

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Lessons from UN invasion
of Congo in the 1960s

— PAGES 8-9

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U.S. aims to set up stable client regime in Somalia

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As thousands of troops continue to pour into Somalia, the United States has extended its military operation from the capital city of Mogadishu to the town of Baidoa and other points in the interior of the country.

A discussion has opened up among the U.S. rulers on what should be the scope and duration of Washington's military operations there and what role the UN should be

**Hands off Yugoslavia!
Troops out of Somalia!**
— Editorial, Page 14

playing in this affair.

A force of 520 U.S. Marines and 142 French paratroopers made their entry into Baidoa December 16, after an 18-hour trip from Mogadishu, 150 miles away. Accompanying them was a column of 80 all-terrain vehicles, trucks, armored personnel carriers, and earth diggers. Fighter jets swooped across the town as Cobra and Huey helicopter gunships flew overhead in a display of military might.

For weeks the media has described Baidoa as a place where aid workers and residents are being "terrorized" by gun-toting looters and bandits. However, the marines

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U.S. invasion of Somalia, expected to involve nearly 50,000 troops from several countries, aims to establish a stable client regime.

Haitians held by U.S. at Guantánamo speak out against forced detention

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

GUANTÁNAMO BAY, Cuba — A small military camp, just a few rows of wooden buildings surrounded by a chain-link fence, lies in an isolated corner of the U.S. naval base here. It once was used as a temporary training facility for U.S. Marines. Today, however, much of the camp is set off by big coils of barbed wire. When a small group of journalists arrived December 16, the first thing they saw was several Haitian children, playing in the hardpacked dirt by the wire. They had apparently tried to crawl through the sharp coils and one was struggling to free his shirt from the barbs.

This is Camp Bulkeley, home to 274 Hai-

tian refugees being held indefinitely by the U.S. government. Washington acknowledges that they have legitimate claims for political asylum under U.S. law. However, immigration officials are denying them entry on the grounds that they tested positive for the HIV virus.

For many months, journalists were unable to visit the refugees held here. On November 9 attorneys working with the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee filed suit in New York demanding the government open the camp to the press. Washington quickly backed down and the Department of Defense allowed visits by three small groups of reporters between December 10 and 16.

The *Militant* was included in the last of these visits. That day, December 16, happened to be the anniversary of the election of Jean Bertrand Aristide as president of Haiti in 1990. A military coup ousted Aristide in September 1991 and unleashed a reign of terror that continues to this day.

"Many people were killed," Elma Verdieu explained in an interview at Camp Bulkeley. "They were gunned down in the street, murdered in their homes. Even children were killed. If we return to Haiti, they will kill us."

Wilkins LaGuerre said he was known as a musician who sang "patriotic songs in support of Aristide. One day soldiers came and killed my father and my brother. I knew I had to leave or they would get me as well."

Frantz Pierre-Charles said he had passed out flyers supporting Aristide until the police came looking for him eight months ago.

They are among tens of thousands who fled Haiti following Aristide's ouster.

Many took to the sea in small, rickety boats, hoping to make it to the United States.

Washington responded with an ever-harsher policy toward Haitian refugees. Since 1981, U.S. Coast Guard cutters have patrolled the sea between Haiti and the United States, seeking to stop refugees while in international waters. Those picked up were given a cursory interview by INS agents on board. Very few were allowed to enter the United States; most were forcibly

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South Africa gov't forced to dismiss military officers

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Confirming accusations by the African National Congress that the apartheid regime has been carrying out a covert campaign of violent disruption against the democratic movement in South Africa, President F.W. de Klerk announced December 19 that he had dismissed or suspended 23 military officers involved in such activities. The officers included two full generals and four brigadier generals.

The announcement followed the disclosure in mid-November of evidence documenting a "dirty tricks" operation by the South African military. Judge Richard Goldstone, who heads a government-appointed commission investigating political violence in the country, revealed that in May 1991 the chief of South African Military Intelligence had hired Ferdi Barnard, a convicted assassin, to direct a campaign intended to discredit the African National Congress (ANC).

Barnard joined a clandestine army hit squad unit with wide access to police and other government files. Among other things, Military Intelligence approved a scheme proposed by Barnard to use a network of underworld elements in an attempt to draw members of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, into criminal activity.

The revelation was a major blow to the credibility of de Klerk, who continued to claim such covert activities had stopped months earlier. The president then ordered an internal investigation by an air force general, Pierre Steyn. De Klerk's latest announcement was based on Steyn's preliminary findings.

The ANC has long insisted that the regime's security forces have been involved in a political disruption operation against the anti-apartheid movement, including assassinations and complicity with attacks on ANC members and residents of Black townships by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In his December 19 press conference, de Klerk admitted that such a dirty tricks campaign not only existed but continued as he spoke. Military personnel, he said, and "col-

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Militant/Harvey McArthur
Haitian refugee at Guantánamo base

Socialist Educational Conferences January 1-3 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania and San Francisco, California

Feature presentation:

Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

In Pittsburgh hear:
Mary-Alice Waters, editor
of *New International*.

Saturday, January 2, 7:00 p.m.

In San Francisco hear:
Argiris Malapanis, staff writer
for the *Militant*.

Saturday, January 2, 6:00 p.m.

Other talks and classes will include:

the U.S. invasion of Somalia • the revolution in South Africa • Malcolm X — his relevance for fighters • the battle for women's rights today.

For further details see page 12.



Washington eases embargo against Vietnam

Washington has moved to authorize U.S. companies to open offices, conduct feasibility studies, and sign contracts in Vietnam.

While the Bush administration has not yet officially lifted the 17-year-old embargo on trade with Hanoi, the move reflects fear that Washington's competitors will get the upper hand in doing business with Vietnam. In November Japan resumed development aid to Vietnam, and businesses from other Asian countries, Australia, and France are already investing there.

Moscow auctions state enterprise

The Russian government began what it hopes will be a large-scale process of privatizing state-owned industry by putting the Bolshevik pastry factory, one of 230,000 state enterprises, up for public sale. The event was the first public auction of a state-owned enterprise in which shares in the company could only be bought with "privatization checks," the vouchers issued to all citizens of Russia in the last two months. Each person's voucher represents a nominal 10,000 rubles' worth of state property — roughly \$25.

Fifty-one percent of the shares for the bakery were distributed among the 2,200 employees there and the remaining 19,000 shares were offered to the public.

German steel company bankrupt

Klößner-Werke A.G., one of Germany's most modern steel companies, applied for bankruptcy protection, sending the Frankfurt stock exchange into a sharp drop December 11. The steel company said it would lay off 1,700 workers out of 7,600 at its two steel plants.

Klößner is not among Germany's largest steelmakers, but its application for bankruptcy was the biggest in the country in years.

Moscow suspends military assistance to North Korea

Russian president Boris Yeltsin announced at the end of November that his government was suspending military aid to North Korea. Moscow is now curtailing



Refugees escaping from fighting in Tajikistan wait to enter the capital of Dushanbe

arms shipments to Pyongyang, including the supply of MIG-29 combat aircraft being assembled in North Korea.

To compensate for falling oil shipments from the former Soviet Union, North Korea has been looking for new energy sources. Soviet shipments of oil, machinery, and industrial facilities to North Korea fell last year after Moscow demanded cash payment for these goods, which were formerly purchased through open account arrangements.

Czechoslovakia to end free health care

On January 1, the day Czechoslovakia will split into two countries, the two nations will also begin to charge for medical care.

Hospitals and doctors will require payment for all health care that until now had been free. Employers and workers will have to contribute to a new national insurance plan; other private insurance is optional. National health insurance will only apply to care defined as "essential." An abortion, for example, which like all medical procedures was free, has been listed as a "nonessential" treatment and will have to be paid for. It will cost the equivalent of a month's salary of a

teacher or a nurse.

80,000 flee fighting in Tajikistan

At least 80,000 refugees displaced by war raging between bureaucratic factions in the former Soviet republic of Tajikistan have been stranded near the Afghan border. United Nations officials say about 5,000 a day are crossing the Amu Darya river on rafts made from oil drums to reach Afghanistan. There has been heavy fighting around Dushanbe, the capital city, and elsewhere between forces loyal to the ousted Tajik government and an Islamic coalition. Dushanbe has changed hands twice in the last four months.

UN sends troops to Mozambique

The United Nations Security Council sent 7,500 troops, police, and civilian administrators to Mozambique December 16 to oversee an accord ending 14 years of civil war. The accord was signed in Rome by the government of President Joaquim Chissano and the Mozambique National Resistance, an armed opposition group known as Renamo, led by Afonso Dhlakama. Renamo was sponsored by the government of South Africa to undermine the government that came to power after Mozambique won independence from Portugal. The war devastated the country, killing an estimated 1 million people.

The stated purpose of the UN troops is to disarm both sides, integrating portions of the two forces into a new national army, and to organize elections by next October.

This is the fourth military operation the United Nations has undertaken in 1992. Earlier in the year, it sent 20,000 troops each to Cambodia and the former Yugoslavia, and a smaller force to Somalia.

FMLN celebrates end of war

Members of the former guerrilla group Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) celebrated the official end of the civil war in El Salvador.

Ex-combatants and their supporters gathered December 15 near the Flor Blanca Stadium in San Salvador, the capital, where they held a rally. Among the speakers was former

Nicaraguan president Daniel Ortega. Pieces of weapons recently destroyed by the FMLN as part of the conditions of the peace accords were sold as souvenirs to participants.

Salvadoran president Alfredo Cristiani attended a separate celebration in the city's Cuscatlán Stadium.

Factory pollutes Malaysian town

For the past seven years, the people of Bukit Merah, a village in Malaysia, have waged a battle against the Japanese conglomerate Mitsubishi, charging that it pollutes their town with radioactive waste and other poisons.

Six people in the village have already died of rare illnesses that their doctors attribute to radiation exposure. Doctors have also found a steep rise in lead poisoning, a decline in white blood counts, and a rise in miscarriages and birth defects.

In July a high court judge sided with the villagers and ordered the closure of the plant, owned by Asian Rare Earths Co. But the country's Supreme Court overturned the order pending appeal of the case.

Coal miners strike in Poland

A strike by hundreds of thousands of miners in Poland began December 14. The coal strike, the largest labor action in Poland since the overthrow of the old Stalinist regime in 1989, has drawn in workers at 64 of the 70 mines that employ nearly 300,000. The miners are protesting low wages and a government restructuring plan that would eliminate 180,000 jobs in the next 10 years.

Rail workers in the southwestern region of Silesia are also threatening to strike, a step that could shut down steel mills and other heavy industry. The strikes are an obstacle to the Polish government's "market oriented" reforms, and the angry mood of resistance among workers has prompted the parliament to postpone voting on a proposal to ban abortions.

Abortion law passed in Hungary

Hungary's parliament passed a law December 17 that allows abortion in life-threatening situations, rape cases, or if a woman declares that the pregnancy has caused a serious crisis for her. Women seeking abortions would have to consult with a committee whose composition has not been specified. The legislature turned down a more restrictive proposal.

Most Hungarians have come to take the availability of abortions for granted. A recent survey showed that 63 percent favor abortion on request, while only 27 percent want there to be strict conditions on the procedure.

—SELVA NEBBIA

'Militant' holiday schedule

The *Militant* will not be printed next week. The next issue, dated January 15, will be printed on January 5.

THE MILITANT

Haitian refugees held at U.S. military camp

'Militant' reporters have just returned from interviewing Haitian refugees detained at the U.S. military base in Guantánamo, Cuba, and from a trip to India. Make sure you don't miss any of this valuable first-hand coverage of important world events.



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Israeli government expels 400 Palestinians

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

The Israeli government deported more than 400 Palestinians to Lebanon December 17. It was the largest mass expulsion by Tel Aviv since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. The Palestinians, bound and blindfolded, were transported in buses into a zone in southern Lebanon occupied by Israeli troops.

As soon as the Israeli Supreme Court reversed its previous temporary stay of the expulsion order, Israeli soldiers dumped the Palestinians in an arid area at the border. Since the Lebanese government refused to accept the deportees, they have been stranded in a desolate strip of rocky land exposed to 20-degree cold weather. They stay in tents and are sustained by meager portions of food provided by the Red Cross.

Widespread international condemnation followed the Israeli action. The UN Security Council voted December 18 to condemn the deportations and demanded that those expelled be readmitted to the West Bank and Gaza. The European Community issued a similar statement in London. The Bush administration condemned the expulsion as well.

The Lebanese government, which had admitted Palestinians expelled earlier this year, accused Tel Aviv of violating its sovereignty by trying to push the deportees across its frontier. The UN resolution affirmed the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

In Tunis, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) said talks with Israel, which were under way in Washington, D.C., would be suspended until those deported returned home. Outraged Palestinian leaders withdrew their delegation from the last day of the eighth round of peace talks in protest. "The peace process itself is on the brink of disaster," said Hanan Ashrawi, spokeswoman for the Palestinian delegation.

President-elect Bill Clinton expressed "concern" that the deportations might derail the Israeli-Palestinian talks. At the same time Clinton said he "shared the frustration and anger" of the Israeli regime. "They have to deal very firmly with this group Hamas," he said.

Hamas is the Arab acronym for the Islamic Resistance Movement, which has gained widespread political support among Palestinians in the occupied territories recently. The group rejects Israeli statehood and Palestinian participation in the Middle East peace talks.

Condemnation of the deportations was not unanimous in U.S. ruling circles. A December 17 *Wall Street Journal* editorial endorsed the Israeli actions. "The conflict between Israel and Hamas has nothing to do with occupied territories or the peace process," the *Journal* editors wrote.

