

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Democratic revolution
advances in South Africa

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After the U.S. elections: Rulers will continue war drive, attacks on workers

At a press conference a few days before the November 3 election, James Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president, made the point that, whichever candidate was elected, the future holds more attacks on workers' rights and living standards, more wars, and the threat of a world war between the rival imperialist powers.

"What we must understand above all is that this crisis cannot and will not be re-

EDITORIAL

solved by capitalism. They will fight to force us to pay the price of it," said Warren, speaking at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., October 30. The press conference was broadcast later that day on the C-Span television channel.

Warren stressed that the workings of the capitalist market system lead inevitably to "periods like this, in which the major powers fight each other for domination of the world's markets." He cited "the currency battles and conflicts, the trade conflicts" as examples of this sharpening economic warfare amongst the imperialist powers, "which ultimately ends in them waging military war against each other."

Warren emphasized, though, that "this can be prevented, because we think the war makers can be stopped, and that the possibility for doing so will open up in this period."

The question of foreign policy in general was not an issue in the elections as far as Bush, Clinton, and Perot were concerned



With elections over, U.S. rulers will continue their drive toward war.

precisely because there is no disagreement among the rulers on the need for war preparedness and on the need to strike blows at those who provide an example of a different road forward — in the first place the people of revolutionary Cuba.

The Democratic nominee, William Clinton, made it clear that he would be even more ready to go to war than the incumbent, George Bush, who presided over the invasion of Panama and the massacre of tens of thousands of Iraqis. Clinton was also the

most aggressive against Cuba of the three.

Regardless of who wins the U.S. presidential elections, the government of the United States will continue to carry out important parts of its foreign policy in secret — behind the backs of the people of the United States and the world — as they have done increasingly in recent years. As much as they would like to think that the "Vietnam syndrome" is dead, the war makers continue to be constrained by the fact of the antiwar

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Pathfinder books center of discussion at library conference in Holguín, Cuba

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

HOLGUÍN, Cuba — At a week-long conference held here October 25–31, books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press were at the center of wide-ranging political discussions, formal and informal, on the major questions facing working people the world over.

The conference, called the International Workshop on Selection, Acquisition, and Exchange of Literature, was sponsored by the Benito Juárez Library at the Higher Technical Institute of Holguín (ISTH). Several dozen representatives from libraries at university-level scientific and technical institutes in Holguín, Havana, Santiago, Matanzas, Pinar del Río, and other Cuban cities attended the event.

In addition to a representative from the National Autonomous University library in Mexico City, international participants included a U.S. delegation composed of Pathfinder president Mary-Alice Waters and Martín Koppel, editor of *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X Speaks), Pathfinder's new, expanded Spanish-language collection of speeches by the U.S. revolutionary leader.

Many students and teachers of economics, philosophy, mechanical engineering, various sciences, and English from the ISTH and other local colleges participated in all the conference events.

Pathfinder's participation in the confer-

ence was the fruit of nearly two years of collaboration and exchange of literature with the Benito Juárez Library. As a result of exhibits and promotional contests organized by the library over that period, a number of conference participants were already familiar with Pathfinder publications and had read some of its books that were donated to the library.

The focus of the conference was on expanding the literature available to Cuban students, teachers, researchers, and workers through exchanges with libraries, publishing houses and other institutions abroad.

The central organizer of the event, Joaquín Osorio from the library of the Higher Technical Institute of Holguín, explained to the conference the importance of libraries as tools for youth and working people to appropriate the culture and learning conquered by previous generations and other societies. "We want students to read," he said. "We want them to know literature and ideas from all over the world. That's our goal."

'We need people who read'

Talking with conference guests, Osorio reminded them of a speech by Fidel Castro in the first years of the Cuban revolution in which Castro insisted that Cuba needs people who read, not people who believe.

Because of this, Osorio emphasized, "se-

lecting and acquiring literature is not an administrative but a political task."

Building good libraries is both a political challenge and an economic one, given the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba and the

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British coal miners plan rallies to fight pit closures

BY CLAY DENNISON

SHEFFIELD, England — Following two giant demonstrations against announced plans to shut down 60 percent of the coal mines in Britain, members and supporters of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) are continuing to demand that the pit closures be stopped.

Marches on Wednesday, October 21, and Sunday, October 25, brought out tens of thousands of workers in solidarity with the miners.

The NUM has organized meetings in coal-mining communities. In Yorkshire, several vigils have been held at the gates of mines that are slated for closing.

Thousands of miners and supporters marched on October 31 in Doncaster, Barnsley, and Mansfield. Speaking in Mansfield, former NUM secretary Peter Heathfield said that the miners and their supporters "have to keep the momentum" of the protests going.

Tens of thousands of layoffs

The attack on the miners is occurring in the context of a rapidly deepening economic crisis in Britain. Two large Ford plants were shut down completely for one week. British Steel has put its workers on short weeks. The government has announced plans to shut several hospitals in London, laying off thousands of workers. Within the next 12 months, 132,000 jobs in the aerospace industry may be lost. Official unemployment is now 10 percent and rising.

At a meeting held at the Workshop town hall on October 28, NUM president Arthur Scargill explained that the closing of 31 pits will not only mean the layoff of 30,000 coal miners, but an additional loss of 70,000 jobs in related industries.

Layoffs are already threatened at Dosco, a manufacturer of mining machinery. At a meeting held by the NUM and rail unions in Doncaster on October 29, the vice-president of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen said that several freight depots in the Doncaster area would be threatened if the pit closures go ahead. Both he and Jimmy Knapp, president of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers, pledged that their unions

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Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

Hear: MARY-ALICE WATERS
Editor *New International*, just returned from Cuba.

MONTREAL * Saturday, Nov. 14, 7:30 p.m.
Celebrate the publication of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* by Carlos Tablada, in French.
6566 boul. St-Laurent. For more information call (514) 273-2503.

NEW YORK CITY * Sunday, Nov. 15, 4:00 p.m.
A report back from Waters's recent trip to Cuba.
Location to be announced. For more information call (212) 727-8421

MIAMI * Saturday, Nov. 21, 7:00 p.m.
Celebrate the publication of the new Pathfinder book *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End*. Waters, who is the editor of this book, will speak during the Miami book fair.
First United Methodist Church of Miami, 400 Biscayne Blvd. For more information call (305) 756-1020.



March in Spain: No to layoffs

Some 750 steelworkers from northern Spain entered Madrid October 26, after an 18-day and 250-mile-long march to protest government and European Community proposals to close steel mills and slash jobs in the industry by 40 percent, while reducing production by 20 percent. They were joined by 20,000 family members and supporters who came from Asturias and the Basque country by coach to back what was called "The Iron March." The steelworkers held a puppet mascot of Spain's prime minister, Felipe González, as a fiddling Nero—a former Roman emperor alleged to have played the fiddle after setting Rome ablaze. The Spanish workers' protest coincided with the demonstrations led by coal miners in Britain against pit closures.

French court convicts three in case of H.I.V.-tainted blood

A French court convicted three former health officials October 22 on charges of distributing blood tainted with the H.I.V. virus, which causes AIDS. More than 1,250 hemophiliacs who used the blood in 1985 have been infected with the virus and 273 have already died. The three, who held senior posts at the National Blood Transfusion Center and the Justice Ministry, were given four-year sentences, one of which was suspended.

One of the reasons given by the defense for the crime was that the Transfusion Center was under pressure from the Health Ministry to become profitable and compete better with France's neighbors. To prevent the disaster would have meant destroying \$40 million in blood or buying expensive screening technology and decontaminating the blood.

Yeltsin bans opposition groups

Wielding the autocratic power of presidential decree, Russian president Boris Yeltsin banned two opposition groups October 27. One of the groups is the National Salvation Front, which had just held its inaugural congress. It is made up of former Communist Party officials and other Russian nationalists opposed to Yeltsin's poli-



Some 20,000 protested in Madrid against steel industry layoffs. Banner at front reads in part "This is the Europe of Maastricht! March against the government."

cies. The other is a 5,000-member parliamentary security force, which reports directly to one of Yeltsin's rivals, parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov. The political struggle within different wings of the ruling bureaucracy occurs against the backdrop of further deterioration in the economy, with monthly inflation at 25 percent, and failure to meet International Monetary Fund targets for payment on Russia's foreign debt.

Israeli forces bombard Lebanon

Israeli artillery, aircraft, and the navy began a bombardment of several Lebanese towns October 26. Tel Aviv claimed the shelling was in retaliation for a bomb ambush that killed five Israeli soldiers in the "security zone" in southern Lebanon. The Israeli army has occupied this strip of Lebanese territory since the 1982 Israeli invasion of the country. While most of the bombardment took place against towns in the southern part of the country, gunboats also pounded a Palestinian refugee camp deep into Lebanon, 110 miles north of the Israeli border. Lebanese militias responded by firing rockets against the assailants. On October 27 the Israeli army massed tanks at the border for a possible move north into Leb-

anon, while heavy shelling continued for a second day.

Turkey attacks Kurds in Iraq

As many as 5,000 Turkish troops, backed by fighter jets and helicopters, moved into northern Iraq the last week of October in their largest ground offensive against Kurdish rebels seeking independence in southeastern Turkey. The attack, carried out in collaboration with Iraqi Kurdish forces, was a significant escalation in Ankara's campaign against the independence struggle led by the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK).

Australian miners on strike

Australian coal miners began a 48-hour strike October 22, the country's first national coal stoppage in almost a decade. This followed a decision by the Coal Industry Tribunal not to grant immediate industry-wide wage increases to underground workers in return for agreement by the miners to more flexible work rules. The tribunal said that productivity gains would have to be first demonstrated, then wage rises could be negotiated at individual mine sites.

Opposition to U.S. Torricelli bill

Carlos Menem, Argentina's president, expressed his strong disapproval of the so-called Cuban Democracy Act, also known as the Torricelli bill, signed into law by U.S. president George Bush October 23. Menem signed a joint declaration with the president of Mexico, Carlos Salinas, which read in part: "The establishment of commercial ventures with any country is an expression of sovereignty and cannot be subordinated to the wishes of a third state." On October 15 the Venezuelan Chamber of Deputies rejected the bill and called on the Organization of American States and the UN to do the same. A few days earlier, representatives of 20 countries participating at a Havana meeting of Ibero-American mayors, legislators, and municipal officials had passed a resolution condemning the bill and sent it to the UN secretary general.

Bolivian journalists strike

Radio and television stations in Bolivia had to suspend broadcasting for several hours October 20, when thousands of journalists took to the streets of the country's capital, La Paz, to protest government attacks on the press. The Federation of Workers of the Press, and the Association of Journalists, among others, called the strike. The organizations charged a systematic campaign of death threats, and physical and verbal attacks against their members, organized by government authorities, and some legislators and leaders of right-wing political parties.

La migra arrests farm workers

For the second time in less than a month, U.S. immigration officials raided a farm near Pine Island, New York, and arrested 17 farmworkers—nearly all the farm's employees who were from Latin America. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), known among immigrant workers as *la migra*, charged that the workers at the onion farm did not have proper documents when asked. The raid is part of a crackdown on undocumented immigrant workers in many of the state's counties, said Charles Troy, a spokesman for the INS.

Permanent residents deportable

U.S. permanent residents, that is, immigrants who came to the United States legally and may have lived most of their lives in the country, can be deported by the INS if convicted of even minor criminal charges. The INS has begun to vigorously apply the new regulation, included in the 1990 immigration law. Recently, INS and Los Angeles county officials launched institutional hearings to prevent the release from jail of "deportable criminal immigrants," before the INS could schedule deportation hearings. Because deportation is considered a civil matter, inmates have no right to court-appointed counsel. According to an INS official, this will "expedite the removal of criminal aliens from the county criminal justice system."

Los Angeles Eight go on trial

Seven Palestinian men and one woman from Kenya, known as the "Los Angeles Eight," went on trial October 27 on deportation charges. The eight U.S. permanent residents were arrested in 1987 and ordered deported by the INS, which alleged they were "terrorists." The only evidence the government offered was that the Palestinian solidarity activists were supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In a landmark 1988 decision, U.S. district court judge Stephen Wilson had ruled that noncitizens have the same democratic rights as citizens and cannot be deported simply because of their beliefs. This was reversed by a federal appeals court in July 1991. The Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran-Walter Act Deportations, which is organizing the defense of the accused, can be reached at P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, CA 90051, tel: (213) 413-2935. — ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

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

Croatian forces seize territory in Bosnia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Croatian forces have begun attacks on a number of cities under the control of the Muslim-led government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, marking a clear break in the alliance that existed for several months between these two forces to counter the grab for territory by rightist Serbian armed gangs.

After six months of fighting, Serb forces have taken control of 70 percent of Bosnian territory; now the Croats are moving to consolidate their hold on most of what's left.

On October 25, the Croatian Defense Council, which is funded and armed by the regime of Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb, Croatia, seized the central Bosnian town of Prozor. In heavy fighting the day before, some 300 Muslims were killed or wounded. The forces loyal to Tudjman then carried out their own version of "ethnic cleansing," expelling 3,000 Muslims from the town.

In addition to bombarding Muslims with massive firepower, the Croats have also cut off food and fuel supplies to the area, depriving Muslim civilians of supplies.

Croat forces have imposed virtual martial law in the southern Bosnian city of Mostar. "Even I cannot get permission to leave the city," said Bosnian army commander Arif Pasalic. "It's like a Croatian coup against the Bosnian army."

"The Croats are trying to fulfill their territorial goals," continued Pasalic. "The only places that will belong to the Muslims are the ones that the Croats don't want."

Several months ago the Croatian Defense Council declared the formation of a state called Herceg-Bosna in southern Bosnia, where Croats are in a majority. The latest Croatian military moves are now aimed at seizing control of areas inhabited mainly by

Muslims in central Bosnia.

Meanwhile, Serbian forces have kept up attacks of their own. Belgrade radio announced the "liberation" of the Bosnian city of Jajce, whose population of 40,000 is 81 percent non-Serb. On October 31 Serbian rightist leaders in Bosnia and Croatia declared the "Union of Serbian States."

In Geneva, where political negotiations continue over the fate of Bosnia, diplomats have proposed the creation of a "bare minimum" central government and 10 autonomous regions. Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic backs this move, hoping that through this compromise he can maintain some hold on political power.

Bosnian Serb representative Nikola Koljevic, on the other hand, has called for the country to be split into three independent states based on ethnic units.

After being accused by international mediators of having violated the UN resolution banning military flights over Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb rightist leader Radovan Karadzic agreed to place his forces' aircraft under UN control at the Banja Luka airfield in Bosnia. This accord amounts to a concession to the Bosnian Serbs who opposed the UN's initial demand that the planes be moved completely out of Bosnia.

Blockade cripples economy

The five-month-old economic blockade, imposed by the United Nations against the rump state of Yugoslavia, has brought increased hardships upon working people as prices have soared and industrial production has virtually collapsed.

Three years ago a Yugoslav worker's average earnings were \$3,000 a year; today average income is half that amount. About one quarter of the country's two million workers have been laid off, with projections that half the workforce will have lost their jobs by the end of the year.

Conditions in the Bosnian capital city of Sarajevo, which remains under constant attack from the Serbian forces, continue to rapidly deteriorate — especially as the winter months approach. A growing number of the city's 428,000 people — 70 percent of whom are Muslims — are seeking ways to flee the horrendous conditions they face.

In a Croatian district of the city, individuals are paying \$340 for assistance in escaping. Some have been seized after having crossed into Serbian-held territory, many of them ending up in detention camps.

The UN forces in Sarajevo operate under an agreement that forbids them from assisting people attempting to leave unless this has first been cleared by both the Bosnian government and the Serbian forces.

"The United Nations staff members, already widely unpopular because of the limited quantities of relief supplies they have been able to deliver," states the *New York Times*, "have increasingly had to face another accusation — that they have become in effect, the keepers of the siege."

"When we speak of 'freedom of movement,' we are talking about the movement of relief supplies, not people," said Mikael Magnusson, the chief UN civil affairs officer in Sarajevo.

The Bosnian government has also been reluctant to allow those trapped in Sarajevo to leave. "We don't want to end up defending a ghost town," said Ejup Ganic, one of Bosnia's vice-presidents. Many top government officials, however, have managed to get themselves out of the line of fire and onto UN planes leaving the country. Several more have ensured their family members have been able to leave.



Refugee Ane Galjuf from the town of Postramje in Bosnia showing her hotel room in Dubrovnik, Croatia, which was destroyed in a Serbian bombardment earlier this year.

Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Meanwhile, yielding to pressure from international relief organizations, the U.S. government announced October 26 that it would now allow up to 1,000 Bosnian refugees to enter the United States — an increase from Washington's previous offer to take only 100 sick or wounded refugees.

According to a UN conference on the Balkan refugee crisis held at the end of July, 2.3 million people have been displaced by the fighting in the former Yugoslav republics.

New York conference to hear Mandela

BY GREG McCARTAN

NEW YORK — African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela will present a major address at the opening of a national solidarity conference here November 13-15 (see advertisement below).

The "National Conference in Support of the African National Congress and Other Democratic Forces for a New South Africa" is sponsored by a range of union, anti-apartheid, religious, and other organizations.

Cleveland Robinson, Secretary Treasurer of United Auto Workers District 65 and the Executive Vice-President of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, urged a broad turnout at the conference.

"The conference provides a forum for the presentation and discussion of the current priorities of the ANC and other democratic forces of South Africa as they embark upon the transition to a unitary, nonsexist, and democratic society," he said.

"We hope to forge a new national coalition of antiapartheid activists made up of religious, trade union, elected government officials, and others committed to ending apartheid and to the development of a democratic South Africa," the union official said.

Mandela will also be the featured guest at a \$500-a-plate "Nation Building" benefit, hosted by Bill Cosby. The ANC leader will also meet with business officials at the World Trade Center.

