoslavia is fueled by increased competition among imperialist powers. The interimperialist conflicts were illustrated this week by the acceleration of the financial crisis in capitalist Europe. The government of Finland devalued its currency, while Stockholm raised interest rates to an unprecedented 75 percent. The currency crisis increases the possibilities of trade wars between the European imperialist powers as Bonn emerges stronger among them.

But Germany itself is engulfed in turmoil, with its capitalist economy hit by the burden of reunification. As unemployment soars, especially in eastern Germany, right-wing thugs have begun firebombing hostels for immigrants. But youth and working people have responded with sizeable countermobilizations (see article on page 20.)

Militant supporters from Stockholm are organizing a sales and reporting team to several cities in Germany. The team will go to Berlin for the October 3 demonstration on the anniversary of reunification. The action will focus on protesting attacks against immigrants.

Resistance among U.S. workers

With the effects of the "triple-dip" recession in the United States pinching working people harder, resistance to the employers' assaults was more visible in many Labor Day parades last week.

As many as 5,000 workers marched in the parade in Philadelphia. About half the participants were city workers who are members of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Demonstrators chanted slogans against Mayor Edward Rendell's administration, which has been demanding \$100 million in wage and benefit cuts from city workers. AFSCME members, whose contract has expired, had just approved a strike authorization vote by an overwhelming majority.

Union members were receptive to socialist candidates Deborah Liatos for U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania, and Mark Wyatt for U.S. Congress (2nd C.D.) The socialist candidates and their supporters distributed a statement defending the city workers and sold 23 copies of the *Militant*.

Socialist campaigners accompanied Estelle DeBates at the New York Labor Day march. Tens of thousands of union members participated, including 2,000 teachers who sported black T-shirts with the slogan "Shame on City Hall." New York mayor David Dinkins has refused to negotiate a contract for the second year in a row. March participants bought 36 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and 3 *Militant* subscriptions.

During an August union meeting of 300 United Auto Workers

(UAW) members and supporters in York, Pennsylvania, a team of *Militant* readers from Washington, D.C., sold the paper to 27 workers. The UAW members were there to discuss the current stage of their fight for a contract with Caterpillar.

Some of the best places to distribute the *Militant* are college campuses, and the fall semester begins in most U.S. schools this month. Supporters of the *Militant* in Los Angeles were successful in finding many new readers during campus meetings where Cuban youth leader Ibis Alvis González spoke.

Printed on this page are the proposed goals for supporters of the circulation campaign around the world. In the next issue we will print the goals local supporters have adopted.

Supporters are encouraged to send in brief stories, including pictures where possible, with their experiences in selling the *Militant* every week. Readers who would like to convince others to buy the paper can order a bundle by calling (212) 243-6392 or contacting local distributors listed on page 16.

All out for the first week of the circulation campaign!

Anita Östling from Stockholm, Sweden; Becky Ellis, member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 694, and Maggie McGraw from Miami; Richard Sorrentino from St. Louis, Missouri; and Margrethe Siem, member of the United Transportation Union from Washington, D.C., contributed to this article.



Reading the 'Militant' at offices of Clement Payne Labor Union in Bridgetown, Barbados.

ist Workers candidate for U.S. president, visited Barbados as part of a four-nation tour of the Caribbean. "We are living in a depression that affects working people worldwide," Warren stated at a well attended press conference at the offices of the Clement Payne Labor Union (CPLU). "The problems of working people in Barbados, the United States, and throughout the world are directly tied to the crisis of the capitalist market system."

While there, Warren and local supporters of his campaign introduced the *Militant* to fellow workers, including employees of the Sanitation Service Authority who were preparing for a fight against impending layoffs. Political activist David Denny in Barbados reports selling the *Militant* to eight sanitation workers last week.

Denny, who is stepping up his efforts to sell the socialist news-weekly, has publicized his campaign to circulate the *Militant* and Pathfinder books. *Pulse*, a Barbados weekly, wrote in its August 14-20 issue, "Political activist David Denny is preparing to set up a new bookstore at his Nurse Land, Bush Hall residence."

"The Ahsaki Pathfinder Bookshop will sell publications by such authors as Malcolm X, W.E.B. Du Bois, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro

ers set up a literature table, held campaign signs, and distributed statements protesting U.S. war moves against the people of Iraq. They also demanded a federal public works program to rebuild hurricane-damaged Miami and create jobs and called for shortening the workweek with no pay cuts to put to work the thousands of unemployed workers in Florida.

In the course of the two-hour impromptu street rally, 17 passersby bought socialist periodicals.

Debate on Yugoslavia

As the military onslaught in Bosnia-Herzegovina continues, working people are debating whether military intervention in former Yugoslavia by Washington or other imperialist powers is the way to end the carnage.

About 200 people marched in St. Louis, Missouri, to protest the violence in Bosnia September 1. Representatives of the American Croatian Relief Project, St. Joseph's Church, and the Islamic Center of Greater St. Louis participated.

"The whole thing can be settled if the U.S. sends a couple of jets to bomb Belgrade," said Sofja Pakicof at the march. "I'm not talking about civilians, just the government." Isbrisim Dedic, a garment worker from Bosnia, had a different opin-

AROUND THE WORLD

	The Militant	Perspectiva Mundial	New International
	Weekly single copies GOAL	Weekly single copies GOAL	Nine-week GOAL
UNITED STATES			
Atlanta*	90	3	35
Baltimore	105	3	35
Birmingham, AL	85	2	35
Boston	130	5	45
Chicago	125	10	45
Cincinnati*	40	0	5
Cleveland	105	5	40
Des Moines, IA	105	8	40
Detroit	80	5	35
Greensboro, NC*	105	3	30
Houston	95	10	30
Los Angeles*	150	25	70
Miami	110	10	40
Morgantown, WV*	80	1	30
New Haven, CT	30	4	6
New York	250	15	90
Newark, NJ*	150	10	65
Philadelphia*	110	5	35
Pittsburgh*	80	0	35
Portland, OR	20	2	52
Salt Lake City*	85	5	35
San Francisco*	100	5	60
Seattle*	95	8	35
St. Louis*	120	3	35
Twin Cities, MN*	125	5	45
Washington, DC*	85	6	35
Other	50	5	
U.S. TOTAL	2,705	158	996
AUSTRALIA	50	5	20
BARBADOS*	10	0	5
BELGIUM	10	1	8
BRITAIN			
London	110	2	40
Manchester	80	1	30
Sheffield	50	1	20
BRITAIN TOTAL	240	4	90
CANADA			
Montreal	100	7	60
Vancouver	100	5	30
Toronto	100	7	45
CANADA TOTAL	300	19	135
FRANCE	5	1	8
ICELAND*	5	1	5
MEXICO	2	2	2
NEW ZEALAND			
Wellington*	30	0	10
Auckland*	35	1	8
Christchurch*	30	0	8
N.Z. TOTAL	95	1	26
PUERTO RICO*	2	4	2
SWEDEN*	50	5	20
TOTAL	3,474	201	1,317
PROPOSED GOALS	3,500	200	1,300

* Local areas that have already adopted goals. The remaining are proposed goals by the *Militant*.

Quebec youth protest constitutional plan

Struggles for rights of Natives, Quebecois provoke crisis for rulers

BY KATY LEROUGETEL

QUEBEC CITY, Quebec — Five thousand people rallied on the steps of the Quebec provincial legislature here September 8.

The crowd, predominantly young, was protesting changes to the Canadian constitution being proposed by federal prime minister Brian Mulroney and all ten provincial premiers, including Quebec premier Robert Bourassa, as well as by major Native organizations. Shouts of "Non Monsieur Bourassa!" rang out.

On October 26, for the second time in a dozen years a referendum will be held in Quebec centered on the relationship of that province — in which 80 percent of the population speaks French — to the rest of the country. Today as then, a major debate is shaping up in which tens of thousands of Quebecois and Natives are seeking to find the means to fight for their national rights in face of a massive campaign led by the federal government in favor of "Canadian national unity."

In 1980 a small majority of this province voted against a proposal by the nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) government of that period demanding considerable autonomy for Quebec. The PQ's proposal was widely interpreted as amounting to a proposal to establish an independent Quebec even though their actual demands fell far short of that.

Many who rejected the PQ's proposal did so on the basis of promises from the federal government that it would promote a "renewed" federal system. They were led to believe that Quebec's historic demands for greater powers could be met within the federal system.

Quebecois have fought for generations to win these powers in order to overcome the systematic discrimination faced by those who speak French in Canada. For example, in 1985 a unilingual francophone in Quebec earned on average \$3,145 less per year than a unilingual anglophone. Montreal contains the largest concentration of poverty in Canada, with only 50 percent of the adult population employed in 1991.

1982 Constitution imposed

However, in 1982 Ottawa, far from moving to fulfill its referendum promises, joined together with the nine other provincial governments in imposing a new constitution on Quebec. Their aim was to weaken Quebec's capacity to legislate affirmative action programs or take other measures to overcome the national oppression of the Quebecois.

On that occasion widespread opposition led the Quebec government, all of the province's unions, and the main farmers' organization as well as Native organizations across the country to reject the constitution.

At a result the new constitution lacks sufficient legitimacy to be a very useful tool for the ruling rich.

Quebecois and Natives have continued to demand recognition of their right to national self-determination. Their resistance came to a head in June 1990, when thousands of Native people across Canada organized to successfully defeat the constitutional proposal then on the table, dubbed the "Meech Lake Accord." Tens of thousands of Quebecois marched in the streets as well, to celebrate the accord's defeat, many of them

demanding a "sovereign" Quebec. In addition, the fight for the democratic rights of Quebecois and Natives converged with and helped reinforce the struggles of unionists from coast to coast.

Canada's English- and French-speaking capitalist rulers have become increasingly determined to reach a constitutional agreement that might help to undercut this resistance. After a decade, Ottawa and all ten provincial governments, including Quebec, together with leaders of major Canada-wide Native organizations have come up with a common package of proposed amendments to the constitution. The deal will be submitted



Mohawk demonstration in Oka, Quebec, in 1990.

to a cross-Canada referendum on October 26. Each provincial government can decide on the exact wording of the question in that province in order to try to win the broadest possible support. In addition, the wording of the constitutional accord is somewhat different in French than in English for the same reason.

Vague provisions for rights

The capitalist politicians claim that the agreement is a big breakthrough for Quebec and for Native people. Their accord includes a clause recognizing Quebec as a "distinct society" and affirming the Quebec government's role in promoting its distinctness. Constitutional lawyers point out that in reality this vague provision has no legal significance.

The draft agreement also includes the recognition of "the inherent right of self-government" of Native people.

However, all agreements with Natives on self-government must be negotiated separately with each provincial government. They are, moreover, to be subordinate to both existing federal and provincial laws and the "right" for those governments to take whatever means they deem necessary to defend "peace, order, and good government."

As depression conditions deepen in Canada, Canadian capitalists and their governments are increasingly determined to break the resistance of working people at home and abroad.

Union-busting and rising attacks on the rights of Natives, Quebecois, women, and immigrants are linked to the accelerating use of Canadian combat troops abroad. Ottawa sent 2,000 troops to the Persian Gulf in 1990 while simultaneously stationing four thousand soldiers and Quebec Provincial Police (QPP) to besiege Mohawks in Oka. Currently Ottawa has the single biggest troop contingent of any country in Yugoslavia. Today once again Ottawa fully backs Washington's latest drive towards war with Iraq.

The federal Conservative government, with support from the Liberal and New

things to him. They kicked him in the balls so hard he couldn't stand up. I can't get a doctor in to see him."

As significant opposition to the accord built up among Quebecois as well, the Toronto *Globe and Mail* blared "Battle of Quebec looms."

Quebec labor unions oppose proposal

Fernand Daoust, Quebec Federation of Labor president, spoke to a crowd of 500 opponents of the constitutional proposal September 1 in Montreal. Mouvement-Quebec, a coalition of union, nationalist groups, artists, and business people organized the rally. Jean Campeau, presently on leave from his post as chairman of the board at Domtar Corp., gave the keynote address.

The Rassemblement des Jeunes Souverainistes du Québec (RJSQ — Quebec Regroupment of Young Sovereignists) set up a tent camp outside the legislative assembly in Quebec City, staying until September 9. This was the deadline for the provincial parliament to decide on the exact content of the referendum question to be put to the population in Quebec in October.

RJSQ president Nicolas Girard said in an interview, "We aim to regroup all young people who see sovereignty as their option. Of course, during the referendum we will probably transform ourselves into a nonpartisan 'No' committee against the federal offers."

Michel Prairie, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union and Communist League candidate in the November 1 Montreal St-Jacques municipal by-election, visited the camp and participated in the September 8 Quebec City rally. He committed himself to join together with those forces who reject the accord.

He explained, "The capitalist politicians were forced to give lip-service to the rights of Natives and Quebecois. Struggles like that of the Mohawks at Oka for their land rights in 1990, which inspired solidarity throughout the world, ensured that. But there is nothing in this deal for any of us."

"The accord is based on the rulers' intent to deny the right of self-determination to Quebecois and Natives. The only way we will make any progress in the fight against the oppression of Quebecois and Natives is if we unite together. I will use my campaign to protest cop harassment and brutality against all Oka residents."

"The stand taken by [PQ leader] Jacques Parizeau is poison. He attacks the deal for granting too much to Natives. His party fully backed the army-cop attack against the Mohawks in 1990. It's simply the latest proof that no capitalist party can advance the fight for the rights of the oppressed."

Pointing to one of his pieces of campaign literature, entitled *The fight for the rights of the Quebecois and Natives in Canada*, he said "I will be campaigning to unite working people of all nationalities in the fight against the rulers' war drive against Iraq, against the South African apartheid regime's bloody attacks on working people, and the bosses' efforts to pit us against each other in an attempt to make us pay for the crisis of their profit system."

"The biggest rift among us is the division between those with and without jobs. That's why we need to fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. I will also use my campaign to extend solidarity to workers such as the National flight attendants, who are on strike against union-busting."

"Unions must champion the fight for affirmative action measures for victims of discrimination in hiring, such as Quebecois, Natives, and women. Rather than treating workers from other countries as competitors for jobs, our unions should be internationalist, fighting to force Ottawa to open its borders to the millions of refugees seeking safety from war and starvation."

"The debate leading up to the October 26 referendum will be an excellent opportunity to advance this socialist alternative among working people and youth."

Katy LeRougetel is a member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 6932. Mary Ellen Marus, reporting from Oka, contributed to this article.

International Socialist Review

The Fight for National Rights of Quebecois and Natives in Canada

- the origins of the oppression of Native peoples and Quebecois
- what is the road forward in struggle against national oppression in Canada?
- how does this struggle relate to the broader working-class struggle in Canada and the world?

Originally printed in May 29, 1992, issue of the Militant this special International Socialist Review takes up these and other questions.

Available from bookstores listed on page 16 or order from the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. \$50 per copy plus \$.75 postage.

George Novack: Soldier of the revolution for sixty years

Party leader, civil liberties fighter, fund-raiser, Marxist author

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

For almost six decades, George Novack was a member and leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Novack died July 30 in New York at the age of 86. His life and contributions to the communist movement were celebrated at the International Socialist Conference in Oberlin, Ohio, in August.

"It's difficult to know what to say about a person who's been an active, leading cadre and fighter for longer than I've been alive," said SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes in his talk to the closing session of the conference. "It is also difficult because George is the last of the generation that came to our movement when the struggles of the 1930s began sharply posing the idea — even in the United States — that workers can and will put an end to capitalism."

"George has done every imaginable task in the movement," said Barnes. "Many of us today know him best as the author of many, many Pathfinder books. They're important Marxist works that took great effort. But I'm convinced they are not George's most important legacy."

"The most important thing was that George was part of the great chain of generations in the revolutionary movement who consciously saw the line of march of the working class toward victory, and joined up as a 'lifer' in the fight."

Novack is often called a "scholar" or an "intellectual," Barnes said. But these descriptions are not accurate.

"George correctly described himself in one of the last letters he wrote to me earlier this year. George was above all a soldier of the revolution, as he put it — one who wrote, who edited, who built defense committees, who worked as a machinist, who served on party committees, who teamed up with the revolutionary workers of his generation."

Early years

Novack was born in 1905, into a second-generation Jewish immigrant family of modest means in Boston. From an early age he became a voracious reader. In 1922 Novack enrolled in Harvard University, one of the most prestigious schools in the country. Naturally, his family had high expectations for their son.

"Alas for the dreams of parents for their children! My university training was to be put to quite different uses," is how Novack put it years later. Novack never graduated and in over five years at Harvard he quit three times. Without consulting his parents, in his sophomore year Novack hitchhiked across the country.