Crackdown by Tel Aviv

The government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin claimed the deportations were in response to the December 15 killing of an Israeli border policeman who had been abducted two days earlier. The armed wing of Hamas had taken responsibility for the kidnapping and demanded freedom for the imprisoned founder of the movement, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, as ransom. Hamas also took responsibility for four deaths of Israeli soldiers and cops the previous week.

Violent demonstrations broke out earlier in Gaza City after Israeli troops shot and killed a youth there at the beginning of December. Israeli special units also killed a 19-year-old in Hebron in the West Bank, bringing the number of Palestinians killed during the five years of the *intifada* to 1,129 as of December 7. The *intifada* is the name given to the Palestinian uprising that began in the occupied territories on Dec. 9, 1987.

After the killings of Israeli soldiers in Gaza, Rabin's government sealed the occupied territories, preventing tens of thousands of Palestinians from going to work in Israel. Round-the-clock curfews, amounting to house arrest for hundreds of thousands, were imposed and the army was issued shoot-to-kill orders for curfew violations.

Israeli forces conducted mass sweeps arresting more than 1,600 Palestinians who were accused of being Hamas supporters. About one-quarter of them were later deported. A Palestinian journalist who worked for several foreign news organizations, including the *New York Times*, was among



Deported Palestinians stranded on strip of land between Lebanese and Israeli checkpoints. Mass expulsion sparked international condemnation.

those expelled. He was allowed to return to Israel after being taken to the border with the other deportees.

Six Palestinians including an eight-year-old girl, were shot to death by Israeli soldiers in Gaza December 19 during street protests after the army lifted a week-long curfew for an hour.

In recent months, the mass protest movement in the occupied territories that marked the early years of the *intifada* has abated somewhat. A wave of daily demonstrations backing a hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners in September and October represented a revival of this mass resistance.

This came after a sharp decline in the rate of Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza following the victory of Rabin's Labor Party in June parliamentary elections. The

Population Build-Up Campaign of the Yesha Council, a right-wing group that organizes sales of homes to Jewish settlers, has sold only 2,700 of 6,400 apartments offered for sale. Inquiries to its office have dropped to a few a day from 40 a day before the elections, and this might result in the liquidation of its staff, according to a report in the Palestinian weekly *Al-Fajr*.

Bourgeois public opinion in Israel had begun to shift in favor of a negotiated settlement giving at least some kind of autonomy to Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza.

Armed attacks increase

Armed attacks against the occupying authorities and Palestinians who are considered collaborators with the enemy, however,

have become more frequent in the last six months. Many of these assaults are organized and led by Hamas and the Islamic Holy War, another group that uses terrorist tactics.

Mohammed Nazzal, a leader of Hamas in Amman, Jordan, told the Reuters news agency that the latest attacks were "not isolated incidents but part of our long-term strategy."

"The movement has taken a decision to escalate its military work and operations against the Zionist occupation until it leaves, and we shall resort to all means necessary," he said.

Hamas has now become the dominant political force in Gaza and has won substantial votes in elections for Palestinian chambers of commerce, professional associations, trade unions, and student groups in the West Bank. The organization attracts support using militant rhetoric condemning the 1947 partition of Palestine and promising a fight to return the land stolen from the Palestinians. At the same time it puts forward a rightist program seeking the expulsion of Jews from Palestine; equating democracy, socialism, and communism with "cultural imperialism;" calling for a second-class status for women; and defending the preservation of capitalism. Hamas spokespeople have issued warnings against PLO leaders who have criticized their positions and tactics.

Following an interview Hanan Ashrawi gave earlier this year to *Ms.* magazine, where she criticized the treatment of Palestinian women by Islamic fundamentalists, Hamas leaders compared Ashrawi to Salman Rushdie and issued threats against her. Hamas has accused groups affiliated with the PLO, like Fatah, of being "collaborators busy selling our homeland."

This has sparked a widespread debate in the Palestinian liberation movement. Fatah leaflets distributed in Gaza have attacked Hamas for carrying out killings in mosques and calling Jews "descendants of monkeys and pigs." As early as 1991 several Palestinians began to speak out against widespread killings of suspected collaborators. In a June 1991 article in *Al-Fajr*, for example, PLO activist Adnan Damiri wrote: "One cannot tolerate such punishment by people who were not elected... many of those killed were innocent of collaboration."

IBM announces it will lay off 25,000

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

International Business Machines Corp. (IBM), the largest U.S. computer manufacturer, sent shock waves through business circles with a December 15 announcement that it planned to slash 25,000 jobs and cut back its manufacturing capacity to cope with growing competition and the worldwide economic decline.

IBM's job cuts and plant closings will cost about \$6 billion. Its estimated loss of \$4.75 billion for the last year would be the largest one-year loss in U.S. corporate history, exceeding the record losses suffered by General Motors in 1991.

The announcement sparked a flood of panicked selling of IBM shares on the stock market, plunging the price of the company's stock to its lowest level in 10 years. A headline in the December 17 *New York Times* declared, "\$6 Billion in I.B.M. Stock Goes Poof in 2 Days."

IBM chairman John Akers said the corporation would probably be forced to impose its first-ever dividend cut. As recently as last September the computer giant was assuring its investors that its dividend was secure. At that time, the company announced that as a result of "rapid changes in technology, shifting marketplace demand and prolonged worldwide economic weaknesses," it was eliminating 40,000 jobs through employee buyouts.

Battered by European crisis

But Akers said that since then IBM's business had continued to deteriorate, particularly in its European and Japanese markets. "The decline has been precipitous and it has happened at a much faster rate than we expected," he acknowledged.

Almost half of IBM's latest job cuts will come from Europe. The company took a

particular battering as a result of the European currency crisis last September, as some of its big customers there postponed scheduled computer shipments.

In addition, the worldwide recession has caused a sales slump in the computer market. IBM's sales have suffered the most in Germany and Japan. Sixty percent of its sales are outside the United States, with Europe accounting for 40 percent.

Makers of large, "mainframe" computers like IBM — once the unrivaled giant in the world computer industry — have over the years been edged out by manufacturers of smaller and more flexible desktop computers such as Apple Computer Corp., Compaq Computer Corp., and other manufacturers of computers compatible with IBM's personal computer. These companies and software producers such as Microsoft Corp., have rapidly developed new products and aggressively slashed prices to capture market shares from IBM and other large competitors.

"I.B.M. as the I.B.M. that defined computing is over; it's gone," said Microsoft vice-president Nathan Myrthvold. Akers said IBM now plans to shift its core business away from the increasingly obsolete mainframe computers into the newer software and services market. Registering the fact that the corporation is no longer a leader but a follower in technological innovation, it announced that its research and development spending will be slashed by an unprecedented \$1 billion, or 17 percent, in 1993.

The ruthless competition has forced IBM, known in the industry as "Big Blue," to retrench considerably over the past five years. The company, which for decades had promised lifetime jobs and generous benefits to its employees, began to eliminate jobs

in 1987. From a peak of about 400,000 it will have cut its payroll to 275,000 — a reduction of more than a quarter — by the end of 1993. Up to now most jobs have been eliminated through unacceptable job transfers or relocations and early retirements; now, Akers said, IBM will probably impose its first official layoffs.

Layoffs around the world

The cutbacks will be devastating for thousands of workers at IBM plants around the world. Since 1985 the corporation has shut down 10 of its 40 plants. The latest round of cuts may close down several more factories in France, Germany, Spain, and Sweden. IBM is the major employer in areas like Dutchess County in upstate New York, where 20,000 workers are employed at big plants producing semiconductors and mainframe computers. Jobs will also be eliminated at company operations in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

IBM executives were not confident the crisis would end soon. "It's impossible for me to forecast that this is the end of restructuring," Akers stated.

In mid-December Standard and Poors Corp., the rating agency, said it was considering downgrading IBM's debt from its previous top rating. IBM, which only two years ago was number one in stock market value on Standard and Poor's 500 index, has now dropped out of the top 10.

IBM now joins a growing number of corporate giants, including General Motors and Sears, that have recently announced or carried out major layoffs and plant closings. The day after IBM's announcement, Ford Motor Co. decided to slash production and eliminate nearly 10,000 jobs in Britain and Germany, also as a result of the recession hitting Europe.

Haitians held by U.S. speak out against forced detention

Continued from front page
returned to Haiti.

The massive exodus that began in 1991 posed special problems for Washington. The U.S. rulers were not sympathetic to Aristide and worried that Haitian workers and peasants were finding more openings for political action under his government. They also did not want to provide social services to help resettle many refugees, and did not want to encourage other victims of repression in Latin America, Asia, and Africa to attempt to come to the United States.

However, Washington was busy portraying itself as a champion of democracy and could not openly support a military coup. They had to acknowledge that some Haitians, at least, faced torture or death at the hands of the new regime.

Their immediate solution was to keep the Haitians picked up at sea confined to the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo while they decided what to do. By January 1992 there were more than 12,000 held here in a makeshift tent city on the sunbaked runways of an old airfield.

"Things were very bad for us then," recalls Pierre-Charles. "The soldiers used to spit in our faces, in our food. Sometimes they beat us." U.S. health officials issued reports warning of the threat of major epidemics due to overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in the camp.

On several occasions refugees organized demonstrations to protest the conditions they suffered. "The soldiers arrested many of us," said Pierre-Charles's wife. "They put us in a stockade for 31 days, just for protesting the bad food and bad conditions."

At one point during the December 16 press visit, Jean Robert Germain and several other refugees saw a thin plastic strap lying on the ground. "Look," Germain said. "This is how they tied us up when we protested." He and two others grabbed a fourth man, locked his arms behind his back, forced his head to the ground, and wrapped the strap around his wrists.

This treatment of Haitian refugees sparked outrage and protests in many parts of the world. Eventually the Bush administration was forced to admit some 11,000 of the refugees, acknowledging their need for political asylum. Many thousands more were forcibly sent back to Haiti. In May, Washington instituted a new policy of simply returning those picked up at sea directly to Haiti without giving any a chance to ask for political asylum.

As part of the screening process at Guantánamo, immigration officials made all those deemed eligible to enter the United

States undergo blood tests for the HIV virus. Current U.S. laws bar HIV positive individuals from entering the country as immigrants or visitors. Haitians who the military says did test positive wound up in limbo, not forced back to Haiti, but not allowed in the United States. They are the ones who wait in Camp Bulkeley.

The December 12 *New York Times* reports that when an Associated Press reporter asked Duke Austin, an immigration service spokesperson why Haitians must stay in the camp if doctors felt they could not adequately treat them, he replied, "they're going to die anyway, aren't they?"

Austin later told the *Times*, "I did say it, yes but it would be so unfair to print that. All I meant to say was that the outcome would be the same either way, so what would they gain from coming to the U.S.?"

Conditions in Camp Bulkeley

Marine Col. Larry Zinser, commander of the Joint Task Force in charge of the refugees, said that its mission is to provide "temporary humanitarian assistance" today. He listed as his objectives, "establish trust, improve quality of life, enhanced health care, upgrade facilities, create community type environment, and security."

Refugees agreed that things had improved in recent months. "When Col. Kennedy (Zinser's predecessor) came, they started to treat us like human beings," said Augustin Kennedy. "The soldiers stopped abusing us. They got us a television, opened a school, organized a soccer team. The food got a little better."

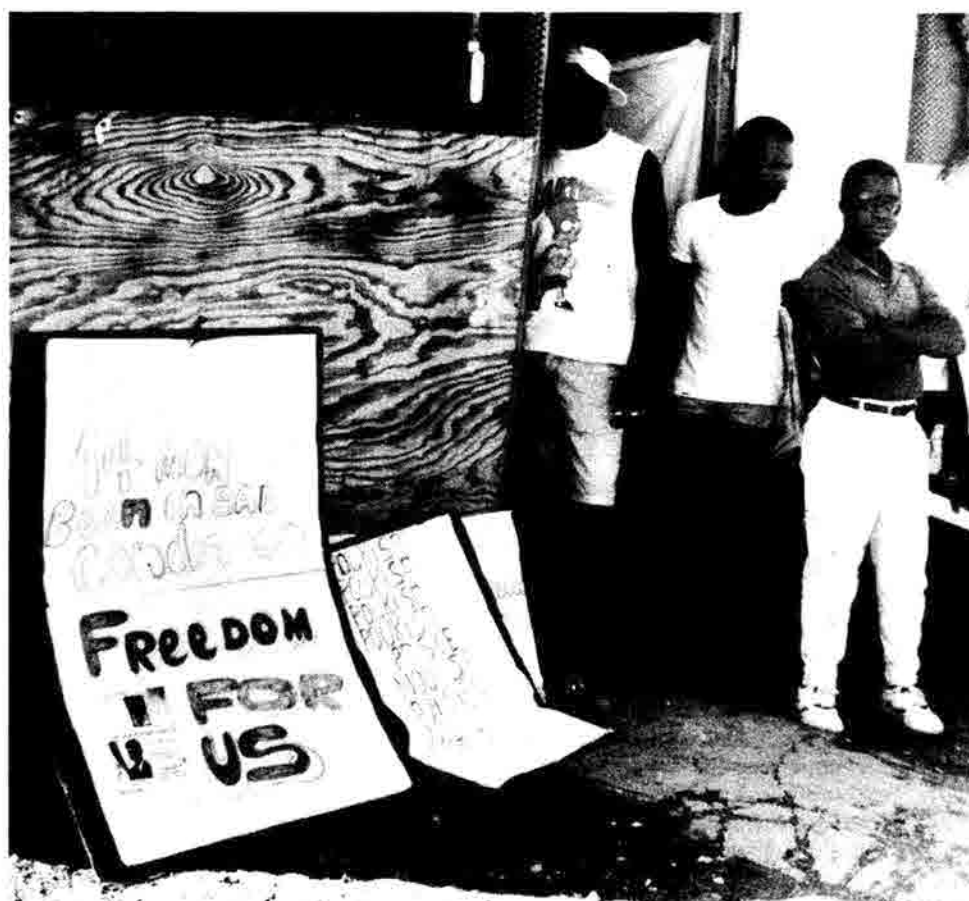
Nonetheless, Kennedy and other refugees said their situation was intolerable. They sought every chance to speak out and demand their release. "We're being held like prisoners of war," one said angrily. "Yet we've never done anything against the United States."