Conference organizers report organizations are sending delegations from Atlanta, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Houston, San Francisco, Newark, New Jersey, and elsewhere. Robinson reported that New York Mayor David Dinkins and Gov. Mario Cuomo will be attending the conference. Dinkins is also sending out invitations to mayors across the country.

ANC leaders will be conducting a series of workshops in which participants can learn about aspects of the fight for a democratic South African republic.

Volunteers in the organizing office at UAW District 65 say that as word of the conference is getting out, inquiries from individuals and organizations around the country are mounting. Volunteers are needed, conference organizers say, to help in media and publicity, to mail out conference material, and to answer phones.

De Klerk's amnesty plan set back

BY JOHN COX

South African president F.W. de Klerk suffered a rare setback in the white-minority-dominated Parliament with the defeat on October 21 of a bill designed to give him sweeping powers to grant secret amnesty to state officials and members of the police forces who committed crimes in support of apartheid. The bill was defeated by a 17-10 vote in the House of Delegates, the chamber of the segregated tricameral parliament that is reserved

for South Africans of Indian origin.

De Klerk immediately declared that he would override Parliament by submitting the measure to his "President's Council," a panel created by de Klerk's National Party to overcome a defeat in the legislature. This is the first time that de Klerk has ever had to resort to using the council.

De Klerk's bill would empower him to grant amnesty for any "political crime" committed before October 8, 1990, after a secret

hearing before a commission that he would appoint. There would be no public record for these proceedings, and de Klerk himself would make the final decision in each case.

The bill was criticized upon its introduction into Parliament on October 16 by the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC has maintained that only a democratically elected government would have the authority to grant such an amnesty, and that it could do so only after a full public accounting had been made of the crimes committed. "This is a bill to absolve state criminals," pointed out David Dalling, an independent member of Parliament, speaking for seven members affiliated with the ANC. ANC spokesperson Carl Niehaus promised, "We will nullify it as soon as we can," anticipating the transferral of power from the racist regime to the democratic majority.

The unusual legislative defeat for de Klerk was the second such setback within a week. On October 14, his proposal to amend the constitution to allow the appointment of Black cabinet ministers failed to gain a majority in the whites-only chamber of Parliament. The ANC opposed the bill, which would have enabled the de Klerk government to give itself the appearance of a coalition interim government.

De Klerk's proposed amnesty bill followed an amnesty at the end of September which set some 150 prisoners free. The September amnesty was one of a number of concessions made by the apartheid regime in the Joint Statement and Record of Understanding, signed by President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela on September 26.

While the large majority of those released were antiapartheid fighters, the government also took the opportunity to release a notorious racist mass murderer, Barend Strydom. Strydom killed seven Blacks in November, 1988, in a shooting spree in downtown Pretoria. Strydom is a member of a small, fascist paramilitary unit called the White Wolves.

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Marx, Lenin works saved from Russia

The George Novack Reconstruction Fund was launched in August at the International Socialist Conference at Oberlin, Ohio. Novack, who died July 30 at the age of 86, was a leader of the socialist movement in the United States for over half a century.

The aim of the fund is to raise more than \$150,000 by December 1. The Novack Fund finances the reconstruction project currently taking place in New York's Pathfinder Building, which is pictured at the top of the graph to the right.

BY JOHN COX

Progress Publishers, the publishing arm of the Stalinist apparatus in the former Soviet Union, several months ago ceased publishing the collected works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, as well as of V.I. Lenin, in the wake of the breakup of the Soviet Union last year. The remnants of the repressive bureaucracy have dropped their "socialist" facade, and thus see no reason to con-

tinue publishing Marxist literature.

Not only had these books ceased to be published, but tens of thousands of volumes of the writings of the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, and of the central leader of the 1917 Russian revolution, Lenin, were seen as unnecessarily occupying warehouse space and were destined for the paper shredder. Pathfinder Press organized a team to travel to Russia and rescue as many of the books as possible, and, consequently, more than 20,000 volumes of the collected works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin were shipped to the United States. This project of purchasing and transporting the books was paid for by the Novack Fund.

The political value of these works for current and future generations of working-class fighters is inestimable, says Pathfinder representative Norton Sandler. "We consider it a contribution to today's fighters that we rescued and are preserving these books."

Doug Hord, who participated in

the team to Russia, reports that there was little competition for the books. "The only other people, as far as we could tell, who recognize the importance of keeping Marx, Engels, and Lenin available are the Cubans." Cuban representatives were the only people other than the Pathfinder team who came to Moscow to salvage some of the books.

A big project is being carried out in New York over the first two weekends of November to collate and pack hundreds of sets of the collected works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The books will be shipped to Pathfinder's warehouse in Pennsylvania. Pathfinder will then offer the collected works for sale.

This important project, to be carried out by teams of volunteers from throughout the eastern part of the United States, culminates with a celebration on the November 7-8 weekend.

A total of \$4,956 was sent in to the fund in the last week. Mark Curtis, a political activist and unionist who is serving a 25-year sentence in Iowa for frame-up charges of rape and burglary, sent in a \$25 contribution.

The Novack Fund also received \$1,500 from a rail worker in New York who was awarded that amount as the result of an injury on the job. Felicity Coggan from Wellington, New Zealand reports that \$970 was pledged to the fund by participants at a socialist educational weekend there.

	PLEGGED	PAID	% PAID Should be 70%
UNITED STATES			
NEW HAVEN	\$500	500	100
SALT LAKE CITY	6,500	3,658	57
SAN FRANCISCO	12,530	7,015	56
DETROIT	7,000	3,303	47
LOS ANGELES	15,000	6,637	44
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CLEVELAND	4,200	1,630	39
WASHINGTON, D.C.	4,950	1,785	36
ATLANTA	5,500	1,900	35
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BALTIMORE	4,500	1,485	33
MORGANTOWN	3,000	970	32
SEATTLE	6,000	1,845	31
HOUSTON	6,000	1,880	31
TWIN CITIES	9,865	2,950	30
PHILADELPHIA	4,000	1,176	29
PITTSBURGH	4,500	1,250	28
GREENSBORO	3,000	845	28
NEWARK	11,000	2,922	27
BOSTON	6,000	1,578	26
MIAMI	3,250	755	23
NEW YORK CITY	15,000	2,614	17
DES MOINES	3,500	512	15
BIRMINGHAM	3,000	305	10
CINCINNATI	1,000	100	10
PORTLAND	750	0	0
U.S. TOTAL	153,545	52,450	34
GERMANY	1,429	1,429	100
BELGIUM	1,100	1,100	100
FRANCE	1,030	1,030	100
PUERTO RICO	100	100	100
NEW ZEALAND	1,777	1,607	90
AUSTRALIA	650	388	60
SWEDEN	2,450	1,250	51
CANADA	2,905	897	31
BRITAIN	1,860	300	16
TOTAL	\$166,846	60,551	36

\$60,551

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406 West Street, New York, NY 10014

Trinity strikers mobilize to halt company plans

BY BETSY FARLEY

BESSEMER, Alabama — The first thing you notice walking into the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 9226 union hall here is that it's a beehive of activity. In one large room workers are handing out the weekly strike checks of \$90 and socializing. As strikers pick up their checks, they're also given a map of the picket sites and who their picket captains will be for Monday at 6:00 a.m.

Monday, November 2, is the day that Trinity Industries has announced its intention to bring in replacement workers. The company unsuccessfully tried to restart production two weeks earlier, using hired thugs and tear gas to intimidate the strikers. But the 500 Steelworkers and their supporters held their ground at the plant gate. Since then the company has been calling back laid off workers to try to get them to cross the line.

"Only 8 to 10 have crossed," explained Mike Stanton, an activist in the local. "We've shown that we are united, and at least two who crossed have come back out."

Behind the larger room is a kitchen. Today it's empty, but yesterday it was the site

of a grocery distribution to 100 strikers' families. Food donations have been coming in from unions, churches, and the community to help the strikers hold out.

In a conference room a group of strikers is planning a strategy for expanded picketing on Monday. James Allen, the local president, explained that the Steelworkers expect miners from several locals of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) to help that morning. "The miners are behind us," Allen said. "Like Rich Trumka, their international president, said when he walked our picket line. They will help us morally, financially, and with their members." Allen reports that a miner from UMWA Local 2368 spoke to the Steelworkers' union meeting yesterday, and another UMWA local will meet on Sunday to plan their participation on Monday.

On the wall as you enter the union hall is a poster board entitled "Honor Roll." It lists the unions that have contributed money and food, and walked the line. An outreach committee organizes strikers to go out to other unions to tell their story and ask for support.

Asbestos workers, auto workers, commu-

nications workers, and several locals of the Mine Workers and Steelworkers have made contributions so far. While I was there, a coal miner from the Oak Grove USX mine walked in to deliver a \$450 check from his local. "We'll be there on Monday," he said.

Raúl Gonzalez, one of the organizers of the outreach work, explained that getting out to other unions right now is especially important. "We tell them we're on strike because we have to pay \$56 per week for medical insurance, and we want a living wage," he said. "We also have to answer the charges of violence on the picket line that the company is putting out." Mike Stanton added "We tell them that Trinity is the only one responsible for the violence on the picket line. Their hired hit-men are the ones who threw the tear gas at us two weeks ago."

Rev. Joan Andrew Bell, a welder in the plant, spoke at two union meetings last week. "We tell them our strike is a fight for justice," he said. "I explained at the Building Trades Council that regardless of who wins the presidential election, it will still be necessary to unite and organize ourselves in solidarity. If we do not fight, change will not

happen. No one can do it for us."

The Trinity local has placed a quarter-page ad in the *Western Star*, the Bessemer newspaper. The ad states, "The Local 9226 striking workers need the Bessemer Community to support our effort as a union. We are out here for the welfare of our families as well as future workers."

"We strongly urge you to speak to your churches and/or organizations, friends, neighbors, and fellow workers asking them not to cross the strikers' picket line."

Leaflets explaining the expanded picketing strategy have been distributed throughout the neighborhood surrounding the plant. "Members of the United Steelworkers of America will be peacefully picketing in your neighborhood," it states. "We will be picketing to discourage replacement workers. We need your support."

At a recent Local 9226 union meeting workers discussed the importance of maintaining discipline on the picket line and not letting the company provoke them. Stanton said, "We talked about what happened two weeks ago, when the company brought in special security people. They did it just to get an injunction against us." A county judge issued an injunction against the strikers limiting pickets to 10 per gate and 30 at the picket shack after Trinity charged that union members went onto company property and knocked down two guard towers.

"At the meeting we pledged ourselves not to let that happen again. We will not let ourselves be provoked," he said. "If we get enough people out there showing support we can discourage anyone from crossing that line."

Pat Wallace, a welder in the plant and the Local 9226 secretary agreed. "All the unions in this area are looking at us right now. They know that what happens with our strike makes a big difference for them and that's why they're giving us support."

Donations and messages of support can be sent to: Local Union 9226 Strike and Defense Fund c/o USWA District 36, P.O. Box 12445, Birmingham, AL 35205

Betsy Farley is a member of USWA Local 2122 at USX Corp's Fairfield Works and is active in strike solidarity.



Five hundred Steelworkers are on strike against Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama.

Militant/Denise McInerney

Lead workers build strong, united strike

BY KEVIN KELLOGG
AND ELLEN HAYWOOD

HERCULANEUM, Missouri — Every evening the sidewalk here across from the largest lead smelter in the country fills up with union members, their families, and supporters of International Brotherhood of Teamsters Local 600's strike against Doe Run Corporation.

The prounion forces greet three busloads of supervisors and replacement workers leaving the plant, with chants and signs, follow them to the parking lot where the scabs are dropped off, and reassemble across from the smelter for another prounion rally.

These daily rallies, which regularly number about 100 people, and are sometimes much larger, demonstrate what has become the hallmark of this strike — the high level of unity and active involvement of the members, relatives including many youth, and the community, in this battle.

The lead smelter is a dangerous place to work. Lead poisoning is common. In addition, the plant is the number one polluter in Missouri. The company busted the union at its nearby lead mines in 1984. In 1985 they wrung concessions from the Teamsters at the smelter. Today, the Herculanum plant is the last union operation left at Doe Run Corporation.

The 300 Teamsters walked out last July 30 after the company attempted to impose its final offer including a 25 percent pay cut and other drastic reductions in health-care coverage, seniority, and union protections.

A dozen or so strikers gathered in the union hall answered almost in unison, "We all hate Doe Run," when asked why they thought their strike was so solid.

"We voted 272 no and 0 yes, and we mean it," said Ron Burgess, who has worked

at Doe Run for 13 years. "Back in 1985 I nearly got killed working in the blast furnace making them a product and a profit and then they treat us like this."

"The company never anticipated we would be this united and strongwilled or get the community support we have," said Burgess. "But we have had only one person cross the picket line and eight or nine scabs have quit."

Rallies maintain high spirits

Strikers credit the daily rallies and other activities for maintaining the high spirits and determination of strikers and their families, and for winning more community and union support. Delegations of other unionists, including Teamsters on strike at Ritepoint in St. Louis, auto workers, steelworkers, and some mineworkers from Illinois, have also been able to join these rallies.

The strikers maintain 24-hour-a-day pickets at the six plant gates. Recently they have also added daytime pickets at Doe Run corporate offices in St. Louis, at a warehouse storing struck lead, and at the parking lot where the replacement workers park their cars. Each striker walks picket two hours a day, seven days a week.

Pat Fults, a laborer for 15 years, said, "We keep everyone busy. We send out pickets when the company tries to drop something off at another location. We send pickets up to walk at the Ritepoint strike."

Since the strike, the Teamsters have also answered the request by some of the lead miners for help in reorganizing the nonunion lead mines.

Burgess explained, "Every Friday we meet at the union hall and that way everyone is very well informed. We're not like the company that lies and tries to keep



Militant/Sara Lobman

Striking Teamsters and supporters picketing outside the Doe Run plant.

everyone in the dark.

"The union men and women help each other out. We let everyone know that if there is a problem they can come to the union for help. To turn your back is betrayal of our fight."

Striker Ron Kohl, noted, "The community really supports us. They see all these other places going down and they're just tired of it. Residents here know the plant is extremely dangerous and the union has to be in there to try to control the pollution."

Company unable to provoke incidents

The company has been stepping up attacks on the union. They have attempted to get injunctions against the rallies but have been unable to provoke incidents they could portray as "picket line violence."

During the three-month duration of the strike, there have been two negotiating sessions with no new company proposals.

The strikers and families are preparing for a long strike.

Joni Ramsey, whose husband Roy has

worked at Doe Run for 25 years, said, "Wouldn't you stay strong if you knew that if you went back in some fat cat was going to get rich from the sweat of your ass and all you were going to get was lower wages, less benefits, no seniority? You'd stay strong, too."

"I think it's the principle," she continued. "Why should we risk our lives in a lead hold so they can get rich?"

Strikers have been reaching out to local unions for solidarity. They have set up an adopt-a-family program for Christmas. Many unions have contributed to the strike fund.

For more information, to adopt a family, or make a contribution, write: Doe Run Employee Relief Fund, 357 Curved St., Herculanum, MO 63048.

Kevin Kellogg is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9014 at Hussman Corporation in St. Louis, Missouri. Ellen Haywood is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 16 at National Steel, Granite City, Illinois.

California oil refinery explosion injures 16

BY PAT NIXON
AND JOHN BENSON

WILMINGTON, California — A massive explosion rocked the Texaco Corp. refinery in Wilmington, California, on October 8, injuring 16 people, sending flames more than 100 feet into the air, and triggering a neighborhood evacuation. Residents of the mostly Latino neighborhood within a two-mile radius of the refinery were evacuated on Los Angeles city buses.

The blast occurred at 9:45 p.m., just before shift change, when the operators were in the control room preparing their written turnovers for the oncoming shift. Union members from Texaco described the scene to other oil workers: the control room, designed to be explosion-proof, was compressed by the force of the explosion. The blast raised the floor and forced the ceiling downward. Workers were forced to crawl out to escape from the control room.

"Looking at and hearing the flames, you couldn't imagine how anyone could come out alive," Teresa Makarewicz, industrial hygienist at Texaco told the *Daily Breeze*. She said that the absence of any fatalities was due to the plant's safety program. In fact, workers survived because they were in the control room; only two were outside, but were on the far side of the control room. Many older units do not even have such explosion-proof control rooms.

The explosion occurred in the hydrocracking unit of the refinery. Hydrocracker units operate under extreme conditions: pressures range from 500–3,200 pounds per square inch and temperatures from 500 degrees to 1,800 degrees Fahrenheit. These units are used by industry in its drive to produce more gasoline out of heavier oils.

When a unit operates under such high temperature and pressure, failures are sure to be spectacular and catastrophic.

Rodney Rogers, a spokesperson for the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, told the *Los Angeles Times* that Texaco's safety record is "no better or necessarily worse than any other oil company operating refineries."

"It's our contention the whole industry is in disarray in terms of health and safety," Rogers said. "We've had a tremendous number of explosions, fires, and accidents just

like the one at Texaco."

Rogers told the *Times* that safety conditions have worsened at some refineries over the last several years as oil companies have cut corners during the recession. "They don't perform routine maintenance like they used to..."

100 deaths in seven years.

More than one hundred oil refinery workers have been killed in the past seven years, according to the *Times*.

Texaco officials set up a hot-line to handle damage claims from nearby residents. As of October 12, 1,800 claims had been made, mostly for property damage, but some for health problems.

Hundreds of Wilmington residents packed a meeting to talk to Texaco officials about the fiery blast. Refinery manager Bob Morris apologized for the accident and assured residents that the fire did not spread unsafe toxins into the air and that studies had found that smoke from the fire was not hazardous. Many were skeptical of the studies, the *Daily Breeze* reported.