Describing this journey in an unpublished memoir, Novack wrote: "I mingled with hobos likewise going west who took passage on freights with me. I experienced my first encounter with the IWW [Industrial Workers of the World] when another occupant of a refrigerator car accosted me and brusquely asked: 'Show us your red card.' I had no idea what he was referring to. He explained that a traveler had to join the 'One Big Union' in order to use the freights. Pleading the ignorance of youth, I promised to make good my membership at the earliest opportunity and was permitted to continue my journey."

While at Harvard, Novack was never exposed to Marxism or to the working-class movements of that time. Unlike the 1930s, there was less radical activity on the campuses in the 1920s. In 1928 Novack voted for Democrat Al Smith in the presidential election, the first and last time he supported a capitalist candidate.

Novack did come to terms with religious ideas while in college, however. "In what way could I best serve the cause of humanity and fulfill myself?" Novack asked himself. "The solution had to be secular and social. The remainder of the college years witnessed a persistent quest for answers. Money-making as a goal in life was scratched from



Novack, secretary of Civil Rights Defense Committee, which defended Minneapolis Teamsters and SWP leaders who opposed World War II, delivering petitions and resolutions to Presidential Pardon Authority in 1944.

the start."

In 1927 Novack left the academic cocoon in Cambridge to take an advertising job in New York City. Later he moved on to the book publishing business, taking jobs with Doubleday and E.P. Dutton in New York.

In his business and promotion work, Novack learned that in the world of publishing "the quality or public benefit of any publication bearing its imprint was subordinate to its immediate or prospective profitability. If trash brought in cash, that overrode consideration of other values." Novack always pointed out how much more satisfaction he got later in life from promoting revolutionary books and pamphlets produced by Pathfinder and its predecessors.

The Wall Street crash of 1929 was the great divide in Novack's life. He and many others from his generation were radicalized and drawn toward the working class and socialist movements.

Novack had a circle of friends and associates who worked in the publishing, academic, and literary fields. As they experienced the appalling effects of the capitalist breakdown in the opening of the 1930s, where millions were thrown out of work, many jettisoned liberalism or left-Zionism for revolutionary views. In this period, Novack contributed articles to the *New Republic* and the *Nation*, two of the leading liberal magazines of the day.

Along with other Jewish writers, Novack became involved for a brief period with the *Menorah Journal*, a cultural magazine that became more radical under the impact of the depression. Novack and the circle around the *Menorah Journal* helped defend victims of capitalist injustice.

Many of those in this circle also wrote for periodicals in which the by-then Stalinist dominated Communist Party had predominant influence. Many of Novack's contemporaries had been attracted to the 1917 Russian Revolution, although most did not join the Communist Party.

Committee to defend political prisoners

In 1931 the International Labor Defense (ILD) formed the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (NCDPP). The ILD had been initiated by the Communist Party in the 1920s. It organized massive campaigns

on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti, Tom Mooney, and other martyrs of class injustice both in the United States and around the world.

The original nucleus of the ILD included James P. Cannon, Rose Karsner, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern — all of whom who later became leaders of the Communist League of America (CLA), the predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party. They were expelled from the Communist Party in 1928 for opposing Stalin's betrayal of the principles and ideas of the Russian Revolution, which were based on the writings and leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, two of its central leaders.

Several well-known writers and novelists — including Theodore Dreiser, Lincoln Steffens, and John Dos Passos — were among the NCDPP's better-known supporters. It was through his work in the NCDPP that Novack first became active in the socialist and labor movements.

The NCDPP defended union organizers framed-up in the Harlan County coal fields, and it collected money to help defend the Scottsboro Boys, nine Black youths framed-up in Alabama on charges of having raped two white women.

Novack was instrumental in setting up the Political Prisoners Book Committee. "As advertising manager of Dutton, I was advantageously placed to undertake this assignment," he later wrote. "I received permission to solicit all publishers to donate their spare books to the project and utilize the company's warehouse to store and ship the books to the prisoners."

It was in the NCDPP that Novack and others learned their first lessons in the insidious methods of Stalinism. At the time, both the Communist Party and IWW were trying to organize miners in Harlan County, Kentucky. The two organizations were at each other's throats, Novack recalled. "The mine bosses and their police, however, treated any organizers with impartial brutality and railroaded members of both to jail and held them there."

The Communist Party blocked the NCDPP from defending the imprisoned IWW organizers, arguing that it should defend only the CP-controlled National Miners Union. Novack could not swallow such factionalism, which cut across the very grain of working-class solidarity upon which the ILD and NCDPP were supposedly founded.

Joins revolutionary party

Above all, it was the events in Germany in 1932-33 that led Novack to break politically from the Stalinist movement. "The Nazi victory in February 1933 struck us with greater force than the 1929 economic crisis of which it was an outcome," Novack said.

Novack increasingly questioned the Stalinist line of rejecting the call for common action in the streets with Social Democratic organizations in the working-class movement against the rising menace of Nazism. In May 1933 Novack, along with several other defense committee activists, resigned from the NCDPP.

Around this time Novack began reading the *Militant* newspaper, which was published and distributed by the Communist League of America. Sounding the alarm on the impending showdown in Germany, each issue featured a major article by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, which hammered away at what workers had to do to stop a fascist takeover. Trotsky's articles — (now collected in the Pathfinder book *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany* — had a deep impact on Novack.

In the fall of 1933 Novack, together with several of his collaborators in NCDPP, joined the Communist League of America. "This was our first acquisition in bulk. Up to then, people had been joining us one by one. Now a group

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page

joined us, a group of intellectuals," wrote James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the CLA, in the *History of American Trotskyism*.

Moscow trials

Beginning in 1934, Novack's main assignments in the movement revolved around matters pertaining to Trotsky's security. Since his expulsion in 1927 from the Russian Communist Party, Trotsky had been hounded throughout Europe by both Stalinists and fascists. Most capitalist governments had succumbed to diplomatic pressure from Moscow to bar entry to Trotsky, including the United States. Novack was assigned to form an ad-hoc committee to help Trotsky gain asylum.

Using his labor defense connections, Novack asked Morris Ernst, counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union and a friend of President Roosevelt, to explore the chances of obtaining Trotsky's entry into the United States. "Ernst arranged to have a Sunday night dinner with the Roosevelt family at the White House," Novack recalled. "At the close of the meal he said to the President: 'I have a friend who is in trouble and imperatively requires a visa to this country. What can be done for him here?' Roosevelt asked: 'Who is your friend, Morris?' When Ernst informed him that Trotsky was the prospective applicant, the cigarette he usually carried so jauntily may have dipped an inch or two."

The effort failed, and Trotsky remained "a man on the planet without a visa" until Norway gave him asylum in 1935.

Stalin staged four trials — known as the "Moscow trials" — between 1936 and 1938. Trotsky and the original leaders of the revolution were charged with plotting to assassinate Stalin, of conspiring to wreck the country's economic and military power, and of killing masses of Russian workers. They were also accused of collaborating with the intelligence agencies of Britain, France, Japan and Germany.

The trials were followed by violent purges with victims numbering in the millions.

Refuting Moscow's frame-ups

The earlier ad-hoc committee was revived under the name of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. Serving as the national secretary, Novack helped lead a broad campaign to refute these infamous frame-ups and make the truth known to the world.

The committee enlisted the support of an array of well-known endorsers. Among them were anthropologist Franz Boas, philosopher John Dewey, literary critic Edmund Wilson, and novelists James T. Farrell and Mary McCarthy. The campaign received minimal response from the trade union officialdom, which was either indifferent to the issues or dominated by the Stalinists.

Nevertheless, the struggle to establish the truth about Stalin's heinous crimes, committed in the name of socialism, split the radical-minded writers and academics into fiercely opposing camps and drew a number closer to the party. "The committee members were pelted with foul epithets, badgered, and beset by after-midnight phone calls," Novack recalled. "Some were visited by delegations and made to understand that they might lose their friends or jobs if they persisted in their stand."

The defense committee was successful in obtaining asylum for Trotsky in Mexico and forming an International Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow frame-ups. John Dewey was the chairman of the commission.

Novack helped organize a big meeting in New York City to which Trotsky had been invited to speak. The Roosevelt administration refused to let Trotsky cross the border to the United States, however, so arrangements were made for him to speak through a phone hook-up. Technical difficulties prevented this from happening, but his speech, "I Stake My Life" was read to the audience of more than 6,000 who packed into the Hippodrome theater on February 9, 1937. (The speech appears in *Leon Trotsky Speaks*, recently reprinted by Pathfinder Press.)

In April 1937 Novack accompanied the Dewey Commission to Mexico where it held hearings. The proceedings of the commission attracted world attention and dealt a blow to the credibility of the Moscow Trials. The commission's report branded the trials as frame-ups and found Trotsky, and his son, who was also a central target of the trials, innocent of the monstrous charges against them.

At the end of the commission, Trotsky wrote in a letter to James P. Cannon: "Our American comrades accomplished a magnificent work."

Pre-war assignments

Novack, together with other leading SWP comrades, was also involved in physically safeguarding Trotsky

against the death warrant issued against him by Stalin's regime. The party knew that the privileged caste would go to any lengths to silence the world's most authoritative voice, unmasking their betrayal of the communist and internationalist course of Lenin and the Bolshevik leaders of the Russian revolution. In May 1940 Trotsky narrowly escaped death after a machine-gun attack on his household. One of his guards, Robert Sheldon Harte, a comrade from New York, was kidnapped in the attack and murdered.

After this attack, Novack was entrusted with raising funds for the extensive physical defense measures needed to protect Trotsky. One source of funds was a rich coffee merchant Novack had met in Mexico.

With the funds, the party organized a project to turn Trotsky's "peaceful suburban" household near Mexico City into a "fortress." Despite these efforts, Trotsky was assassinated by a Stalinist agent who gained access to the house in August, 1940.

"I heard the news of Trotsky's death over the radio," Novack wrote. "This stunning blow reverberated through my whole being. The tragedy we feared and had tried to

onslaught of the trucking bosses, the top labor bureaucrats, and the government.

To confront the coming showdown, the SWP set up a steering committee on the scene, to which Novack was assigned. The other members included such battle-tested leaders as Dunne, Skoglund, and Dobbs, as well as James P. Cannon, rushed in from the party center in New York. One of Novack's main assignments was to help edit the Local 544 paper.

Drive to make SWP illegal

"The issues at stake had far more than a local or simply trade union significance," Novack recalled. "The General Drivers Union was the powerhouse of opposition in the Midwest to Roosevelt's foreign policy — and the White House was intent upon removing its resistance as an example to others. In July 1940 the president of the Teamsters International, Daniel J. Tobin, was appointed to Roosevelt's staff to herd the union movement into line for the approaching war." A central goal in this campaign was to drive the SWP into illegality and, if possible, crush it.

Tobin revoked the charter of Local 544.

In short order, the FBI and U.S. Marshals raided the SWP branches in Minneapolis and St. Paul. These raids were followed by federal indictments of 29 members of the SWP and Teamsters Local 544. The Minneapolis case saw the first use of the Smith Act, an outright thought-control measure.

The party reacted swiftly to this attack by intensifying its public activities. In defiance of the political cops, the party asserted its constitutional right to carry on political and propaganda work, including in opposition to imperialist war.

Just after the indictments, Novack spoke at a series of public forums held at the SWP headquarters in Minneapolis. Farrell Dobbs described these talks in *Teamster Bureaucracy*, which tells the story of the frame-up and the fight against it. "The topics he [George Novack] discussed were most appropriate to the occasion: 'The Revolutionary War of 1776,' 'The Second American Revolution,' and 'The Bill of Rights.'"

Civil Rights Defense Committee

The steering committee decided that Novack should be released from his editing tasks on the union paper and return to New York to begin building what became known as the Civil Rights Defense Committee (CRDC), set up to defend those indicted. Novack "had outstanding talent for such work and was already experienced at it," Dobbs wrote in *Teamster Bureaucracy*. Novack served as national executive secretary of the CRDC. The activity of the entire party from July 1941 to February 1945 revolved around the defense effort.

The CRDC explained the important legal and democratic rights at stake, mobilized the widest possible support on that basis, and raised funds to meet defense needs.

Once back in New York, Novack began to enlist endorsers for the CRDC. At first it was tough sledding to win support in the trade union movement. After Washington entered World War II in December 1941, the SWP had to weather wartime isolation and intensifying government persecution.

But step by step, an increasingly broad national defense committee was formed. "No sooner had I reached Manhattan," Novack wrote, "than I took a bus to Cape Cod where the summer home of the anarchist leader Carlo Tresca and the civil libertarian Margaret DeSilver was located. They in turn directed me to see John Dos Passos in Provincetown. Both Dos Passos and Tresca agreed to serve as vice-chairmen of the committee and Margaret, whose husband had been a friend of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), could be counted upon to help finance its activities."

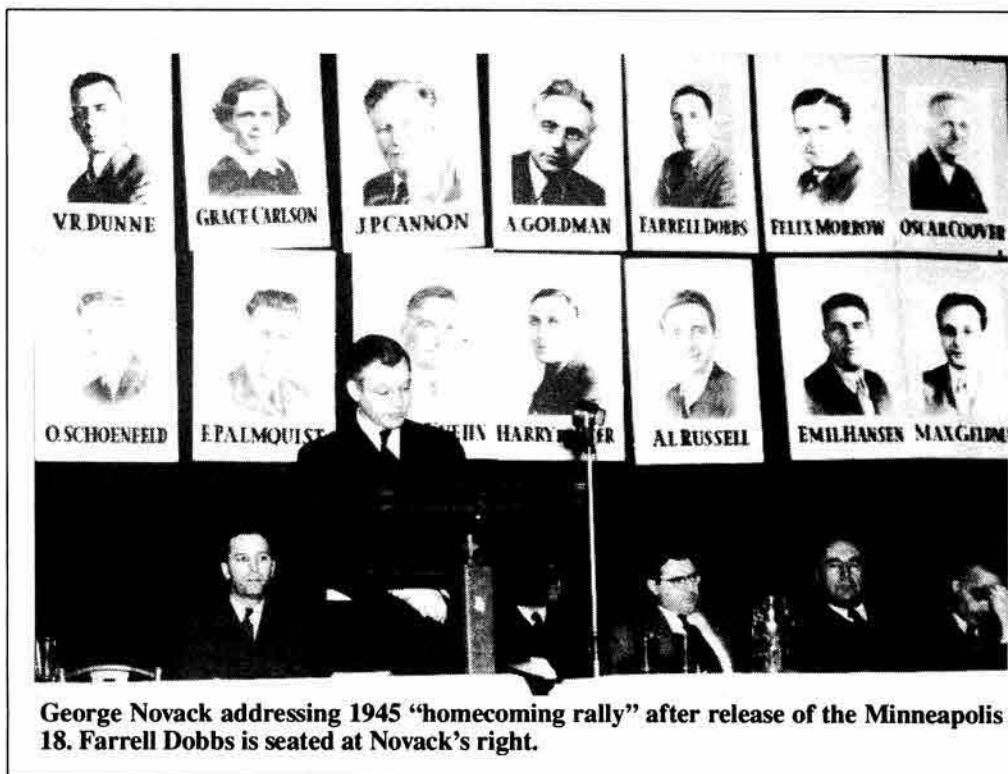
Novack then met with Roger Baldwin, director of the ACLU, and enlisted its support. Novack asked James T. Farrell, author of *Studs Lonigan* and other novels, to be CRDC chairman. Farrell immediately agreed.

Novack helped produce pamphlets and other materials such as *Bill of Rights in Danger! The Meaning of the Minneapolis Convictions*, *Witch Hunt in Minnesota*, *Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case*, and a poster with the pictures of the 18 prisoners and an appeal for aid.

The big-business press played down the case. The CRDC broke through the silence by producing more than 200,000 pamphlets and leaflets, mobilizing some 30 active local committees, and raising more than \$50,000 to defray the costs of the case and aid the defendants' families.

Support from Warren Billings

The CRDC national office was supervised by Evelyn Reed, who organized a steady flow of volunteers. Novack spent much of his time on the road publicizing the case and helping initiate local CRDC chapters. "The meetings



George Novack addressing 1945 "homecoming rally" after release of the Minneapolis 18. Farrell Dobbs is seated at Novack's right.

avert had happened. Yet, as we mourned the loss, we could not reproach ourselves for failing to save his life, any more than Trotsky blamed himself for the deaths of so many associates who had fallen in the course of the struggle."