Groups of Haitians eagerly took reporters on detailed tours of their compound. Several had made signs protesting their detention.

"Look at all the flies," one said. "They're everywhere, in our food, on the children, on us when we sleep. How can they say this is healthy for us? If they say we are sick, why do they make us stay in such unhealthy conditions?"

Two others climbed up to the fence and barbed wire surrounding the compound to point out the blackened, scorched earth along it. "This used to be full of brush and garbage," one said. "But last week, the day before the first reporters came, they cleaned it up and burned the garbage."

"Look where we sleep," said another as he led the way inside one of the buildings.



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Haitian refugees at Guantánamo with sign they made for visiting journalists

It was a single open room, partitioned into small cubicles by sheets hung from ropes about seven feet off the ground. Inside each small space was a single army cot; the occupants' few personal belongings were strewn on the floor.

When it rains, water gets in through the top and bottom of the walls, refugees pointed out. The tin roofs get unbearably hot under the tropical sun.

They showed reporters the long, smelly row of Port-a-Johns along one side of the compound, the only sanitation facilities the refugees have.

Zinser said the military was working to improve the living quarters and planned to install canvas siding to keep out the rain by the time the rainy season starts next spring. Initial work had also been done to install electric lights in the buildings.

Other officers pointed to the weight room, small library and school house, and church available to the Haitians. "The troops here are doing a wonderful job trying to make their life easier," said Zinser. There are seven Creole interpreters available, all culled from the ranks of the U.S. military.

Security appeared to be loose; most of the guard towers were not staffed and the Haitians were free to wander out of their compound and into other parts of the camp area during the day, they said. They could only leave Camp Bulkeley with military escort however. Occasional trips to the beach and the base McDonald's, especially for children, have been organized. Marine guards take some of the youth jogging outside the camp in the evening when it gets cool, Zinser said.

Protest HIV exclusion policy

According to Zinser's briefing, 220 of the 274 Haitians now in the camp have tested positive for HIV, 16 negative, and 38, all children, have not been tested. The military does not insist on testing children, he said.

Camp Bulkeley has a medical center staffed by several doctors and nurses. They are prescribing various drugs, including AZT, in attempts to retard or prevent the onset of AIDS. Haitians are also taken to the base hospital when more extensive treatment is necessary, and some have been sent to the United States after developing serious illnesses.

Many of the Haitians questioned the accuracy of the HIV tests and the usefulness of the medication they were given.

"I just don't trust the military," Jean Robert said, "and here all the doctors are military. Let us go and find our own doctors and then we'll see if we're really sick."

"Some of us take the pills and others don't," another commented. "I don't see that they make any difference."

Others pointed to their present apparently healthy condition to question the HIV diagnosis. "Most of us have been locked up in this camp, under these bad conditions, for over a year," said Verlieu. "If we really had HIV or AIDS wouldn't we be very sick by now?"

Others barraged reporters with questions

about Washington's motives in locking Haitians with HIV in a camp.

"Who else are they doing this to," asked one man. "This is the first concentration camp for people with HIV, isn't it? They only do it to Haitians, don't they? Maybe this is a test, something they will want to do to other people later on."

Several commented on the landing of U.S. troops in Somalia. "We see the United States sending all that aid to Somalia," said Augustin Kennedy. "Why don't they first try to find a solution to the problem of the Haitians here?"

Some refugees said they hoped they would be allowed to enter the United States after President-elect Bill Clinton takes office. Clinton had said during his campaign that he would end the immigration ban on HIV positive individuals.

Many simply urged others to speak out on their behalf and demand Washington let them in. "Tell Bush and Clinton we've had enough!" Louis Jean declared. "We don't want to stay on a military base any longer. Let us in!"

Harvey McArthur is a rail worker in Seattle and member of UTU Local 845.

'Militant' reporters in India, Germany, and Guantánamo, Cuba

This issue of the *Militant* features articles by reporters who have traveled to countries on three different continents for on-the-spot coverage of political developments.

When the U.S. military backed down from its prohibition of visitors to Haitian refugees being held at Guantánamo, Cuba, the *Militant* made a rapid decision to make Harvey McArthur available for the trip.

John Cox filed reports from Germany after attending the November 13-15 European Congress Against Racism in Berlin.

Greg Rosenberg from Minneapolis and Felicity Coggan from Wellington, New Zealand, attended the Asian Students Association conference in New Delhi. In addition to reporting on events in India, they interviewed student delegates from several Asian countries, including East Timor, the Philippines, and Burma.

Regular income from single-copy sales and subscriptions barely covers the cost of printing and sending out the *Militant*, so trips such as these are all paid from voluntary donations. Contributions from our readers are urgently needed to help cover the substantial costs of these reporting trips. Write to: *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Facts about U.S. base at Guantánamo

GUANTÁNAMO BAY, Cuba—The U.S. Naval Base here sprawls over 47 square miles of land and water surrounding the deep natural harbor at Guantánamo Bay. It is the oldest U.S. military base in any foreign country and a long-standing symbol of Washington's rise as an imperialist power.

U.S. Marines landed here in 1898 in the first stage in the war against Spain through which Washington conquered Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. U.S. troops were withdrawn in 1902, but only after the new Cuban government agreed to allow them to intervene whenever they liked, and to establish a permanent naval base at Guantánamo. Under terms of the agreement, Washington has a lease for \$2,000 in gold per year (\$4,000 today), and the lease can be canceled only if both parties agree.

After the overthrow of the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in 1959, the new revolutionary government sought to reclaim Guantánamo for Cuba. Washington refused however, and has often used the base to launch provocations against Cuba, including firing shots across the boundary and launching sabotage teams from the base.

The atmosphere on the base at present appeared very relaxed. There were no fortifications visible, though the press group was

not taken near the boundary between the base and the rest of Cuba. There are 2,500 military personnel stationed here permanently, plus another 1,000 or so civilian employees and several thousand family members. The base includes a full array of schools, a hospital, recreation facilities, even the ubiquitous McDonalds fast food restaurant.

Many of the civilian workers come from Jamaica and the Philippines. Some of these are involved in the housing construction that is going on. In the mid-1960s, the Cuban government prohibited Cubans from seeking work at the base, although those then employed were allowed to keep their jobs. There are still 26 such workers who commute to the base each day, all of them now nearing retirement age.

Officials said the base is used mainly as a training center for navy and marine units. One destroyer was tied up at a pier, and a squadron of old A-4 Skyhawks is stationed at the airfield for training flights.

The base has its own electric power plant and water desalination plant, as the Cuban government has long refused to supply such services. Cuba also refuses to bank the annual lease payments sent by Washington, to back up the demand that Washington get out and return the territory. —H.M.

Hearing on police killing opens in Detroit

BY JAMES HARRIS
AND MICHELLE JACKSON

DETROIT — The preliminary hearing for the four cops charged in the November 5 beating death of laid-off steelworker Malice Green began here December 14. The testimony, from the forensic pathologist who examined Green's body, and from eyewitnesses to the murder, painted a gruesome picture of the events on the night of the killing.

The cop killing of 35-year-old Green has been a major topic of discussion in the news media and throughout the Detroit area.

The officers on trial are Walter Budzyn and Larry Nevers, who are charged with second degree murder. Robert Lessnau and Freddie Douglas are charged with involuntary manslaughter and aggravated assault, respectively.

The hearing opened in a tiny courtroom in the Detroit Records Court before Chief Judge Alex Allen. This preliminary hearing is where Allen will decide if the prosecution has enough evidence for the cops to stand trial.

The courtroom was much too small for all those who wished to attend. About 80 spectators were able to get in and at least an equal number were turned away. The cops at the door gave preference to the news media and a stream of cops who came and went throughout the hearing to offer solidarity to their fellow officers.

The first witness called was Kalil Jaraki, the assistant medical examiner who examined Green's body. Photographs were introduced during his testimony that showed the 14 gashes on Green's head and face. Under questioning Jaraki stated that nine of the 14 wounds on Green's scalp and face were caused by a long cylindrical object, possibly a metal flashlight. The cops are accused of killing Green with their standard issue heavy metal flashlights.

Jaraki dismissed the defense's argument that Green may have died of a cocaine in-

duced heart attack. "There was bleeding and bruising all over the brain... they were not beating a person who had died of cocaine use," said Jaraki. Jaraki explained that dead people do not bruise or bleed.

Jaraki said that it was "obvious what he died of" and that the amount of cocaine found in Green's system was not enough to cause a heart attack.

Ralph Fletcher, a witness to the murder and a friend of Green's since childhood, was the second witness. Fletcher was a passenger in Green's car when the police stopped them in front of Fletcher's house.

Fletcher said that he met Green one block from his house and that Green offered him a ride up the street. When they pulled up to his house the cops shined their lights on the car.

Fletcher said that he and Green got out of the car and Green walked around to the sidewalk after the cops asked for his license. Green then pulled out his wallet and went to the passenger side of the car and opened the passenger door. He began rummaging in the car's glove compartment when officer Budzyn then asked Green to open his hand. Fletcher said that Green did not open his hand. At this point Budzyn moved into the car, straddled Green, and began beating him with his flashlight. Throughout the beating Fletcher testified that the officer continued to demand that Green open his hand. When Budzyn's partner, Nevers, saw Fletcher and two other witnesses, Theresa Pace and Robert Hollins, looking on, he told them they could go. All three left.

Pace corroborated Fletcher's and Hollins's testimonies. Pace provided evidence



Mural of Malice Green at site where cops murdered him

that Green had what looked like a piece of paper in his hand. All the witnesses who saw what was in Green's hand corroborated Pace's testimony.

Some of the most damaging testimony was given by Albino Martinez, an Emergency Medical Service technician who came on the scene while Nevers was beating Green. Martinez said that Nevers told him, "I busted him once in the head, if he doesn't hold still I'm gonna do it again."

The four officers on trial are being represented by five defense lawyers who are being paid by the police "union." The *Detroit Free Press* reported that money is also being raised for the cops by ex-STRESS members of the Detroit Police Department. Larry Nevers was a member of STRESS.

STRESS (Stop The Robberies Enjoy Safe Streets) was an undercover police unit that was responsible for the killing of twenty people in the early 1970s. It was disbanded in 1974.

On December 17, Police Chief Stanley Knox announced that the four officers charged in the beating had been fired from the police department.

About 60 people gathered at the Central United Methodist Church December 14 for a prayer service followed by a candlelight march and vigil outside the closed court house. The event was organized by the Religious Coalition for Justice, a new group organized in the wake of Green's death.

Forty people attended a speaking and discussion about the killing and police brutality at the Pathfinder bookstore December 12. The event opened with re-

marks by five speakers: Minister Patterson of the Church Improvement Association; Ken Riley of the Association of Students of African Descent (ASAD) at Henry Ford Community College; Allen Martin, the Director of Violence Prevention of Save Our Sons and Daughters (SOSAD); Jesse Mitchell, a Toledo anti-police brutality activist; and Arlene Rubenstein representing the Socialist Workers Party.

Riley stated that he did not think Green's death would have drawn so much attention if the Rodney King beating had not happened and received substantial publicity.

Martin termed Green's killing a racial incident. He stated that it did not make any difference that the Detroit police force is more than 50 percent Black, because the police solve problems through violence.

Mitchell told the audience about the police killing of Dion Williams in Toledo, and the role the news media played in making it seem that Williams got what he deserved.

Minister Patterson, a former police department chaplain, told of the history of police misconduct in Detroit. He said that from January 1987 to December 1991 there were 821 cases of reported police abuse involving 1,227 cops. Of those cases, 445 were settled for a total of more than 44 million dollars.

Patterson said his group will work to monitor complaints against the police by having a church in each precinct in Detroit where citizens can go to file complaints.

Rubenstein spoke of the connection between the fight against police brutality and the U.S.-led intervention in Somalia. There is no separation between the foreign policy of the United States and its domestic policy, she said. "The major aim of the rulers in this country is to maintain their control over working people. To keep us down and shut us up and crush any signs of defiance."

Washington steps up drive to intervene in Yugoslavia

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

At Washington's initiative, NATO proposed on December 17 to use its military forces in the Adriatic sea and elsewhere to enforce a United Nations ban on Serbian military flights over Bosnia-Herzegovina. This would allow NATO forces to shoot down Serbian planes and attack other targets.

The UN Security Council is considering a resolution that would take NATO up on its offer. It would also provide ground troops to escort "inspectors" investigating reports of atrocities in Bosnia and send observers to the Kosovo region, which is controlled by Serbia.

The NATO proposal came as the U.S. government stepped up its drive toward military intervention in former Yugoslavia. Speaking at a 29-country conference on the Balkan crisis in Geneva, U.S. secretary of state Lawrence Eagleburger declared that "more aggressive measures" must be considered.