"I know what a toxic cloud is," said JoAnn Wysocki, president of the Wilmington Home Owners, which sponsored the meeting. "I know what the experts said, but my nose and eyes began to burn and I got a headache right away."

But Paula Levy of the South Coast Air Quality Management District said agency officials did not start monitoring chemical levels until 30 minutes after the blast.

Two hundred residents attended another meeting called by a local clean-air advocacy group called Labor/Community Watchdog. Most gave Watchdog written accounts of the nausea, chest pains, sore throats, and headaches they experienced as a result of the explosion and fire.

In the aftermath of the explosion, the *Los Angeles Times* published an article on October 16 spotlighting the lack of trauma and burn centers in the South Bay area of the Los Angeles basin. Nine refineries operate in the area. The article detailed the shortage of local hospital facilities capable of gearing up rapidly to handle the scorched skin, seared lungs and internal injuries that a large scale refinery accident could cause.

This area is equipped with fewer than half

a dozen beds for patients with critical burns, all of them at one hospital. Only one hospital in the South Bay has a full-fledged trauma center.

Cost cutting in health services

The number of both burn-beds and trauma centers in Los Angeles County has dropped sharply over the past five years because hospitals say they cannot afford to offer such costly services.

Eli Green, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the 35th Congressional District and a pipefitter at Arco Corp's Carson refinery, said, "This time, a catastrophe involving serious injuries and fatalities was avoided because workers were in the control room."

"The fact that no one was seriously injured should not lessen the conclusions oil workers and others must draw. The oil companies, in their drive to maximize profits, have reduced the maintenance work force and reduced routine maintenance. Plants are run beyond design capacity and pushed to the very limits of stability in order to maximize output."

"It will take a fight by oil workers in alliance with other working people who live and work near these refineries to enforce safety standards. These standards have been won as a result of past struggles and we have paid in blood for them."

Green also discussed the crisis in critical care treatment highlighted by this accident. "California and the federal government have been cutting funding for hospitals. The crisis in the burn and trauma centers in Los Angeles has been accelerated by these cuts. The medical business, just as all other businesses, is run for profit, not the needs of working people."

Green concluded, "The company I work for, ARCO, contributed nearly \$1 million to candidates of both the Republican and Democratic parties. They do this while they cut maintenance and erode safety standards. Working people need to organize to fight in our own interests."

Pat Nixon and John Benson are members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-547. Both are operators at the Chevron Corp., El Segundo refinery.

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Canada's rulers suffer blow with defeat of constitutional amendments in referendum

BY MICHEL DUGRE

MONTREAL — The Canadian ruling class suffered a significant political blow in an October 26 national referendum when 55 percent of voters across Canada rejected the constitutional amendments proposed by Ottawa and the ten provincial governments.

Virtually all major corporations and banks, all the most important newspapers across the country, and the three major parties in Ottawa supported the massive propaganda campaign led by the government. Only two smaller capitalist parties, the Parti Quebecois in Quebec and the Reform Party, mostly in Western Canada, campaigned for a No vote in the referendum.

With the growing economic crisis, Canadian rulers feel the need to give more authority to all their governmental institutions in order to deepen their attacks on working people. During the last decade, the government of the province of Quebec has refused to sign the constitution adopted in 1982 and Natives have expressed more and more opposition to it, undermining its legitimacy.

Mostly superficial, the proposed amendments would not have addressed any of the main concerns of Quebecois and Natives, two oppressed nationalities inside Canada, in particular their right to self-determination.

Quebec would have been recognized as a "distinct society" within Canada, but without receiving any new power.

Natives would have had to negotiate with the federal and provincial governments over the content of a formal recognition of their "inherent right to self-government." These negotiations would have had to remain in the framework of existing laws and governmental institutions, including the infamous apartheid-type Indian Law. Disagreements would have been settled by courts.

The rulers' attempt has been rejected in six provinces, including Quebec. Only a third of potential Native voters living on reserves voted, compared with almost 75 percent of the population as a whole. And 62 percent of Natives rejected the proposals, despite the fact that all the most important Native organizations supported the deal.

The No vote was politically heterogeneous. A significant layer of Quebecois and Natives rejected the antidemocratic character of the current Canadian constitution and of the proposed amendments. On the opposite side, others voted No because they were convinced by the Reform Party and former Canadian prime minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau that the amendments would give privileges to Quebecois and Natives. Finally, a significant proportion of working people, especially outside Quebec, used the vote to protest Ottawa's incapacity to offer any relief to the economic crisis.

Canada squeezed by world depression

Discussions to amend the constitution have been a feature of Canadian politics for more than a decade. It is an expression of the Canadian rulers' political crisis resulting from their growing incapacity to maintain their rate of profits and their share of the world market.

The Canadian economy has entered into a depression. Since 1989, one-fifth of all jobs in industry have been lost.

During the last decade, Canadian capitalists have been unable to keep pace with their imperialist rivals, especially in the United States, in the struggle to lower their costs of production. Close to 75 percent of all Canada's trade takes place with the United States.

During the 1980s, Canadian companies increased their productivity by 2.2 percent per year on average, compared to 3.4 percent in the United States.

Ten years ago, for example, the Canadian steel industry could compete with the U.S. steel industry on the U.S. market. But from 1982 to 1991, the U.S. steel industry reduced the number of labor hours needed to produce one ton of steel from 13 to 5. In December 1991, U.S. steel makers were able to bring steel onto the U.S. market at a cost ten percent lower than their Canadian counterparts. As a result, the whole Canadian steel industry is now in a profound crisis.

Part of the problem for the Canadian capitalists is the fact that Canada is a small imperialist country. Canada's internal market is 10 times smaller than that of the United States. The proposed merger of the two largest Canadian airline companies, Canadian Airlines and Air Canada, would still produce a small airline by U.S. standards.

Canadian rulers have found that the implementation of a 1989 "free-trade agreement" between Canada and the United States has not prevented bitter trade battles between capitalists of the two countries from erupting in several industries, including auto, beer, and fishing.

Canadian capitalists have also been less successful than their U.S. competitors in their attacks on the unions. Throughout the last decade, the rate of unionization has remained much higher in Canada than in the United States. In the manufacturing sector unionization stands at 34 percent in Canada compared to 24 percent south of the border. The level of strike activity has also been greater in Canada.

The economic depression has put scores of major companies on shaky financial foundations. Olympia and York, which was the biggest real estate company in the world, is on the verge of bankruptcy because of the international collapse of this sector of the economy. Business bankruptcies are the highest they have been since the 1930s.

On October 14, Standard & Poor's Corp., a prominent New York agency, lowered its rating on Canada's foreign debt. Along with Moody's, another rating agency, they have placed under surveillance the Canadian Royal Bank, the most important bank in Canada. Moody's noted the "continuing recession in Canada" as the main reason for its move against the Royal Bank.

An effort to deepen national divisions

On both sides of the debate, capitalist politicians across the country have used the referendum to wage reactionary campaigns aimed at dividing working people along national lines.

The federal and provincial governments have tried to convince working people across Canada that they have a common interest in defending Canada's "national unity" against those, especially among



Youth at Ottawa rally of 30,000 farmers in February. Sign reads, "Mulroney wants us to eat baloney," referring to Canadian prime minister. Many voted against constitutional changes to protest government's inability to solve economic crisis.

Quebecois and Natives, who have been denouncing the antidemocratic character of the Canadian constitution and the proposed amendments.

Preston Manning's Reform Party and former premier Trudeau denounced the amendments because they were "giving too much to Quebecois and Natives."

Parti Quebecois leader Jacques Parizeau led a campaign against the amendments arguing among other things that the recognition of Natives' rights would "undermine Quebec's territorial integrity."

Leaders of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women waged a campaign against the accord based on the need to reinforce the Canadian federal government.

There was no independent voice from the labor movement in the referendum campaign.

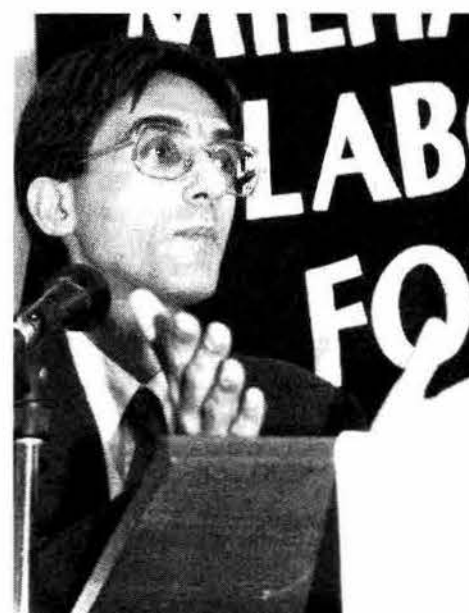
The Canadian Labor Congress, the main union federation in Canada, and the New Democratic Party, a social-democratic party linked to the unions outside Quebec, supported Ottawa's campaign for a Yes vote, while all trade union federations in Quebec supported the anti-Native racist arguments used by the Parti Quebecois in opposing the amendments.

A working class campaign

"As a result, working people across the country are not any stronger today despite the blow suffered by the Canadian rulers," commented Michel Prairie, Communist League candidate in a November 1 municipal by-election in Montreal's St-Jacques district.

Prairie, a presser at Vêtements Ostroff and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2581 in Montreal, carried out a six-week campaign, traveling from Quebec City to Vancouver, to present the socialist alternative in the referendum.

The day after the vote, Canadian politicians announced their intention to turn their attention to the economy. "This can only mean more attacks against working people," said Prairie.



Militant/Heidi Rose
Communist League candidate Prairie

"Ottawa has already announced its intention to cut thousands of jobs in the public sector. The capitalist rulers will use more scabs in order to break our strikes and our unions, like they are trying to do at Nationair — the third airline company in Canada, and at the Giant Gold Mine in Yellowknife," he added.

"There will be more attacks on immigrants, more reactionary mobilizations like the one waged by the cops in Toronto for their right to shoot and kill people," continued the socialist candidate.

"The capitalist rulers will turn more toward using their army abroad as they are doing in Yugoslavia under the cover of a United Nations peace keeping force. To confront this situation, workers must recognize the fact that Quebecois and Natives are oppressed in Canada and that this national oppression is at the root of profound divisions among working people."

"If we can't overcome these divisions," said Prairie, "we won't be able to defend ourselves against the devastation of the economic crisis, against the rulers' growing attacks and against their moves toward war."

"Despite gains made over the last half century, because of discrimination, francophones across Canada still receive 10 percent less income than those who are English-speaking. The gap is bigger in Quebec. Natives' living and working conditions are much worse. Affirmative action proposals, aimed at overcoming national and linguistic divisions imposed on working people by the capitalist rulers, are an essential component of any working-class perspective to confront the economic depression," said Prairie.

"Such proposals would include measures to favor employment, and access to schools and universities, for Quebecois and Natives. They would include stronger measures to ensure that French is the language of work in all companies in Quebec regardless of size, and an end to the separate anglophone health and school system imposed on Quebec by the Canadian constitution."

"It is only by beginning to see ourselves as part of an international class that workers in Canada will be able to defend ourselves against the deepening offensive against our rights and our living and working conditions. Fighting for the cancellation of the third world debt is part of the struggle to unify workers here in Canada and internationally."

Key to moving along this path is building solidarity with all those at home or abroad who are resisting the growing crisis, the candidate explained.

"I walked the picket lines of the Nationair workers several times during my campaign," said Prairie. By joining together in both Montreal and Toronto despite the national chauvinist campaigns of the rulers, these workers have shown the way forward for all working people in Canada.

"We will need more victorious battles like the one waged by auto workers at the GM-Suzuki plant in Ingersoll, Ontario. We must build solidarity with Yellowknife miners. These battles show the way forward today," Prairie concluded.

CALENDAR

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Welcome Pastors for Peace U.S.-Cuba Friendship. Speaker: Rev. Emory Searcy, Jr., executive director of Clergy and Laity Concerned. Pot luck dinner. Sat., Nov. 14, 6:30 p.m. Mt. Zion Second Baptist Church, 137 Boulevard NE (one block north of the King Center). Tel: (404) 621-5073.

Parole Now for Mark Curtis!

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Benefit Rally and Dance. Speakers: Piri Thomas, poet, author, and political activist; Roxanne Sanchez, member, Service Employees International Union Local 790; Matthew Embry, campus and political activist, Santa Cruz; Toba Singer, Bay Area supporter of Mark Curtis; Jay Sarkhar, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 7, rally 7 p.m., dance 9 p.m. St. Francis Lutheran Church, at Church and Market Streets. Donation: \$7-\$10, sliding scale. Tel: (415) 285-3949.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Speakers: Broek Carlsten, Amnesty International, North Atlanta High School; Rev. Joseph Fahy, works with Hispanic immigrants; Marla Puziss, supporter of Mark Curtis Defense Committee, member AFSCME Local 1644; Robin Singer, Atlanta Committee on Latin America, works with Pastors for Peace. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum. Sun., Nov. 15, 3 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$4. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

A meeting with supporters of Mark Curtis, MOVE, and others. Thur., Nov. 12, 6:30 p.m. AFSCME DC 47 Hall, 1606 Walnut. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Still behind after target week, sales drive hits critical point

BY SARA LOBMAN

The international campaign to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New Internationalist* has hit a critical point. At the end of the first target week, the drive has continued to fall behind schedule. It is now at 27 percent, as compared to the 43 percent needed to be current. Supporters in every area need to pull out all the stops to get on schedule. The drive ends November 28.

This week's *Militant* has a front page editorial explaining why, regardless of who wins the election, the capitalist rulers will drive toward more wars. The issue also features a major article on the advance of the South African revolution. Workers and youth will be discussing the outcome of the elec-

apulated Houston to the top of the chart. Most of the students at this school near the Mexican border are bilingual and many were attracted by the wide selection of Pathfinder books available in English and Spanish. Some \$125 worth of literature was purchased.

One young man who bought a *Militant* sub and several books and pamphlets explained that he had served in Saudi Arabia during the 1991 U.S. war against Iraq. He explained that his experience there, especially the indifference on the part of the U.S. military toward human life, turned him against the brutal onslaught and the imperialist system.

While perhaps more dramatically successful than most, the Texas team points to the importance of

sionally a young person or a worker will be so interested in the paper that they will decide to get a subscription on the spot. But more often, a second or even a third discussion are necessary. Last week, several *Militant* campaigners introduced the paper door-to-door in East Orange, New Jersey. They sold one subscription to the *Militant*, and several people asked them to return after pay day. This week, the follow-up team got five-dollar down payments from two of these individuals. It will take a third team to complete the sales.

Many industrial workers are excited to find a paper like the *Militant* with its regular coverage of the struggles of working people around the world. Twenty-six Steelworkers at Ravenswood Aluminum Corp. bought single copies of the *Militant* this week. Many were particularly interested in the coverage of the British miners' protests. Thirty-three papers and a subscription were sold in the coal fields of southwest Virginia and Tennessee. During a subscription drive it is especially valuable for supporters to get the names of people who buy a *Militant* so they can be followed up about a sub after they have had a chance to read through it.

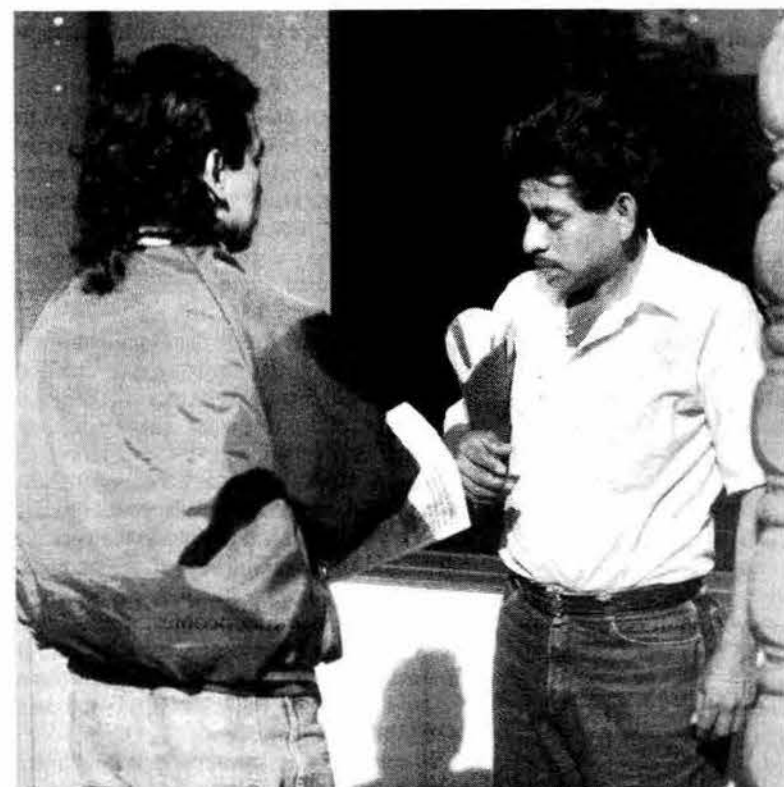
Sales of the socialist press to industrial workers continue to run ahead of the drive as a whole. Several sellers report that a large percentage of their subs have come from co-workers in the industrial unions. In Baltimore, for example, half of the *Militant* subscriptions so far were sold on-the-job.

Western Canada

A several week team across Western Canada has received a warm response from workers and students. Fourteen *Militant* subscriptions have been sold, 1 *PM* sub, 115 single copies of the *Militant*, and 58 copies of the *International Socialist Review* on "The Fight for the National Rights of Quebecois and Natives in Canada." The team coincided with the discussions on the constitutional referendum in Canada. (see article page 6)

A student at the University of Saskatchewan bought a *Militant* sub after noting the headline on the British miners. He explained that he had worked previously in a nickel mine in Manitoba.