After returning to New York, Novack helped set up the Emergency Rescue Committee (ERC), a coalition of liberals and figures from the workers' movement. The committee was charged with securing documents and visas for leaders of the workers' movement in Western Europe whose lives were threatened by the Nazis and their agents.

The *Militant* promoted a propaganda campaign around the slogan: "Open the doors to the refugees." This demand went largely unheeded by the Roosevelt administration, which kept its assistance to a minimum and barred millions of Jews, political activists, and others from refuge from persecution by the fascists, who frequently acted in league with Stalin's murder squads. Nonetheless, the efforts of the ERC succeeded in bringing to safety a number of people who would otherwise have fallen victim to the death camps.

In 1939 Novack made arrangements for Walter Held, a young revolutionary leader from Germany, to come to the United States. The committee was able to secure his release through pressuring the U.S. government, but Held was apprehended in transit by the Soviet secret police, "disappeared," and executed.

Minneapolis frame-up

In 1941 Novack pulled up stakes from New York City and moved to Minneapolis to help strengthen the SWP branch there. As part of the vanguard of the working-class movement in the upper Midwest, the party was preparing for the blows that would come down on militants who opposed Washington's drive toward war. Novack was accompanied by Evelyn Reed who he had recently married. Over the next several decades Reed was an active party builder and became one of the foremost exponents of the Marxist explanation of the origins of women's oppression and the road to their emancipation.

Since 1934 the Minneapolis Teamsters of Local 544 had been in the forefront of battles that led to important gains for the labor movement in the Midwest. Members of the party such as Farrell Dobbs, Carl Skoglund, Vincent Raymond Dunne, and others played central leadership roles in Local 544. By the late 30s, however, the momentum of the labor upsurge had receded, as the majority of the officialdom retreated in face of the "America first" war drive of the Democratic administration and bipartisan congress. The changed objective circumstances made it more and more difficult for Local 544 to withstand the combined



In 1922, when he enrolled at Harvard. "My university training was to be put to quite different uses."

and banquets on my tour were well-attended and amply supported by the unions. The high point was reached in San Francisco where Warren Billings, the survivor of the Mooney-Billings frame-up and one of the CRDC sponsors, was the featured speaker. The genial, soft-spoken watchmaker was a living link with the civil liberties and union struggles of the First World War." Billings and Mooney were working-class fighters who served 23 years in prison after being framed up in San Francisco in 1916.

On December 7, 1941, the day the United States government declared war against Japan, the Minneapolis 18 were sentenced to serve from one year to sixteen months in prison.

Through negotiations with the head of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, Novack played a key role in fulfilling requests for books and newspapers, including the *Militant*.

In 1943 wildcat strikes broke out in auto, rubber, and other industries. These were the first breach in the war-time no-strike pledge and wage freeze imposed on unions by the government and supported by the big majority of both AFL and CIO union officials. However, rank-and-file resistance became so intense among coal miners that the union tops were forced to lead a fight for higher wages.

This upsurge of labor militancy was a great help in winning support to free the jailed union and socialist leaders. The CRDC launched a campaign to demand a pardon. In August 1944 Novack made a trip to Washington where he handed the eighteen frame-up victims' pardon applications to the Presidential Pardon Authority.

Novack was also armed with hundreds of resolutions from trade union, Black rights, and other organizations in support of the pardon. These included endorsements from four top officers of international unions — the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the United Auto Workers, the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers, and the Textile Workers. Despite this broad support, Roosevelt denied the pardon.

Communist Party opposes pardon

The most vicious opposition to the pardon came from the Communist Party. "The leaders of the Trotskyist organization which operates under the false name of 'Socialist Workers Party,'" wrote the *Daily Worker*, "deserve no more support from labor and friends of national security than do the Nazis who camouflage their party under the false name of 'National Socialist Workers Party.'"

In 1942 Novack transferred to the SWP branch in Detroit and took a job as a machine operator in a UAW-organized plant.

These were difficult times and holding the party together was one of the leadership's central concerns. Several party leaders were now serving in the military, and Dobbs, Cannon, and other party leaders were soon heading off to prison. Novack returned to New York in 1943 to prepare for the leadership transition. He was part of the leadership that came forward when James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs were in prison.

After the central party leaders were released from prison, Novack became a staff writer and associate editor for the *Militant*, writing articles on national and international issues. These were years of expansion for the movement. The party moved out to take advantage of the new openings presented by the fight against the wage freeze and the no-strike pledge, and by renewed calls in the unions for independent political action. The party built sizable fractions in several industrial unions such as auto, steel, rubber, aircraft, and maritime.

Sales and subscriptions to the *Militant* increased in this period. The paper attained its highest circulation and often came out twice a week. Recruitment picked up, including

among workers who were Black, and new party branches were established.

Novack took on a range of different political assignments in the late 1940s. In 1946 he served as vice-chairman of the American Committee for European Workers Relief. This was formed to collect and dispatch clothing, food, and other necessities to send to workers who suffered under Nazi occupation and the destruction caused by the Allied armies.

Party leadership school

The party launched a leadership school in 1947. As in many other party projects, Novack had a hand in raising the funds. Novack explained how Evelyn Reed settled accounts with her family: "She donated the entire amount of \$50,000 [from a family stock] toward the realization of the cadre school project that . . . came to be known as the Trotsky School." From 1947 until 1962, the Trotsky School was located at Mountain Spring Camp in New Jersey.

Novack was the director of several school sessions. "The students took a more serious attitude toward their assignments than the ordinary college population," wrote Novack. "They had been chosen on the basis of their activities and were relieved of all other duties in order to concentrate on learning the history and ideas of scientific socialism." Novack believed that the school was an important factor of stability for the party in the hard years ahead as the party entered the witchhunt and retreat of the labor movement in the 1950s.

With the beginning of the cold war, the postwar upsurge and radicalization came to an end. This was coupled with a prolonged economic expansion that had a conservatizing effect on the labor movement. The labor officialdom helped the government housebreak the unions, going along with the anti-democratic witchhunt in the union movement. The party suffered severely at the hands of reaction. In a few years, many members of the party's largest union fractions in auto, steel, and maritime were blacklisted and ousted from their jobs.

In March 1947 President Truman instituted a "Loyalty Program" for all government workers. Soon after, his attorney general compiled a "subversive" list that included the SWP. The party was denied a request for a public hearing to demand its removal from the blacklist.

Legless victim of 'Loyalty Program'

One of the first victims of the "Loyalty Program" was James Kutcher, an SWP member and a disabled Purple Heart veteran who had lost both legs in World War II. Following the war, Kutcher got a job in the Veterans Administration. In 1948, however, Kutcher was fired because the government claimed that he was a member of a "subversive" organization. Not only that, the government also cut off his disability pension. Kutcher's vivid account of his eight-year fight for his rights is recounted in *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, published by Pathfinder.

The party decided to fight this attack and helped form the National Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee. Novack was asked to head up the defense committee and played a central role in enlisting support for the case. The committee was sponsored by four noted World War II veterans, and its national committee included an impressive array of writers, civil libertarians, religious figures, socialists, political academics, and a well-known cartoonist. It included Warren K. Billings, John Dewey, Farrell Dobbs, Alfred Kazin, Norman Mailer, Bill Mauldin, Carey McWilliams, C. Wright Mills, Lewis Mumford, A.J. Muste, Max Shachtman, I.F. Stone, and Edmund Wilson. Despite the witchhunt atmosphere, Kutcher was able to secure crucial broad support from both AFL and CIO unions and union figures.

The case soon became by far the most publicized challenge to the thought-control laws during the McCarthy years. In 1949 Novack went on a Midwest speaking tour. "He spoke morning, noon and night — to unions, religious groups, women's organizations, veterans, at colleges, over radio — and still he couldn't comply with all the requests," wrote Kutcher. "Wherever he went, a stream of resolutions, letters and financial contributions began to move to our office in New York."

Through his connections, Novack was able to obtain the legal services of Joseph L. Rauh Jr., a well-known labor and civil liberties lawyer in Washington, D.C. Rauh was also chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, which was an endorser of the case.

Rauh made it clear from the outset that he disagreed with the political views of the SWP. But he worked diligently on the case for several years — all without compensation.

The vindictiveness of the government aroused considerable public outrage, and this was a factor in finally forcing the Court of Appeals to reverse Kutcher's firing. In 1956 after eight years of fighting, Kutcher got his job back and later received back pay.

International assignment

From 1951 to 1953 Novack was the party's representative assigned to collaborate with revolutionary organizations in Europe. In December 1940, after Congress passed the reactionary Voorhis Act prohibiting affiliation to inter-

national political organizations, the SWP had withdrawn from the Fourth International. However, the party still maintained fraternal relations with these revolutionary organizations, and their cadres.

Novack was based in London where he made regular contributions to *Socialist Outlook*, a monthly paper, and participated in efforts to draw revolutionary-minded workers in the unions and Labour Party toward the communist movement.

Upon returning to New York in 1953, Novack and Reed were reminded of the witch-hunt atmosphere by the U.S. immigration cops. Reed's purse was searched and her address book photocopied before being allowed into the country. Not long afterwards, agents of the State Department appeared at Novack's doorstep in New York. Both Novack's and Reed's passports were confiscated. Until the late 1950s, no central leader of the SWP was able to travel abroad.

Novack moved to Los Angeles in 1953. He found work as an editor in the publishing business and became an active member of the Los Angeles branch. While there, Novack worked with Joseph Hansen in editing the *International Socialist Review* in 1957-58 and was involved in other editorial projects for the party.

Novack returned to New York in 1965. In the 1960s and 1970s, his main assignments were centered on party publishing work and fundraising. Like other party members, Novack responded vigorously to the rise of the civil rights movement, to the victorious Cuban revolution in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and to the anti-Vietnam War movement, and rise of the women's liberation movement. Novack was particularly encouraged during those years by the founding and growth of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), an independent revolutionary youth organization in political solidarity with the SWP.

Key role of communist literature

From the time he had headed up the Political Prisoners Book Committee in the early 1930s when he was in his twenties, Novack always recognized the importance of getting communist literature into the hands of fighting workers and revolutionary youth.

With the political openings in the 1960s, Novack and other SWP leaders acted decisively and responded to the thirst for Marxist literature. Many important books and pamphlets by Leon Trotsky, James P. Cannon, and others were then out of print or hard to find. In the mid-1960s Novack helped launch a \$50,000 expansion fund to begin the job of getting these and other new weapons into print. He noted that the key force behind this expansion was the younger generation being won to the movement, and who were "convinced that our inadequate, amateurish printing facilities had to be upgraded and enlarged to keep pace with the mounting radicalization."

At the same time, the older generation of the party kicked in too. Veteran party member Howard Mayhew, for example, closed his small print shop in Chicago, donated all of his printing equipment, and moved to New York to help set up the Pathfinder printshop to produce the *Militant* and books and pamphlets.

As the YSA grew and the party recruited from it, a further \$150,000 expansion fund was launched in 1970. Once again Novack was behind the scenes promoting the expansion and raising funds. To Novack, these expansion funds, based on donations of \$1,000 or more, were what he called "a great equalizer" in the revolutionary movement. "We convert a privilege into an opportunity to help promote socialism," Novack was fond of saying.

Novack was a firm advocate of the communist concept of volunteer labor. Novack liked to think of all his contri-

Continued on next page

From Pathfinder Press

Understanding History by George Novack \$14.95

Novack explains how capitalism arose, why its contradictions cannot be wished away, and why revolutionary change is the alternative to the march of the world market system toward depression, reaction, and world war.

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A popularized explanation of the basics of Marxist logic, this book illustrates the relevance of the Marxist method to contemporary struggles.

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The first comprehensive history of democracy from a Marxist viewpoint, Novack traces its evolution through the stages of precapitalist democracy, the rise and decline of bourgeois democracy and the problems and prospects of socialist democracy.

The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany by Leon Trotsky \$27.95

Teamster Bureaucracy by Farrell Dobbs \$17.95

The Case of Leon Trotsky \$70.00 (Cloth only)

The Case of the Legless Veteran by James

Kutcher \$15.95

Please include \$3 shipping for the first copy, \$.50 each additional copy or visit the bookstores listed on page 16. Pathfinder, 410

Continued from previous page
 butions, as the product of volunteer labor.

In his tribute to Novack at the socialist conference, party leader Jack Barnes said, "George was an expert on money. He never had much but he learned it real well while he was at Harvard and during his years in the book publishing industry. He knew that going after money always involved working together with someone to solve a tremendous problem. But George never applied pressure, never."

Novack was not naive about money. He pointed out that in the realm of social psychology, money plays a very special role — under commodity-producing conditions in general, and capitalist and social relations above all. People who have money are reluctant to part with it because of everything it represents — social power, prestige, satisfaction of wants, insurance for illness and old age.

Novack recognized all this had to be reckoned with as a fact of life under capitalism. He believed that working people were above all motivated by political and moral incentives, by aspirations for human solidarity and cooperation. Eradicating the evils and inequalities of capitalism could only be done through collective organization and working-class struggle along revolutionary lines.

This is one reason why establishing the George Novack Reconstruction Fund is a fitting tribute to Novack's lifelong effort to build the communist movement.

From 1934 to 1980 Novack was a writer and editor for the *Militant*, *New International*, *Fourth International*, *International Socialist Review*, *Intercontinental Press*, and other socialist publications. Novack also wrote under the pen names John Marshall and William F. Warde.

In addition, Novack wrote or edited fifteen books, most of which are still in print by Pathfinder Press. These include *Understanding History*, *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, *Democracy and Revolution*, *America's Revolutionary Heritage*, *Pragmatism Versus Marxism*, *The Origins of Materialism*, *Empiricism and Its Evolution*, and *Polemics in Marxist Philosophy*.

Arming several generations

Novack also wrote a number of pamphlets, including *Genocide Against the Indians: Its Role in the Rise of U.S. Capitalism*; *How Can the Jews Survive?* and *Revolutionary Dynamics of Women's Liberation*. His work has helped arm several generations of young fighters with a materialist and working-class perspective. Several of his titles have been translated into Spanish, Greek, Farsi, Turkish, Gujarati, and other languages.

An interesting sidelight to Novack's literary efforts for the revolutionary movement was uncovered during the SWP's fifteen-year fight, including a major court case, against government spying and disruption in the 1970s and 1980s. During pretrial discovery proceedings SWP lawyers obtained correspondence on an Internal Revenue Service investigation of Novack's tax returns. The IRS claimed — without any basis — that as a well-known author and speaker, Novack must have been receiving royalties. The memorandum cautioned agents that the investigation should be done quietly since "Mr Novack is a very clever man."

"It did not require any cleverness to file an accurate income tax report since Pathfinder Press did not pay me royalties on my books," Novack commented when this IRS memo came to light. "They were a free-will offering to the movement." The values and standards of communists such as Novack were not readily understood by the government.

From his student years at Harvard and even earlier, Novack took a strong interest in the history of philosophy. Like many young people, George started out as a liberal do-gooder with an idealist view of the world. As a young party member, however, Novack took on the challenge of learning, and then educating other members in, the basics of Marxism — one of the modern sciences that, as Marx and Engels explained, brought an end to philosophy.

Trotsky urged Novack and other SWP members to take Marxist materialism seriously, since it could not be disconnected from the political fight for a clear proletarian orientation. In the midst of the war drive near the end of the 1930s, a petty-bourgeois current in the SWP sought to justify their political retreat in face of U.S. imperialist war pressure by asserting, among other things, the superiority of bourgeois pragmatic and mechanistic modes of thought to the historical method used by Marx and Engels and Lenin in charting the program, strategy and line of march of the communist movement.

Defender of Marxist materialism

It was for this political reason that Trotsky emphasized to Novack the importance of "the necessity of persistently propagating dialectic materialism." This was all the encouragement Novack needed as he took up the cudgels in a life-long effort to defend materialism from its adversaries and detractors. Novack's *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, was the fruit of this experience.

Novack was also part of numerous editing commissions, helping to draft resolutions and theses for the SWP and world movement over the years. For example, Novack drafted "The Capitalist Witch-hunt and How to Fight it," adopted by the SWP National Committee in 1950. Along with Cannon and Dobbs, Novack also helped draft the resolution "Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party," adopted by the party in 1965. He also gave scores of classes to SWP branches and public conferences, spoke on many campuses, and took part in debates.

In his tribute to Novack at the August conference in Ohio, Jack Barnes commented on a description of Novack by one of his contemporaries, Sidney Hook. While never in the communist movement, Hook had briefly expressed political sympathy for some of Trotsky's views in the early 1930s, before beginning to move steadily to the political right with the approach of World War II.