Continued on Page 12

San Diego drywall strikers step up fight

BY ELIZABETH STONE

SAN DIEGO, California — Following the victory by striking drywall construction workers elsewhere in Southern California, who won a contract November 13, hundreds of equally determined drywallers here continue their fight for a union.

Tony Hernández is one of those who has thrown himself into the strike. "I'm sometimes going 18 hours a day," he says. "That's what it takes."

Hernández is at strike headquarters early every day, helping dispatch hundreds of strikers in pick-up trucks and vans as they fan out to construction sites.

As a result of picketing the sites, only a small number of drywallers are still working in San Diego. Nevertheless, the companies continue to hire new workers, many who come from other areas. Hernández comments that pickets have just succeeded in convincing two new workers from Fontana to walk off the job and go back home.

Unlike Los Angeles, no construction company here has agreed to negotiate.

Hernández points to two large companies, Great Western and J. Sayatovich, that have been able to hold out against the strike since

the majority of their investments are in areas other than construction. These two giants have pressured other companies to refuse to negotiate.

Despite the companies' tough stance, the strikers have been able to shut down sites and cause long delays. "The real estate companies and contractors are hurting," Hernández says.

Federico Castañeda is another strike stalwart, who has worked as a drywall for many years. He explains that on June 1 they began the strike in San Diego with 90 workers. By the end of the first day's picketing, they were up to 220. By June 20, the number was over 300. Now there are about 400. Many of the original strikers have been forced to go to other cities or get other jobs outside of construction, out of economic necessity.

Strike organizers are very conscious about maximizing the possibility of winning new workers to the strike. "When you approach workers who you want to get to walk off a job, you can't start throwing swear words at them," Hernández explains. "You have to talk with them, explain what's in the strike for them, how we all need higher wages, medical care."

Drywallers held up in contract fight

BY CRAIG HONTS

LOS ANGELES — The five-month-long strike by southern California drywall construction workers won a significant victory with the contract approved by 44 contractors on November 13. The agreement provides for a set wage, a health plan, and a plan to hire drywall workers through the hiring hall being established by the International Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners union.

The agreement has yet to be formally ratified however due to some legal technicalities.

One tactic the drywall strikers used to pressure the contractors to come to an agreement was a class action lawsuit demanding back pay for overtime work. As these contractors routinely refused to pay the legally required time-and-a-half rate

for overtime, the amount of back pay that the drywall workers documented being owed to them ran into the millions of dollars.

One incentive for the 44 contractors to sign a contract was the agreement by the drywall workers to drop the lawsuit in return for union recognition, which they felt in the long run to be much more valuable to the workers than the money that might be gained through the lawsuit.

The delay in getting the final agreement signed comes from the legal requirement that every person who signed the class action lawsuit against the contractors — between 1,000 and 1,500 strikers from Ventura County to the Mexican border — must now sign the agreement to drop the suit.

Indian government maintains curfews

BY GREG ROSENBERG

NEW DELHI, India — More than 1,200 people have been killed, thousands injured, and thousands more arrested during riots that spread across India following the December 6 destruction of the 16th century Muslim mosque in Ayodhya by thousands of Hindu rightists.

As of December 18, large sections of most major cities were still under partial curfew.

The Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which led the political offensive that prepared the mosque's destruction, and which has 20 percent of the seats in the federal parliament, is aggressively defending itself and campaigning against the Congress Party government of Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao. The BJP and allied organizations cloak themselves in Hindu fundamentalism.

The Congress government responded to the rioting with massive army and police deployments. Five organizations were banned. More than 5,800 members of these groups have been arrested, with most freed on bail. Central leaders of the BJP have also been arrested.

Rao dismissed the three BJP state governments December 15. The states, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Madhya Pradesh, are now under President's rule.

In response, the BJP has launched protests and strikes, which have received some support around the country. BJP leaders organized "save democracy day" on December 13, claiming that "patriotic organizations" were under attack by anti-democratic forces and that the government was "raping the constitution."

The BJP petitioned Indian president Shankar Dyal Sharma to dissolve parliament and hold new elections. On December 17 BJP members of parliament led a raucous but unsuccessful attempt to force a no-confidence vote against Rao.

India's upper house — the Rajya Sabha — was adjourned amid an uproar as BJP MPs blocked proceedings for the third consecutive day. The BJP now blames "a handful of *kev seraks* [volunteer workers]" for the Ayodhya events. However, in response to Rao's announcement that the mosque will be rebuilt, they are vowing a showdown. "Hindus will react angrily, the consequences will be terrible," said a spokesperson for one of the BJP allies that is now banned.

BJP deputies are demanding a government inquiry into the extent of damage done to Hindu shrines in India. They have organized protests at the embassies of Pakistan and Bangladesh, accusing Muslims of being



Hindu and Muslim women march together in Bombay to protest police brutality

out to destroy Hinduism.

Despite attempts to turn Hindu against Muslim, some solidarity has been organized across religious lines. In Bombay, Sikhs set up a kitchen to feed Muslims and Hindus living in a curfew area. In two large slum areas of Bombay, Hindu and Muslim patrols were organized by residents to keep the peace.

About 500 journalists, students, and others joined a peace march in Delhi to con-

demn the demolition of the mosque December 17. The Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), and Janata Dal parties have called a peace march here for December 22.

The conditions facing huge numbers of working people in India were underlined this week by the government's announcement that the poverty rate benchmark — equivalent to \$US 7.55 per family per week — will not be adjusted. Hundreds of millions live below the poverty line.

The BJP is organizing to exploit the worsening economic situation and social tensions, by scapegoating Muslims for this. The government has an affirmative action policy known as the reservations program, under which a number of positions in education and jobs are reserved for people from the poorest layers of society. The BJP attacks this policy.

Strikes shook the country this week, as 150,000 textile workers walked out in the southern state of Tamil Nadu to protest the government's demands to cut wages. Domestic airlines were also disrupted as Indian Airlines pilots staged a walkout.

Asian students meet in New Delhi

BY FELICITY COGGAN

NEW DELHI, India — Against the backdrop of widespread violence throughout India following the December 6 destruction of a mosque by a right-wing mob, youth from across Asia gathered here for the 12th general conference of the Asian Students Association (ASA).

The theme of the conference was "ASA: Challenging the New World Order." It brought together 80 student and youth activists from 19 countries to discuss the impact in the region of the world economic and political crisis, as well as their involvement in democratic and anti-imperialist struggles.

Opening the conference, All-India Students Association president Lal Bahadur Singh explained that the meeting coincided with a critical moment in the history of India. He pointed to the responsibility of the Indian government in allowing the destruction of the mosque in Ayodhya.

"The barbaric demolition of the religious shrine of a particular community by thousands of hoodlums in broad daylight" and the "killing of hundreds of innocent people in the subsequent violence, supplemented by the fact that most of the killings were from police fire, have convincingly erased the facade of the largest democracy in the world," he said.

A press statement released by the conference December 11 condemned the destruction of the mosque and urged the people of the Indian subcontinent, especially students, to struggle against growing rightist trends in the country.

Discussion on the first day of the December 11-16 meeting took up a range of

themes, including the threat of new wars, the role of the capitalist regimes in the Third World, struggles for national liberation and the role of students in linking up with other fighters. Delegates raised the importance of fighting for democratic rights, and discussed how to relate to parliamentary politics.

Greg Rosenberg, representing the Young Socialist Alliance of the United States,

pointed to the need for working people and youth to unite across national boundaries in resisting the growing imperialist drive toward war. He stated that the U.S.-led intervention in Somalia is motivated not by humanitarian concerns but by the goal of controlling the Horn of Africa.

Felicity Coggan is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Wellington, New Zealand.

Child-care workers face abuse charges

BY CARMEN BAIN

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — Supporters of five child-care workers facing charges of child sex abuse have been the target of police harassment and a public smear campaign spread by word of mouth and in the media.

On March 31, 1992, Peter Ellis, a worker at the Christchurch City Council's Civic Child-care Centre, was arrested on the charge of indecently assaulting a female child. Subsequently 45 charges were brought against Ellis. Six months later, on October 1, four female staff members were arrested. Each faces several charges of child sex abuse.

A witch-hunt atmosphere has been fostered around these accusations. Among the rumors publicly circulating, originating with the cops' investigation, have been allegations of "satanic rituals" and child pornography rings.

A number of people whose children attended the center have publicly expressed

their disbelief at the charges. An informal support network for the five arrested workers has sprung up, consisting mainly of other child-care workers and some parents.

These supporters have themselves been labeled "pedophiles," by police and others, and faced other slanderous accusations in a campaign aimed at suppressing any protest of the violation of the child-care workers' rights.

Robyn Sullivan and Reece Jones, whose children attended the child-care center and who have been active in defending the accused workers, are two victims of the campaign.

A week before the child-care workers were arrested, a police officer visited Sullivan, who was alone in the house, and tried to question her about her association with Ellis. Sullivan told the cop she wouldn't talk to him, to which he replied, "You must be a child abuser too." Refusing to answer his provocative questions, she told him to leave.

"As he left, still trying to get me to talk, he said he would be back with a search warrant," Sullivan said in an interview.

"I knew that they like to take a lot of trivial things to make it look like they had a reason for a search, so I decided to take the kids' videos, as well as some political books and an old Automobile Association road sign, to a friend's place."

When Reece Jones tried to drive away with this material, however, he was pulled over by the cops and arrested for supposedly stealing the road sign. The video tapes were also seized. No search warrant was produced.

Jones was held for three hours and questioned about the contents of the videos. The tapes were returned after the cops looked through them and found nothing.

Immediately afterward, rumors began to publicly circulate and were reported by a radio station. Sullivan was said to be a "communist agitator" who worked in a "pornographic bookshop." Jones was labeled a "child pornographer" who was caught with child porn videos in his car.

Clearly, the only possible source for such rumors was the police.

As part of building up the prosecution's case against the five accused, the police are also investigating the personal life histories of the defendants and their families to see what they can come up with. One of their lines of inquiry has been to find out whether any of them participated in the massive antiapartheid protests that rocked New Zealand in 1981 in opposition to a tour of the country by South Africa's national Springbok rugby team.

Labor news in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss them if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2.

Writers' group condemns Grenada book ban

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The prestigious PEN American Center organization has condemned the continuation of the Grenada government's ban on many books published by Pathfinder Press from entering that country.

In a December 10 letter sent to Frances Alexis, Grenada Minister of Legal Affairs, PEN American Center president Edmund Keeley states, "On behalf of the 2,600 writers who are members of PEN American Center, we write to bring your attention to the continued banning of over 86 titles in Grenada and the reported existence of a list of books which, at present are still proscribed."

PEN American Center is an affiliate of international PEN, an association of writers, poets, playwrights, essayists, editors, and novelists.

PEN sent copies of their letter to the U.S. State Department and 12 civil liberties or-

ganizations around the world including Americas Watch, Amnesty International, International Federation of Journalists, Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, and Reporters Sans Frontières.

"We understand that the Braithwaite administration, elected to power in 1990," continues the letter, "has made statements maintaining that it may not necessarily enforce laws passed under the [previous] New National Party regime."

"We at PEN welcome these assertions and we seek assurances that immediate steps will be taken to insure the free circulation of information in Grenada. We ask that permission be granted to distribute the list of 86 books published by Pathfinder Press and we further urge you to conduct a careful evaluation of the banning order now in effect," concludes the letter.

The battle against censorship in Grenada

began in October 1988 when customs officials of the Herbert Blaize government seized a shipment of books from a Pathfinder representative. In March 1989 another shipment of books was confiscated and Pathfinder director Steve Clark, who was in Grenada to attend a conference, was asked to leave the country. In April 1989, the government issued a decree banning the 86 Pathfinder titles.

Among those who have sent letters of protest to the Grenadian government are: the Congressional Committee to Support Writers and Journalists, which is a bipartisan committee of 15 U.S. senators and 74 members of the House of Representatives; U.S. congressional representatives Charles Hayes, Ronald Dellums, Sidney Yates, and George Crockett Jr.; the Grenada Trades Union Council; and Rev. Allan Kirton, general secretary of the Caribbean Conference of Churches.

U.S. goal: stable client regime in Somalia

Continued from front page

met no resistance and found a somewhat different picture.

The 700 troops on the convoy traveled through a countryside described by the *New York Times* as being full of "lush cornfields and herds of camels and cattle."

"We were expecting a desert wasteland, not this," stated TOW anti-tank gunner Lance Cpl. Larry Abeyta. "People out here live a lot better than in the city," said Cpl. Patrick Haley. "These people aren't skinny. They seem healthy."

The U.S. occupation has actually intensified the conflict between military factions that are fighting each other for political power. Writing in the December 13 *Washington Post*, Rakiya Omaar, former director of Africa Watch who was dismissed for opposing the U.S. military operation, and associate director Alex de Waal, who resigned his post in protest of Omaar's dismissal, point out that prior to the U.S. invasion "Baidoa was a success story."

"Inside the town and the surrounding villages," they state, "relief agencies operated with losses to looters of less than 5 percent. . . Food was cheap and plentiful and death rates had fallen by 90 percent."

"In the last few days, this has all gone up in smoke. The militia led by warlord [Gen. Mohammed Farah] Aidid rampaged through the town, displacing thousands of people and forcing aid agencies to evacuate their staff."

"Why? Because all the agreements so painstakingly worked out no longer hold force. The only question that matters now is, who will gain from the U.S. occupation and who will lose?" state Omaar and De Waal.