The following people contributed to this column: Robbie Scheer in Houston; Gary Watson in Edmonton, Alberta; Robert Dees in Greensboro, North Carolina; and Bernie Senter in Morgantown, West Virginia.



Militant/Jim Garrison
Sales to packinghouse workers in Grand Island, Nebraska. *Militant* supporters are organizing a follow-up team for later this month.

tions in the United States, and many will be interested in the *Militant*.

Supporters should begin to organize now for the second international target week to run from November 14 through November 22. Supporters of the *Militant* who are in the United Food and Commercial Workers union are already planning a week-long team to packinghouses in the Midwest.

Campus teams

The highlight of the week was a two-day team to the University of Texas-Pan American campus that sold 20 *Militant* subscriptions and 2 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and cat-

getting the socialist press onto the campuses. Four *Militant* subs were sold off a table display at Frostburg State University in Maryland in addition to one copy of *New Internationalist* no. 7, with the article "The Opening Guns of WWII." One Croatian student there bought a *Communist Manifesto* along with a sub. Many young people said that if the team called them the next time they were in town, they would make sure to have money ready to purchase subscriptions and literature.

Callbacks and visits

As was noted last week, occa-

the Blockade against Cuba," which is the introduction to a new book of speeches by Cuban leaders Che Guevara and Fidel Castro. The book, *To Speak the Truth*, is published by Pathfinder Press.

The socialist magazine also has an article, "Is Military Intervention the Solution?," written by *Militant* staff writer Argiris Malapanis. The article refutes the arguments of those who contend that imperialist military intervention is the solution to the brutal war being waged by the splintering bureaucracy in the former Yugoslavia.

The case of Paul Galloway, a member of the National Union of Miners (NUM) of Britain, who was violently attacked and sexually as-

saulted by eight other miners in the context of a drive by British Coal against the mine workers' union, is also covered in the November issue. From Sweden, Carl-Erik Isacson contributed an article on the deepening recession in that country and the moves by the government to impose an austerity program.

Perspectiva Mundial is in its sixteenth year of publication. The contents of the November issue offer a good example of the kind of news and analysis, as well as special features, that can be found in *PM* each month. The monthly magazine has a special offer for new readers, \$6 for four months. To subscribe, write to the address listed on page 2 of the *Militant*.

SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

AROUND THE WORLD

	The Militant			Perspectiva Mundial		New Internationalist Single Issues	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES							
Houston	35	65	54%	3	13	3	30
Twin Cities, MN	41	85	48%	1	13	0	30
Salt Lake City	29	65	45%	4	13	2	20
Birmingham, AL	26	65	40%	0	3	0	35
Chicago	29	75	39%	3	19	3	35
Los Angeles	44	125	35%	20	75	27	70
Washington DC	22	70	31%	6	20	1	35
Detroit	22	75	29%	2	6	5	35
Newark, NJ	33	125	26%	13	35	9	65
St. Louis	21	80	26%	1	3	6	35
New York	45	175	26%	7	50	45	90
Philadelphia	19	75	25%	6	13	4	35
San Francisco	23	95	24%	3	35	4	60
Seattle	17	75	23%	0	23	0	35
Cleveland	13	60	22%	0	6	0	40
Miami	15	75	20%	3	20	12	40
Greensboro, NC	13	65	20%	0	5	4	30
Boston	17	90	19%	8	25	11	45
Baltimore	14	75	19%	0	6	0	25
Pittsburgh	12	70	17%	0	3	4	35
Portland	2	12	17%	0	1	0	10
Des Moines, IA	13	80	16%	2	16	1	40
Morgantown, WV	7	50	14%	0	2	5	30
Atlanta	9	65	14%	0	5	1	30
New Haven, CT	2	15	13%	1	1	1	6
Cincinnati	2	25	8%	0	5	6	5
Santa Cruz	0	0	0%	0	0	0	4
U.S. TOTAL	525	1,932	27%	83	416	154	950
AUSTRALIA	2	25	8%	1	6	12	15
BARBADOS	0	6	0%	0	0	0	5
BELGIUM	2	6	33%	2	4	7	10
BRITAIN							
London	17	45	38%	0	5	5	40
Sheffield	7	35	20%	1	3	2	20
Manchester	6	35	17%	0	2	5	30
BRITAIN TOTAL	30	115	26%	1	10	12	90
CANADA							
Vancouver	14	60	23%	3	10	6	20
Toronto	11	60	18%	4	15	15	40
Montreal	6	50	12%	1	20	9	50
Quebec City	0	3	0%	0	0	0	2
CANADA TOTAL	31	173	18%	8	45	30	112
FRANCE	2	3	67%	1	2	7	10
ICELAND	0	15	0%	0	1	0	5
MEXICO	0	1	0%	0	5	0	3
NEW ZEALAND							
Christchurch	10	25	40%	0	1	4	8
Wellington	11	35	31%	1	1	2	10
Auckland	12	40	30%	0	3	3	8
N.Z. TOTAL	33	100	33%	1	5	9	26
PUERTO RICO	0	2	0%	2	5	2	4
SWEDEN	15	40	38%	4	15	12	20
TOTAL	638	2,406	27%	103	514	245	1,245
SHOULD BE		1,007	43%		193		514
DRIVE GOALS		2,350			450		1,200

IN THE UNIONS

Union	Militant/PM			NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	%SOLD	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES					
UTU	24	45	53%	0	15
UFCW	21	40	53%	4	15
IAM	43	110	39%	1	42
UMWA	7	18	39%	0	6
OCAW	13	50	26%	1	20
USWA	23	90	26%	0	30
UAW	19	80	24%	1	35
ACTWU	11	48	23%	1	26
ILGWU	7	32	22%	1	9
U.S. TOTAL	168	513	33%	9	198
SHOULD BE	220		43%		
CANADA					
CAW	2	15	13%	2	8
USWA	1	12	8%	1	5
IAM	0	6	0%	0	4
ACTWU	0	10	0%	0	4
CANADA TOTAL	3	43	7%	3	21
SHOULD BE	18		43%		
NEW ZEALAND					
MWU	1	2	50%		1
UFCW	1	5	20%		1
EU		5	0%		1
N.Z. TOTAL	2	12	17%	0	3
SHOULD BE	5		43%		
SWEDEN					
Food Workers	0	3	0%		1
Metal Workers	2	7	29%	3	2
SWEDEN TOTAL	2	10	20%	3	3
SHOULD BE	4		43%		

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; EU — Engineers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFCW (U.S.) — United Food and Commercial Workers; UFCW (New Zealand) — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union

New Perspectiva Mundial available

BY JOHN COX

Followers of the *Militant* who read Spanish, or who have workmates or friends who read Spanish, will be interested in the November issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*. The Spanish-language socialist magazine, which is published monthly, includes articles on the Socialist Workers campaign; an article from Des Moines, Iowa, on the fight for parole for framed-up unionist Mark Curtis; and articles on the recent USAir strike and the ongoing drywallers strike in southern California.

The November issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* also features a special article by Mary-Alice Waters, "Why Washington Continues

Struggle in South Africa moves forward

Mass action campaign puts revolutionary movement in stronger position

BY GREG McCARTAN

Forcing the white minority regime to accede to a series of demands, the revolutionary democratic movement in South Africa has emerged from a months-long campaign of mass action in a stronger position to fight for the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The setback to the regime can be seen in the response of the government's allies, with whom it has sought to forge a coalition strong enough to thwart the revolutionary struggle. They have patched together a loose coalition to oppose the growing power of the African National Congress (ANC) and its ability to lead millions in the battle for a democratic South African republic.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced September 27 that he was pulling out of the multi-party talks known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). The IFP leader quickly organized a conference attended by rightist parties and the corrupt dictatorial heads of two of the Bantustans, the patchwork of rural "homelands" into which the apartheid regime drove millions of Blacks.

March of 15,000

Buthelezi also led a march of 15,000 people through downtown Johannesburg October 17. He presented the police with a petition for South African president F.W. de Klerk, accusing him of a "flagrant" breach of trust in reaching a bilateral agreement with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Buthelezi had his supporters brandish spears and sticks in open defiance of a recent government ban on carrying dangerous weapons. This ban was one of the demands of the ANC, directed towards deescalating spiraling violent attacks on government opponents by IFP members and police agents.

"We say 'no' to any further appeasement of the ANC, with its designs to seize power for itself," Buthelezi told the October 6 conference in Johannesburg. Buthelezi is also the chief minister of KwaZulu, a Bantustan spread in several pieces across Natal.

"I am committed to a federal system, I am committed to one South Africa... But we are already in a low-intensity war... and if the worst happens, a Yugoslavia option might be foisted upon us," the *Washington Post* reported the IFP leader as saying.

Joining Buthelezi were Brig. Oupa Gqozo, head of the Ciskei Bantustan, whose troops killed 29 anti-apartheid demonstrators and wounded hundreds in a hail of bullets September 7; Lucas Mangope, the president of "independent" Bophuthatswana; Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht; and Andries Beyers, the leader of a new rightist party, the Afrikaanse Volksparty.

Gqozo met with ultrarightist Eugene Terreblanche a few days before the meeting. According to the British *Independent*, Gqozo condemned the government for capitulating to the ANC demands, saying the country was headed towards an "African socialist tyranny." Echoing the ultrarightists' demagoguery he added, "this is a war we are fighting now, and the prize is our dignity, our land, and our various traditional heritages."

In a private moment, according to the *Independent*, Treurnicht took Gqozo aside and told him in regard to the massacre by some 2,000 Ciskei troops that "What you did was absolutely morally justifiable."

The president of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan, who points to the gambling resort Sun City as one of the achievements of his reign, said the ANC's campaign of mass action was inflicting "barbaric destruction" on South Africa. "We are more than capable of protecting our sovereign soil from invasion by anarchic mobs," he said in reference to protests by workers and youth demanding freedom of political activity and the reincorporation of the Bantustans into South Africa.

Beyers told the press that the group, called the Conference for Concerned South Africans, feels "de Klerk left his potential allies in the lurch when he sat down and made all those concessions to the ANC to get the talks started again."

Government agreements

In addition to the ban on "cultural" weap-

ons, measures agreed to by the government include putting fences around the single-sex hostels where workers who must migrate from the Bantustans and surrounding countries live near industrial centers. The hostels have been used to launch attacks on anti-apartheid actions and communities known for supporting the ANC. The regime also agreed to release remaining political prisoners, a process begun September 27.

Most disconcerting to the rightists is the portion of the Record of Understanding reached between the regime and the ANC that

debate was the release in early October of a paper by Joe Slovo, chairperson of the South African Communist Party (SACP) and a long-time leader of the ANC, in which he suggests the democratic movement shift from the ANC's correct call for rapid election of a democratic government and offer to submit to compulsory power-sharing between all parties for several years.

Slovo argues that such a deal may be necessary because there is no realistic chance of the ANC leading the country's working masses to form a government of

Pretoria was held responsible for the cold-blooded murders by millions both in South Africa and around the world, because the Bantustan governments are a creation of apartheid, sustained by massive financial and military support from the central government.

The Goldstone Commission, charged with investigating acts of violence in the country, issued a report on the massacre that said "any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers." It found that 425 rounds of ammunition were fired at the crowd and recommended a criminal investigation be begun against those responsible.

News reports on the day's events in most major media tell a similar story of the events leading up to the massacre.

As part of its mass action campaign, the ANC had organized occupations of government buildings, town squares, and other protests. A week before the march the ANC leadership approved a proposal to march on Bisho, the capital of the Ciskei, and occupy the city center.

In the days leading up to the demonstration Gqozo first prohibited, then decided to allow the march to enter the Ciskei, but only as far as the stadium near downtown Bisho. A local magistrate ordered that the march be terminated just inside the border at the stadium. Press reports indicate Gqozo threatened use of force against those who went any further.

When the 50,000-strong demonstration arrived at the border the road was blocked by razor wire. The Ciskei army was arrayed in a mile-wide arc with machine guns mounted on tripods.

While ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa negotiated with peace monitors, several thousand people dashed across a field and began taking seats in the stadium.

Ronnie Kasrils, a member of both the ANC National Executive Committee and the South African Communist Party Central Committee, then led a small group through a gap left in the surrounding fence and headed toward Bisho.

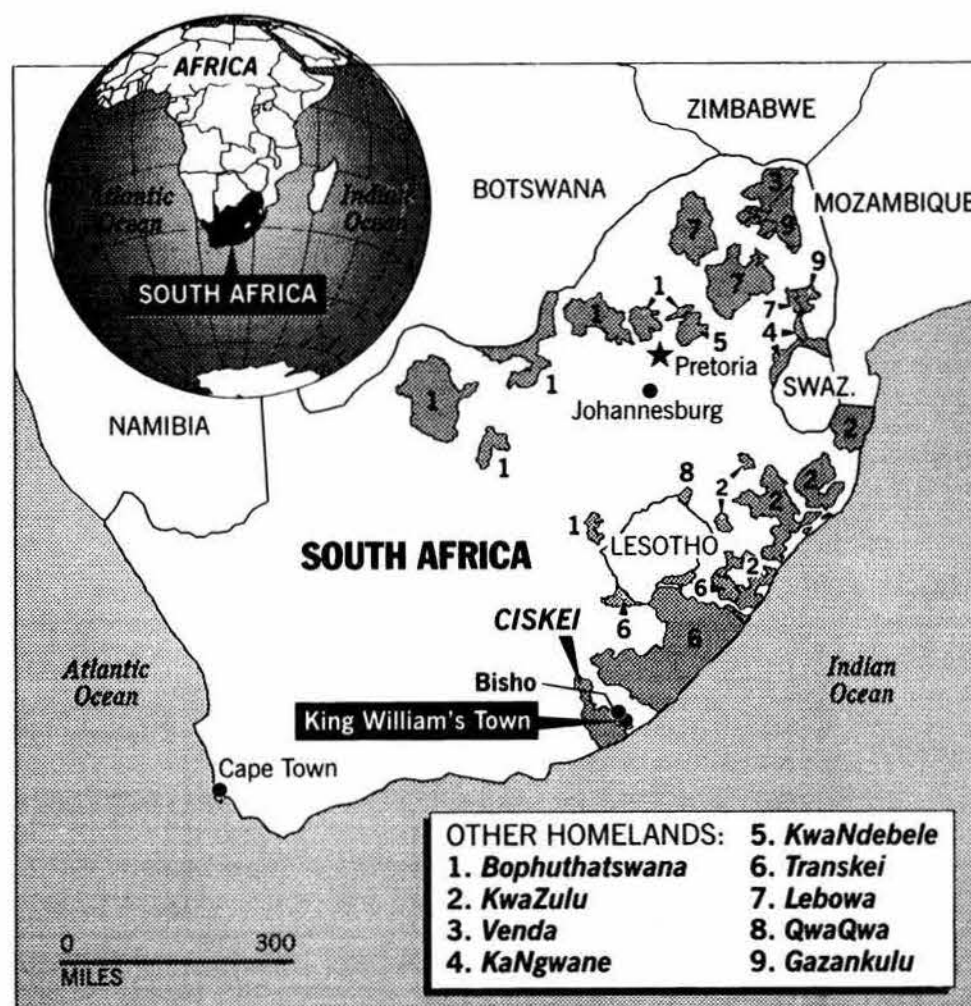
Witnesses say soldiers then instantly opened fire all along the arc of gun emplacements, killing many still on the South African side of the border. The shooting lasted some five minutes, with machine gun fire indiscriminately raking the fleeing crowd.

"We had been providing the army with leaflets and people had been speaking to soldiers," Kasrils told reporters immediately after the shooting. "We felt that we had been softening them up. But the main point is that the assessment was that a peaceful protest march would not be shot at in full view of the international press."

"We figured that with the presence of 70,000 marchers, with the ANC leadership at the head of the march, with press and peace monitors all around, they would never fire into the crowd," he added. "One cannot regret whatever one does in good faith and to the best ability of the judgement of a collective leadership. Casualties take place all the time. People are dying in the struggle."

According to the *Washington Post*, Kasrils had emerged minutes before the shooting from a huddle with Ramaphosa

Continued on Page 13



stipulates a new constitution will be written by a democratically elected constituent assembly that will sit as a single chamber.

ANC leaders broke off the Codesa negotiations last June after the regime insisted on measures that would allow virtual minority veto over the decisions of a constituent assembly. The wealthy rulers of South Africa, bourgeois nationalist forces such as Buthelezi, and those such as Gqozo are fighting a day-to-day battle against the revolutionary movement, and also seek to enshrine "minority rights" as a vehicle for maintaining their economic power and social position.

The government had also sought to indefinitely extend the time period of the assembly, thus hoping to slow the establishment of a government in which the ANC would undoubtedly be the majority party. The Record of Understanding registers the success of the mass action campaign launched last June in pushing back the government on each of these fronts.

De Klerk's new demands

In response to the protest by the forces in the Conference of Concerned South Africans, de Klerk lashed out at the ANC in a speech before a special session of the country's segregated parliament October 13.

"I'm not willing to form a government of national unity with the ANC as it is now," de Klerk told parliament according to London's *Financial Times*. "It must get rid of the uniforms and the weapons" of its military wing and "it must be transformed from a militant movement into a political party," he said, demanding the organization be purged of "radicals."

He had earlier said the "perception that the government has capitulated to another party is devoid of all truth," and, in a nod to the IFP, said it is "simply not possible to negotiate a viable constitutional settlement with only some of the major parties."

Another development in the midst of this

their own.

In an October 15 article the *Johannesburg Star* reports a similar position advanced by Chris Hani, the SACP's secretary-general, in a speech to businessmen.

"Our problems are not superficial, they are deep-seated and they are structural," he told the gathering. "There are no quick-fix solutions."

"This means," Hani said, "that we must understand redistribution less as taking away, and more as a dynamic process of restructuring for development." Those opposing the ANC retained enormous power, which gave "a sober sense of the severe parameters" in which a new government could function.