"Sidney Hook was an anti-communist and an opponent — supposedly as a socialist — of the workers movement," Barnes said. "He became a famous and quite comfortable professor of philosophy. When he published his autobiography a couple of years ago [*Out of Step, An Unquiet Life in the 20th Century*], Hook told the story of how he tried to fight Trotsky and attack the ideas and logic of Marxism, and how Trotsky mobilized supporters of Marxism to take Hook on." Barnes cited the following passage from Hook's autobiography:

"[Trotsky] commissioned a fanatical, young, apple-cheeked American, George Novack, to refute pragmatism from the standpoint of Marxism — a lifetime task to which he has devoted all his modest talents. His rhetorical extremism once led me to refer to him, after a well-known secular figure, as a 'revolutionary Baby Face Nelson.'"

"That was George's favorite single description of himself," Barnes commented.

Hook bore a deep grudge against Novack. In the early 1940s, Novack wrote two articles entitled "The Degradation of Sidney Hook," tracing his flight from Marxism to the social-patriotism he embraced prior to World War II. Hook never forgave him for these articles, Novack said.

In the early 1960s Hook was approached, along with many other professors, to endorse the Committee to Aid the Birmingham Students, a civil liberties organization formed to defend three Young Socialist Alliance members who had been indicted for "sedition" by the state of Indiana.

"Does Novack have anything to do with this case?" Hook asked at the time. When he was told that the case had Novack's support, Hook straightaway refused to endorse the defense effort.

Two of Novack's writings in particular stand out for their role in educating revolutionists in the fundamentals of Marxism and working-class politics. Both articles appear in *Understanding History*. The first is "Uneven and Combined Development in World History," which popularizes this law of social development that runs like a thread through the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky. Novack explained how to apply these insights to more clearly understand many aspects of U.S. history and politics, revolutionary struggles in Latin America, and other social and political phenomena.

The second article is "From Lenin to Castro: The Role of the Individual in History Making." This article, in fact, helps provide a clearer understanding of Novack's own contributions to the revolutionary movement. "Above all else," Barnes noted, "George never saw himself as anything other than as part of a team. George learned the indispensable necessity of teamwork and spurned the 'star system' so rife in bourgeois society."

In a discussion a few years ago, Barnes recalled telling Novack, "You're the last of the Mohicans. You're the last of the cadres that came out of the early 1930s, when the struggle was opening up and all things were possible. After you, we shift over into other generations."

"No," responded Novack. "That's not quite the right way



Militant/Jon Britton

With Al Hansen, inspecting first *Militant* run on new press in 1971. Novack helped organize fund to upgrade this equipment "to keep pace with the radicalization of youth around the world."

to look at it." "In some ways," Barnes recalled George saying, "that's an excuse for the way you look at me. The comrades that are coming, that are getting ready for the fights ahead, will inherit what was possible for us, they will inherit what we went through. It will truly become theirs."

One accomplishment Novack took great pleasure in was the encouragement and prodding he gave Farrell Dobbs into undertaking the writing of the four-volume series on the Teamsters' battles of the 1930s. As a skilled editor, Novack worked closely with Dobbs on the project. "Once he got me started," wrote Dobbs in the preface to the final volume, *Teamster Bureaucracy*, "his aid was given continuously in most handsome fashion; and it is with deep appreciation of George Novack's help that I am now able to look upon the task as completed."

Soldier of the revolution

Novack stepped down from the party's leadership in 1972, after serving on the SWP National Committee since 1940. After that, he completed work on several books, continued to write occasional articles for the party press, and contributed his experience to party fund-raising and defense efforts. He supported the party's turn in the latter half of the 1970s to get its members into the industrial trade unions.

Novack followed with particular interest the challenges and advances of the Cuban revolution and its internationalist leadership. He welcomed the triumph of the Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions in 1979. In 1981 he spent eight days touring Nicaragua. One of his observations following this was that while there was commitment to the revolution where he went, there was hardly any Marxist literature to read; Novack thought this was a weakness. He was exhilarated upon the freeing of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990, recognizing it as another important step in the march to freedom of the South African people.

From an early age, Novack was imbued with respect for democracy, and never relinquished the ideal of equality and justice for all that only the working class could guarantee through its revolutionary struggle. For sixty years Novack was a leading figure in defending victims of capitalist injustice and Stalinist crimes. One of the most recent cases Novack embraced was that of Mark Curtis, a framed-up meatpacker and member of the SWP.

"No matter how long it takes I am sure you will maintain the courage and convictions shown by your conduct," Novack wrote in a letter to Curtis in 1988. "When you look at the bars that enclose you, and may be a bit downcast, keep in mind that you are never alone, at least in spirit. I am proud to be counted among that growing company of [your] supporters."

Novack attended Militant Labor Forums in New York City and participated in national party gatherings until 1991 when his health no longer permitted him to do so. Until the very end of his life, Novack stayed abreast of world politics. As the U.S. government organized the massive military build-up for its assault against the people of Iraq in late 1990, Novack told the party leadership he thought Washington "would break its teeth" on the war — a judgment in which he was proven correct.

Novack was a soldier of the revolution. Young fighters today will draw inspiration from his dedication to the cause of the international working class and the liberation of humanity.

Novack put his life at the service of the party, never falling into the individualist trap of thinking that matters should be the other way around. He understood the importance of individual effort, and never stinted on his own. He knew that only with collective thought and disciplined activity, could the party develop, move forward, and meet the new challenges that the class struggle would bring.



Militant/Brian Shann

Novack with Evelyn Reed at antiwar march 1971

Alaska Airlines workers prepare to fight

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — The large grassy knoll at the entrance to Seattle-Tacoma International Airport burst into colors September 3 as hundreds of Alaska Airlines workers and supporters protested company demands for wage cuts and other concessions. Sporting union T-shirts and hand-made signs, the mechanics, ramp workers, cleaners, and customer service and reservation agents organized a boisterous day-long picket line, followed by a union open house in a nearby hotel. Cars and trucks driving by on busy Pacific Highway responded loudly to workers' signs asking them to "Honk for Unions!"

Alaska had scheduled a round of contract talks with union representatives at a hotel across the street from the picket line. Apparently upset at the large turnout of angry workers, company negotiators insisted the talks be moved to a different hotel.

The protest was organized by District 143 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and was joined by some Alaska flight attendants and pilots. Workers on strike at the Book Publishing Company in Seattle, who are members of the Communications Workers of America, also marched and spoke. Top officials of the state and county AFL-CIO and several local unions, including the big IAM district union at Boeing Corp., participated in the picket line and open house, pledging support for Alaska workers.

Alaska employs nearly 7,000 workers and is the major airline in Alaska and an important regional carrier on the West Coast. It has annual sales of more than one billion dollars and recently expanded service to Mexico and Canada. Some 80 percent of its employees are organized by the IAM, the Association of Flight Attendants, and the Airline Pilots Association.

Bosses demand concessions

Alaska workers organized the picket line as part of preparing for a possible strike this fall. In late July the company presented its "first and final contract offer," with demands including:

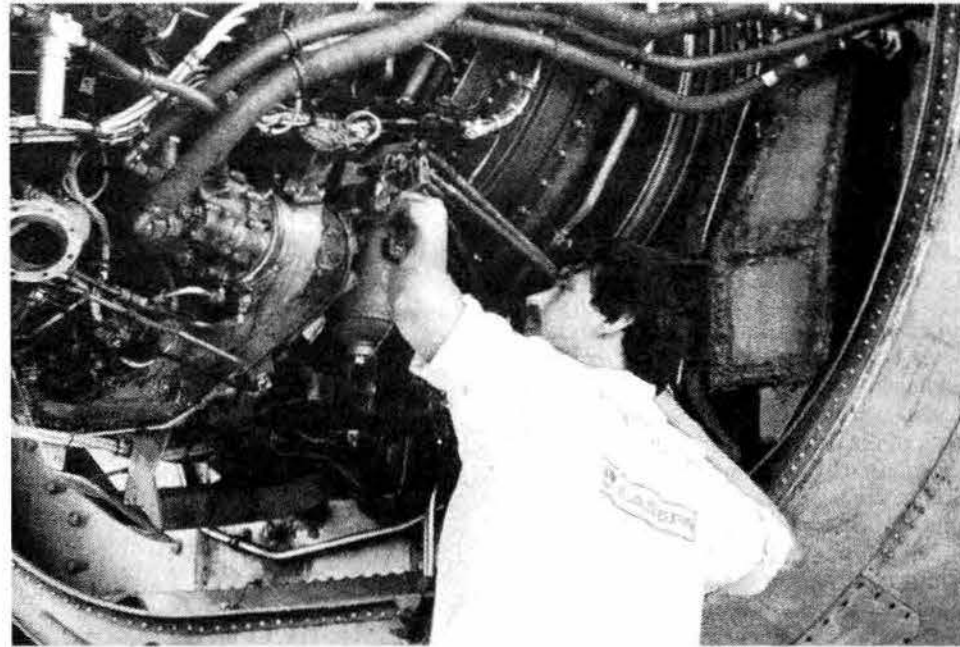
- A four-year contract with a wage freeze for many workers. Under these terms, many would go 11 years without a pay increase.
- Raising the medical deductible paid by workers by as much as 300 percent. Requiring part-time workers to pay 50 percent of their health premiums.
- Creating a "D" scale wage structure for new hires, even lower than the current A, B, and C scales. For aircraft cleaners, for instance, the D-scale would start at \$6 an hour and top out at \$9 after 12 years of employment.
- Creating a new classification of "junior mechanic," with the same training requirements and responsibilities as regular mechanics but with starting pay of only \$10 an hour. Promotion to regular mechanic would be at the discretion of the management.
- Giving small wage increases to mechanics and lump sum payments to some workers in further attempts to pit workers against each other and undermine unity within the union.

Alaska is making equally harsh demands on its flight attendants and reservations and customer service agents. The latter took a 25 percent cut in pay and benefits in 1986, and the company now wants to impose an open shop, eliminate health benefits for part-time workers, and make other drastic cuts. Flight attendants have been working for two years without a contract and recently held a week of informational picketing at airports in Seattle and Los Angeles.

1985 strike defeat

This year's contract fight has its roots in 1985 when Alaska defeated a 90-day IAM strike. Workers walked out in an attempt to hold off further pay cuts and to eliminate the multi-tier wage structure that penalized new hires and created divisions within the union.

The attacks workers faced at Alaska were part of a broader assault by airline bosses on workers' jobs, wages, and benefits. Airline jobs, once the third-highest paid industrial occupation in the United States, now rank 17th. Cuts and speedup have pushed labor costs from 43 percent of total operating costs to 33 percent over the past decade. This has been accompanied by outright union busting at a number of companies,



The attacks workers face at Alaska Airlines are part of a broader assault by airline bosses on workers' jobs, wages, and benefits. Airline jobs, once the third-highest-paid industrial occupation in the United States, now rank 17th.

including Continental and USAir.

Alaska's wages and benefits are already well below those paid at United, American, and other major airlines, and company officials have been outspoken about their future intentions.

"I wouldn't want to be in a company where everything was done to keep the employees happy about everything, because you wouldn't be in business very long," former Alaska Chairman Bruce Kennedy told the press last year. In fact, he added, "I think [Alaska] may have been too generous with them."

"Whether you like it or not, in a union environment it becomes adversarial," declared current CEO Raymond J. Vecchi. "It's like going to war."

Alaska workers faced a big challenge in recovering from the defeat of the 1985 strike.

"The company forced the strike on us," recalled Thomas Gibbs, president of IAM District 143, in an interview. "We didn't see it coming."

Alaska hired strikebreakers and unleashed a barrage of antiunion propaganda in the news media, he said. After 90 days some workers began returning to work and the strike ended on the company's terms. Strikebreakers were kept on as permanent employees and strikers were to be hired back as openings became available.

"They made it as hard as they could," Gibbs said. "Some workers weren't called back for three years and 50 or 60 were never called back. Many were forced to move to different states just to keep their jobs."

Rebuilding the union

The union challenged the company's call-back policy and won a ruling that the plan "was made for the sole purpose of denying seniority rights to senior striking employees." Affected workers were awarded up to tens of thousands of dollars in lost wages, money the company has yet to pay them.

The IAM was still recognized at Alaska after the strike, but the company broke the union shop agreement and each worker had to decide whether or not to join the union. As recently as 1991 only 30 percent of IAM-represented workers belonged to the union.

Today IAM membership ranges from 70 to 80 percent in most areas. Gibbs acknowledged the initiative of rank-and-file workers who campaigned to convince others to join up.

"There was a lot of hatred between the strikers and those hired during the strike," explained Gordy Lipovetz, a 12-year veteran on the ramp. "Time helped heal the animosity as the new hires saw how bad management was and that you couldn't deal with them one-on-one."

"The company has been our best recruiter," said Linda Layton, a customer service agent and vice-president of District 143. "They thought they had intimidated us and that we would never pay union dues again, but they were wrong. And when workers decide to pay dues today they're making a real commitment."

Bruce Wood was one of those hired as a mechanic during the strike. Now he is in the union and participated in the picket line and open house.

"If I had to do it again I would have waited until after the strike to hire out," he said. "Over the years I've seen that the company is not out to benefit us. I thought it would be a good company to work for but it hasn't worked out. There are no guarantees without the union. We've got to work as a group to get anything better."

Ramp worker Greg Collier hired out at the very end of the strike. "I was hired as a permanent replacement but never really crossed a picket line," he said. "I was in unions before and on strike at Hughes Air West back in 1978. Alaska told us we'd start at B-scale and move up to A-scale after a year, but they never did move us up. I saw the company violate the contract all the time and then blacklist workers who filed grievances. I've worked in airlines for 17 years and never seen a company treat employees so unfairly." Collier joined the union three years ago.

Alaska responded to the rising union membership with more harassment and victimization. Hundreds of workers have grievances piling up in the arbitration system, says Gibbs. "The company just goes ahead and violates the contract, knowing we can't afford to take all these cases through arbitration."

Foreseeing strike, Vance cops offer services to coal bosses

BY BERNIE SENTER

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — In preparation for the upcoming contract negotiations with the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), a security corporation is circulating a promotional pamphlet among coal operators offering the services of riot-ready former Green Berets.

Vance International Security has offered its so-called "Asset Protection Team" to coal operators in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Virginia. Pictures in the brochure show security guards in full riot gear facing off pickets.

The UMWA national contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association expires February 1, 1993. The contract covers 60,000 miners and 160,000 retirees who work for some of the country's largest coal companies.

Vance Security has been utilized by many of the major employers seeking to bust unions. They were hired by A.T. Massey Coal Co. in 1984 and Pittston Co. in 1988. Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. utilized Vance in the recent battle with the United Steelworkers of America, as did Greyhound Bus Co. in 1990. Other Vance clients include the currently struck Pittsburgh Press and Post-Gazette, Monsanto Chemical Co., Cyprus Coal Co., Eastern Associated Coal Co., and Toys 'R Us.

At some A.T. Massey mines, Vance's Asset Protection Team members carried M16 shotguns and pistols. They set up sniper nests, fortified bunkers, and booby traps.

In an August 5 letter to coal operators, Vance senior vice president James R. Levine said, "Any attempt by your company to produce coal during the 1993 contract ne-

Workers have been fired for petty rules violations and trumped-up charges of theft. Some were locked in small rooms, denied union or legal representation, and accused of theft.

A union steward was recently fired when she turned off an air conditioner because the office she worked in was too cold. The company secretly filmed her with a hidden camera and accused her of attempting to sabotage company equipment.

More workers turned to the union to organize a response, especially as word of the company's "final offer" demands spread. An organizing committee was launched and 100 workers came to its first activities day. They took responsibility for making signs, phoning workers, contacting other unions, and speaking before other groups.

So far, support has been won from the King County Labor Council and the state convention of the AFL-CIO. Chris Monagle, head of the outreach committee, addressed 500 workers at a September meeting of IAM 751A at Boeing, and Alaska workers have invitations to speak before meetings of locals of the IAM and of other unions.

Days before the picket line, Alaska threatened to take legal action against the union if the protest occurred. Management also spread the word that workers who participated would be fired.

"The protest was a huge success, especially in the face of company threats," said Mark Severs, one of the Alaska workers who organized the picket line. Severs is also the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate and was invited to speak as a candidate at the September 3 open house. "Many workers were participating in their first union activity and several came to the picket line and joined on the spot. We need to keep on organizing protests like this and reach out to every union up and down the West Coast as we prepare for the next confrontations with the company."