Next on the U.S. military's agenda is the seizure of the port city of Kismayo by U.S. Marines and Belgian commandos. Then they plan to set up bases further in the interior of the country in Gailalassi, Bardera, Hoddur, and Belet Uen.

Nearly 50,000 troops expected

The scope of this military operation — all under U.S. command — is substantial relative to the size of this East African country and points to the fact that more is involved than simply transporting and distributing

bags of grain to starving Somalis.

Troop strength is projected to reach nearly 50,000 in this country of 6 million people. This would be the equivalent of a force of about 2.1 million troops invading the United States.

In addition to the 28,000 U.S. troops being deployed, 18 other countries have pledged an additional 15,000 to 20,000 troops. A total of 44 countries have stated their intentions to participate in this operation. Among the countries that have sent or pledged troops are Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, France, India, Italy,

In addition, some 12 countries in Africa and the Middle East have opened up their airfields for use by the U.S. military. These include Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Yemen, Oman, Kenya, and others which, according to the *New York Times*, "do not want it known that they are working closely with the American military."

While some Pentagon and U.S. administration officials continue to promise that the length of stay for at least some U.S. troops will be of short duration, others point to a much longer operation encompassing longer-term military and political

voices the imperial arrogance of the U.S. rulers toward the Somali people when he writes in a nationally syndicated column that "arguments are raised that what is going wrong in Somalia is the absence of an effective government" that would be "stronger than the tribal barbarians who would be cannibals, except that there is too little human flesh left to feed off."

Castro condemns invasion

According to the Cuban press agency Prensa Latina, Cuban president Fidel Castro condemned the intervention of the multinational force in Somalia, particularly the U.S. participation, which he said was aimed at "solving the hunger problem with guns."

"The Cuban head of state noted the contrast which he said existed between the U.S. attitude, which on one hand gives 'the appearance' of helping solve the problem of famine in an African country, and on the other hand, continues to impose a strict trade, economic, and financial blockade [embargo] on Cuba," the news agency reported.

Meanwhile, the senior commander of the U.S. military operation in Somalia, Marine General Joseph Hoar, has called for U.S. forces to be more aggressive in disarming Somalis.

Once on the ground in Somalia, U.S. troops found it necessary to back off some-

what from their initial stance of seeking to confiscate every possible weapon through car checks at roadblocks and possible house-to-house searches.

"The Somalis have the right to bear arms. They don't want to be disarmed at gunpoint by foreigners," U.S. envoy to Somalia, Robert Oakley, was forced to admit.

UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali continues to push for Washington to disarm Somalis. He contends that this was part of the original agreement worked out prior to the U.S. invasion.

U.S. military forces have not moved to disarm the armed gangs fighting for political power in the country. They have instead held meetings with the leaders of the various factions. They hope to be able to use elements among the gangs of the ruling factions as the basis for future military and police forces.

"Everyone agrees that you can't restore Somali civil society while there [are] lots of arms out there," stated Herman Cohen, assistant secretary of state for African affairs to the House Foreign Affairs committee hearing. "But the question is how is it done. We favor getting the Somalis to work it out with a UN protective backdrop."

Cohen called for a substantially stronger UN force of at least 6,000 heavily armed troops to eventually take over control of the areas currently being occupied by the U.S. troops. Washington hopes to begin forming such a force from the thousands of troops currently being supplied by many countries.

Henry Kissinger's 'reservations'

Former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger, who directed the U.S. war against Vietnam in the late 1960s and early 1970s under U.S. president Richard Nixon, urged the U.S. rulers to proceed with caution and to rapidly obtain more political cover for this military operation.

In a column entitled "Somalia: Reservations," which appeared in the December 13 *Washington Post* he states, "unilateral American security operations should be terminated rapidly."

"This could turn into a messy affair with significant casualties," continues Kissinger, "especially on the Somali side. When blood has been shed, support for the American military action may evaporate, especially in Africa."

As the U.S. rulers debate how to proceed, Somalis continue to be harassed, shot at, and killed. Marines shot to death three Somalis outside the U.S. embassy in Mogadishu, on the evening of December 15, for example. The media downplayed this story as they continue to focus on fact that no U.S. Marines have so far lost their lives.



U.S. marine threatens group of Somali youngsters in northern Mogadishu December 13

New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, Turkey, and Zimbabwe.

Germany also announced plans to send up to 1,500 soldiers to Somalia within the next two months. This will mark the first time since World War II that German forces would have been sent outside of Europe.

"This is extremely important for Germany's world reputation," stated German chancellor Helmut Kohl. Kohl made the move despite the fact that the German constitution still bans the deployment of German troops abroad. Germany maintains an armed force of 450,000 members.

Tokyo pledged \$100 million to support the military operation in Somalia. Japanese officials left the door open for the sending of troops in the future if a formal United Nations "peacekeeping" operation is set up as has been done in Cambodia where Japan has sent troops.

Soldiers discuss Somalia action

BY TONY PRINCE

NEW YORK — "What this is about is money. Where the U.S. Army goes, it's always about money."

"Your button says 'Food Not Troops,' but how can you get the food there without the troops?"

"I'm going there next week, so I really shouldn't say. I don't really agree with it, but I don't really want to discuss it."

These were some of the responses of military personnel and workers at McGuire Air Force Base and Fort Dix in New Jersey to a team of *Militant* supporters who went to talk to them about the U.S. invasion of Somalia. McGuire is one of the main send-off points for troops going to Somalia. Earlier, a *Militant* team sold six papers to GIs at Fort Drum, New York, from where 10,000 troops were to leave for Somalia.

The team found that people were very willing to hear what the *Militant* has to say about the invasion and to share their opinions about it. The discussions were almost all open and thoughtful. Some service people and workers agreed with the *Militant* right from the start. A young Black GI named Billy said, "I just got back from Germany yesterday. I was in Desert Storm. They said that was humanitarian, but we didn't do anything humanitarian. A lot of guys are processing out. They're tired of the U.S. military going everywhere all over the world."

A German woman whose husband had been in Vietnam remarked, "We couldn't believe them in Vietnam, we couldn't

believe them in Iraq, and we shouldn't be over there [in Somalia] either." A man who said he was getting out of the military said, "The U.S. is going in to develop an outpost in Africa."

Others accepted the media and government propaganda about the invasion. A man who had just gotten out of the military said that he agreed "that the U.S. interventions in Iraq and before were about U.S. power, but this one's different, because there's really no other way to get the food to people."

Some people echoed nationalist themes, but as often to oppose the intervention as to support it. A serviceman's wife complained, "Why can't they take care of us here instead of going all over the world?" Another said, "I agree that the troops have to be there, but why does it always have to be the U.S.? Why not the UN, or Japan, or someone else?"

Of course, there were some who were fully in support of the invasion, like the man who said, "I don't agree with you. I was over there last week. Besides, I work for the government. This is my adopted country, and I love it."

Most people, however, were skeptical about the U.S. operation in Somalia, and were ready to listen to people who could explain why it is not in the interests of working people. Fourteen copies of the *Militant* were sold in about two hours.

Tony Prince is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in New York.

objectives.

In a letter to congress, U.S. president George Bush said that U.S. soldiers would remain in Somalia as long as necessary to establish what he calls "a secure environment."

"We may be looking at a very long commitment, measured in years, not months," stated an aide to President-elect Bill Clinton.

"We need some kind of reconstituted police force here," stated Col. Fred Peck, public affairs chief for the U.S.-led operation, who suggested that it was the State Department's job to work with former Somali policemen and soldiers to organize such a force.

Military and political goals

When asked at a December 17 congressional hearing before the House Foreign Affairs Committee about how long U.S. troops will remain in Somalia, James Woods, deputy assistant secretary of defense for Africa, was deliberately vague, saying that "U.S. forces will remain until they fulfill their mission."

One indication of what this could entail was provided in a column in the December 15 *Wall Street Journal* by Robert Barro, a contributing editor to the paper. Pointedly titled, "Why the U.S. is Destined to Fail in Somalia," Barro's article stated, "The cure for Somalia and many other poor countries is not simply a short-term mission of mercy, but rather the installation of a central authority that would ensure political stability and property rights."

"The only way out," continues Barro, "would be for Mr. Clinton to establish a useful permanent American presence in Somalia — a naval base and military installation."

A December 14 article in the U.S. military magazine *Navy Times* points to Washington's plans for using Somalia as a base of operations for stepped-up imperialist aggression in the region. "Although the Bush administration describes it as purely humanitarian, intervention in Somalia serves U.S. strategic and political interests in Africa and the Middle East," states the *Navy Times* article. "Whoever controls Somalia could control the southern entrance to the Red Sea and thus the Suez Canal."

The article contends that Washington's revived interest in Somalia also stems from "indications that Iran may be interested in including Somalia in its sphere of influence."

The conservative weekly *National Review*, while offering "qualified support" to the U.S. military's "Operation Restore Hope" mission, states, "The administration makes us uneasy when it abjures such a mission and confines its task to securing the safe delivery of food; we assume this is just diplomatic cover." The editorial goes on to call for solving "the real military problem" and restoring "some rudimentary political structure."

National Review editor William Buckley

How UN intervention in 1960s thwarted Congo's popular independence movement

BY MIKE TABER

"The decision to intervene in Somalia marks a turning point in American foreign policy: For the first time American troops are entering a country uninvited, not to shore up an anti-Communist regime, protect American wealth or stifle a strategic threat, but simply to feed starving people." This front-page news analysis appeared in the December 5 *New York Times*.

A U.S. military intervention in Africa, cloaked as a "humanitarian mission" to "rescue innocent victims," backed up by the United Nations and reported in glowing detail by the big-business press—is such a thing really occurring for the first time?

No. It happened in the Congo almost 30 years ago.

Many working people today know little about this bloody chapter in U.S. history. Yet the Congo, today called Zaire, was the scene of one of imperialism's great crimes of the 20th century. At that time revolutionary fighters for freedom and justice helped mobilize opposition to the military intervention in the Congo and draw the political lessons from it.

In the accompanying article are statements on events in the Congo given in 1960, 1964, and 1965 by three world revolutionary leaders: Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, and Malcolm X. They are taken from two recent books published by Pathfinder, *To Speak the Truth* by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, and *February 1965: The Final Speeches* by Malcolm X.

Studying what happened in the Congo in the 1960s can make it easier to understand the aims and objectives of U.S. imperialism in Somalia and elsewhere in the world today.

Congo prized for natural resources

The Congo, located in central Africa, became a Belgian colony in the late 1870s, that was prized for its natural resources, above all rubber.

Belgian rule was characterized by extreme brutality, particularly in its efforts to collect rubber. In some villages, Belgian soldiers would round up women as hostages to be ransomed off for rubber collected by village residents. In other cases quotas were set by state officials; those failing to meet the quota of rubber were sometimes killed.

The Congo gained its independence on June 30, 1960. A general election gave a majority of seats in the new parliament to the movement headed by Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the independence struggle. Lumumba became the country's first prime minister.

Determined to maintain its hold over the Congo's resources, Belgium's rulers backed an antigovernment rebellion in Katanga province, the site of major deposits of uranium, cobalt, copper, and other resources owned by U.S., British, and Belgian capitalists.



Patrice Lumumba (center), independence fighter and first prime minister of the Congo, being held prior to his murder, months after U.S.-backed coup.

The head of Katanga's secessionist forces was Moïse Tshombe, a wealthy plantation owner and businessman. Behind Tshombe stood 10,000 Belgian troops.

Role of United Nations

To counter the Belgian-backed uprising, Lumumba appealed to the United Nations. The first "peacekeepers" arrived on July 14, 1960.

Instead of combating the rebellion, however, UN troops disarmed Lumumba's forces, effectively aiding the Belgian troops and Tshombe's rebels.

In fact, the United Nations from its founding has been structured to bolster the world capitalist order. Its use of economic or military force has always been for the benefit of imperialist interests. The example of the Congo shows that illusions on this score can prove fatal.

In September 1960, at the instigation of the U.S. embassy, a section of the Congolese army led by Col. Mobutu Sese Seko seized power in a coup against Lumumba. UN forces stood aside as the elected government was ousted. A few months later Lumumba was arrested and handed over to Tshombe, who had him murdered in January 1961.

With Lumumba out of the way, Washington and its allies sought to end the Katanga uprising. This led to clashes between UN troops and Tshombe's forces, forcing Tshombe into exile. UN troops were withdrawn in June 1964, leaving Mobutu as the Congo's strongman.

After Lumumba's ouster, anti-imperial-

ist forces continued the fight to liberate their country. By early 1964 these young fighters known as *simbas* (lions), often armed with spears and bows and arrows, had driven Mobutu's forces out of large parts of the country. In August of that year they captured the city of Stanleyville (now Kisangani) and established a rival government.

Facing this critical situation, Mobutu brought Tshombe back from exile and named him prime minister. Tshombe recruited an army of mercenaries from South Africa, Rhodesia, Europe, and the United States. Of the latter, many were CIA-trained Cuban exiles from Miami.

The mercenaries were armed and equipped by Washington, which sent in transport planes, fighter-bombers, rockets, machine guns, and other heavy equipment. In addition, a U.S. paratroop contingent and counterinsurgency "trainers" were dispatched.

'Rabbit hunt'

With U.S. air protection, the mercenaries traveled freely through rebel-held areas, killing villagers indiscriminately. In the town of Kindu alone, they massacred more than 3,000 people of all ages. The mercenaries termed their butchery a "rabbit hunt."

A French reporter gave this eyewitness account: "I have seen planes strafe and burn dozens of villages. I have seen tens of thousands of peasants exterminated in the bush by the army of Tshombe. Their corpses are still there; the stench hangs over the streets and fields."