Bisho massacre

It became clear in August with the success of a two-day general strike called by the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions that the government would be forced to yield to the ANC's demands.

The mass action campaign and the wide discrediting of the government following the massacre at Bisho quickly led the regime to sign the late-September accords.

Granma

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to Granma International

An essential source of information on the Cuban revolution.

Pathfinder books featured at library conference in Cuba

Continued from front page
country's lack of hard currency to purchase books from other countries. The collapse in trade with Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has caused acute shortages in paper and other resources needed to produce books and periodicals. The same political and economic factors, however, have made many Cuban working people and youth more eager than ever to expand their access to literature and ideas from all sources.

"In spite of the economic difficulties, our libraries are not going to close," said Alfredo Cabrera from Havana's National Library of Science and Technology. "The imperialists rob us through unequal trade and the U.S. embargo, so we're working to overcome this through the international exchange of literature."

The conference itself was a cultural and political event in Holguín province timed to coincide with the First Ibero-American Festival, commemorating the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the Americas.

A major aspect of the conference was the opening of an extensive book exhibit, christened "The Encounter of Two Cultures," referring to the 500th anniversary theme and to the literature on display, which included 5,000 books, pamphlets, and research papers from more than a dozen countries in Latin America and Europe.

"This exhibit is important for us," remarked David Leyva, a young mathematics professor who volunteered to staff it. "Look at the big donations from Mexico and Spain. We've even received a large number of valuable books from the U.S. Library of Congress through an exchange."

Broad cultural event

Several other components of the conference served to underscore the need for libraries to be centers of broad culture and learning for working people. An exhibit of paintings by Néstor Arenas, a Holguín artist still in his 20s whose works have been shown internationally, was inaugurated. Several panel discussions were held featuring a range of writers, poets, and teachers.

An "Afro-Cuban Night" and musical performances by well-known groups from Holguín were organized each evening. Books and records — on topics from African religions in Cuba to revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara — were auctioned.

Along with hundreds of working people, students, and others, conference participants also attended a performance by the Santiago and Holguín ballet troupes, featuring both classical ballet and themes devoted to the African, Spanish, and Indian roots of Cuban culture.

Near the coastal town of Bariay north of here, an impressive monument and park were inaugurated October 28 to commemorate Columbus's arrival in Cuba at that site 500 years ago to the day. Cuban minister of culture Armando Hart spoke there on the theme "The Encounter of Two Cultures."

The local media gave major coverage to the conference, highlighting the Pathfinder donation and the participation of the Pathfinder representatives, who appeared live on the local television news program and were interviewed by radio and the AIN national news agency. Radio Reloj, the main national radio news station, reported on the event and Pathfinder's presence at it. The October 31 issue of *Ahora!*, Holguín's provincial newspaper, published a full-page interview with Waters on its back page and a large photograph of the Pathfinder Mural along with an article on the conference on page one.

The mural, covering a wall of the Pathfinder Building in New York, features portraits of revolutionary working-class leaders such as Fidel Castro, Nelson Mandela, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, Malcolm X, Thomas Sankara, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, and Farrell Dobbs.

Conference organizers set up some 220 Pathfinder titles — now donated to the Benito Juárez Library — as the central display in the book exhibit, under a sign reading, "Pathfinder with Cuba."

The morning the exhibit opened, a large group of students crowded around the Pathfinder display and Waters to hear her answer questions about some of the political ideas contained in the books.

Lessons of working-class movement

Because of the interest expressed by many participants, Waters was invited to give a presentation to the conference on Pathfinder, its history, and its objectives. The publishing house, she told participants, "strives to make available books and pamphlets that accurately record the struggles, experiences, and lessons of the modern working-class movement since it came into being with the publication of its founding document, the *Communist Manifesto*."

"We give high priority to publishing the speeches and writings of the great revolutionary leaders of the working class so new generations of fighters worldwide can study for themselves what these leaders said and make up their own minds," Waters stressed.

From 1959 on, Pathfinder has published many books of speeches and writings by Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, she explained, because "this is the most important revolution in the 20th century after the Russian revolution of October 1917."

"It's not only a question of solidarity. Mobilizing political support for the Cuban revolution and its political conquests is decisive for building a communist working-class movement in the United States and worldwide."

As part of her presentation, Waters talked about the economic and political conditions in the United States and other imperialist countries that are pushing a layer of vanguard workers and students toward interest in socialism and are leading to increased sales of Pathfinder books.

Later during the conference, 75 people came to an on-campus showing of the video by U.S. filmmaker Nick Castle entitled "The Frame-up of Mark Curtis," which helped concretize the conditions of the U.S. class struggle that Waters had described. Curtis was sentenced to a 25-year prison term in 1988 on a false rape charge after becoming known for his defense of immigrant workers in the Iowa packinghouse where he worked. The video graphically portrays the U.S. employers' offensive against the living standard, working conditions, and rights of working people, as well as workers' resistance to it.

Several people came up to the Pathfinder representatives after the video showing and said they had no idea such conditions existed and such struggles were taking place in the United States. Others expressed their solidarity with Curtis's fight for justice, calling the frame-up "an outrageous injustice." Several asked for more information and copies of the video to take back to their cities, and for Curtis's address to write him.

Public meeting

As a result of the numerous informal political discussions sparked by the Pathfinder books, a number of teachers, writers, and others in Holguín, many of whom were not attending the conference itself, requested a meeting be organized to have a more extended discussion.

Some 40 people attended the public evening forum, which was hosted by the National Union of Cuban Writers and Artists (UNEAC) at its headquarters and opened by UNEAC's secretary.

After a short presentation by Waters, a far-ranging discussion ensued for two hours. It took up such questions as: Is there repression of revolutionaries in the United States? Are Pathfinder books censored? What is the significance of the U.S. presidential election campaign? Has capitalism been restored in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union republics? Has imperialism been strengthened by the events in the former Soviet bloc in Europe? Was the demise of the Nicaraguan revolution caused by the power of U.S. imperialism or its own leadership errors? What does the Torricelli Amendment mean



Prensa Latina

Ideas of Che Guevara, one of the revolutionary leaders published by Pathfinder, were a topic of discussion at conference.

about U.S. foreign policy toward Cuba?

One participant commented on the article he had read in the Marxist journal *New International* entitled "The Opening Guns of World War III" and asked about the sharpening rivalries between imperialist powers that was part of the U.S.-led assault on Iraq.

Those in attendance were keenly interested in Waters's description of the successful public meeting held in early October for two revolutionary Cuban youth leaders at Florida International University in Miami. She explained that this meeting registered the growing numbers of workers and youth of Cuban origin in the United States who oppose the right-wing minority attempts to suppress through intimidation any free exchange of information and ideas between Cubans on the island and those living in the United States.

Following the forum many people eagerly asked for copies of the new Pathfinder pamphlet *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today*. They also stopped to read some of the books on display, including *Nueva Internacional* and Pathfinder's Spanish-language edition of *The Revolution Betrayed* by Leon Trotsky. Malcolm X speeches were also very popular; a number of people had previously read Malcolm's autobiography.

Discussions among students

Students helping staff the conference events also requested a special meeting, which was held the following day. Two dozen youth attended and many of the same questions were raised. An animated discussion took place after one student said that, despite his errors, "some of which were necessary errors," Stalin had played a positive role in the

Soviet Union and socialism had been abandoned after Mikhail Gorbachev introduced *perestroika* and *glasnost*.

Another student immediately jumped in to say that he disagreed. He had spent two years in the Soviet Union, he explained, and "problems had been accumulating for many years before glasnost and perestroika." He pointed to "the forced socialization of agriculture, the labor camps, and the Communist Party's divorce from the masses" to argue that Stalin's role had not been positive. "Socialist consciousness — what Che talked about — wasn't stressed," he added. Other students nodded their head, and the discussion continued with other views expressed.

These meetings were indicative of some of the wide-ranging political debates taking place in Cuba today on the major political questions in the world, especially in the wake of the rapid disintegration of the USSR and its economic impact on Cuba.

As several students, professors, and others explained, until a few years ago they believed the Soviet Union was the model Cuba was correctly emulating. Suddenly, as one student put it, they discovered that almost everything they had been taught about the Soviet Union was untrue. Now, for many, there is a real desire to read and learn about the true history of the working-class movement in the 20th century and realization that books like those published by Pathfinder are essential to this process.

At the final session of the week-long events, Osorio announced that students and teachers at the Superior Technical Institute of Holguín had decided to organize a Friends of Pathfinder Club to collectively read and study the valuable books now in the library.

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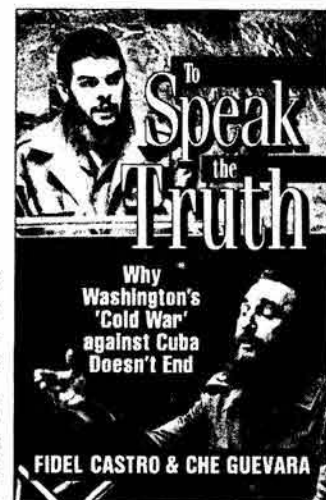
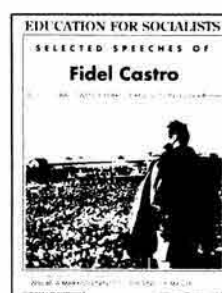
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BY FIDEL CASTRO
AND CHE GUEVARA

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'The fight against racism is international'

Malcolm X interview from 1965 is part of new collection from Pathfinder

The interview below was given by Malcolm X to a correspondent for the Johannesburg *Sunday Express*. It is taken from *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, a new book published by Pathfinder.

Collected in this volume are the speeches and interviews from the three weeks prior to Malcolm's assassination on February 21, 1965. During this short period, he addressed audiences in Selma, Alabama; several cities in Britain; Paris; Detroit; Rochester, New York; and New York City.

From city to city, in each of the meetings Malcolm stressed the need to view the struggle of Blacks in the United States as an integral part of the "global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Along these lines, he explained why the liberation struggles in the Congo, Vietnam, and elsewhere were of key importance for fighters for Black rights in the United States and other countries.

Much of the material published in the new collection has been unavailable for more than two and a half decades; some of it appears in print for the first time.

This is the first of several new books by Pathfinder that will print, in chronological order, Malcolm X's major speeches. Since 1965, when it published *Malcolm X Speaks*, Pathfinder has been the central publisher of Malcolm's works.

The interview with the Johannesburg *Sunday Express* was conducted in London, February 12, 1965, by correspondent Alan Scholefield. It has remained virtually unknown for more than 27 years.

At the time the interview was given, the apartheid regime was intensifying its attack on democratic rights in South Africa.

The ANC itself, and other organizations opposed to the regime, had been banned in 1960 in the wake of protests against the police massacre of scores of demonstrators at Sharpeville.

February 1965: The Final Speeches is © 1992 by Pathfinder Press.

* * *

Question: How far would your movement take violence in the struggle going on in places like South Africa and Angola?

Answer: All the way. As far as the South African situation is concerned, I don't give the Blacks credit in any way, shape, or form for restraining themselves or confining themselves to ground rules that limit their scope of activity against their threat-



Malcolm X speaking in May, 1964.

Militant/Eli Finer

ened society. I believe that the only solution to the South African problem is the same solution that was used in Algeria or the one that is being used right now in Vietnam.¹

Q: What would be your comment, then, on someone like the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli?²

A: He is just another Martin Luther King who is used to keep the oppressed people in check and keep them from using bona fide

1. An eight-year liberation war led by Algeria's National Liberation front forced the French government to withdraw its troops in 1962 and recognize the country's independence.

At the time this interview was given, the U.S. government was beginning to escalate its military intervention in Vietnam. By the end of July 1965, there were 75,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam, rising to 540,000 by 1968. South Vietnam was liberated in 1975.

2. Albert Luthuli, an elected Zulu chief in the Grootvlei area, was president-general of the African National Congress of South Africa from 1952 until his death in 1967. In 1960 he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

methods to produce bona fide results. I think the real leaders in South Africa are Sobukwe and Mandela.³ They are in tune with the times. I don't say this with any antiwhite feeling because I don't have any antiwhite feeling—not antiwhite as a blanket condemnation.

Q: Will your organization help African revolutionaries?

A: Oh yes, we believe that it is one struggle in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and Alabama. They are all the same struggle.

Q: Have you been giving either moral or physical aid to African revolutionaries?

A: I'd rather not answer that.

Q: Have you met many African exiles—South Africans and others?

A: Yes. I've done a lot of traveling in Africa. When I was in the Black Muslim movement Elijah Muhammad—the leader—would not let me travel. Not even to the American South. Last summer I traveled in Tanzania, Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, and Algeria.

To me the South African exile is too complacent. He's sad about

his condition but not mad. Now in Kenya the Kikuyu got angry and their anger is what produced the action that got them independence.⁴ When the Black in South Africa reaches the same stage of anger, then the situation in South Africa will be resolved. I don't think economic factors will intervene.

Q: What are your comments on the spread of racialism in Britain?

A: People will begin to realize that racism is not something that you can confine to any one country. Especially with the power and influence which America has. She is dictating today to almost the entire world through propaganda media. American racism is like

3. Robert Sobukwe was president of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), established in 1959 by forces that split from the African National Congress. Arrested in 1960, Sobukwe was imprisoned on Robben Island until 1969. He died in 1978.

4. The Kikuyu—one of the peoples in the British colony of Kenya—provided many of the fighters who carried out actions during the 1950s that were part of the struggle that led to independence in 1963.

a cancer spreading all over the world and it is having its effect on Britain.

Q: You think that America is more to blame than a country like South Africa?

A: Formerly Black people looked on South Africa as just about the worst country in the world. But I think today that many Africans are beginning to see that America and South Africa are not so very different. The only difference being that South Africa preaches and practices segregation whereas America preaches integration and practices segregation.

South Africa is at least honest with its racism. America is just as racist whereas it is dishonest with it. South African racism is so open that people are on guard against it. Like when a person has a cold and you don't want to catch it, you make yourself immune to it when you happen to be around him. But now when you get a person who has a cold and hides the fact, you're more likely to catch it from that person than someone who has an open cold. And American racism is so hidden, so subtle, so hypocritical—she spreads her racism wherever she goes.

Q: You talk of subtle racism. Would you care to comment on the fact that almost nothing is ever heard of the Australian aborigine?

A: Because the aboriginal Australian isn't even permitted to get into a position where he can make his voice heard in any way, shape, or form. But I don't think that situation will be too quiet too much longer.

Q: Do you mean that your organization proposes to take in people like the aborigines as well?

A: Just as racism has become an international thing, the fight against it is also becoming international. Those who were the victims of it and were kept apart from each other are beginning to compare notes. They are beginning to find that it doesn't stem from their own country alone. It is international. We intend to fight it internationally.

Q: If violence is used, is there not a danger of racism working in reverse?

A: [Malcolm laughs] You know I was surprised in Africa, since it was an area which had been so completely coveted by Europeans, at the minimum of anti-European feeling. If there is any anti-European feeling it is directed at individuals—it's not a collective feeling. I was quite shocked. I think the Africans basically will never be anti-anything. I don't think it's in their make-up.

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February 1965
THE FINAL SPEECHES



Malcolm X

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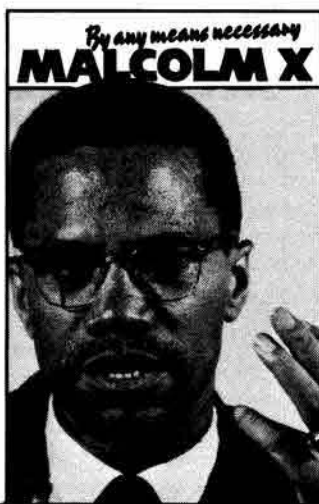
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New stage entered in project to index socialist publications

BY ILONA GERSH

The project to index the more than 60-year-long written record of political discussion and activity of the Socialist Workers Party has now entered a new and final stage. Having completed the indexing of the party's internal bulletins last year, the project is now taking on the party's political and theoretical magazine and the bulletins of socialist youth organizations associated with it.

The party's magazine spans five decades. It was published as the *New International* from 1934-1939; the *Fourth International*, 1940-1956; the *International Socialist Review*, 1956-1974; and was renamed and published as the *New International* from 1983 to today.

Resolutions or reports that first appeared in party bulletins were often later published in the magazine, edited to take into account further discussion by convention delegates or leadership committees. The magazine has featured articles on the causes of imperialist war and the fight against it, the strategy to forge a worker-farmer alliance, struggles by vanguard workers against the effects of the wages system on the social conditions of the working class, the fundamentals of a materialist world view, art and politics, the fight for the emancipation of women, and much more.

Since August, supporters of the indexing project have put together a complete set of the magazine for the project's use. Respond-

ing to an appeal for help, individuals from eight cities made donations. "With their generosity," said Steve Clark, one of the organizers of the project, "these supporters have helped make available to fighting workers and youth the lessons of the communist movement's participation in the class struggle in the United States and internationally—from the rise of the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations] unions in the 1930s to the fight against Washington's murderous assault on Iraq in 1990-91."

Supporters of the project have also contributed missing bulletins of socialist youth groups that have worked in solidarity with the Socialist Workers Party and its predecessors, dating back to the 1930s.

The Young Socialist Alliance is the most significant of these youth groups. The fighters who formed the YSA in the late 1950s and early 1960s were active in support of the civil rights movement, in defense of the young Cuban revolution, and other fights. The YSA was in the front ranks of the movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam, school desegregation struggles in the 1970s, and support work for striking workers throughout its history.

Indexing the written record of the discussions and activity of the YSA and its predecessors will help politically arm the generation of young workers and students who are becoming active in politics today and joining the communist workers movement.

Columnist defends free speech in Miami

The following column by Robert L. Steinback appeared in the October 23 *Miami Herald*, under the heading "Untimely punch mustn't erode democracy's gain." It was also published in the October 25 *El Nuevo Herald*.