Harvey McArthur is a switchman at the Burlington Northern Railroad in Seattle and member of United Transportation Union Local 845. Gordy Lipovetz, member of IAM Local 2202 at Alaska Airlines, also contributed to this article.

gotiation period will likely attract quite a bit of attention from the UMWA. Vance International would like to help . . . through this difficult period."

UMWA international vice-president Cecil Roberts said, "It's clear to us that anyone who wants to hire these people doesn't want to sign a contract, but wants to provoke a strike."

Bernie Senter is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union and is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of West Virginia.



Militant/John Sarge Vance Security thugs during this year's strike at Caterpillar in Peoria, Illinois.

Socialist conference participants share campaigning lessons in workshop groups

BY JOHN COX

The 1992 International Socialist Conference, held in Oberlin, Ohio, in early August, attracted some 850 workers, young people, and others from a total of 23 countries around the world.

An important feature of the conference was a series of workshops, which covered specific areas of work of the revolutionary socialist movement. Their themes ranged from public sales of the communist press, to utilizing this year's elections in the United States to attract workers and young people interested in an alternative to the bipartisan rule of big business, to the financing of a revolutionary party and other aspects of building communist parties in the world today. Each workshop opened with comments from a panel of activists, which were followed by a period of discussion, thereby serving as a forum to exchange ideas and experiences.

One of the more popular workshops was "Campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party Candidates." About 120 people attended. The goal of the workshop was to share and learn from the experiences of the campaigners in order "to most effectively reach the young fighters who are open to communist ideas," explained Melissa Harris, who chaired the meeting. Harris has been part of the army of young people traveling across the country campaigning for

and collecting signatures to put on the ballot James Warren and Estelle DeBates, socialist candidates for president and vice-president.

Marea Himelgrin related some experiences of the campaign in Minnesota, where supporters of Warren and DeBates and the local socialist candidates have staged a number of successful street rallies. Himelgrin said that at first some of the candidates "were a little shy" and didn't know how to start. "But now we just climb up on a sturdy table with a megaphone," she continued, "and say, 'This is the Socialist Workers Campaign. We're here because we think that working people need an alternative to the twin parties of war, racism, and economic depression.' It's easy to follow with a short rap on police brutality or abortion rights."

'Talking about the world'

Brigid, a political activist attending the conference from New Zealand, commented on the receptivity to the Warren and DeBates campaign among workers and young people in New Zealand. James Warren toured Australia and New Zealand in the spring, and met striking workers in Christchurch, New Zealand, among other activities. Brigid commented that "When working people came to hear Warren, they came to hear about the United States, but they ended up talking about the world."

PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY PAT SMITH

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders who have made central contributions to the forward march of humanity against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 16.

"In *Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq*, author Jack Barnes maintains that Washington's devastation of Iraq did not mark the opening of a new world order, it held a mirror to the declining world order of capitalism and to its accelerating conflicts and contradictions. . . . *Opening Guns of World War III* with its unique perspective offers valuable insights into this and possible future conflicts as we play out the final decade of the twentieth century." *Bookwatch*, August 1992.

This review in *Bookwatch*, a newsletter sent to librarians throughout the Midwest, reflects the renewed interest in this book as the danger of a new military assault on Iraq by the United States government mounts. The book centers on a clear explanation of how Washington failed to achieve its objective in the 1991 war of establishing a protectorate in Iraq that could provide stability for Wall Street and the Pentagon in the Middle East, and why these were just the opening shots of more such wars. *Opening Guns of World War III* is printed in issue no. 7 of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. Pathfinder sales representatives have met with success in placing copies of this issue of *New International* in many bookstores during recent months.

An attractive brochure announcing Pathfinder's new fall titles is now out. The brochure is available free in both English and French by writing to Pathfinder (address below).

The list of new titles includes: *Malcolm*

X February 1965: The Final Speeches; To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' Against Cuba Doesn't End, by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara; *Lenin's Final Fight: Writings and Speeches, 1922-1923; The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution*; and *Carlos Fonseca Speaks: Building Nicaragua's Sandinista Liberation Front, 1960-1976*.

A new edition of *By Any Means Necessary*, by Malcolm X, will also be published in September. The new edition will have a full color cover, plus a new introduction and photographs. *Che Guevara: l'économie et la politique dans la transition au socialisme*, a French-language edition of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, came off the press a week ago.

Pathfinder is now distributing posters and postcards published by Friends of the Pathfinder Mural. The mural is painted on the side of the six-story Pathfinder building in New York City and features paintings of revolutionary and communist leaders from around the world. Eighty artists from 20 countries worked on the mural.

Posters of the mural and of segments featuring Nelson Mandela and Malcolm X can be ordered through Pathfinder, as can postcards of Malcolm X and Mandela. Write to Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014 for prices and discounts.

More than 50 people joined or renewed their membership of the Pathfinder Readers Club in the month of August. Readers Club members get a 15 percent discount off all Pathfinder books. Regular specials offer even greater discounts. One club member recently sent Pathfinder a suggestion we want to pass on. Why not use the publication of so many interesting books in the fall to launch a Readers Club membership drive?



Militant/Valerie Libby
Soap-boxing in the streets of Cincinnati. One of the more popular conference workshops was "Campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party candidates."

In addition to reaching these countries in the Pacific, the socialist candidates have taken the campaign to South Africa, Cuba, Britain, Canada, Iceland, Sweden, Korea, and, most recently, Barbados, Curaçao, Trinidad, and Grenada.

Conference workshops were also held on other areas of work of the SWP and Communist Leagues, such as Militant Labor Forums, a weekly series of free-speech public forums organized in some three dozen cities internationally; Pathfinder bookstores; and "Branch Jobs Committees during Growth of the Party," which discussed how branches of the party organize to find jobs in particular union-organized sectors of industry. A workshop was also held on organizing sales of the *Militant* and other socialist publications at the plant gates or entrances of industrial worksites.

The organization of work in defense of framed-up union and political activist Mark Curtis was the focus of another workshop. A campaign in support of the frame-up and against the defense effort was one of the topics discussed by participants. Harvey McArthur, a rail worker from Seattle, spoke about how the campaign against Curtis has been taken to some officials of his union, the United Transportation Union (UTU), primarily through the efforts of a UTU official in McArthur's local. McArthur said that it should not come as a shock that in many cases union officials and bureaucrats are among the most susceptible to the anti-working-class campaign that is being waged on behalf of the cops and prosecution in Des Moines.

Bureaucrats' anti-immigrant stance

This social layer, McArthur pointed out, identifies its interests with those of the employers and feels threatened by any initiative by rank-and-file workers like Curtis. Curtis's attempts to unify his coworkers behind defense of immigrants in his plant, who were being victimized and threatened with deportation, would naturally not win him many friends in the bureaucracy. Most union officials generally echo the line of the bosses that immigrants and workers from around the world are in one way or another responsible for the current economic crisis.

Participants in this workshop discussed the present stage of the fight to win justice for Curtis and to defend his right to be politically active in prison. Curtis, who is one of the national chairpersons of the Socialist Workers campaign, has organized educational programs on the South African revolution and other topics, sold subscriptions to the *Militant* and sold other socialist publications, and in other ways remained an active member of the communist movement while incarcerated. This has drawn the hostility of the prison authorities. Curtis has had to wage a constant struggle to maintain his right to be political in jail.

Perhaps the most popular workshop was the one entitled "The Fight to Defend Abortion Rights," attended by more than 130 people, predominantly young activists who have had some experience in defending abortion clinics from right-wing attacks. Ana Lucia, who traveled from

London to attend the conference, gave a talk on the recent fight in Ireland in response to the attempt of the government there to prevent a young woman from going to Britain to obtain an abortion. She described a demonstration of 1,000 in Dublin to protest the action of the government, which she and other activists from Britain participated in.

Abortion rights fight

Brian Taylor, a member of the SWP in Cincinnati who has been active in clinic defense in Ohio and elsewhere, talked about the importance of this work in attracting people to the party. The fight to defend abortion rights is the primary means through which young people are becoming active in politics in this country today, Taylor pointed out. Many of these young activists are willing to consider a perspective on how to fight the system that is responsible for the offensive against a woman's right to choose. Taylor said that two people joined the communist movement in Cincinnati as a result of the work of the party there in fighting alongside others against Operation Rescue.

Other participants in the workshop spoke of the centrality of this question in the election campaigns of socialist candidates. Immediately following the Oberlin conference, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate Estelle DeBates and several campaign supporters went to Houston to be part of the mobilizations against Operation Rescue during the Republican Party convention.

One of the workshops was held to discuss the party's experience in organizing an educational program for new and prospective members of the party. Prior to becoming a member, a prospective member goes through a three-month program of political activity and study. Central to this program is an educational series, based on reading and discussing books on Marxism and party history. The reading list includes *The Communist Manifesto*; *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: The Proletarian Party and the Trade Unions*, by Jack Barnes; *In Defense of Marxism*, by Leon Trotsky; and other works by working-class leaders. This program continues for a few months after the candidate becomes a member.

Melanie, who recently joined the party in Des Moines, said that she joined while she was a student with a "professional vocation" in mind. She added that going through the educational series, along with taking part in political activities, convinced her to apply what she learned by getting a job in industry and joining the working-class struggle. Participants in the workshop noted that this program is valuable not only for the new members, but for the more experienced members who take part in the classes.

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Miners discuss assault on union activist

BY TONY HUNT

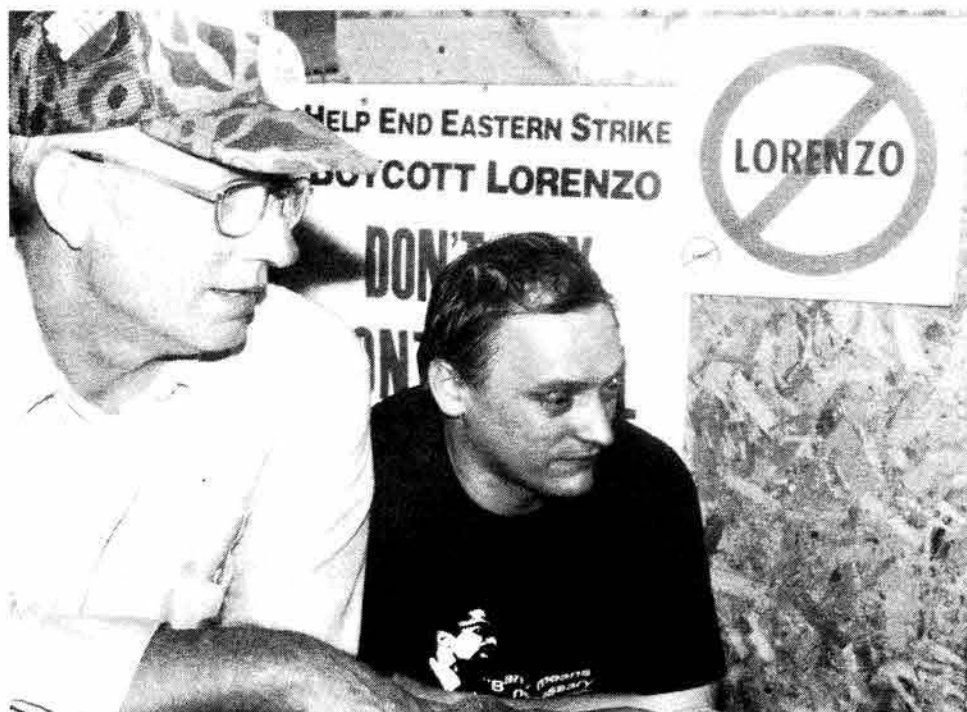
SHEFFIELD, England — "The *Militant* article about the attack has caused quite a stir at the pit," reported Paul Galloway in an interview. Last week's *Militant* reported that Galloway, an activist in the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), had been attacked and sexually assaulted August 6 by other miners on his way out of work. *Militant* supporters sold the issue and distributed copies of the article to coal miners on all three shifts at Thoresby Colliery where Galloway has worked for more than 15 years.

Some miners welcomed the fact that the sexual assault and attempt to settle political differences by violent means had been brought out into the open. Others disagreed saying that the attack was simply "horseplay."

"What I am explaining," said Galloway, "is that this was not simply 'horseplay' that got out of hand but a planned violent attack designed to humiliate me, stop me from being a union and political activist, and drive me out of the pit."

British Coal management called Galloway into a meeting September 11 to discuss the *Militant* article. The union activist attended on the advice of NUM officials. Galloway was asked by the bosses to name his attackers, which he declined to do.

"I've maintained all along this is a union matter," said Galloway. "The best way to deal with it is for both unions to take action."



Paul Galloway (right) visits a miners' strike shack in West Virginia in 1989. Galloway also offered solidarity to machinists on strike against Frank Lorenzo's Eastern Airlines.

We all have our differences but I'm opposed to violence and intimidation as a way of settling them inside the labor movement. Strong unions capable of defending their members will be impossible if thuggery like

this goes unanswered."

Galloway has made these points in letters both to his NUM branch at Thoresby and to the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM) branch officials. Most miners at

Communist League: 'high political stakes' in fight to defend coal miner

BY PAUL MAILHOT

SHEFFIELD, England — At a special two-day Communist League Central Committee meeting held here September 5-6, the party placed defense of longtime National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) member Paul Galloway at the center of its work.

Galloway, a member of the Communist League and a coal miner at the Thoresby colliery in Nottinghamshire for the past 15 years, was physically attacked while at work on August 6. A group of five or six members of the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM), joined by a couple of members of the NUM, sexually assaulted Galloway while heading out of the mine at the end of his shift.

One of the thugs openly bragged the next day that he had "finger-fucked Galloway last night." He later called Galloway an "NUM little bastard."

Leaders of the Communist League stressed that an attack of this nature must be met by a big campaign of the entire organization. If left unanswered, this assault would be followed by further attacks on Galloway and other miners in the pit who don't go along with the views of management.

"There are high political stakes in this fight," explained central committee member Tony Hunt in a report on the assault. "This attack has to be seen in the context of the war that British Coal, which directs the nationalized coal industry, has been carrying out against miners in Britain."

"Dozens of pits have been closed and tens of thousands of miners thrown out of work in order to make the mines more profitable. The ultimate goal of the government is to break the National Union of Mineworkers and sell off the coal industry to wealthy capitalist families regardless of the consequences for coal miners and their families."

"Workers like Paul, who are fighters and are trying to unify coal miners to resist the attacks of mine management, are a particular target of the bosses," said Hunt. "Organizing a campaign to repudiate this attack is important not only for Paul's rights but for the rights of all miners to speak their minds and organize to fight."

Thugs who do the company's work

"Pit closures have put tremendous pressures on the men who work in the mines," explained Jim Spaul, a member of the NUM from Kellingley. "Thugs, like the ones who attacked Paul, are doing the job of the company. This is really an attack on all the workers at Thoresby, as well as the NUM,

and the Communist League. We've got to understand it that way."

"There will be support for Paul at my mine. I think people will see it as an attack on more than just him but on the union nationally," stated Spaul.

Galloway explained that, although many concerned workers have encouraged him to bring the attack to the attention of the company, he has not done so. Miners who work at Thoresby are divided between two unions. Eighty percent are members of the UDM, who didn't participate in the 1984-85 national strike. Most of the rest are in the NUM, although a significant number of miners have joined neither union.

"The mine management is using every issue to further divide the workers, at the very time we need unity to fight them," explained Galloway. "Right now they are offering bonuses to miners who provide information on other workers."

According to Galloway it is unlikely that the assault against him could have been done without the company's knowledge.

A union matter

"This attack should be handled as a union matter. The most important thing now is to isolate the thugs who carried out this attack," explained Galloway. "The best way to do that is to have both unions, in spite of their many differences, publicly repudiate the attack."

Leaders of the Communist League are convinced that the majority of workers at the mine, whether in the UDM or the NUM, will be horrified by news of the attack on one of their workmates. Once the story has been told, many miners will want their unions to take action against members who took part in the assault.

Galloway has been a leading activist in the union for many years and is well known among fighters not only in the NUM but in other unions. During the 1984-85 NUM strike against pit closures, Galloway spoke at many meetings to help organize support for the walkout.

The Communist League meeting mapped out plans to talk to dozens of union officials and rank-and-file leaders of the NUM across the country and ask for their support. They are being asked to send letters and messages to the leaderships of the UDM and the NUM at Thoresby, calling on them to take action against the attackers by publicly condemning the assault and calling to order their members who were involved.

The Communist League of Britain also made an appeal for messages to be sent

by union activists from throughout the world. In 1989 Galloway traveled to the United States to offer his solidarity with Pittston coal miners and Eastern Airlines strikers. He also helped win support for NUM leader Arthur Scargill, who in 1990 was the target of a vicious slander campaign aimed at weakening the miners' union in Britain.