On November 24, U.S. air force "escorts" ferried 600 Belgian paratroopers in an attack on Stanleyville, allegedly on a "humanitarian rescue mission" to save "white hostages."

Thousands of Congolese were killed in the attack. So many bodies were left lying in the street that a typhoid epidemic broke out.

A UPI cameraman wrote: "In the moment it would take me to snap my fingers I saw a squad of Belgian paratroopers kill three Africans who came under their guns." He then described how the troops stopped an African man riding a bicycle and asked him if he supported rebel leader Pierre Mulele. "Are you a Mulelist?" the soldiers demanded. "No," the African replied. "You're lying," one of the Belgians said and shot the man dead."

However, hardly a word about these atrocities found its way into the U.S. press. Instead, voluminous coverage was given to the deaths of several dozen whites killed in retaliation.

The killing was still going on when Che Guevara addressed the UN General As-

sembly on Dec. 11, 1964. In clear-cut language seldom heard in the halls of that body, the Cuban leader denounced the barbaric crimes committed under the banner of "Western civilization" with the complicity of the United Nations. "All free men of the world," he stated, "must be prepared to avenge the crime of the Congo."

Several months later, Guevara led a contingent of Cuban internationalists to the Congo to lend assistance to the liberation fighters there. This was the first of several missions conducted by revolutionary Cuba in support of the African struggle against colonialism and imperialism. Over the next two and a half decades, hundreds of thousands of Cuban volunteers followed in Guevara's footsteps in Angola, Ethiopia, and other African countries.

In the Congo, Tshombe was replaced in 1965. Mobutu had himself proclaimed president and has remained in power to this day with Washington's backing, despite growing popular opposition.

'Humanitarianism'

In his remarks in the accompanying article, Malcolm X explains how Washington is an expert at disguising its goals of defending its own interests under the cloak of "humanitarianism."

Referring to the killing of thousands of Africans by "American planes, American bombs, escorted by American paratroopers," he states:

"They're able to do all of this mass murder and get away with it by labeling it 'humanitarian,' 'an act of humanitarianism.' Or 'in the name of freedom,' 'in the name of liberty.' All kinds of high-sounding slogans, but it's cold-blooded murder, mass murder. And it's done so skillfully, until you and I, who call ourselves sophisticated in this twentieth century, are able to watch it, and put the stamp of approval upon it."

The U.S. rulers, Malcolm said many times, were experts at such blatant hypocrisy.

While the circumstances of the U.S. intervention in Somalia are certainly different from those in the Congo three decades earlier, the interests Washington is defending—and its hypocrisy—are the same.

Revolutionaries spoke out against Congo slaughter

We reprint below the views of Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and Ernesto Che Guevara on events in the Congo during the early 1960s. They are taken from *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End by Castro and Guevara*, and *February 1965: The Final Speeches* by Malcolm X. Both books were recently published by Pathfinder.

Castro's remarks were part of an address he gave to the United Nations General Assembly in New York on Sept. 26, 1960. The passage by Malcolm X is from a speech given in Rochester, New York, on Feb. 16, 1965, five days before his death. Guevara's comments were delivered to the UN General Assembly on Dec. 11, 1964.

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* * *

Fidel Castro, September 1960

We condemn the way in which the intervention by United Nations forces was carried out in the Congo. First of all, the UN forces did not go there to counter the invading forces, for which they had originally been sent. All the time necessary was given to bring about the first dissension [within



U.S. financed and armed mercenaries on deadly march to Stanleyville in November 1964. So many bodies were left in the streets there that a typhoid epidemic broke out.

the Congolese government], and when this did not suffice, further time was given enabling the second division to occur in the Congo.

Finally, while the radio stations and airfields were being occupied, further time was given for the emergence of the "third man," as such saviors who emerge in these circumstances are known. We know them all too well, because in 1934 one of these saviors also appeared in our country, named Fulgencio Batista. In the Congo his name is Mobutu [Sese Seko]. . . .

"Mobutu became a frequent visitor to the U.S. Embassy and held long talks with officials there.

"One afternoon last week, Mobutu conferred with officers at Camp Leopold, and got their cheering support. That night he went to Radio Congo"—the same station that [Prime Minister Patrice] Lumumba had not been allowed to use—"and abruptly announced that the army was taking over."

In other words, all this occurred after frequent visits and lengthy conversations with officials of the U.S. embassy. This is what *Time* magazine says, a defender of the monopolies.

In other words, the hand of the colonialist interests has been clearly visible in the Congo. Our position therefore is that bad faith has been in evidence, that favoritism was displayed toward the colonial interests, and that all the facts indicate that the people of the Congo—and justice in the Congo—are on the side of the only leader who remained there to defend the interests of his country. And that leader is Lumumba.

Malcolm X, February 1965

The best recent example at the international level to bear witness to what I'm saying is what happened in the Congo.

Look at what happened. We had a situation where a plane was dropping bombs on African villages. An African village has no defense against the bombs. And an African village is not a sufficient threat that it has to be bombed. But planes were dropping bombs on African villages. When these bombs strike, they don't distinguish between enemy and friend. They don't distinguish between male and female. When these bombs are dropped on African villages in the Congo, they are dropped on Black women, Black children, Black babies. These human beings were blown to bits. I heard no outcry, no voice of compassion for these thousands of Black people who were slaughtered by planes. [Applause]

Why was there no outcry? Why was there no concern? Because, again, the press very skillfully made the victims look like they were the criminals, and the criminals look like they were the victims. [Applause]

They refer to the villages as "rebel held," you know. As if to say, because they are rebel-held villages, you can destroy the population, and it's okay. They also refer to the merchants of death as "American-trained, anti-Castro Cuban pilots." This made it okay. . . .

So these mercenaries, dropping bombs on African villages, caring nothing as to whether or not there are innocent, defenseless women and children and babies being destroyed by their bombs. But because they're called "mercenaries," given a glorified name, it doesn't excite you. Because they are referred to as "American-trained" pilots, because they are American-trained, that makes them okay. "Anti-Castro Cuban," that makes them okay. Castro's a monster, so anybody who's against Castro is all right with us, and anything that they do from there, that's all right with us. You see how they trick up your mind? They put your mind right in a bag, and take it wherever they want as well. [Applause]

But it's something that you have to look at and answer for. Because they are American planes, American bombs, escorted by American paratroopers, armed with machine guns. But, you know, they say they're not soldiers, they're just there as escorts, like they started out with some advisers in South Vietnam. Twenty thousand of them—just advisers. These are just "escorts." They're

able to do all of this mass murder and get away with it by labeling it "humanitarian," "an act of humanitarianism." Or "in the name of freedom," "in the name of liberty." All kinds of high-sounding slogans, but it's cold-blooded murder, mass murder. And it's done so skillfully, until you and I, who call ourselves sophisticated in this twentieth century, are able to watch it, and put the stamp of approval upon it. Simply because it's being done to people with black skin, by people with white skin.

They take a man who is a cold-blooded murderer, named [Moise] Tshombe. You've heard of him, Uncle Tom Tshombe. [Laughter and applause] He murdered the prime minister, the rightful prime minister, Lumumba. He murdered him. [Applause] Now here's a man who's an international murderer, selected by the State Department and placed over the Congo and propped into position by your tax dollars. He's a killer. He's hired by our government. He's a hired killer. And to show the type of hired killer he is, as soon as he's in office, he hires more killers from South Africa to shoot down his own people. And you wonder why your American image abroad is so bankrupt.

Che Guevara, December 1964

I would like to refer specifically to the painful case of the Congo, unique in the history of the modern world, which shows how, with absolute impunity, with the most insolent cynicism, the rights of peoples can be flouted. The direct reason for all this is the enormous wealth of the Congo, which the imperialist countries want to keep under their control. . . .

Those who used the name of the United Nations to commit the murder of Lumumba are today, in the name of the defense of the white race, murdering thousands of Congolese. How can we forget the betrayal of the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the United Nations? How can we forget the machinations and maneuvers that followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by United Nations troops, under whose auspices the assassins of this great African patriot acted with impunity? How can we forget, distinguished delegates, that the one who flouted the authority of the UN in the Congo—and not exactly for patriotic reasons, but rather by virtue of conflicts between imperialists—was Moise Tshombe, who initiated the secession of Katanga with Belgian support? And how can one justify, how can one explain, that at the end of all the United Nations activities there, Tshombe, dislodged from Katanga, should return as lord and master of the Congo? Who can deny the sad role that the imperialists compelled the United Nations to play? . . .

And as if this were not enough, we now have flung in our faces these latest acts that have filled the world with indignation. Who are the perpetrators? Belgian paratroopers, carried by United States planes, who took off from British bases. . . .

Our free eyes open now on new horizons and can see what yesterday, in our condition as colonial slaves, we could not observe: that "Western civilization" disguises behind its showy facade a picture of hyenas and jackals. That is the only name that can be applied to those who have gone to fulfill such "humanitarian" tasks in the Congo. A carnivorous animal that feeds on unarmed peoples. That is what imperialism does to men. That is what distinguishes the imperial "white man."

All free men of the world must be prepared to avenge the crime of the Congo.

Perhaps many of those soldiers, who were turned into subhumans by imperialist machinery, believe in good faith that they are defending the rights of a superior race. In this assembly, however, those peoples whose skins are darkened by a different sun, colored by different pigments, constitute the majority. And they fully and clearly understand that the difference between men does not lie in the color of their skin, but in the forms of ownership of the means of production, in the relations of production.

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Mexico student meeting debates trade pact

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

GUADALAJARA, Mexico — Students and other youth from Canada, Mexico, and the United States came to a November 27-30 conference here to discuss and organize opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement. Close to 150 people attended the gathering.

The meeting concluded by calling for actions — coordinated by a student network formed at the conference — to pressure legislators in all three countries to reject the agreement. Conference organizers put forward the view that NAFTA, if implemented, will result in reduced access to public education, increased unemployment, and greater destruction of the environment.

The big majority of conference participants agreed with this view and with the goal of organizing opposition to NAFTA among students and other young people. An important discussion and debate took place, however, about whether this course is in the interests of youth and working people.

U.S. president George Bush, Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari, and Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney signed the pact December 17. The agreement would eliminate tariffs on nearly 10,000 products. It would also establish protectionist measures to prevent Washington's rivals in Japan and Europe with plants in Mexico from shipping their products duty-free to the United States, and would open up Mexican banking and state-owned industry to U.S. and Canadian investment. If approved by the legislatures of the three countries, it will take effect on Jan. 1, 1994.

'Free trade' fraud

"NAFTA fits into the new world economic order that emerged out of the collapse of the Soviet Union," said Hatem Bazian at the first plenary session of the conference. Bazian is a member of the General Union of Palestinian Students at San Francisco State University.

"The U.S. is seeking exclusive rights in the world's markets as competition with the European and Japanese sharpens," he said. "Free trade will shift the burden on the middle and lower classes to pay for the current economic crisis."

"NAFTA does not have much to do with free trade," Brian Taylor pointed out at a subsequent discussion organized for U.S. delegates. Taylor, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, works at a restaurant in Cincinnati, Ohio.

"If NAFTA was really about free trade you ought to be able to write it in a paragraph, stating the three governments are for the elimination of all barriers to trade," he said. The agreement runs to 2,000 pages and is filled with provisions designed to protect the U.S. auto, textile, computer, and banking industries, as well as U.S. agribusiness.

Because the United States remains the dominant economic power relative to its imperialist rivals in the world, Washington has been the biggest force for eliminating many of the existing obstacles to the free flow of U.S. capital and goods. The agreement has been reached at a time of worldwide depression and intensifying economic rivalry between capitalists in the United States, Canada, Japan, Germany, and other countries in Europe.

"The collapse of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe did not create a new world order," said Taylor. "It hastened the world capitalist economic crisis, as the consequences of the unification of Germany showed."

He pointed to the threat made by Washington in early November to impose a 200 percent import tax on European white wines if the governments in western Europe did not agree to cut back farm subsidies and lower oilseed production. An all-out trade war between Washington and its rivals in various European countries was averted November 20 after most European Community members backed down and agreed to some U.S. demands. The conflict is far from over, however. On December 17 French foreign minister Roland Dumas described the November 20 accord as "null and void."

"These trade wars can lead to shooting wars," said Taylor. "We as students or young workers do not have the power at this point — nor should we focus on trying to — stop the flow of U.S. capital into Mexico. But we can and should help to organize workers in unions and fight with them for better living, working, and environmental conditions." Taylor's remarks represented a minority

viewpoint among conference participants, but were part of the debate throughout the meeting.

A lively discussion took place at a workshop on "The impact of NAFTA on labor." "We are against NAFTA but not free trade in general," said Argel Gómez Concherio, a student from the city of Coyoacán who identified himself as a supporter of the Revolutionary Democratic Party (PRD) of Mexico. The PRD, the main opposition capitalist party in that country, has supported more protectionist measures for Mexico than the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party, which backs the accord.

"We are in favor of a fair trade treaty," Gómez said, "that would include representatives of all social sectors, not just mul-



Students at workshop on "The impact of NAFTA on labor" at Guadalajara conference. From left: Patrick Wozny from the U.S., Harold Shuster from Canada, Anne Carl and Delmy Lendof from the U.S., and Argel Gomez Concherio from Mexico.

tinational corporations and governments in the negotiations. We are in favor of fair trade that preserves our social rights, jobs, humanity, and environment."

A 'fair trade' treaty?