Three weeks ago, a Florida International University student named Marcell Felipe punched another student, Tony Thomas. How Miami reacts to that punch could impact this

community's character for years to come.

So far, the reaction has been worrisome. The incident occurred just after an emotion-packed student forum at FIU's University Park campus. Two young Cuban communists, Ibis Alvisa González and José Concepción Rángel, were the featured guests.

The forum had historic implications: The children of Miami's Cuban exiles were engaging their counterparts from Fidel Cas-

tro's communist regime not in battle, but in discussion and debate. Emotions did run high. A few audience members verbally lost their cool. But the Cuban visitors were given respect enough to present their views without being threatened or shouted down.

Then Felipe threw his punch.

Right to an opinion

Thomas, a 45-year-old African American reared in Connecticut, is a stock clerk for Metrobus. He's an FIU graduate student studying fine arts.

He's also a socialist who believes the Cuban revolution, on balance, was a good thing. "But that's irrelevant," Thomas told me. "I have a right to have political opinions and not be slapped by people."

Thomas was an usher during the forum. When the program ended and the guests had departed, some audience members gravitated toward the stage. Several ushers stood up to restrain them. That was when Felipe punched Thomas on the side of the head without warning, knocking him to the floor.

Felipe has said he thought Thomas was a Cuban government agent. He isn't. Even so, Thomas said, "That wouldn't justify violence against someone." Thomas also denied other stories in circulation — that he had pushed Felipe's girlfriend, or that he was threatening Felipe.

A segment of the Cuban exile community — mostly older ones — has held Felipe up as a hero, calling his action justified. If this perception prevails, the forum's contributions to democratic ideals could evaporate.

Worse, if public support of Felipe's action reaches a sufficient crescendo, some fear the din may stifle intellectual freedom at publicly funded FIU, perhaps threatening its



Herald columnist Robert Steinback

Cuban Research Institute. . .

South Florida's prosperity depends so heavily on our collective respect for free cultural and political expression. Miami must be known to the nation and world as a place where the fearless interchange of ideas and beliefs flourishes.

Older Cuban exiles may assert correctly that non-Cubans can't understand their passion. But increasingly, they will face a new reality: that many of their own children, though equally passionate, are willing to defend the free expression of ideas, even controversial ones. Cuban Americans who grew up in the United States more likely realize that to advocate democracy, you must live it, even if it means giving your opponent a chance to speak. Or denouncing an explosive moment of unnecessary violence.

This generation of young Cuban Americans will help shape the future of a free Cuba — and the future of Miami. Not only will they better represent democracy to Cubans on the island, they will be more attuned to forging cross-cultural bonds with young non-Hispanic blacks and whites in South Florida as well.

Florida rally protests Cuba embargo

BY THERESA KENDRICK

MIAMI—Some 250 Cuban-Americans and others rallied at the Omni Hotel to protest President George Bush's signing of the Torricelli bill here, Friday, October 23.

The Torricelli bill, misleadingly entitled the "Cuban Democracy Act," tightens trade restrictions with Cuba and intensifies the 33-year-old blockade. Counter-demonstrating was a group of about 30 supporters of the bill, carrying "Bush for President" signs. The two demonstrations were separated by a police line.

The demonstration against the bill was called by the Antonio Maceo Brigade and the Alliance of Workers in the Community (ATC), two organizations of Miami Cubans demanding an immediate end to the blockade.

Signs carried by demonstrators read, "No! No! No Blockade," "Cuba Will Always Be Free and Sovereign," "Illeana is a Terrorist," "Bush and Mas Canosa are Ter-

rorists," and "Viva Cuba."

One young protester, Jorge Roque, said that he was against the blockade because "it hurts the people of Cuba and my family. It is an inhuman treatment of people." Another Cuban protester thought that the "policies of the United States were to blame for the problems in Cuba. The Cubans having dinner with Bush," he added, gesturing towards Bush's hotel, "are not thinking about Cubans on the island. Mas Canosa isn't either. He has missed the boat."

Adjoining the anti-blockade demonstration was a vocal group of about 50 Haitians demanding democracy in Haiti. A Haitian student, participating in both demonstrations, noted, "The Cubans (in Cuba) know everything that happens with the Haitian people. We are like two brothers. The U.S. government wants us to be against Cuba, but we are not. We are against the blockade of the Cuban people."

FROM THE PATHFINDER MURAL

Joe Hill, songwriter and union organizer, framed up in Utah

BY SARA LOBMAN

This monthly column features the working-class leaders and fighters for social justice from around the world who are depicted on the Pathfinder Mural.

The six-story mural was painted by an international team of 80 artists from 20 countries. Included in the mural are portraits of revolutionary leaders such as Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, and Karl Marx, whose speeches and writings are published by Pathfinder Press.

*There is Pow'r, there is pow'r,
In a hand of working men,
When they stand, hand in hand.
That's a pow'r, that's a pow'r,
That must rule in every land—
One Industrial Union Grand.*

—Joe Hill

Songwriter and union organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), Joe Hill was framed up on murder charges and executed by the state of Utah on November 19, 1915. At his funeral in Chicago, 3,000 people crowded into the auditorium while almost 30,000 stood in the streets for blocks around.

"The funeral was unlike anything ever held in Chicago before," reported the *Deseret Evening News*, a Utah paper. "No creed

or religion found a place at the services. There were no prayers and no hymns, but there was a mighty chorus of voices joining in the songs written by [Hill]."

"What kind of man is this," asked another reporter, "whose death is celebrated with songs of revolt and who has at his bier more mourners than any prince or potentate?"

Hill, born Joel Hägglund, came to the United States from Sweden in 1902 at the age of 23. He changed his name to Joseph Hillstrom, but became known as Joe Hill. He worked many jobs, digging copper, stacking wheat, working on ships, and docks, and smelters.

In 1910 Hill joined the IWW. Formed in 1905, the Wobblies, as they were known, set themselves the goal of organizing the masses of unskilled industrial workers into "One Big Union." Over the next three years Hill participated in a number of strikes and organizing drives on the west coast.

"A pamphlet is never read more than once," Hill wrote from prison, "but a song is . . . repeated over and over." Hill's first song, "Casey Jones — the Union Scab," was written to assist workers on strike against the South Pacific Railroad who were faced with defeat by the company's use of scabs. Printed on colorful cards, which were sold to help the strike fund, the song helped to keep the strike alive. Soon, Hill's songs about the struggle of workers and the unemployed were being sung by fighting workers across the country and, in many cases, around the world.

One of Hill's songs, *Rebel Girl*, was dedicated to the working-class fighters of the day who were women.

"I am a citizen of the world," Hill wrote from prison. "I die like a true rebel. Don't waste any time mourning — organize!"

The Pathfinder Mural and the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore are located at the corner of West and Charles Streets in New York City. The bookstore offers a complete selection of Pathfinder books and pamphlets as well as postcards, posters, and T-shirts depicting the mural. Contributions for the promotion, development, and preservation of the mural can be sent to: Friends of the Pathfinder Mural, 191 Seventh Ave., New York, NY 10011. Telephone: (212) 727-8421.



Militant/Sara Lobman
Joe Hill with his guitar



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BOB SCHWARZ

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders of the worldwide struggles against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End was a major feature of the Pathfinder display at the New England Booksellers Association conference, held in Boston October 17-18.

This new book — a selection of speeches before the United Nations by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara — is now being shipped to bookstores across the country. It comes at a time of rising public interest in Cuba as Washington intensifies its trade and commercial embargo against the island. Several specials on Cuba have appeared on U.S. TV this fall and a number of newspapers have featured articles and columns on the 30th anniversary of the so-called Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

Some 1,500 booksellers from throughout New England attended the Boston conference, and many of them stopped by the Pathfinder booth. These included representatives of several small chains and stores in states Pathfinder representatives are not often able to visit.

Volunteers from the Boston Pathfinder Bookstore staffed the booth. The Boston store has announced new hours (11 to 7, Tuesday through Saturday) and a campaign to win five new members to the Pathfinder Readers Club each month. Readers Club members get a 15 percent discount at Pathfinder bookstores around the world, with higher discounts on special offers. Membership is \$10 a year.

A Pathfinder supporter in Washington, D.C., reports selling several books at the meat-packing plant where he works. During the last two months coworkers have bought 13 books, 4 pamphlets, and a copy of *New International*. Authors include Malcolm X, Thomas Sankara, Fidel Castro, Nelson Mandela, Che

Guevara, and Karl Marx; about half the books sold have been in Spanish.

"I began to bring three or four books to work each Friday," he explains. "Usually I knew someone in particular wanted a specific book. Other people would see the books I had and ask about them. Now



Militant
Pathfinder display at New England Booksellers conference in Boston

I always have some orders. *Opening Guns of World War III* is ordered for next week, and three or four people want *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, a new Pathfinder book by Malcolm X.

Spike Lee, director of the movie *Malcolm X*, spoke recently to 1,200 people at the University of Portland and Pathfinder was there. Speaking of the popularity of "X" caps, shirts, and buttons among young Blacks across the country, Lee said he hoped the movie "will spark their interest and encourage them to pick up a book," and a number did just that. A Pathfinder literature table in the lobby sold 15 books by or about Malcolm X as well as titles by Nelson Mandela, Leon Trotsky, and others. "What you've got here is a table full of dynamite," remarked a young man as he bought *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

The 75th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution: Its Significance Today. Speaker: Tim Craine, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 14, 4 p.m. Dwight Hall, 67 High St. (between Elm and Chapel) Tel: (203) 772-3375

FLORIDA

Miami

The 75th Anniversary of the October 1917 Russian Revolution. Speaker: Representative of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Meaning of the 1992 Elections: More Wars, No Relief from Economic Crisis. Speaker: Susan LaMont, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 5th C.D., member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 365. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

Parole Now for Mark Curtis! Speakers: Broek Carlsten, Amnesty International, North Atlanta High School; Rev. Joseph Fahy, works with Hispanic immigrants; Marla Puziss, supporter of

Mark Curtis Defense Committee, member AFSCME Local 1644; Robin Singer, Atlanta Committee on Latin America, works with Pastors for Peace. Sun., Nov. 15, 3 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$4. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

The Fight Against Discrimination in Housing. Speakers: Brad Parks, plaintiff in discrimination suit against Goldsboro Apartments in Atlanta; Joe Shifalo, director, Metro Fair Housing; spokesperson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Ten Days that Shook the World. Film on the Russian revolution, followed by discussion. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325. Translation to Spanish.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Japan Today: Economic Decline and Political Polarisation. Speaker: Joan Shields, recent Communist League candidate for mayor of Christchurch, New Zealand. Sat., Nov. 7, 6 p.m. 66 Alton St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

CANADA

Toronto

Police Violence: Where Does It Come From, How Can It Be Stopped? Speaker: Janet Fisher, Communist League, member, United Steelworkers of America. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

Vancouver

Constitutional Accord Rejected: What Does This Mean for Working People? Speaker: Joe Young, Communist League, member, United Steelworkers Local 3495. Sat., Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

ICELAND

Reykjavik

Free Trade and Protectionism (a class discussion). Sat., Nov. 7, 1:30 p.m. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

World Politics Today. Speaker: Gylfi Pall Hersir. Sat., Nov. 14, 2 p.m. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

Open House. Meet Andile Yawa from the African National Congress Youth League, currently president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Sat., Nov. 21. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Is Winston Peters a Friend of Working People? Sat., Nov. 7, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Child Abuse and Democratic Rights. Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.

The Sealords Deal and the Fight for Maori Rights. Sat., Nov. 28, 7 p.m. 593a Colombo St. (upstairs). Donation \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.

SWEDEN

Stockholm

Does the Russian Revolution Still Show the Way Forward? Speaker: Hilding Eklund, Communist League, member, Metalworkers' union. Sat., Nov. 7, 4 p.m. Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

NEW YORK

How the 1992 Elections Hid the Real Political Issues and Prepared Deepening Aggression by Washington

Speaker: Jack Barnes, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 7, 6:30 p.m. sharp. 31 W. 15th St. (between 5th and 6th Avenues). Tel: (212) 727-8421.

Thousands rally in support of British coal miners

Continued from front page

would stand shoulder to shoulder with the miners.

In the face of the storm of protest unleashed after the planned pit closures were announced, the government has slowed the shutdowns. Miners at the 10 pits slated for immediate closure are being paid the minimum wage rate while staying home for 90 days. The government has promised to consult on the closure of these mines during this period. While British Coal has said that necessary maintenance of the mine facilities will be done, many miners are skeptical. NACODS, the union of mine deputies, or safety examiners, has accused British Coal of pursuing policies that would ensure that the mines close. At the Silverhill mine in Nottinghamshire, for example, British Coal has refused to bring miners to the pit to repair a deteriorating roof. Some miners are being offered voluntary redundancy, a lump

sum payment, in exchange for leaving their jobs.

According to Chairman Neil Clarke, British Coal is aware that "the prospects, particularly for people in areas like the northeast, of getting another job are very remote." British Coal officials have suggested that another seven pits could close, leaving only 14 in all of Britain. They point to a low demand in coal.

The leadership of the NUM has responded with what they call, "The Case for Coal." In the NUM's argument, rising levels of coal imports from South Africa, Europe, Australia, and the Americas, a switch to gas firing at power plants, and massive government subsidies to the nuclear power industry, are the reason for the shutdowns. The union argues that it is cheaper to produce coal than pay for redundancies and other shutdown costs. They voice concern over the dependence on non-British fuel sources.

As NUM President Arthur Scargill, speaking in Worksop, said, "The situation facing the British mining industry is inextricably linked to the fate of the British people as a whole."

These arguments rest on the question of the efficiency and profitability of British coal mines. Many of the pits slated for shutdown have turned a profit in recent years. Scargill said that the market for coal has

disappeared because "the government has rigged the market."

Jim Spaul, an NUM activist at the Kellingley pit, emphasized, "The only way the miners can win this fight is with an all-out campaign for international support," Spaul said in an interview. "To say this is a 'British' fight tends to set our potential allies in other countries against us. I would say it is a fight for all the working class."

Letters urge parole for framed up Iowa unionist Mark Curtis

BY MIKE GALATI

DES MOINES, Iowa — Letters to the Iowa State parole board asking that framed-up union and political activist Mark Curtis be granted parole have begun arriving here. This is part of an international campaign by Curtis supporters to collect hundreds of such letters and to present them to the parole board prior to Curtis' scheduled November 17 parole hearing.

An important part of this campaign is raising the \$25,000 needed to continue to finance the support activities of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee.

Among the letters that have come in so far is one from the Catholic Diocese of Lexington, Kentucky's Council for Peace and Justice. The letter reads in part, "We firmly believe Mark Curtis to be innocent of the crime for which he has been imprisoned and hope that eventually this injustice will be righted. . . . we feel that it is only just that Mark Curtis be paroled immediately. He has met all the requirements for parole under Iowa law."

Joanne Simms, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union Local #50N in Marshalltown, Iowa, wrote, "Mark has served more than four years in prison, which is more than the average time for the crime he was convicted of, he continues to have an excellent record in prison and has wide community support. . . . he is an excellent candidate for release and I along with others urge that you grant him parole."

Supporters will be intensifying their efforts over the next few weeks around this campaign. Letters to the parole board should be received in the Mark Curtis Defense

Committee offices in Des Moines no later than November 12. They should be addressed to the Iowa State Board of Parole, Capitol Annex, 523 East 12th St., Des Moines, IA 50319



October 25 march in London in support of coal miners

Militant/Robert Higley

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CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. San Francisco: 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516. Tel: (203) 772-3375.

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.

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

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

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

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

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. 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.

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

MEXICO

Mexico City: Apdo. Postal 27-575, Col. Roma Sur. Mexico D.F.

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 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.

Clean as the environment — Puerto Rico's Environmental Quality Board permits companies found guilty of polluting to draft compliance documents, setting procedures and time limits for ending the pollu-



Harry Ring

tion and stipulating the fine. The agency's legal chief said it was an innovative way to reduce the work load of his staff.

That's capitalism — According to the Greensboro, North Carolina, *News & Record*, by the late 1970s, Liggett & Myers researchers had developed a cigarette that virtually eliminated cancerous tumors in test animals. But the company decided not to market the new cigarette because doing so would be an admission that the old ones did cause cancer, opening the door to many damage suits.

Enjoy your seafood platter — One of the scientists who worked on the Liggett research project spent most of his early career studying contaminated shellfish for the U.S. Chemical Corps, which hoped to use the paralyzing poisons from

toxic oysters, clams, and mussels in chemical warfare.

Still #1 — Many folks in northern U.S. areas save money by purchasing their prescription drugs in Canada. Along the southern border, they go to Mexico to do likewise. In U.S. pharmacies, the widely used tranquilizer, Xanax, costs 183 percent more than in Canada. In Los Angeles, Mevacor, an anti-cholesterol drug, costs \$200 per hundred. In Tijuana, it's \$8 to \$10.

Dig that nutty likker — Check out "Nostalgie," a black walnut liqueur, which blends nuts and seasoning with hand-distilled, oak-aged brandy, bottled in a hand-

made flask. A liter, \$495.

Cost efficiency — Some days it's the petty ripoffs of capitalism that boost your blood pressure. Like the Los Angeles rail worker who, several times, deposited the necessary coins in a *Los Angeles Times* street rack and got no paper. She finally got mad enough to phone the *Times*. They promptly sent a note of apology and compensation for her 35-cent loss — a 29 cent postage stamp.

Burp — From Hammacher Shlemmer, the gadget folk, a two-stool 1950s style Coca Cola soda bar with built-in fridge. "Brings back memories of the simple plea-

tures. . . \$4,995.