Letters protesting the attack against Paul Galloway should be sent to the UDM Office, British Coal Thoresby Colliery, Ollerton Road, Edwinstowe near Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, England NG 21 9PS; and to the NUM c/o Keith Stanley, 24 Samson St. Kirkby in Ashfield, Mansfield, Nottinghamshire, England NG 17 9HT. Please send copies of messages to Paul Galloway, c/o Pathfinder Books, 1 Gower St., Sheffield, England S4 7HA.

Dominican gov't spends millions building Columbus monument while workers shoulder foreign debt crisis

BY SELVA NEBBIA

"While the government of Joaquín Balaguer spent millions of dollars building a monument in memory of Christopher Columbus, the people of the Dominican Republic suffer under the impact of one of the worst economic and social crises the country has known," said Miguel Mejía.

Mejía spoke with this reporter at the Third Conference of Movements and Political Parties of the São Paulo Forum, which met recently in Managua, Nicaragua. He was there as a representative of the Movement of Left Unity (MIU) of the Dominican Republic.

The massive monument, known as the Columbus Lighthouse, will house the remains of Christopher Columbus, and is scheduled to be inaugurated with big festivities on October 12, the 500th anniversary of Columbus's landing in the Americas.

"Many of those who lived near the site of the monument, in Villa Duarte, were forced to move," said Mejía. "And they are still waiting to be properly compensated for the loss of their homes, and to be relocated to a decent place to live."

The Columbus Lighthouse cost more than \$250 million, according to the New York Spanish daily *el Diario/La Prensa*, and millions more are expected to be spent on the inaugural celebrations. "In a country where 3.8 of the 7.2 million people live in extreme

poverty, where over 30 per cent of the people are unemployed and 50 percent underemployed, spending such extravagant sums of money on sumptuous installations is an affront to the Dominican working people," Mejía said.

"The foreign debt of my country is \$4.7 billion. Over the past few years, following the dictates of the International Monetary Fund and other international lending institutions, the Balaguer government has carried out a number of austerity measures, making workers pay for the cost of its crisis," said Mejía. During this period, for example, electricity and water supplies were cut off for 20 hours a day or more. "Today, the Dominican people pay for the darkness, with blackouts occurring for periods of 8 to 10 hours a day," said Mejía.

The lack of electrical power has had a devastating effect on production, he said, with many small businesses going bankrupt. There are 500,000 families who lack adequate housing, explained the MIU representative, and 2.4 million people without access to health care. According to figures released by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 58,000 homeless children roam the streets in the Dominican Republic. Some 27,000 of them live in the streets of Santo Domingo, the capital, and the site of the Columbus Lighthouse.

At the same meeting in Edwinstowe, near Thoresby Colliery, Labour Member of Parliament Paddy Tipping predicted that British Coal would shut half the 12 mines in Nottinghamshire with a loss of 6,000 jobs by April 1993. An August 30 *Independent on Sunday* report also said that unemployment in the Nottinghamshire town of Mansfield would rise to over 20 percent as a result of these attacks. Meanwhile the London *Guardian* reported September 11 that British Coal has immediate plans to shut 18 mines nationally.

All the speakers at the meeting called for unity between NUM and UDM miners in the face of these assaults on jobs.

"The scale of these proposed attacks on miners in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere highlight the importance for the unions of taking action over attacks on me and other union activists," commented Galloway after the meeting.

Labor news in the Militant

The Militant stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 for subscription rates.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Aftermath of Hurricane Andrew: Government-Created Disaster. Speaker: Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Dade County in Florida, member United Food and Commercial Workers Union Local 442. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

Labor Resistance Today: From GM Lords-town to Atlanta Bus Drivers Strike. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Hear Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president. Sat., Sept. 19, 7 p.m. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cleveland

Protest U.S. Military Attacks on Iraq. Speaker: Don Mackle, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress (19th C.D.), member USWA Local 1170. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1863 W 25th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

City Workers: Unions Under Attack. What Can Working People Do to Defend Our Unions? A panel discussion. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Somalia in Crisis: What Creates the Famines in Africa. Sat., Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Pittsburgh

Iran and the Neighboring Republics of the Former USSR: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, just back from Iran. Sat., Sept. 19, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation:

\$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Internment of Japanese-Americans During World War II and the U.S. War Drive Today. Speaker: Ken Kawakubo, Socialist Workers Party, member International Association of Machinists. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

Hear James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. President. Wed., Sept. 23, 7 p.m. 1405 E Madison. Donation: \$5. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

BRITAIN

Sheffield

Rail workers Under Attack. Speakers: representative of Communist League; others to be announced. Sat., Sept. 19, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

Defend NUM Activist Paul Galloway. A panel

Pretoria is responsible for massacre

Continued from front page

others are called "self-governing." The homelands were set up on the poorest 13 percent of land. The goal was that all South African Blacks would acquire "citizenship" in one of these areas while being denied all political rights in the 87 percent of the country containing the mineral wealth, major industries, and major cities.

The *New York Times* has described the Ciskei as a "make-believe country." The country's political and economic life is completely subordinate to South Africa. South Africa foots the entire bill for the 30,000-

discussion. Sat., Sept. 26, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Montreal

Hear Estelle DeBates: Socialist Candidate for Vice-president of the United States. Fri., Sept. 18, 7:30 p.m. 6566, boul. St-Laurent. Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 273-2503.

Toronto

South Africa After the Massacre: ANC Deepens Mass Action Campaign. Speaker: Jabu Dube, Information Officer of African National Congress. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$3. Tel: (416) 861-1399.

Vancouver

Protest the Ciskei Massacre in South Africa. The Struggle Deepens Against the Apartheid Regime. Speakers: George Lai Thom, chair of British Columbia unit of African National Congress; John Munoru, Communist League Central Committee. Sat., Sept. 19, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

Morrinsville Meat Workers, NZ Forest Products — Workers Fight Back Against Bosses' Attacks. A panel discussion. Sat., Sept. 19, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Why Millions are Facing Starvation in Somalia. Thurs., Sept. 24, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Christchurch

The Fight for Women's Rights Today. Sat., Sept. 19, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

The U.S. War Drive Against Iraq and Yugoslavia. Speaker: representative of Communist League. Sat., Sept. 19, 4 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

U.S. war moves against Iraq

Continued from front page

notch their effort to strangle the Baghdad regime. The are seeking a new United Nations Security Council resolution aimed at seizing \$1 billion of Iraq's estimated \$4 billion in frozen overseas assets, allegedly to help feed needy Iraqi Kurds. On September 10 UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the Security Council that more than 3 million Iraqi Kurds face the threat of famine when winter arrives.

"The U.S. rulers' intervention in Iraq has nothing whatsoever to do with providing aid or assistance to the Shiites in the south or the Kurds in northern Iraq," Warren explained. "Washington's goal is to set up a protectorate there. They want to replace Saddam Hussein with a government that will loyally follow the dictates of U.S. policy in the region."

"The U.S. government today doesn't care any more about the Shiites and Kurds than they did when the U.S. military slaughter against Iraq ended early last year," said the socialist candidate. "At that time when the Shiites and Kurds rose up in an effort to overthrow Saddam, the U.S. government just sat back and watched as Baghdad bombed and murdered thousands of people."

"The truth is that Washington preferred to have Saddam Hussein running Iraq instead of an unknown government involving Shiites and Kurds that might seek closer cooperation with Iran," Warren stated.

The socialist presidential candidate labeled the U.S. government's new-found humanitarian concern for the Kurds "a fake and a fraud."

"In April of last year, as a million Kurds fled to the mountains to escape the Iraqi regime's military attacks," Warren explained, "the U.S. government refused to open its doors to these refugees. And recently, as Turkish planes have conducted numerous bombing raids against Kurdish villages in northern Iraq, Washington has voiced no major objections."

The socialist presidential candidate called for lifting the economic embargo against Iraq, which has been in place for the past two years. "This embargo is hurting not Saddam Hussein but the people of Iraq," Warren stated.

Infant mortality in Iraq has quadrupled from its prewar level. Nearly 30,000 Iraqi children died in the first four months of this year, mostly from malnutrition and dehydration.

Part of the money that Washington plans to seize from Iraq's frozen overseas assets

would go to fund the ongoing UN inspection of sites throughout Iraq allegedly suspected of housing military weapons. "These never-ending inspections are a flagrant violation of Iraq's sovereignty," said Warren, "and are meant to provoke Iraq into a military confrontation with Washington. I demand these inspections be immediately halted, and that the \$30 million that is projected to be spent over the next year on this disruption operation be turned over to the Iraqi people."

Conditions of life continue to deteriorate for the vast majority of people living in the Middle East. The recently released Arab Economic Report — issued by several governments and financial institutions in the region — states that the Gulf war led to an estimated 1.2 percent drop in the gross national product of 21 Arab countries in 1990 and a further 7 percent decline in 1991. Meanwhile, regimes throughout the Mideast have so far this year placed orders for an estimated \$45 billion in arms.

member civil service and its perks. It has trained and equipped the army — assisted by a large contingent from Israel.

South Africans, many retired or seconded from the South African government and military, make up the majority of the cabinet and of the leadership of the intelligence agencies. The commander of the Ciskei Defense Force that fired its machine guns into the crowd September 7 is on loan from the South African army.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the military dictator of Ciskei, came to power in a coup in March 1990. He initially claimed to support the ANC but rapidly established himself as a staunch supporter of the apartheid regime. The South African government has tried to use Ciskei and the other homelands as a stronghold against the ANC. In Ciskei, for example, the penalty for criticizing Gqozo's leadership is five years' imprisonment.

DeBates, who recently returned from South Africa, explained that the growing strength of the revolutionary-democratic movement is reflected in the homelands. As a part of her tour, DeBates visited the "independent" bantustan of Venda. Support for the ANC and the struggle against apartheid rule grew to a point where the local government in Venda was overthrown. Today the new government has aligned itself with the democratic movement.

"The massacre in Ciskei," DeBates said, "is in response to the growing support for the ANC in the bantustans, and its demand for a unified, democratic South Africa that includes dissolving the so-called homelands."

South African president F.W. de Klerk has put forward a plan that would leave the homelands intact as part of a loose South African federation with strong regional governments.

Gqozo has been a strong supporter of this perspective.

The September 7 march was the third to demand the removal of Gqozo. The ANC had permission to march into Ciskei and hold a rally at a stadium about 200 yards inside the border. Gqozo refused the march organizers permission to enter the nearby capital, Bisho.

As the tens of thousands of marchers approached Ciskei, the South African police who had been escorting them pulled away. Most of the 2,000-man Ciskei army was spread in an arc surrounding the stadium on three sides and cutting the marchers off from Bisho. The soldiers were armed with machine guns.

Several thousands of the demonstrators headed for the stadium to take seats. A small group of about 100 ran out of a back exit and toward Bisho. They were met by the fire of the waiting troops. The shooting, which lasted for at least five minutes, quickly engulfed the entire march.

Within hours of the massacre, de Klerk announced that South African troops would be sent to Bisho to protect industrial property owned by white South Africans.

Nelson Mandela, president of the ANC, sharply condemned the killings. "We are dealing with criminals," he told a rally in King William's Town following the shootings. "They want to drown this country in blood."

Mandela said that the shooting was unprovoked but noted that "accusations and counteraccusations have been made, some valid, others baseless."

He stressed to the ANC supporters at the rally, "You are entitled to defend yourselves. But we appeal to you not to do anything to kill innocent people."

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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: 5019½ 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.

Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: New York: 191 7th Ave. Zip: 10011. Tel: (212) 727-8421; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

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

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O.Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 221-2691. **Cleveland:** 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

OREGON: Portland: 2310 NE 8th #1. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 288-0466.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8196. **Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 South. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 523 8th St. SE. Zip: 20003. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

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

BARBADOS

Bridgetown: P.O. Box 891. Tel.: (809) 436-7723.

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: Klappartíg 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.

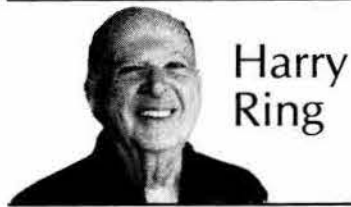
Christchurch: 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

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.

Their hearts brim over — Begin by calling your underwriters together



Harry Ring

and explaining the significance of the hurricane. This is an opportunity to get price increases now. . . . Please get it moving, today — Secret memo issued the day Andrew struck by the American International Group, a global insurance giant.

Yes indeed — "Hurricane An-

drew strikes, causing \$15 billion in damages and leaving 250,000 people homeless in south Florida. Within 48 hours, homebuilding suppliers increase prices 40 percent. . . . 'It's just supply and demand,' said William Hemphill of Carolina Builders. 'Its free enterprise.' — Greensboro, North Carolina, *News & Record*

Note to homeless — According to CNN, on average, 60 percent of U.S. hotel rooms are vacant each night.

Royal chutzpah — We reported the Queen of England's \$15-million annual "allowance." Also, government departments pay an additional

\$120 million to finance royal planes, trains, yachts and palaces. Meanwhile, the Forestry Commission has been asked to cough up \$540,000 to fence in her Scotland estate. It seems the deer are damaging the trees.

Besides a few other faults — "A PRISON INMATE. You are, not surprisingly, apt to rate high in hostility, alienation, impulsiveness and antisocial drives. "On the same test, given to newly hired prison guards, the jailers came out as high as the jailed — except for a measurement called the 'hysterical scale,' on which the jailers scored higher." — From the book, *What They Know About You*.

Sweet Charity — The *Chronicle of Philanthropy* proudly reports that a study of the 100 biggest private charities showed that only three of them paid their top official more than a half a million last year. In first place was Howard Keck, chairman of the Keck Foundation. He "earned" \$624,500.

Bookburners busy — In the past school year, right-wingers made a record 376 efforts to get books banned from classrooms and libraries, with 41 percent of their moves successful, according to a study by People for the American Way. Prominent on the hit list were John Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men* and *Grapes of Wrath*. Also Alice

Walker's *The Color Purple*, and Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*.

That's the spirit! — The Champagne Bis, an upscale Los Angeles beanery, is offering a special dinner — four courses plus two deserts, \$105. "It's a recession," says the owner, "but we still have to enjoy life."

Thought for the week — "The seeds of social revolution are sown when someone you love dies in your arms because you couldn't get medical care." — Brian Johnston, an East Los Angeles emergency room doctor, responding to the massive cuts in medical care by the California government.

Pamphlet 'reveals the common lot of farmers'

The following review of the Pathfinder pamphlet *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s* appeared under the heading "Corporate Ranchers Grab All" in the July 2 issue of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, publication of the Irish political organization Sinn Féin.

BY NEIL FORDE

An agricultural sector in crisis, farm failures, bank repossessions, families leaving the land, a subsidy system that favours the larger farmers, government legislation that forces farmers to cut back on cash crops. An agricultural crisis not in Ireland but in the United States. *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s* by Doug Jenness is a 35-page pamphlet that in a comprehensive analysis reveals the common lot of working farmers in Ireland and the USA.

Jenness' theme is that the "working farmers," those who try to make their living from farming are victims in the development of capitalist agro-industry. The pamphlet describes the way in which "capitalists use both protectionist and free trade policies to battle each other for markets and profits". Jenness argues that it is the worker farmers who ultimately pay the costs for these trade wars, which result in more farm repossessions and a further concentration of agricultural resources among the ranch and corporate farmers.

The pamphlet opens with a historical picture of the importance of agriculture in the development of the industrial economies of the world.

U.S. farmers are caught in a "double squeeze". They are price takers, forced to sell their produce for low prices, while paying mounting prices for fuel, fertiliser, seeds, machinery and loan repayments. In 1991 milk and wheat prices fell, driving farm incomes down to the position where farmers are forced to sell below cost.

In July 1991 corn and milk prices were down 24% and 20% respectively on the previous year. In the case of milk prices it is the central government who sets the price. In New York state the dairy farmers have been badly hit. Current prices enable them to pay only two thirds of their day to day costs. Over the past decade the number of dairy farmers has decreased in upstate New York from 1,000 to less than 300. The government won't even consider cost of living increases thus driving more farmers from the land.

So who is benefiting? Farmers are selling their produce for less while shop prices have increased. This is the nub of Jenness' anal-



In the United States as in Ireland, the demands of working farmers are simple. "Farmers must be allowed to make enough from selling their commodities to meet their production costs and have enough to live on," Doug Jenness writes in pamphlet.

ysis — it is the "middlemen", the food processors who call the shots. Jenness points out that "Although many dairies are referred to and originated as cooperatives, they have been largely transformed from instruments of leverage by the producers into profitable capitalist enterprises."