"It is true that NAFTA does not serve our interests as young people or the interests of workers and farmers," Taylor replied. "But whatever treaty the three governments sign — with whatever balance of outright protectionism and so-called free trade measures, the whole thing is a dispute between capitalists. Under any plan workers in all three countries will go to the wall and the exploitation of labor will continue."

"Millions of workers and young people know the bosses don't do anything to advance our interests unless we organize and fight," Taylor said. "Why should we think that when it comes to trade deals, the bosses and the governments that represent their interests have anything in mind but increasing their profits? They profit from our labor and fight over the spoils among themselves."

"For that reason," the young socialist said, "we shouldn't be in the business of arguing which trade treaty to support."

Matilde Zaragoza of the Authentic Labor Front (FAT) of Mexico agreed. The FAT organizes workers in several factories in the Mexico City area and elsewhere. "Right now we don't have NAFTA in place but conditions in Mexico are horrible anyway," she said. "The real question is how to fight for better conditions today."

The real minimum wage in Mexico has fallen by more than half over the last decade. Official unemployment has risen to 18 percent and even more workers are underemployed. Since the failure of a U.S.-sponsored debt reduction plan, Mexico's foreign debt has again ballooned above \$100 million. In the name of paying the debt, the government has slashed social programs, raised prices, and laid off thousands of workers.

Clinton supports NAFTA

"The highest priority of Frontlash and the AFL-CIO is to organize to kill NAFTA," said Patrick Wozny, a staff member of Frontlash from Washington, D.C. Frontlash is the AFL-CIO's youth group. He said an additional half million jobs will be lost in the United States if the trade agreement is implemented. Wozny argued that there is a better chance to defeat NAFTA in Congress under the Clinton administration.

President-elect Bill Clinton had announced his support for NAFTA during the

election campaign, a position he has reiterated recently. To appease those in the Democratic Party, especially the trade union officialdom, who support more protectionist measures, Clinton has called for a stiffer version of the "Super 301" provision of the U.S. trade law. That provision gives the president powers to retaliate against what he considers "unfair" trade practices by other countries. Clinton has also stated he will seek supplemental agreements on labor and environmental issues before putting NAFTA's provisions into law.

Despite all the talk about free trade, the United States remains one of the biggest protectionist fortresses in the world. A recent study showed that the share of U.S. imports subject to quotas and other trade barriers rose

from 12 percent in 1980 to nearly 25 percent in 1989, one of the world's highest.

"I agree more jobs will be transferred to Mexico, but are we going to defend 'American' jobs? I am concerned about that," said Julie Pereault from Montreal, a member of the National Association of Students of Quebec.

"This is precisely the problem," Taylor responded. "By taking a side on this or that trade agreement we end up lining up behind a section of the capitalist class in each country and taking positions that pit Canadian, Mexican, and U.S. workers against each other — and workers inside each country against each other as well."

"Instead of focusing our energies to lobby against NAFTA and push for protectionist measures, we should be pressing the labor movement in the United States to organize solidarity with Mexican and U.S. workers fighting to defend their livelihood," Taylor argued. "The United Auto Workers union, for example, should have organized buses to bring workers, students, and material aid to the Volkswagen strikers in Puebla [Mexico] in September," he said. "We should organize students and other young people to take the initiative and do the same thing."

Numerous strikes and other struggles have taken place in Mexico in recent months. Some 20,000 textile workers shut down 200 factories for more than a month opposing company demands for speed-up. Oil workers struck against proposed layoffs in the state-owned company.

"We should join these struggles and raise demands that can unify the workers," Taylor said, "like cutting the workweek with no reduction in pay to create jobs; raising the minimum wage and other affirmative action proposals; and demanding the cancellation of the Third World debt," he added. "The labor movement should fight to organize workers in unions on both sides of the border."

"But you can't put that in a trade treaty," Harold Shuster, from the University of Winnipeg in Canada, objected.

"I agree with what the brother said before," said Darin Quintana, a student at the University of Colorado in Boulder. "If we are to form a student network we should plan to come down to Mexico when there is a strike or attacks by the bosses in the maquiladoras against the workers."

This debate spilled over in that afternoon's plenary session for a few minutes. The final resolution proposed by the labor workshop and adopted by the conference,

however, included a plan of action that mainly called for writing "letters to Congress or to our respective governments stating our positions with respect to the treaty," and for a "coordinated day of action between all the [participating] organizations against NAFTA."

'Maquiladoras' at U.S.-Mexico border

There was a lot of discussion at the conference about conditions facing workers at the U.S.-Mexico border. On the Mexican side of the border there are now some 500,000 workers employed at 2,100 assembly plants and other factories, known in Spanish as maquiladoras.

The treaty establishing the maquiladora plants was signed by the U.S. and Mexican governments in the 1960s. Foreign-owned companies are allowed in this and other "free trade zones" to bring machinery and raw materials duty-free, exploit Mexican labor at the minimum wage of 68 cents an hour, and export the products back to the United States or Canada with reduced custom duties.

Guadalupe Corona, a member of the Chicano student organization MECHA at San Diego State University, pointed to the disastrous environmental conditions in the region. Maquiladora owners are supposed to ship their hazardous wastes back to the United States and dispose of them there. Very few companies comply, however.

In 1989 the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency reported only 12 notifications of hazardous waste shipments across the Arizona-Mexico border. There were 85 in 1990. Transport and disposal of these materials is very expensive, so most wastes are stockpiled, dumped, or buried in the border region.

A June 1990 American Medical Association report described the border region as "a virtual cesspool and breeding ground for infectious disease." Chemical wastes and raw sewage dumped into rivers and canals have caused widespread abdominal illnesses, hepatitis, cancer, and birth defects.

During a workshop on the U.S.-Mexico border region, Corona and others said that every time workers tried to organize in unions they faced fierce repression from company goons. She said measures should be taken to stop these companies from opening more factories, such as organizing boycotts of multinationals that already operate maquiladoras. "NAFTA would make it easier for more maquiladoras to open," she said.

Gerardo Sánchez, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance from St. Paul, Minnesota, agreed with the description of the horrible conditions at the border and the need to organize workers. But he presented a sharply different view on what to do about it.

The problem is not that more workers are leaving their wretched conditions in the countryside to work in the cities, he said. The problem is that peasants are being driven off their land, working people in Mexico are being squeezed by the foreign debt, and working conditions at the maquiladoras and other factories are intolerable. Sánchez said the solution is to fight for land for the peasants and for the cancellation of Mexico's foreign debt.

"It is to our advantage that the industrial working class has expanded across the border," he said. "Instead of trying to stop companies from opening more maquiladoras, which is a utopian goal, we should press the labor movement in both countries to organize these workers in unions and fight for better living, working, and environmental conditions."

One of the proposals adopted by the conference was to organize water trucks as a symbolic act of solidarity to bring clean water to workers in the region. "These workers need solidarity, not charity," said Sánchez. "We should not look at them as a suffering class but as fighters, or potential fighters and leaders of a vibrant movement of workers and peasants, which can link up with workers and farmers in the United States and Canada."

Sánchez pointed to a wave of strikes in early 1992 in the city of Matamoros, across the border from Brownsville, Texas. Thirteen thousand workers, mostly employed by General Motors subsidiaries, struck when contracts in 50 plants expired. They won a 25 percent wage increase.

Defense of the rights of immigrant work-

Continued on Page 14

How 1983-87 revolution in Burkina Faso began to deal with crisis wracking Africa

Thomas Sankara Speaks: The Burkina Faso Revolution 1983-87. 260 pp. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1989. \$17.95 softcover.

BY DEREK BRACEY

The famine in Somalia and the U.S.-led invasion of that country have put a spotlight on the social and economic disaster that is wracking the African continent today. Basic living conditions for workers and peasants

IN REVIEW

in many countries in Africa have deteriorated dramatically in the last few years.

The most adverse effects of the current world capitalist depression have been felt in Africa. The economies of many African countries have virtually collapsed. Droughts affecting much of the region south and east of the Sahara Desert and in the southern part of the continent have exacerbated problems for the heavily agricultural economies.

Dozens of countries are now relying on food from international relief agencies to sustain large sections of the population, including countries like Zimbabwe, which exported grain up until April of this year. The real gross domestic product of Africa south of the Saharan Desert declined by an average of 1.2 percent between 1980 and 1989.

The response of the governments of the major industrialized capitalist powers has been to blame the peoples of Africa themselves for this social calamity.

George Ayittey is one of the "experts" on Africa who are favorably quoted in the big-business media. Ayittey, a scholar from Ghana now teaching at American University in Washington D.C., and the author of the book *Africa Betrayed*, summed up his views in the December 9 *Wall Street Journal* in an article entitled, "How Africa Ruined Itself."

Ayittey argues that the crisis in Africa is caused by "internal factors: misguided leadership, systematic corruption, economic mismanagement, senseless civil wars, tyranny, flagrant violations of human rights, and military vandalism," which are the products of "defective economic and political systems established and retained by many African leaders after independence."

Ayittey says this is the result of what he calls "statism," referring to the measures many African governments took following independence, including nationalization of some natural resources, that slightly weakened the total stranglehold imperialist corporations had during colonial rule.

These arguments were disproven by the workers and farmers of the West African nation of Burkina Faso, who carried out a deep-going revolution in 1983 that began to take on some of the fundamental problems in the country, one of the poorest in the continent.

The central leader of the revolution was Thomas Sankara, who mobilized the Burkinabe people to begin to take control of running the country.

Sankara addressed the devastated eco-



Peasants' rally in Burkina Faso in October 1987. Banner reads: "Farmers of Burkina Faso: hoes yesterday, hoes today, machinery tomorrow."

nomie, social, and environmental conditions in Africa. Burkina Faso was confronted with many of these problems when the revolutionary government took power on August 4, 1983.

Sankara's speeches are available from Pathfinder Press in English and French. *Thomas Sankara Speaks* and *Oser Inventer l'Avenir* (Dare to Invent the Future) are excellent books for not only understanding the crisis that Africa faces, but also what it will take to solve it.

Sankara explained in an October 1983 speech that the problems facing Burkina Faso resulted from the fact that after independence, the new government kept the same oppressive social order intact.

Battles for independence

Burkina Faso, then called Upper Volta, won formal independence from France on August 5, 1960. This came as France, along with other colonial powers, was reeling from massive battles for independence that swept the continents of Africa and Asia. The popular struggles in Algeria and Vietnam struck particularly hard blows at French colonial rule. As a result, France was forced to retreat from several of its colonial possessions.

"The decision by French colonial imperialism to cut its losses was a victory for our people over the forces of foreign oppression and exploitation," Sankara said. "From the masses' point of view, it was a democratic reform, while from that of imperialism it was a change in the forms of domination and exploitation of our people."

The new regimes that imperialism accepted in newly independent Africa let corporations of the former colonial powers continue their wholesale plunder of the natural resources.

Independence in the new nations led to the rise of new classes of rich Africans, who in addition to maintaining the flow of wealth to the old colonizers, stole additional wealth for themselves. "With the support and blessing of imperialism, Voltaic nationals set about organizing the systematic plunder of our country," said Sankara about the government of Upper Volta. "With the crumbs of this pillage that fell to them, they were transformed, little by little, into a truly parasitic bourgeoisie that could no longer control its voracious appetite."

Dog-eat-dog system of capitalism

Sankara identified the plunderers of the country as capitalists. The continued impoverishment of society was a result of the functioning of what he called the dog-eat-dog system of capitalism. This thievery was not unique to Upper Volta; it is an inherent aspect of all capitalist nations.

Sankara fought for a revolutionary transformation as the only way the workers and peasants could begin to move toward using the wealth they create for the benefit of society.

He explained that the transformation in Burkina needed to be democratic in that "its primary tasks are to liquidate imperialist domination and exploitation and cleanse the countryside of all social, economic, and cultural obstacles" that keep the country as a "backward, agricultural country where the weight of tradition and ideology emanating from a feudal-type social organization

weighs very heavily on the popular masses."

This process, he added, could only be carried through to the end by "the full participation of the Voltaic masses in the revolution and their consistent mobilization" around revolutionary goals that "express in concrete terms their own interests."

The revolutionary leadership began to organize and mobilize the Burkinabe people through bodies that sprung up in urban neighborhoods, villages, and workplaces called Committees in Defense of the Revolution (CDR). These CDRs began to press campaigns on literacy and broader education. They organized the extension of health care and took up other needs of the population.

Sankara campaigned strongly for the building of a movement to fight for the emancipation of women in Burkina Faso.



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.

Pathfinder bookstores report a growing membership in the Pathfinder Readers Club. Stores in Boston, Detroit, and Washington, D.C., each report four to six new members in November. Since October, Pittsburgh reports, they've signed up 10 new members. Between them, those four cities now have more than 100 members.

The Detroit store has begun posting Readers Club 25 percent special-discount prices for new titles on the shelves and in window displays, along with the regular prices. In Washington, D.C., bookstore volunteers are using posters advertising the Readers Club at book tables set up at conferences, campuses, and other locations. A Boston "gifts ideas" window display features Readers Club memberships and gift certificates along with feature titles.

Membership in the Pathfinder Readers Club is \$10 a year and entitles members to a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder books at any Pathfinder store in the world plus additional special discounts.

Pathfinder has recently received a request from the non-profit organization Recording for the Blind for permission to record *Women and the Cuban Revolution: Speeches and Documents* by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espin, and others to be made available on special audio cassettes for the visually impaired. Some 45 Pathfinder titles are already available in this form, covering a broad range of subjects. They include *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*; *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*; *The Changing Face of*

The revolutionary leadership organized many national campaigns to deepen the discussion throughout the country on advancing the equality of women in all aspects of society.