Doesn't take slugs — The Hammacher Shlemmer catalog also offers twenty-five 19th Century "Tammany" banks. Drop a coin into the hand of a New York Tammany Hall politician, throw the lever, and he quickly pockets the coin with a nod of thanks. \$1,500. (If you've already been cleaned out by the politicians, they have a replica for \$49.95.)

1 Step Back, 2 Steps Forward — Happily, we're back down the block at our newly built old address. "Great Society" clippings should once again be sent to Pathfinder Books, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA. 90006.

Mass action moves S. Africa struggle forward

Continued from Page 8

and Chris Hani. "We're heading for the CBD [central business district]," Kasrils said. "It's going to be a cinch. It's going to be a cinch."

The action was condemned by the daily press in South Africa and Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer. The *Star* said the ANC "must have decided that the blood price was worth paying" in what was widely seen as an attempt to oust Gqozo through the attempted occupation of the capital city.

In a September 15 interview with the *Star*, major portions of which were published in the U.S. government's Foreign Broadcast Information Service daily news briefings, Mandela said the ANC leadership "is not primarily [concerned about] the actions of individuals." Kasrils's judgement "may not have been a correct one to go beyond the stadium once the magistrate had said we should not, but the idea of us going to Bisho was a decision of the organization which he was merely carrying out."

Mandela said the people of the country should be concerned with "what can we do to prevent a repetition of what happened at Bisho."

How to mobilize democratic forces

"Now it seems to me that we should not worry very much at this stage with what mistakes individuals have made," he said. "The crucial question is how to mobilize the democratic forces in the country to concentrate on the task of saving South Africa. I am talking about neither the ANC nor the government, but we, the people of South Africa, Black and white."

"Our problem is that Brigadier Gqozo ignored the guidelines for demonstrations," the ANC president said. "The guidelines say that even if one party deviated from an agreement in the course of a march, the other party is not

entitled to use force unless it is threatened."

Mandela contrasted earlier actions of the ANC's campaign with what happened at Bisho, stating that "even some of our loyal friends locally and internationally have got reservations about what we did in that demonstration. But you must understand that what happened in Bisho has not been the pattern of mass action."

Disciplined actions

"On August 5 I led the march on Pretoria. It was disciplined and the police said the crowd behaved magnificently. That was the position throughout the country generally."

"Now we said we were going to occupy Bisho," Mandela continued. "Remember that we occupied the Union Buildings, actually hoisted our flag. There was no interference from Mr. de Klerk or his police. He was completely relaxed."

Pointing to the fact that he had asked a number of ANC leaders to help lead the march to Bisho, Mandela said "the concentration on Ronnie Kasrils is really not the proper perspective."

"But I can assure you," he added, "that this is a matter that we are going to examine very carefully. Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani are very loyal members of the ANC who have made tremendous sacrifices. Secondly, they are disciplined. If I were to say there should be no further [independent] statements by anybody [on behalf of the ANC], and this was the decision taken regarding future demonstrations, I will get their maximum support."

The ANC's National Working Committee later decided that all regional statements would be coordinated, following the decision by the Natal branch that it would march on Ulundi, where Inkatha is based.

Torture in ANC camps

At the end of October the ANC marked an-

other milestone with the release of a report commissioned by Mandela on accusations of torture in ANC camps outside of South Africa during the 1970s and 1980s.

An independent body centered its investigation on abuses in camps of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe in Angola, Uganda, and Tanzania. Interviewed were 17 former detainees and six high-ranking ANC officials. The probe was ordered in 1991 when 32 former detainees said they had been held without trial, forced to make confessions and beaten with iron bars, bicycle chains and barbed wire.

Among the findings of the report were facts of the inordinate amount of time prisoners were held without trial, the "consistently harsh" conditions those accused were subjected to, "the unconscionable and pernicious" lack of food for detainees, "violence meted out gratuitously," and "harrowing ac-

counts of torture to extract confessions."

"Nobody was beyond the reach of the security apparatus," the report noted, pointing to the six-week detention of Pallo Jordan, who now heads the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity.

Mandela said the transgressions should be viewed "in context," calling them "inexcusable. One of the lessons of our struggle indicates very clearly that human rights form the cornerstone of freedom. No force of circumstances should be permitted to induce us to forget the centrality of this point and lead us into a trap of excusing violations of human rights. We accept full responsibility for what happened," he said.

Mandela said a more thorough investigation would be launched. The ANC withheld the names of current officials of the ANC named in the report in order for internal hearings to be conducted.

25 AND 50 YEARS AGO



SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 8 — Proposition "P" which called for an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, received 36 1/2 percent of the votes in the municipal elections here yesterday.

The "yes" vote was 76,632 and the "no" vote was 132,402 on the proposition which read: "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

The vote climaxed one of the most extensive antiwar actions in any U.S. city since the Vietnamese war began. Some 2,000 campaigners mobilized by the Citizens Committee for a Yes Vote on Peace participated during the seven weeks since the proposition was placed on the ballot after a California Supreme Court ruling Sept. 28.

"This is only the beginning," declared Mary Louise Lovett, executive director of the committee. Miss Lovett said "We are going to continue to fight against the war until it is over."

A preliminary analysis of the voting patterns revealed that the heavily black districts of Hunters Point and Fillmore voted overwhelmingly "yes" on Proposition P.

An unofficial straw vote taken at 15 polling places throughout the city for youth over 18 but not yet 21 showed an overwhelming support for Proposition P. With returns in from 13 of the unofficial polls, the vote ran 2,912 "yes" and only 272 "no."



November 14, 1942

The most important aspect of the Nov.

3 elections was the fact that a large and decisive section of the American Workers voted only with their feet.

These workers, who have generally voted Democratic for the last ten years, were faced in most parts of the country with a choice only between Democratic and Republican candidates running on virtually the same conservative and reactionary programs. Not seeing enough of a difference between them to make a choice worthwhile, these workers stayed away from the polls.

In New York, in contrast to other important states, a large section of the working class felt it had a real choice, and a significant number of them voted for Alfange on the American Labor Party ticket in opposition to the Democrat Bennett and the Republican Dewey.

A total of 409,000 votes were cast for Alfange. This represented more than 10 percent of the state vote, and included 18 percent of the New York City total.

It is true that the workers were still voting for a reformist program when they voted for the ALP last week, but now they were doing it in opposition to the Democratic Party which they had so long supported.

Still more, they were voting an independent ticket even though they knew their candidate did not have a chance of being elected, which is a very important psychological consideration to the average militant worker, who does not want to waste his vote.

The November 3 elections showed the need for the creation of a labor party.

A labor party would quickly win the support of more than these 15 per cent of the voters, who represent in many ways the most advanced and militant sections of the working class. Once a labor party was formed, the other workers would soon recognize it as a step forward and would give it their allegiance.

In addition, such a party, by adopting a fighting anti-capitalist program could win the support of the greater part of the farmers and middle class.

A labor party can and should be formed now. Workers should not make the mistake of thinking that political problems are settled just because the elections are over.

Pathfinder exhibit popular among youths, workers at Tokyo bookfair

BY NORTON SANDLER

TOKYO — A steady stream of Japanese youths, working-class families, and international visitors from several countries have passed through the Pathfinder stand at the first ever Tokyo International Bookfair. Many have stopped to purchase a book or pamphlet.

Free of charge to the public, the October 31-November 4 fair is expected to attract 200,000 people to exhibits by 350 Japanese publishers, book distributors, and printing companies. Publishers from 24 countries including Korea, Vietnam, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Sri Lanka, India, Turkey, Russia, the United States, Britain, Canada, and Germany also have books on display here.

In recent months, Pathfinder has begun to receive orders for its titles from Japanese bookstores, and distributors, which have particularly requested books by Malcolm X. A Pathfinder team from the United States and New Zealand is meeting with book wholesalers here to help expand sales of the range of Pathfinder books and pamphlets in Japan and throughout Asia.

The attractive stand, featuring blow-ups of the covers of Pathfinder books, has been

one of the busier booths of the non-Japanese publishers here during the first two days of the fair.

Titles by Malcolm X and Leon Trotsky have been the biggest sellers so far. Three copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*, featuring "The Opening Guns of World War III" by Jack Barnes, have also been sold, as have two copies of the new Pathfinder title *To Speak the Truth* by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara.

New International no. 5

Special issue on southern Africa

\$9.00

Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Add \$3 shipping and handling.

Let Yugoslavia refugees enter!

In recent weeks the mafia-like regimes in Serbia and Croatia have made still clearer what their true aims are in pursuing the slaughter taking place in the former Yugoslavia. Through both direct involvement and proxy armies, the Belgrade and Zagreb governments are consolidating their grip on large portions of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The role of United Nations forces in this situation is also becoming clearer. In practice, they are overseeing the partitioning of Bosnia and Herzegovina. UN troops are at this moment enforcing the siege of Sarajevo, by denying assistance to the thousands there who wish to leave, and exacerbating the plight of Bosnian refugees seeking to enter Croatia by turning them away at the border. The governments of the United States and of other imperialist countries, who have pushed for UN intervention, are denying refugee status to all but a handful of the estimated 2.3 million in the former Yugoslavia displaced by the fighting. Washington, for example, has agreed under pres-

sure to take in only 1,000 Bosnians. Actions like these are a further blow to the victims of the war, the workers and peasants who are being maimed, killed, and driven from their homes by the hundreds of thousands.

Working people and youth around the world, and all those who are outraged by the horror of the war in Yugoslavia, should not place hopes in the UN, or any other combination of imperialist powers, to put an end to the carnage. What can be done is to put forward demands that will place the working people of that region in the best position to organize and fight for their interests. There is a need for massive relief to be sent to Sarajevo and other towns under siege, to prevent massive starvation and deaths this winter. The embargo against Serbia and Montenegro, which is hurting primarily working people there, must be lifted. Finally, working people in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere should demand that the borders be opened to the growing number of refugees fleeing for their lives.

Rulers will continue attacks

Continued from front page

sentiment and distrust of the government among millions of workers, young people, and others. This dilemma — the tremendous military might of U.S. imperialism on the one hand, and the inability to freely wield this power on the other — will compel them to organize more secret foreign policy initiatives like those involved with the Iran-contra deals and the Iraqgate scandal, which continue to haunt the Bush Administration.

No easy solutions to crisis

Only a few short years ago, many believed that the solution to the problems facing world capitalism had been found through the collapse of the Stalinist ruling parties in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Capitalist spokespeople gloated over the new markets and new sources of cheap labor power that they assumed they would be able to exploit.

They have been bitterly disillusioned by what has unfolded in this part of the world. Rather than the opening of an era of capitalist expansion into these areas, they have seen massive unrest in countries such as Poland and Hungary that have gone the furthest along the road of "market reforms." Rather than peace and stability, the imperialists are confronted with wars and instability, from the former Yugoslavia to the republics of the former Soviet Union.

The imperialists also find themselves confronted with the working people of these countries, who will have to be defeated directly in order to reimpose capitalist property relations.

The capitalists seek to reverse their fortunes by attacking the rights and livelihoods of working people in the advanced industrialized world, as miners in Britain and auto workers in the U.S. have seen. The world depression has also provoked sharp competition among the capitalist powers as they battle for markets, leading to increasingly explosive tensions.

'New world order' an illusion

The spokespersons of the capitalist ruling classes talk less today of a "new world order." As it becomes increasingly difficult to avoid the harsh conclusion that their system is in dire crisis, the pages of the major big-business dailies begin to reflect the reality of the world depression.

The *Financial Times* of London, an important barometer of the thinking of the capitalist rulers of Britain, opened its October 31 editorial with the words, "These are worrying times." The editorial went on to list the reasons for their pessimism, first being the inability of the major

capitalist economies to pull out of recession. "Japan's economic recovery is more a hope than a fact, while that of the UK [United Kingdom] is more of a prayer than a hope."

The editorial decried the "extraordinary weakness of the governments of every leading industrial country," pointing to the political crises facing the ruling parties of Japan, Germany, France, Italy, and Britain, where Prime Minister John Major recently received the lowest popularity rating of any British prime minister since such polling began. The editorial concluded with a warning that a trade war between the United States and the European Community is in the offing, and that it "may start as soon as November 4, the day after the U.S. elections."

Charles Krauthammer, a right-wing syndicated editorial writer in the United States, expressed similar pessimism in an October 30 column in the *Washington Post*, with even stronger predictions of interimperialist conflict. Krauthammer states that "the unearthly quiet that has settled over the world in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War is about to end." He continues, "The problem is the great powers we thought we had nicely under control . . . A hostile Russia, a powerful China and a resurgent Germany and Japan, all armed perhaps with nuclear weapons, are nightmares waiting to happen."

Krauthammer delivered a blunt warning of imminent war. "The next president, whoever he may be and however devoted he may be to keeping the world at bay while rebuilding America, had better start preparing Americans for a hard truth: The era of perpetual peace, begun in 1989, has not long to run."

The Socialist Workers 1992 campaign offered a working-class alternative to the parties of big business in the United States. Throughout the last seven months, presidential candidate James Warren, vice-presidential candidate Estelle DeBates, and 113 socialist candidates for other offices around the country have used the elections to speak out against the imperialists and their representatives in Washington, exposing their reactionary "solutions" to the economic crisis and presenting a perspective to unite our class internationally in a fight to disarm the war makers.

Those who were drawn to the Socialist Workers campaign should now seek to build on what they accomplished in the last months, reaching out to more young people and workers with a socialist alternative to the system of war, racism, and depression.

USAir contract part of pattern of concessions

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 the coverage in our paper.

The following letter was written to the *Militant* from a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) working at USAir:

I'm still mulling over the editorial on the USAir strike from the *Militant*, but I did think there was one point that seems to me to be factually inaccurate and would not ring true to my coworkers. It says that "The USAir agreement is certain to become a standard for other airline contracts."

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

That is no doubt true for Alaska Airline workers, but I think that most airline workers would see the contract as following the pattern set by other concession contracts in the industry.

For IAM members at USAir, this is the first serious concession contract. I don't think that that's true for the other airlines. In fact, the company and the union officialdom use that fact to justify the concessions — everyone else is doing it — and that gets reflected in the ranks of course. I believe that at most airlines, the mechanics have long ago given up the pushbacks; most others have permanent tiers for new hires (the new USAir rate is supposedly based on what United pays new hires); and most pay something for health benefits.

It's not to say that it is not a wretched contract or that there aren't bad provisions in it that will be used as a "pattern" in the future — but basically I don't think you could say that it will be used as a standard for the rest of the industry.

Nancy Cole

IAM Local 1776 Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

In Reply

After rereading the editorial, it does seem to me that we stretched the point to insist that a new concession pattern was being set with this contract. The pattern of takeback contracts is quite well established in the airline industry. With the USAir contract, the company got many of the concessions — particularly the low starting wage for new hires and health benefit cuts — that other bosses have already forced on airline workers. General wage cuts of the same scope, or even worse, have been imposed on workers at other airlines, such as TWA.

The editorial made it seem that some major new standard for takeaways had been established with the USAir contract. As you pointed out that just wasn't the case. This detracted from the more important point that a fight, with some chance of success, was possible against USAir's takeback demands. The editorial pointed out that "once again union members showed — through strike action — the power of working people to fight against employers' attempts to drive down our standard of living. The deep concession contract that union officials agreed to, and pressured the membership to adopt, was an unnecessary setback." And it also pointed to the significant support that the strike had gotten from other unionists and working people in the few short days that it lasted.

Breaking the pattern of concession contracts is the fight in front of airline workers today. Otherwise, the wages and working conditions keep going down, as the bosses keep demanding deeper cuts and the trade union officials argue that "everyone is doing it, so why fight it."

As you explained, the USAir pact is a wretched contract. It was important that workers such as yourself took a stand against the agreement and were able to use the *Militant* to discuss with coworkers the broader framework of attacks on working people within which the fight of USAir workers is taking place.

— PAUL MAILHOT

CORRECTION

In an article published October 23, "Cuba forum has big impact in Miami," the name of Francisco Aruca's show on Miami's Radio Progreso was incorrectly identified as "Hoy Vivo" (Today Live). The correct name of the show is "Ayer en Miami" (Yesterday in Miami). In the same article a Cuban-American organization was incorrectly identified as the Association of Workers of the Community (ATC). The correct name is Alliance of Workers in the Community.



German farm. *Financial Times* warns that trade war between the United States and the European Community is in the offing, around subsidies and tariffs on agricultural products. Socialist candidate Warren cited "the currency battles and conflicts, the trade conflicts," as examples of sharpening economic warfare, "which ultimately ends in military war."

Western Canada coal strike enters sixth month

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines

contract offer because it allowed the company to contract out certain jobs done by the Steelworkers. Some 120 supervisors are also on strike. They are members of the USWA and have their own local.

Mass pickets at Fording's head offices in Calgary have helped broaden solidarity with the strikers.

Messages of support and financial contributions can be sent to:



Militant/Anna Schell

Steelworkers in British Columbia, Canada, on strike against Fording Coal since May 9, recently rejected a contract offer.

ON THE PICKET LINE

to let other *Militant* readers know about what is happening at your work place or in your union. If there is an interesting political discussion going on at work, we would like to hear about that too.

The strike by 780 miners against Fording Coal Co., is at the center of resistance to the serious crisis affecting some 3,000 coal miners in southeastern British Columbia, Canada.

On August 30, the largest company in the area, Westar Mining Co., declared bankruptcy. Since May 1 this company has locked out 1,100 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) from its Balmer mine. The 600 miners at Westar's other mine, Greenhills, along with its management, obtained permission from the court to continue operating during bankruptcy proceedings. Investors are now placing their bids on these mines and pressuring Westar's former employees to make concessions as a condition for reopening the mines.

On September 29, some 250 angry Fording strikers held up three fuel tankers trying to cross their picket line. Police arrested two union officials, Robert Kilbride and Randy Panagopka, president of the striking Local 7884 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

"This is not a strike about money," said Panagopka, "its about the company attempting to stretch the working hours of miners — who already work 12-hour shifts with only two 20-minute breaks — and continuing to use contractors as a tool to weaken the union. There is also long-standing unhappiness with safety at the mine."