These 'co-ops' monopolise the retail market. Farmers are forced to accept the food processor's price and then the processor, who effectively controls supply can hike up the retail price to the consumer guaranteeing a lucrative profit margin. The echoes of the U.S. experience are to be found in the developing Irish agri-industry. What is missing in Jenness' analysis is how the dairy producers lost control of the co-operatives, or is it the case that the co-ops were always dominated by the rancher farmers?

The next stage in the Jenness analysis is the role that central government plays in agriculture. Congress has generated farm legislation since the 1930's, legislation which central government claims will provide assistance to the worst off farmers. New U.S. agricultural legislation is adopted every five years. The last bill was the 1990 Food, Agriculture, Conservation and Trade Act.

Jenness maintains that farmers are not a homogeneous economic and social class. Farmers are rather a "set of classes that include both exploited and exploiters, with sharply conflicting class interests." At the top end are the "capitalist farms and ranches" owned by Corporations where all the labourers are wage workers taking no share in profits. Below this is a "layer of capitalist farmers". This section ranges from farmers who use wage labour exclusively, to those who use a combination of family labour, but depend on wage labour, especially during harvesting.

The bottom strata are the majority of farmers who are "exploited independent producers who employ little or no wage labour". According to Jenness "more than half of the farmers in this group depend on off-the-farm jobs". Again there is a direct connection to the 26 Counties where Teagasc estimated that 90,000 of the total 149,000 farmers could not be considered commercial farmers.

Lobby groups play an important part in the formation of legislation both at the federal and state level. In the US it is the "giant food processing and trading monopolies" that have influence, not the majority of small farmers. This pattern too is being repeated in the 26 Counties as the sluggish Beef Tribunal reveals the substantial donations and funding given to political parties by the state's beef barons.

Japan's economy in crisis

Continued from Page 4

first fired. They do not receive the 25 percent premium for overtime that is mandated by law for other workers. They work longer hours, do not receive bonuses, and in most cases they are not covered by company-provided medical insurance.

The government announced a plan August 28 to attempt to lift the economy out of what has become the biggest slump in two decades. The \$86 billion package includes an expansion of public works projects, \$6 billion for housing loans, \$224 million in tax credits for small and medium-sized industries, plans to arrange the purchase of land held by banks as collateral, and the purchase of stocks with government money.

Partly in reaction to the August 18 and 28 government proposals the Nikkei index has gained more than 4,500 points, or about 32 percent since August 18. Most of the rally has been driven by investors who sell borrowed stock in anticipation of making money by buying back the shares at a lower price. They then return the stocks and pocket the difference. Analysts warn that the Nikkei's comeback could be short-lived since most of these investors are now out of the market.

The deepening economic crisis in Japan is intertwined with the international economic crisis. Japan's banks in particular are troubled by problems around the world. When the huge Canadian real estate developer Olympia and York went bankrupt, it impacted on Japanese banks that had loaned the company hundreds of millions of dollars.

In the 26 Counties as in the U.S. it is only the interests of a small segment of the farming community that actually is reflected in the government legislation. In the 26 Counties 20% of the farmers receive 80% of the EC funding. In the U.S. in 1987 farmers with 1,000 acres or more received an average of \$36,028 from the government in direct cash payments. Those with less than 1,000 acres averaged only \$9,400. 9.4% of farmers have an income of over \$250,000 a year. This group receives 28% of all government loans.

The final topic in Jenness' analysis is the GATT negotiations, and the Bush administration's demands for free trade. The EC has become a net exporter of grain over the last decade. The domination of Canada and the U.S. of world trade markets has been falling. This has worried the corporate commodity processors and traders. The U.S. is seeking to exploit new markets in South Korea and Japan. Jenness argues that global free trade will not guarantee workers' jobs, it will not save farmers from foreclosure.

Even though Jenness' analysis deals almost solely with U.S. farmers the links to the Irish situation are important. In the U.S. as in Ireland farmers demands are simple. "Farmers must be allowed to make enough from selling their commodities to meet their production costs and have enough to live on."

• *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s* by Doug Jenness is published by Pathfinder Press, price £1.95.

The Japanese crisis itself contributes to the increasing instability of the world capitalist economy. Japanese banks account for a staggering 40 percent of all global lending. In the United States alone they account for 16 percent of commercial and industrial loans.

One indication of the interdependence of the capitalist economies is the speed with which markets worldwide fell following the April plunge in Tokyo. Stock markets in France, Germany, the United States, Britain, Canada, Italy, Sweden, Switzerland, Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand all reeled from the Nikkei fall.

The *Financial Times* pointed out September 1 that Tokyo's spending plans did not offer anything to the auto and electronics industries. These industries, the *Times* said, "all have overcapacity that needs to be chopped away."

However, the international character of the economic crisis makes it difficult for Japanese companies to resolve this problem by expanding exports. The capitalist classes of most, if not all, nations face the same problem as the Japanese bosses. The competition for markets has led to intensifying pressures on Japan to decrease, not increase, what it sells in other countries.

Japanese auto manufacturers are claiming a smaller share of the U.S. market than in past years. And slackening of the German car market has driven the European Community (EC) to successfully push the Japanese government to reduce the export of cars to EC nations.

From Pathfinder

FARMERS FACE THE CRISIS OF THE 1990s



Pamphlet 35pp., \$3

Available from bookstores listed on page 16 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY, 10014. Add \$3 for shipping, \$5.50 for each additional copy.

Stop the execution of Aldape!

Ricardo Aldape Guerra is scheduled to be executed September 24 for a crime he did not commit.

Arrested on charges of killing a Houston cop, Aldape Guerra, a Mexican-born worker, has been on death row for 10 years. If the state of Texas continues to ignore the appeals for clemency and does not commute the death sentence, he will be dead in a few days.

Supporters of his case, both in Mexico and in the United States, have been demanding that Aldape Guerra be given a new trial. Evidence shows that another man shot the cop, not Aldape Guerra. During the trial that convicted him, witnesses to the shooting were coached by the police, and Aldape Guerra was repeatedly referred to by the prosecution as an "illegal alien" in an attempt to dehumanize him and to isolate him from fellow workers.

But the case of Aldape Guerra is not isolated. There are more than 300 prisoners awaiting execution in Texas alone, and hundreds more in prisons around the country.

As the capitalist economic and social crisis deepens, more and more workers like them will fall victim to the bosses' cops and courts. The rulers will continue to try to limit the confidence and ability of working people to

organize and fight back against the increased exploitation and oppression that the capitalist system depends on for its survival. They will step up their use of the death penalty to terrorize and intimidate us.

The death penalty is a class weapon used by *their* class, the employing class, against *our* class, those who produce society's wealth. We have no stake — regardless of what side of their borders we live on or where we were born — in supporting their barbaric justice system that condemns one of ours, Ricardo Aldape Guerra, to death.

James Warren, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president, recently explained during his tour of Grenada that the brutality Washington and its allies unleashed a year and a half ago, and are prepared to unleash again, is "the same thing they're doing to working people in Los Angeles, Detroit, and cities around the United States."

The planned legalized murder of Ricardo Adalpe Guerra is just one piece of this. Working people should add their voice and their weight to protests, demonstrations, and vigils against this barbarous act.

Stop the execution! Abolish the death penalty! Free Ricardo Aldape Guerra!

Help fight ballot exclusions

All possible voices are needed to speak out loudly against the attempt by officials in Ohio, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, and Nebraska to exclude the Socialist Workers candidates from the ballot. These representatives of the twin parties of war, racism, and economic depression seek to eliminate from serious consideration the only candidates who speak in the interests of working people around the world.

Héctor Marroquín, one of the national chairpeople of the socialist campaign, explained that, while petitioning to place Socialist Workers presidential and vice-presidential candidates James Warren and Estelle DeBates on the Nebraska ballot, their supporters met many people who were inspired by the campaign, volunteered to help, and looked forward to supporting the ticket in the November elections.

This has been the experience of hundreds of campaign supporters across the country. From the picket lines of United Auto Workers members in Lordstown, Ohio, and meatpackers in Louisville, Kentucky, to the young women and men defending abortion clinics in Houston, the socialist candidates have found a tremendous interest in their working-class alternative.

In recent weeks the drums of war are sounding louder. Already there are thousands of U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf protecting an illegal "no-fly" zone over a huge part of Iraq. NATO, with U.S. prompting and under UN cover, has decided to send 5,000 troops to Yugoslavia. Bush is pushing the drive toward war and Clinton is prodding him to move even faster. The socialist campaign is a voice against the war plans of the billionaire employers and their parties.

Supporters of the socialist campaign have joined the fight to defend a woman's right to choose abortion, protested against the death penalty and police brutality, and walked the picket lines with working people on strike for

decent contracts.

The socialist candidates put forward an international perspective. They explain that, as working people, we cannot begin to defend ourselves from the deepening social crisis unless we see ourselves as part of an international class with common interests that are diametrically opposed to the class interests of the employers. The campaign fights against the divisions imposed by the bosses on working people based on language, skin color, gender, or country of birth. Warren and DeBates have met with fighting workers and farmers in North Korea, Japan, Sweden, Britain, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Cuba, Trinidad, Grenada, and Barbados.

By excluding the socialist candidates from the ballot, government officials restrict the rights of everyone to discuss the working-class perspective. It becomes easier for newspaper editors and TV and radio producers to omit the socialist views from their election coverage. Without official ballot status, candidates are often denied participation in election forums and debates.

Working people today need more space for political debate and activity, not less. We need to be able to exchange ideas in the most open way possible as we fight to find a road to defend our interests. The attacks on ballot rights are part of the attempts by the rulers to limit the freedom to openly debate their war drive abroad and their offensive against working people at home. These attacks can and must be fought.

All democratic-minded people should join the fight against the exclusion of the socialist candidates from the ballot. Protest messages should be sent to the addresses listed on page 6. Candidates can be invited to discuss this fight at union meetings, high school classes, and on campuses. The stakes in this fight are high.

Join drive to get the 'Militant' out

Beginning this weekend, supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* will be launching a 9-week campaign to distribute these socialist publications as widely as possible. This campaign to expand the circulation of the socialist periodicals will start with a 3-week effort to sell thousands of single issues of the *Militant*, as well as hundreds of copies of *Perspectiva Mundial* and *New International*, before heading into a 6-week push to sell 2,500 subscriptions to the *Militant*.

The *Militant* is the only weekly English-language newspaper in the world that presents world events from a revolutionary socialist perspective. It points a way forward for working people, who are not only the primary victims of the economic and social catastrophe created by capitalism, but the only social force capable of replacing the profit system with one where human needs come first. As this crisis deepens and the capitalist rulers attempt to impose more and more reactionary solutions — up to their ultimate answer, fascism and world war — it will become increasingly important for workers and youth seeking an alternative to have weapons like these publications to arm them politically.

The potential to bring communist ideas to young fighters and workers, who are becoming politicized by their experiences and what they see around them in the world, is greater today than it has been in decades. Counter-revolutionary Stalinist parties, which have misrepresented them-

selves as communist for over 65 years, are no longer able to prevent workers in large parts of the world from gaining access to these ideas and linking up with other fighters.

An indispensable feature of the *Militant* in recent months has been first-hand coverage from parts of the world where the class struggle is the most intense. The *Militant* has reported from Yugoslavia, where the fallacy of the "New World Order" is most evident as the ruling bureaucratic mafias and foreign imperialist powers gang up on working people.

The *Militant* has reported from South Africa, where working people are setting an inspiring example of how to fight and move forward today. The *Militant* continues to report from Cuba, where workers and farmers are fighting to defend their socialist revolution. The *Militant* has been there, not as an "impartial" observer, but as part of working-class struggles.

The goal of this sales drive is to convince thousands of people in countries around the world to subscribe to the *Militant*.

An introductory subscription is the best way to consider and test the ideas presented weekly in the socialist press for a period of 12 weeks or more. We also encourage every reader to order a weekly bundle and distribute the paper yourself, which is the best contribution you can make to this effort.

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

In a letter in this week's *Militant*, R.D. of Los Angeles takes exception to a statement by Estelle DeBates, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president, that was reported in an article on the pro-choice mobilizations in Houston during the Republican Party convention. DeBates spoke against the use of the slogan "Take your rosaries off my ovaries," saying that "anti-Catholic and antireligious

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

slogans only make it harder for people to join the fight."

The problem in the slogan that DeBates argued against is that it makes no distinction between the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, which R.D. accurately describes as being "among the most reactionary . . . opponents of socialism, the working class and women," and the millions of people around the world who consider themselves Catholics. While the Catholic hierarchy takes an aggressive position against abortion rights and leaders of that church, from the Pope to bishops and cardinals in this country and around the world, are often among the leading proponents and activists of the mislabeled "pro-life" movement, many ordinary people who hold Catholic beliefs participate in pro-choice activities, and others can be won to the struggle for abortion rights.

Recent polls have indicated that a majority of Catholics do not agree with the reactionary positions of the Vatican on questions such as birth control, abortion, and whether or not women should be allowed to become priests. A Gallup poll taken in June of this year found that 41 percent of Catholics in this country believed that abortion was acceptable in many or all circumstances and an additional 41 percent held that it was acceptable in rare circumstances. Seventy percent agreed with the statement that "Catholics can, in good conscience, vote for political candidates who support legal abortion." Only 13 percent of those polled said that they agreed with the position of the Catholic Church that abortion is never acceptable.

Misleading slogan

Therefore, raising a slogan that appears to be aimed at Catholics in general or against people who practice other religions is not only misleading, but detracts from the ability of pro-choice activists and organizations to build a broad movement of all who support the elementary right of women to control their bodies. This is the point that DeBates was making, not that pro-choice activists should refrain from denouncing certain politicians, which R.D. infers later in the letter.

R.D. also explains that "the Catholic Church's position affords the opportunity to break people from this reactionary group." The aim of any movement in defense of abortion rights or women's rights in general is not, however, and should not be to "break people" from their religious affiliations. Anything that leads in that direction would be counterproductive at best. Implicit in that statement, too, is the idea that Catholicism is somehow more reactionary than other organized religions, which is erroneous.

Who is the enemy?

Finally, defenders of a woman's right to choose need a clear understanding of who their enemy is and what lies behind the offensive against women's rights, which won't be gained by exaggerating the role of the Catholic Church. R.D. states, "The Catholic Church and its leader, the Pope, are at the leading edge of the attack on women and their rights relating to production (as well as upon other workers)." The source of these attacks, however, is the capitalist ruling class, which has a material interest in relegating women to second-class status. They are constantly looking for ways to roll back abortion rights and other democratic rights and foster divisions within the working class through racism, sexism, and other prejudices. The principal agents of these attacks are the institutions of their rule, the Democratic and Republican parties, the federal and local governments, and the court system in particular.

Right-wing groups such as Operation Rescue also play a prominent role in the offensive against women's rights, mobilizing to shut down clinics and thereby to take away in the streets what hasn't yet been taken away in the courts or by the government: the right to choose abortion. In this context, individual Catholic church officials often play a role, in some cases participating in and leading right-wing actions. The public position of the Catholic Church against abortion also lends support to anti-choice forces. The focus of pro-choice actions and literature, however, should be the primary enemy: the ruling class and its government. That's the best way to mobilize all defenders of a woman's right to choose, including millions who consider themselves Catholic.

— JOHN COX

Workers in Canada pay for airline crisis

BY PAUL KOURI
AND LARRY JOHNSTON

VANCOUVER, Canada — During the past 18 months, Canada's two major airlines — Air Canada and Canadian Airlines International (CAI) — have reported a combined loss of \$768 million (Canadian). Some 5,000 workers have already been laid off, leaving a combined workforce of 36,000.

The accelerating crisis of Canada's airlines has led to merger talks between the two Canadian airlines and also with U.S. carriers. As a result, workers are being threatened with 10,000 additional lay-offs.

Employers, capitalist politicians, and their pundits in the media have used these highly publicized talks to exacerbate divisions among airline workers, playing off workers from one company or from one region against workers from other companies and/or regions.

CAI is centered in western Canada. With more than 6,000 employees in the Vancouver area, it's the largest industrial employer here. The possibility that thousands of jobs at CAI would be eliminated as a result of a merger with Air Canada has led some to argue that this is another example of how "western Canadian interests" are again being sacrificed to the benefit of interests in eastern Canada, particularly Quebec.

On August 11, five of the six unions at CAI, representing pilots, flight attendants, and technicians approved a proposal to purchase \$200 million of CAI stock, which would be financed by deducting some 10 percent from CAI employees paychecks over three years. CAI agreed to study the proposal.

Merger talks with Air Canada were temporarily halted as Air Canada announced a marketing alliance with United Airlines. On September 2, Air Canada made a new merger proposal to CAI.

Sid Fattedad, a former vice president of CAI, and representative of the Council of Canadian Airline employees, claims that the buy-in proposal would advance talks between CAI and American Airlines. American is seeking to buy 25 percent of CAI with CAI also contracting reservation and ac-

counting services from American. Under this plan 2,000 jobs are expected to be lost rather than 10,000 resulting from a merger with Air Canada.

The Canadian Autoworkers Union (CAW), which represents ticket agents at the airlines is opposing the employee buy-in scheme. The CAW's position is that the government should regulate the industry. The CAW demands that the federal government pull out of Open Skies negotiations with the United States and protect Canadian carriers from U.S. competitors.

The buy-in proposal is getting mixed reactions from union members. The Canadian Airline Pilots Association voted 95 percent in favor. The IAM has held information meetings with attendance varying from 5-20 percent. At one such meeting in Montreal, the executive proposed a motion opposing the buy-in plan.

Without any discussion a vote was taken, and 75 percent supported the local executive's motion.

IAM meetings in Toronto and Vancouver on this issue had a question and answer format. At one Toronto meeting a video on the buy-in was shown. Members were told that they would not be individually liable if Canadian airlines went bankrupt or if they were laid off. If the deal with American Airlines goes through 75 percent of the clerical workers, who are members of the IAM, stand to lose their jobs. The union leadership argued that these workers would not have any deductions taken from their paychecks.

Several IAM members expressed bitterness over the proposed wage cut especially in light of the fact that during this past year the IAM was the only union at CAI that did not take advantage of a wage reopener clause to negotiate a pay raise.

Some cited previous negative experiences with mergers and takeovers of which CAI is a product. Others pointed to examples of companies like Eastern Airlines where employees bought shares in the company and subsequently had to wage a twenty-month-long strike to defeat management's attempts to turn Eastern into a major non-union carrier.

Many CAI workers are skeptical. A good number tend to support the buy-in proposal because they see no other alternative to save their jobs. Many are also concerned about how this whole discussion over buy-in schemes and helping "our" company is undermining the union and deepening divisions.

Paul Kouri is a member of Local 3495 of the United Steelworkers of America. Larry Johnston is a member of IAM Lodge 764 and works for CAI as a cleaner.

New law used to attack New Zealand unions

BY FELICITY COGGAN

WELLINGTON, New Zealand—Following the passage of the Employment Contracts Act in May 1991, many workers in this country have been discussing the merits of continuing to belong to a union. The bosses are attempting to use the new law to de-unionize workplaces and cut into wages and worsen working conditions.

In May of this year, an initial survey by the Employers Federation of 1,116 employers, employing about 190,000 workers, reported that 500 companies had cut back penal rates (extra pay for work done on weekends, public holidays or overtime), and 361 had altered the workweek to make these rates harder to claim.

During the first year of the Act, wage and salary increases have averaged just 0.6 percent—the lowest average yearly rise in the last 15 years, excluding the wage-price freeze of the 1980's. Inflation stood at 1 percent for the period.

A recent Victoria University of Well-

ington study showed a significant fall-off in collective bargaining—39 percent of the 721,000 workers previously covered by unions have lost collective coverage under the Act, which allows for workers to sign individual contracts with their employer.

At Primex Meats in Wellington, just under half of the 35 workers recently decided to rescind their union membership as part of signing a new collective contract the company had put forward. With several workers already not in the union, the plant is now majority nonunion.

The new contract makes provision for the introduction of shift work, prohibits workers taking outside employment which could affect their work, and ensures considerable flexibility for the company in deciding work practices and conditions. It includes a 2.4 percent wage increase. It does not preclude union membership, but contracts directly with the employee, rather than the union.

In the process of discussing the contract, several workers said that they felt the union

had never done anything for them, and that their dues were wasted. Others stressed the need to stick together and try to fight through the union for a better contract, while some argued that union officials would be a better bargaining agent on their behalf than having to confront the boss themselves.

The company obliged workers to strike for half a day in order to meet to continue discussing the contract.

In the final instance, the 17 workers who did strike decided to sign the contract but remain members of the union.

It was generally agreed that workers should not allow the bosses to divide them by looking on the nonunion workers as enemies, but aim to win them back to join the union.

Felicity Coggan is a member of the New Zealand Meatworkers' Union, working at Primex Meats.

LETTERS

Hurricane Andrew

Hurricane Andrew has revealed to the world the sharp social divisions that exist in Florida and Louisiana. Hundreds of thousands of workers lived, or still live in homes that are not strong enough to survive the strong winds that are a natural part of hurricanes. At the same time that 250,000 people have been made homeless, damage to wealthy neighborhoods and commercial buildings was relatively light.

The extent to which shoddy construction techniques contributed to the crisis could be seen in a video that was shot from a helicopter and shown on the television news. Dr. Robert Sheets from the National Hurricane Center and the unidentified pilot narrated the footage. In some subdivisions the damage was light and then in the next, across the street, the devastation was complete. These differences cannot be explained by differences in wind. The pilot observed that in one area where every house was destroyed, the roof beams were one-third the size of those in his house.

To build housing that can withstand the forces of a hurricane costs more money than to build flimsy housing. If the workers of the effected region are compensated with the market value of their destroyed home they will only have enough money to replace it with a mobile home or other inadequate housing. The damage from future hurricanes can be greatly reduced if they are given enough money to build strong houses that won't be destroyed in the future.

Many unions have been in the forefront of collecting relief supplies for the victims of this hurricane. These same unions and other organizations of working people

should demand that the houses that are built to replace those lost in the hurricane be strong enough so that future relief efforts will not be needed.

*Ron Richards
San Juan, Puerto Rico*

Abortion fight

In the September 4, 1992 issue of the *Militant*, Socialist Workers Party vice-presidential candidate Estelle DeBates, in her visit to Houston in defense of abortion rights, is quoted as telling a woman's discussion group to stop using the slogan "Take your rosaries off my ovaries," saying "anti-Catholic and anti-religious slogans only make it harder for people to join the fight."

I consider this to be utterly wrong. The Catholic Church and its leader, the Pope, are at the leading edge of the attack on women and their rights relating to reproduction (as well as upon other workers). They have been historically among the most reactionary sectors and vociferous opponents of socialism, the working class and women.

DeBates adds, in urging an end to the slogan, that ending it would make "the opportunity to bring people with many different beliefs into the fight to defend abortion rights." Logically that would mean stopping attacks on the Democratic Party (people of many beliefs there), [and] against union bureaucracy and government office holders (must be some good people there).

Moreover, the Catholic Church's position affords the opportunity to break people from this reactionary group. The church is not just a theoretical, philosophical enemy—but a real one, on the front lines of the enemy class.



Keep the slogan! And keep the slogan "Not the church, not the state, women must decide our fate!"

*R.D.
Los Angeles, California*

SWP campaigns

Though I dropped out of politics during the early 1980's, I always maintained a deep hatred for the capitalist system. When the Gulf War broke out, I realized the capitalist system was in a serious world crisis. It was time to become politically active again.

The 1980s was a very reactionary and demoralizing period for most activists. But this is no longer the 1980s! We have entered

a period where the number one priority is party building (i.e. recruiting workers and training revolutionary cadre). This will be so important as we enter the next period of struggle.

The SWP campaigns around this election year are essential to make the socialist alternative the reality for the future. I have seen many ex-activists look at this period with speculation and a wait and see attitude. I find them in a demoralized state inherited from the 80s. They are still looking for ways to self-indulge themselves, and on occasion participate as arm-chair academics discussing the socialist alternative.

If there isn't a revolutionary

party to have impact, historically the working class will lose the battles against the well-financed capitalist offensive. All revolutionaries know that if capitalism is not abolished, this world will not be a very pleasant place to live.

*Greg Hodges
Bonny Doon, California*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Youth and unionists demonstrate in Germany against racist attacks

BY DAG TIRSEN

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Thousands of young people in buses from all over Germany poured into Rostock for the August 29 demonstration in response to a series of attacks against immigrants organized by right-wing and Nazi forces. The 20,000-strong action was the largest anti-racist demonstration in the eastern part of Germany since reunification nearly two years ago. The attacks began a week earlier, first in Rostock in eastern Germany and then spread to other cities around the country.

Local antiracist organizations had begun organizing protests during the first week of right-wing riots. By mid-week, they and other antiracist and antifascist organizations in Berlin and elsewhere put out a call for a demonstration. Support for the protest built rapidly,

with more than 40 organizations signing up as endorsers by the time of the march and rally on the 29th. The German Trade Union Federation (DGB), the German equivalent of the AFL-CIO in the United States, endorsed the march, as did I.G. Metall, the largest union in Germany.

The main demands of the demonstration were "Stop the pogroms" and "Punish the racists." It was received by a big show of force by the riot police. The buses arriving in the city were searched, supposedly for "weapons and dangerous tools." Every street crossing in Lichtenhagen, the section of town where the protest was being held, was occupied by police and border guards in bullet-proof vests and riot helmets.

The demonstration was peaceful, and the size of the march compelled the racists to keep a low profile.

Among the activists there was great bitterness over the role of the authorities and the politicians of the major capitalist political parties, in particular the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) of Helmut Kohl and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). The CDU wants to stop the influx of refugees and has for months called for a change in the constitution, which would not be possible without the cooperation of the SPD.

Germany's immigration policy is in fact as restrictive as that of any country in Europe. What these parties object to is that the constitution allows asylum for victims of persecution. The CDU and the SPD have both called for a stricter definition of "victims of persecution" as a means to drastically restrict the right of workers from other countries to migrate to Ger-

many. As it is now, only a small minority of asylum-seekers are actually granted asylum.

The minister for social affairs in the region, Hermann Heinemann of the SPD, stated that the violence against immigrants in Rostock was due in part to the "wrongdoings" of Romanians and others. On the day of the first attacks in Rostock, August 22, Social Democratic leader Björn Engholm announced that his party had changed its position and would support altering the constitution to restrict asylum.

Biplab Basu of the Antiracist Initiative in Berlin, said in a phone interview, "The Social Democracy is very much responsible for the pogroms." He added that a local SPD leader was leading a "citizens committee" that was involved in organizing the attacks on hostels in Rostock. These attacks have also provoked divisions within the SPD; other Social Democrats in Rostock, for example, supported the antiracist demonstration.

Basu said that Antiracist Initiative plans to continue to mobilize against the racists. Over the previous weekend, 1,000 young antiracists were mobilized to defend hostels in Berlin during a conference of the German Peoples Union, a fascist organization.

A big demonstration is being planned in Berlin October 3, the second anniversary of reunification. Trade unions and antiracist organizations initiated the call for the protest, which has gotten the support of other groups. The main themes will be "Against the massive unemployment" and "Against racism."

"We very much want people to come or send a message of support that could be read to the crowd," Basu said. Messages can be sent to: Antiracistische Initiative, Yorkstrasse 59 HH 3, 1000 Berlin, Germany.

Kentucky meat-packers win support

BY MARY ZINS

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky — On Saturday, August 22, 45 workers stood in line at the entrance to Bigg's grocery store in suburban Louisville. Meat-packers from United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 227 passed out fliers requesting that customers not buy Fischer meat products.

Most passersby chatted briefly with the strikers. A few were hostile, but many signed the pledge cards promising not to buy Fischer products until the workers have a fair contract.

Each Saturday morning and Thursday evening 50-200 strikers, UFCW staff members, and supporters meet at the UFCW hall. They then all go to an area grocery store to solicit support for the four-month-long strike.

On May 8, about 600 UFCW members at Fischer Packing were forced out on strike. The company demanded some 25 concessions which included major attacks on the seniority system. Fischer wanted to eliminate health insurance for retirees and instead pay each new retiree \$57 a month to purchase their own insurance. The last contract offer contained no wage increase; workers have not had an increase in 12 years.

James Terry, who has worked at the plant for 27 years, said, "Over the last 12 years the company's been taking concession after concession. We've finally said enough. We're fighting this time: and if we should go down, we'll ensure they go down as well."

This is only the second strike in the plant's history. The first strike was in 1967 and lasted less than two months. Wilson Products, which used to own the plant, declared bankruptcy in 1983 and forced major concessions on the union members, cutting wages by about \$4 an hour and replacing the 100 percent medical coverage with a plan whereby workers would pay 20 percent. In 1989 Wilson sold the packinghouse to International Fish and Meats, a French-owned corporation.

In March workers voted down the proposed contract with Fischer Packing 453-3.

Picket lines are maintained at the plant 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Fischer has recruited an estimated 100 replacement workers from Labor World, a temporary work agency but they have been unable to restart the hog kill. In the first two weeks of the strike, a few prisoners on work release were forced to cross the picket line, but that practice was quickly ended by state officials as publicity got out.

Many area unionists are organizing to support the strike. The 8,000 workers in the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) at the nearby General Electric (GE) plant collected \$7,000 for the strikers in one building alone. The same IUE local recently voted to assess each member \$1

a week for Local 227's strike fund. Workers at the GE plant and UAW members from Ford Motor Co. have "adopted" a grocery store they leaflet each week. Area ministers have organized prayer vigils at the picket line, and in May hundreds of workers participated in a march and rally to support the strike. Two hundred strike supporters marched to the Labor World temporary work agency to protest their recruitment of replacement workers. UFCW members who work at the Kroger grocery stores organized a benefit dance for the strikers in August.

In the strongest show of solidarity yet, close to 1,000 trade unionists and others participated in a march and rally to support the Fischer strikers on August 29 in downtown Louisville. (See report in last week's issue.)

Support for the strike is solid among UFCW meat-packers. No members are crossing the line.

UFCW striker Edward Smith summed up the sentiments of many when he said, "We're fighting to win. We're getting support because if Fischer breaks the union here, it can happen to you next. Without a union," he added, "the companies will do whatever they choose."

Contributions and messages of support can be sent to: UFCW Local 227, Fischer Strike Fund, 2140 Dixie Highway, Louisville, Ky. 40210, Phone (502) 778-4453.

Mary Zins is a member of UFCW Local 655 in St. Louis, and Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Missouri. Rollande Girard contributed to this article.

Texas ready to execute Mexican worker on frame-up charges of killing policeman

BY MATT HERRESHOFF

HOUSTON — The state of Texas is moving ahead with plans to execute Ricardo Aldape Guerra, a young Mexican worker and frame-up victim. Aldape is scheduled to die September 24.

"Only through united effort will we be able to save his life," said Alvaro Hernández Luna, director of the Ricardo Aldape Guerra Defense Committee.

Ten years ago, Aldape was framed up on charges of killing a Houston cop. "I'm innocent!" cried Aldape when the conviction was pushed through. Aldape continues to maintain his innocence.

On July 10, 1982, Aldape and another man, Roberto Carrasco Flores, were stopped by a Houston cop. Carrasco shot the cop. Other police officers came and shot back at Carrasco, who died with the murder weapon in his hand. No evidence ever linked Aldape to the gun.

To obtain a conviction, the police coached witnesses and hid the existence of an eyewitness, Héctor Anguiano, whose testimony supported Aldape's case. Throughout the trial the prosecution displayed mannequins, dressed in bloody clothes, to the jury — supposedly representing Aldape and Carrasco. In the trial and in the press, Aldape was smeared by the prosecution as an "illegal alien."

Aldape's case has won widespread support in Mexico, including from the Mexican government, and among Mexican and Chicano workers in the United States.

As the scheduled execution date approaches, the defense committee is gearing up its efforts. Weekly defense meetings are



Protests against the Texas government's planned execution of Ricardo Aldape Guerra have been held both in Mexico and in the United States.

held every Thursday. A picket is set for September 16 at the courthouse where Aldape was convicted. A demonstration in Houston has been organized for September 19. Supporters of Aldape from Colorado, Illinois, California, and elsewhere plan to attend.

"The power to change things is in the hands of the people, not the politicians, not the courts," says defense committee leader Luna.

The defense committee is asking that messages protesting the planned execution be sent to: Governor Ann Richards, State Capitol, Austin, TX 78711, Tel: (800) 843-5789; and Court of Criminal Appeals, Capitol Station, P.O. Box 12308, Austin, TX 78711, Tel: (512) 463-1551. Copies should be sent to the defense committee at: 2510 Broad St., Suite 200, Houston, TX 77087. For more information call the committee at (713) 641-0025.