On October 9, by a vote of 94 percent, strikers rejected Fording's

USWA Local 7884 c/o USWA District 3, 686 West Broadway, Vancouver, British Columbia, V5G 1L1.

Clothing workers fight for decent contract

The contract between Londontowne Corp. and several locals of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) expires October 31. Londontowne is the maker of rainwear known by the name "London Fog."

More than 2,200 union members from Baltimore, Eldersburg, Boonesboro, Hagerstown, and Hancock, Maryland, and from Portsmouth, Virginia, are covered by this contract. Londontowne also has two non-union plants in Georgia.

In response to the union's demand for an increase of fifty cents per hour and a two-year contract, the company is seeking a three-year contract that includes an increase of fifteen cents an hour in the second and third years. Employees hired prior to November 1, 1985, who receive a clock allowance — or 25 cents for each hour worked — will no longer get it. Overtime will be paid only after working 40 hours in a week instead of after eight hours in a day.

Londontowne's chief executive officer, Mark Lieberman, gave a presentation on the weak financial status of the company. He explained that he was very angry at the union membership because they voted overwhelmingly (1,980 to 230) not to defer their last thirty-cent pay increase, which began November 1, 1991.

In Eldersburg, ACTWU members put forward a number of de-

mands that they felt the union should argue for in the negotiations. They wanted a shorter contract than the last two, a pay raise instead of bonuses, a cost-of-living-adjustment, and some personal days off — preferably with pay but without pay if necessary. Union members asked the Joint Board to organize one unified meeting of all the locals to discuss and vote on the contract. Workers said they feel that it is the most reliable way to learn about the concerns and opinions of coworkers in the other plants.

Ice cream workers occupy British plant

The 75-strong workforce of Lyons Maid ice creams at Kirkby, near Liverpool, England, has been occupying the factory since October 16 in a bid to keep their jobs and conditions of service.

When Clarke Foods Co. bought the plant in February 1992, they closed its sister firm in London, laying off 400 workers. The new owner, Henry Clarke, met with the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) in Kirkby to propose that the workers accept individual contracts, a no-strike agreement, and an end to negotiating rights. Not one worker signed the new contracts. "We knew he'd be back after the summer," explained Steve Alcock, TGWU convenor at the plant. "He's been bankrupt

three times in the U.S.A." On October 2 shares were suspended on the stock market, and on October 13 the company was placed in receivership. On October 15 the workers were told there would be no layoffs. The very next day it was announced 67 jobs would go.

"Our aim is to sell the company with us in it," said Alcock. "We're part and parcel. We're not giving up our contracts and conditions. We want to get our jobs back, to draw the public's attention to the dubious nature of Henry Clarke's business activity, and to show you can fight the receivers [trustees]." The TGWU national union supports the fight, as does the entire work force. A contingent was sent to the huge October 21 demonstration in London in defense of coal jobs, and an appeal for support is being circulated. Already £3000 [\$5,010] has been pledged to help the ice cream workers win their fight. Messages of support can be sent to: Steve Alcock, 6 Ness Grove, Whitefield Gardens, West Vale, Kirkby, Merseyside L32 0XB, England.

Auto workers approve contract with Boeing

A tentative agreement between the United Auto Workers (UAW) and Boeing Helicopter Corp. was approved by an 87 percent to 13

percent margin at a special membership meeting October 18 in nearby Chester Township, Pennsylvania. More than 2,000 of the 3,100 members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1069 turned out to hear a summary of the proposal.

The contract includes a 12 percent lump sum payment on December 15 of this year and a 3.5 percent wage increase in the second and third years of the three-year agreement.

No agreement had been reached when the old contract expired October 4, and an automatic ten-day extension went into effect. The union had voted in September to authorize a strike in the event the company would not pull back from its concessionary demands. The deadline for a strike was twice extended after the end of the ten-day period. The company was demanding reductions in the cost-of-living-adjustment (COLA), an end to medical benefits for retirees, fewer lump sum payments and general wage increases than the Seattle settlement guaranteed, reductions in the shift differentials, reduced sickness and accident benefits, and the removal of janitors from the bargaining unit. The union was successful in fighting the company on these takeback demands.

The major concession won by Boeing in the agreement was the imposition of a two-tier wage structure over and above the present eleven-step setup. The new contract provides a starting wage as much as \$1.97 less than workers in the same grade and step, with a maximum set at \$.30 an hour below present employees in the same job classification.

Boeing Helicopters produces Chinook helicopters and manufactures wing assemblies for commercial jets.

The following people contributed to this week's column: Paul Kouri, member of USWA Local 3495 in Vancouver, Canada; Rashaad Ali, member of ACTWU Local 745 in Eldersburg, Maryland; Rachele Fruit, member of ACTWU Local 70 in Baltimore; Debbie Delange, member of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Union in Manchester, England; and K.C. Ellis, member of UAW Local 1069 in Chester Township, Pennsylvania.

LETTERS

Wants to know the truth

As close as mankind is to war, I wouldn't miss the *Militant* for anything else I could have. I want to know the truth and no one gives us this but the *Militant*. Mr. Bush or Mr. Clinton can't save America, nor can capitalism lift mankind up out of the mess that it has us in. Only true socialism can save America and rescue mankind.

I am aiming to get the book "The Opening Guns of World War III" as soon as I can afford it. Some shots have already been fired.

Enclosed herewith please find my \$6.00 for another subscription to the *Militant* at the prisoners' rate. A prisoner
Graterford, Pennsylvania

Free trade pact

I have noticed a sharp increase in purely economic articles in the *Militant*. This is all to the good! Marx, Engels, and Lenin emphasized time and time again that one cannot be an effective communist without understanding why capitalism doesn't work. Obviously, we also cannot propose realistic solutions without a similar understanding.

I recently read the article in *Mili-*

tant number 31 about the Free Trade Agreement (dubbed NAFTA by the press) just signed between Canada, Mexico and the United States.

It and similar articles from North America give me a good chuckle. The reasons given by U.S. union bureaucrats and lower middle classes for opposing the accord are virtually the same reasons given by their Mexican counterparts: they cannot compete.

From both sides of the Rio Bravo/Rio Grande, these types are concerned that jobs will leave their own country and go to the other two countries.

The U.S. opponents of the accord say their country cannot compete because Mexican wages are so low; meanwhile Mexican opponents say that high-technology U.S. factories are obviously more competitive and will quickly eclipse Mexican businesses.

Both are wrong.

On the first consideration, Mexico's wages truly are low when measured in dollars: less than four dollars per day or 37 U.S. cents per hour. Yet, Mexican workers have a large number of benefits, most of them codified in the Constitution. That Constitution was written just

before the 1910 revolution, and much of the fighting was to defend those rights. All full-time employees are automatically enrolled in one of two state health systems, and the employees pay, on a sliding scale, a small percentage of their pay. An annual Christmas bonus must be paid, equivalent to nearly one month's pay.

The other consideration, that U.S. technology is too high to compete with, is also a false argument. A unique aspect of capitalist imperialism is that the dominating countries export capital to their colonies and semi-colonies. The "industrialized" countries build their highest technology factories in the "Third World." The cutting-edge production lines, the most efficient production facilities, the most competitive manufacturing plants — they are all found in developing countries.

While the *maquiladoras* here are undoubtedly among the world's most efficient factories, the imperialist powers have slacked off in providing new investments, due mostly to economic crisis in their home countries.

Nevin Siders
Mexico City, Mexico

USAir strike

Your coverage of the USAir strike and the editorial were right on target. From day one of the strike the *Militant* was well received on the picket lines and among other airline workers at United and my coworkers at Northwest Airlines here in Los Angeles.

USAir workers were unenthusiastic in voting for their concessionary contract. While there was solidarity coming in from other airline workers and drywall strikers, they saw no leadership in their own union to challenge the take-back contract. The strike was too short to develop a local leadership that would have campaigned for a "no" vote. A letter of agreement in the contract "promising" no layoffs ultimately sold the contract.

The returning strikers and other airline workers do not feel defeated and displayed that by buying a dozen Eastern Airline Strike books and 10 subscriptions to the *Militant*. In returning to work they have pledged their support to the Alaska machinists should they be forced out on strike. They are following the Alaska situation closely, as are the USAir Flight Attendants of the

Association of Flight Attendants (who organize both USAir and Alaska).

Northwest Airline machinists, currently working six months without a contract, see the USAir settlement as a setback and a dangerous precedent in our negotiations. It is viewed by almost all as a step backward, intensifying the concessions airline workers have made over the past decade.

Mark Friedman
Los Angeles, California

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

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

Dublin action demands abortion rights

BY JOYCE FAIRCHILD
AND PAMELA HOLMES

DUBLIN, Ireland — "6-7-9-4-7-0-0, Women Have The Right To Know." This chant echoed through the streets of Dublin as campaigners responded to the call for a National Day of Civil Disobedience on October 3.

The call was put out by the Repeal the 8th Amendment Campaign - Campaign for Information and Choice (R8AC). The number is that of the Women's Information Network (WIN) in Dublin where, in defiance of the 8th Amendment to the Irish Constitution, women can obtain information about abortion.

Statues of famous people throughout the city center were symbolically gagged and hung with placards proclaiming, "The Law Gags Women. Abortion info — 6794700." Actions also took place in other cities, including Cork, Galway, Kilkenny, Meath, and Waterford.

The constitutional relationship between church and state in Ireland means that Irish law is based on religious law, and this has been used to deny women access even to information about abortion.

The 8th Amendment, adopted by referendum in the republic in 1983, established constitutional rights for a fetus, giving it equal status to the rights of a pregnant woman. The application of this amendment has led to a substantial degradation of the rights of women and the erosion of other democratic rights in Ireland. The 8th Amendment has been used to ban non-directive counselling; to prevent pregnant women from receiving chemotherapy treatment for cancer; to take court action against counselling services and student representatives to prevent them from publicizing the names and addresses of abortion clinics in Britain; to censor magazines, newspapers, radio and TV programs; and to withdraw books about women's health from public libraries.

As a result of this repressive legislation, more than 5,000 Irish women travel to Britain every year to have an abortion. Successive Irish governments ignored the issue until these violations of democratic rights hit headlines around the world in February of this year. This was when a 14-year-old woman, pregnant after sustained abuse and



Pro-choice demonstration in Dublin, Ireland, earlier this year.

rape, was prevented from leaving Ireland while the courts debated whether she had the right to travel to England to use abortion services that are legal in that country.

Millions were outraged at this brutality. Some ten thousand people took to the streets of Dublin in protest and local action groups were set up in towns and cities throughout the country. The young woman was eventually allowed to travel. Such was the pressure that the supreme court adopted the view that abortion is permitted in Ireland under the constitution where there is a "real and substantial threat" to the life of a pregnant woman. This was the background to the announcement at the time by Albert Reynolds, Irish prime minister, that he would hold another referendum on abortion in the autumn.

The October 3 action was called in anticipation of this referendum, and was supported by campaigners from R8AC, the Woman's Coalition, the Dublin Abortion Information Campaign, and the Union of Students of Ireland, among others. The main campaign table was set up in front of the General Post Office Building on O'Connell Street, under the watchful eye of the police, who main-

tained a presence throughout the day. Unable to take action against the pro-choice campaigners — recent opinion polls in the *Irish Times* and the *Sunday Press* show that about 80 percent of people in Ireland now favor abortion being available in some circumstances — they also did not act to prevent the deliberately confrontational actions of Youth Defence (YD), also known as Youth Against Abortion.

Carrying placard-sized color pictures of alleged aborted fetuses, YD supporters constantly attempted to blockade the pro-choice campaign table and to obscure the banners with the abortion information phone number. YD claims to have developed from a group of seven young people in February of

this year to an organization of about 5,000 members in 42 branches around the country. Youth Defence defends its confrontational actions on the grounds that "such tactics had worked well in other countries." In a report in the *London Times*, the YD press officer explained, "This is serious business, a war. It is time to treat it as such."

On the following day, October 4, activists from around the country assembled for a national conference of the Repeal the 8th Amendment Campaign. The discussion concentrated on how to campaign on the upcoming referendum on abortion, expected to deal with three points arising from the supreme court rulings in March: the right of pregnant women to travel outside of Ireland; access to information about overseas abortion facilities; and abortion provision within Ireland.

While recognizing that "Irish women can have almost no choice in this country until the Eighth Amendment is gone," the campaign strategy that was adopted concluded, "The tide must be turned against the anti-choice forces. A defeat for them on information and travel would boost the confidence of pro-choice forces and mark a real step forward for Irish women."

Only days later, Prime Minister Reynolds announced the referendum was going ahead, with a proposed date of December 3.

What was clear on the streets of Dublin on October 3 was that many Irish people want the chance to support women's rights.

Joyce Fairchild is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union at Heathrow Airport and Pamela Holmes is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union, Walthamstow Branch.

Despite new law, right to choose abortion is not yet won in Germany

BY MARIA HAMBERG

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Despite a decision by the German parliament in June, 1992, making abortion legal in all of Germany, this right has not been fully won. The decision to pass the June law was largely the product of pressure from women and workers of eastern Germany, who had won the right to abortion in the early 1970s.

After the law had passed, Chancellor Helmut Kohl asked the Constitutional Court to rule on whether or not abortion is constitutionally legal. The court ruled on August 5 that it is not, citing an 1872 law passed during the rule of Otto von Bismarck.

The fight against this law, Law 218, has a long history. The struggle for abortion rights and against Law 218 was a prominent part of the women's rights fight in the early years of the century, before World War I. In the period

after the war, during the tremendous economic and social crisis in Germany, there was a new rise in the fight against Law 218. Again in the early 1930s, there were big demonstrations against the Bismarck-era law.

In 1971, inspired by the feminist movement in other imperialist countries, there was an upsurge in the struggle against Law 218. A poll taken that year showed that 70 percent of the population of West Germany favored legal abortion. While the law was modified slightly, abortion remained illegal in west Germany, as it remains today.

With the "reunification" in 1990, women in the western part of the country had the possibility to go to the former East Germany and have a free, legal abortion, creating a problem for the government in Bonn. Today, a situation exists in which there are two laws in effect, one in each part of a supposedly reunified Germany.

Boston pro-choice forces to mobilize Nov. 14 to defend abortion clinics

BY MARGO STORSTEEN

BOSTON — Pro-choice forces here are calling for a mobilization to defend area abortion clinics on Saturday, November 14. Operation Rescue (OR) has issued a Northeast regional call to block clinic access on that date, the one-year anniversary of the jailing of OR leader William Cotter. Cotter is serving a two-and-a-half-year jail sentence after he was convicted in 1991 of violating the Massachusetts injunction that prohibits OR from blocking clinic entrances. The injunction was won as a result of a lawsuit filed by a coalition of abortion providers and pro-choice organizations.

Boston area students are beginning to organize on several campuses in response to this threat to women's right to control their own bodies. Students from Boston University, Harvard, Tufts College, Brandeis, Emerson, Boston College, and Wellesley have begun leafleting to publicize both the November 14 action and clinic defense training sessions.

"In the Boston area we have had great success in beating back Operation Rescue. Our success has been due to being able to mobilize literally thousands of pro-choice forces who understand that it is our presence, our statement, and our pressure that maintains women's access to abortion," said Ellen Zucker, president of the Boston chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the group that is organizing the response.

This past June, pro-choice forces successfully outmobilized OR, which targeted

the Gynecare Clinic in downtown Boston in a month-long siege. Hundreds of supporters of women's rights and equality stood for long hours day after day, consistently outmobilizing the antiwoman activists.

For information on how to get involved, contact: Boston NOW, 971 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts, phone: 617-782-1056. The next clinic defense training session will be November 9 at 7:00 p.m. at the Boston NOW office.

Belgium: 10,000 youths march against racism

BY CHRIS MORRIS AND ERIC WILS

BRUSSELS, Belgium — More than 10,000 young people marched through Brussels October 24, in a demonstration called by "Youth against Racism in Europe" to oppose "racism and the rise of the extreme right."

The demonstrators came from a dozen countries, with the biggest delegations from Germany, Britain, Holland, and Belgium. A demonstrator proudly mentioned he was from Rostock, in eastern Germany, where counterdemonstrations have recently taken place against Nazi gangs attacking immigrant hostels. Coachloads of young people also came from Poland and Czechoslovakia. A young man from Prague, Czechoslovakia, described how fascist outfits there have supporters among the

police. A young woman carrying a banner from the University of Westminster Student Union in Britain said, "The Student Union paid for us to come. First they didn't want to, but we insisted."

A group of demonstrators from Antwerp, Belgium, carried signs saying "No Sarajevo on the Schelde." The Schelde is a river flowing through Antwerp, where the fascist anti-immigrant party Vlaams Blok gets its highest votes.

Among the most common slogans of the demonstration were "End all racist attacks" and "Repeal all discriminatory laws." Several signs read "No platform for fascists." Many participants wore stickers expressing solidarity with miners in Britain facing massive pit closures. The march crossed the neighborhood where in May 1991 young

immigrants, mainly Moroccan, rebelled against police brutality. Many people lined the sidewalks as the demonstration came by, with some youths joining it.

A Pathfinder literature table set up at the start and again at the end of the demonstration was staffed by *Militant* supporters from Britain and Belgium. For many young people it was the first time they had seen books by Thomas Sankara and Malcolm X. Books and pamphlets by Malcolm X, Che Guevara and Fidel Castro, in French, Dutch, English, and Spanish were sold. Sixteen people bought copies of the *Militant*.

Twenty young people from Germany, Britain, Africa, and Belgium attended a Militant Labor Forum immediately after the end of the demonstration on "Malcolm X and the Struggle against Racism Today."