The government provided peasants with better resources, and fought to reverse the destructive methods imposed on agriculture by capitalist interests. In 1985 a campaign was launched to plant 10 million trees to slow the advance of the Sahara desert.

Through this, the CDRs sought to increase the role that the population played in organizing society as a whole. "The reform of our national economy's structures of production and distribution," Sankara explains, "aims to progressively establish effective control by the Voltaic people over the channels of production and distribution."

"For without genuine mastery over these channels, it is impossible in practice to build an independent economy that serves the interests of the people."

Sankara also fostered an internationalist perspective, explaining that the advance of the Burkinabe people was inseparably tied to the struggles of working people and the oppressed around the world.

Blaise Compaoré, the minister of state and justice, led a wing of the leadership that opposed the revolutionary direction Sankara was charting. Compaoré led a coup on October 15, 1987, in which Sankara and many others were murdered. The new regime then began to reverse the gains of the Burkinabe revolution.

In four years of revolution, the Burkinabe people began putting in practice some of the most far-reaching solutions to the crisis caused by capitalism throughout Africa and the rest of the semi-colonial world. The lessons of this process are well worth studying in *Thomas Sankara Speaks*.

U.S. Politics: The Proletarian Party and the Trade Unions; and *Fidel Castro: In Defense of Socialism*. To receive an application to register for Recording for the Blind and an information kit, call 1-800-221-4792.

Pathfinder supporters in Paris report sales of 24 copies of *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today: Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the '90s* during the first week it was available. The pamphlet, by Mary-Alice Waters, was published this past October in English, Spanish, and French.

The pamphlet first appeared as the introduction to Pathfinder's new French-language edition of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism* by Cuban author Carlos Tablada. More than 400 copies of the French edition of this book have been sold so far. This includes 17 copies recently ordered by readers in Paris, where Tablada will speak next February during the European leg of a tour that begins in Canada in mid-January. The French edition, *Che Guevara: l'économie et la politique dans la transition au socialisme*, is available for US\$26.95 (145 FF) and the pamphlet for \$3.50.

In the blizzard of publicity around the film on the life on Malcolm X, Pathfinder titles figured prominently in the lists of books to read. The November 29 *New York Times Book Review* included several Pathfinder titles by and about Malcolm X in a listing with brief reviews. Similar lists have appeared in more than 40 dailies from the *Detroit News* to the *Helena, Montana, Independent*. Other national publications such as *Entertainment Weekly*, *USA Weekend*, and *Publishers Weekly* have also listed Pathfinder titles.

Thomas Sankara Speaks

The Burkina Faso Revolution, 1983-87

Speeches and interviews with the assassinated president of Burkina Faso, telling the story of the revolution in that West African country.

260 pp. \$17.95

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U.S. moves to intervene in Yugoslavia

Continued from Page 5

Eagleburger named a number of political and military figures from Serbia as responsible for "crimes against humanity" — including Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. He proposed they be tried by a "second Nuremberg" tribunal in reference to the court that tried Nazi war criminals after World War II.

Eagleburger's list included a couple of obscure military commanders from Croatia, but left out Croatian president Franjo Tudjman or Mate Boban, Tudjman's lackey in Bosnia, who have been as responsible as Milosevic for the practice of "ethnic cleansing" and other atrocities in the Yugoslav carnage.

Washington's aggressive moves coincided with the last few days before the December 20 elections in Serbia and Montenegro. The U.S. government, along with governments in many European countries, have openly backed Yugoslav prime minister Milan Panic, who is running in a close race against Milosevic for Serbia's presidency.

In a December 4 speech to the Oxford Union Society in Oxford, Britain, former U.S. president Ronald Reagan advocated strongly this pro-war course. "As my fellow conservative, former UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick has pointed out, NATO forces are present [in the Adriatic]; they are trained; they are available and they are armed. Yet, they are also tragically, inactive," he said. Reagan called for "sharply focused bombing" against "Serbian military supplies and targets." Former British prime minister Margaret Thatcher called for similar air strikes as well.

Important differences over the timing and extent of such military action remain, however, between Washington and its rivals in several countries in Europe. British prime minister John Major urged George Bush and the incoming Clinton administration December 18 to accept more cautious steps, such as further tightening trade sanctions against Yugoslavia, rather than military action to enforce the no-fly zone.

The French government agrees to strikes against Serbian aircraft in Bosnia but not against targets on the ground. Both London and Paris have a considerable number of troops among the 23,000 UN soldiers in Bosnia and Croatia and are afraid of getting bogged down in a quagmire.

Cyrus Vance, the UN special envoy for the Yugoslav conflict, called on Bush December 18 to slow down steps toward military intervention as well. The proposal to enforce a no-fly zone "presents very great dangers," he said.

At a joint press conference with Bush in Washington, D.C., December 20, Major indicated he might be dropping some of his objections to Bush's proposals.

Elections in Yugoslavia

Parliamentary and presidential elections took place in Yugoslavia, now comprised of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, December 20. The hottest race was between current President Milosevic and Milan Panic.

Panic, originally from Belgrade, moved to the United States as a young man and became a millionaire in the pharmaceutical business. He moved back to Yugoslavia less than six months ago to take the job of federal prime minister with Milosevic's blessings. Panic has since distanced himself a bit from the practice of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia and has promised to grant Kosovo autonomy. Kosovo, with a majority Albanian population, had its autonomous status revoked by Milosevic in 1989 and has since been under virtual military rule by the regime in Serbia.

Washington hopes that a government under Panic will be better suited to do its bidding in former Yugoslavia.

Campaigners for Milosevic used Eagleburger's Geneva speech to rally support for the president's reelection bid. Appealing to Serbian nationalism, they accused Panic of being a pawn of Washington.

Meanwhile, fierce clashes between Radovan Karadzic's Serbian Democratic Party forces and the Bosnian army continues unabated in Bratunac, Gradacac, and other Bosnian cities. The Sarajevo airport has remained closed since December 1.

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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Somalia: Invasion or Humanitarian Mission? Speakers: Imam Abdul Aziz, Organization of Afro-American Unity; Ken Riley, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Jan. 2, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Translation to Spanish.

San Francisco

Socialist Educational Weekend. Thur., Dec. 31 New Years Eve party, 8 p.m.; Fri., Jan. 1, classes: Communist Manifesto, 2 p.m., Fight for Women's Rights, 4:30 p.m.; Sat., Jan. 2, class: Somalia, Yugoslavia, and the International Drive Toward War, 2:30 p.m., forum: Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today, 6 p.m.; Sun., Jan. 3, classes: Malcolm X: An International Anti-capitalist Revolutionary, 11 a.m.; The Coming Revolution in South Africa, 1:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$35 for entire weekend including meals, or \$3/class. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

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MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Deepening World Economic Crisis; Imperialist Rivalry and Trade Wars. Speaker: Cecelia Moriarty, Socialist Workers Party, member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 187. Sat., Jan. 2, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass Ave.) Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Cuban Missile Crisis. A video showing and discussion. Sat., Jan. 2, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. Donation \$3. Tel: (201) 643-3341

Pretoria forced to dismiss officers

Continued from front page

laborators of the South African Defense Forces have been involved, and in some cases are still involved, in illegal and/or unauthorized activities, and malpractices."

Pressed by reporters, de Klerk acknowledged possible involvement by the military in political assassinations. "I think I can say, yes, that the findings will lead to the conclusion that some of the activities have led to the death of people."

He noted that some of the 23 dismissed or suspended officers might be tied to right-wing groups that have violently opposed the current talks between the government and the ANC and other democratic organizations. "There are indications that some of

the individuals might have been motivated by a wish to prevent us from succeeding in our goals," he stated.

In a statement responding to the government's action, the ANC said: "The steps announced by President de Klerk are a step in the right direction, but are not nearly enough. There should be full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilization. The current revelations are clearly only the tip of the iceberg."

The ANC statement added that de Klerk's disclosure was "a crisis of major proportions which has a direct bearing on the negotiating process," referring to the present talks, through which the ANC is seeking to codify

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Socialist Educational Conference. South Africa: The African National Congress and the Struggle for Power, Fri., Jan. 1, 7 p.m.; Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today, Sat., Jan. 2, 7 p.m.; Malcolm X and his Relevance for Fighters Today, Sun., Jan. 3, 10 a.m.; classes on: Fight against Racist Attacks in Germany, Free Trade and Protectionism, Fight for Women's Rights Today, Somalia: Capitalism, Famine, and Imperialist Intervention. All sessions at Parkway Center Inn, 875 Greentree Rd. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Somalia: 'Humanitarian Aid' or Imperialist Invasion? Speaker: Manuele Lasalo, Communist League candidate for Sydney in 1993 federal elections. Sat., Jan. 9, 6 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

the basis for creating a new constitution that guarantees the right of all South Africans to vote.

"Transparency is essential," the statement continued, "and President de Klerk may not hide the implications of this crisis from the people of South Africa."

At the press conference, while not naming the military officers, de Klerk announced that 6 generals and 10 others had been dismissed, and 7 others had been placed on compulsory leave. All are part of the army.

According to two South African newspapers, the *Sunday Star* and *Rapport*, those dismissed included the army chief of staff, Maj. Gen. Hennie Roux, as well as Maj. Gen. Chris Thirion, deputy chief of staff of intelligence; and Brig. Gen. Ferdie van Wyk, director of army communications operations. The head of the Military Intelligence unit said to be in charge of the covert plot, Brig. Gen. Tolletjie Botha, was also dismissed.

The opposition Conservative Party denounced de Klerk's action as a "witch hunt" and expressed its support of the accused military officials.



Youth at funeral for victims of Boipatong massacre in September. De Klerk's firing of top generals is strongest admission to date of involvement of security forces in violent attacks on democratic movement.

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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.

This week's column is intended as an aid to political activists who are, by definition, late shoppers.

The information is lifted, with



Harry Ring

due thanks, from the *New Yorker* magazine's column, "On and Off the Avenue." What avenue? Fifth, of course. Is there any other?

A watch without numbers, and hands that look like the folded wings of a paper bird, "to point up

how time flies." \$1,020.

"Luxurious" cashmere mufflers, \$395 ... cashmere gloves "that really hold up," \$155 a pair ... cashmere-and-silk jerseys for women, "like long-sleeve T-shirts," \$425 to \$450, depending on the cut of the neckline.

From Giorgio Armani, "clothes for people who dress down on purpose," including "a perfectly weathered denim shirt," \$95.

A "Katharine Hepburn" white silk shirt, "with two flap pockets," \$180.

Black leather jackets with front zippers and two diagonal zip pockets. Women's sizes, \$895. Men, \$1,116. And (dig this), a

matching black leather chauffeur's cap, \$105.

Tie-silk patterns, printed on cotton and made up into men's boxer shorts, \$56 a pair.

A dressing-gown shop, which usually does made-to-measure, has ready-to-wear gowns for the holiday. A "Sherlock Holmes style fir-green wrapper," which would "look fine under the mistletoe," \$895.

Red silk man-tailored women's pajamas, "with notched collars," \$295 to \$495, depending on the quality of the silk ... matching ruby-red scuffs, \$75.

A white terry-cloth robe for men, "magnificently heavy," \$350 ...

"toasty" cashmere socks for men, \$50 a pair.

Tartan cashmere mufflers, "which would look right on just about anyone," \$125.

Hand-knit cardigans, "with four beflowered urns knit into the jacket, two on each side," \$650.

A swing coat, hand-knit, and "shaped like an upside-down funnel," \$655.

Finally, for those who might find these items a bit pricey, one shop is offering paper-cover cardboard boxes to stash telephone books in, \$45 each. If the intended recipient has too many phone books, you can settle for a chrome-plated box designed to hold pocket packets of nose

tissues, \$15 (tissues not included).

And, from us, a thank-you note and a reminder. First the reminder. We're back at our newly rebuilt old address, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006. Clippings sent to the editorial office in New York will be forwarded, but it does take longer.

The thank-you is for the steady flow of clippings we've been receiving from readers in more than a half-dozen countries.

For the past year at least, a majority of the items in the Great Society (including all of this one) have been based on such clippings. We think the collective input improves the column, and hope the contributions will continue and increase in number.

Meanwhile, Merry Marxmas and a revolutionary new year.

Rightists emboldened by German rulers' policies

BY JOHN COX

(Second of two articles)

BERLIN, Germany — Last week's article described the assault by the German ruling class and its government against the rights of foreign-born workers in Germany, and the measures they have taken to restrict the right to asylum. This offensive has given the green light to racist and fascist-type gangs, which have organized hundreds of violent attacks on immigrants and asylum-seekers this year.

The article also pointed out some significant examples of the sentiment against these attacks, in particular the massive anti-racist demonstrations that have taken place since early November.

The Christian Democratic government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl has been complicit in various ways in the wave of violence of the last four months. The police have refused to defend immigrant hostels in some cases and members of the police have actively participated in other attacks.

The judicial system has been conspicuously lenient in its treatment of right-wing thugs arrested in connection with violent attacks on foreign-born workers. In public statements and in the policy of the government, racist activity has been tolerated and even promoted.

Victims of rightist attacks have learned not to rely on police protection. Immigrant rights activist Hubert Gollin of the publication *Latin America News* in Berlin said in an interview that many of the cops openly sympathize with the racist thugs. He also noted remarks by a police official who had stated that "90 percent of the Peruvians and Chileans in Germany are criminals."

The Defense Ministry admitted in November that rightist groups had secretly used military training grounds to practice for their attacks on immigrant hostels.

The German judicial system has been tolerant in the few cases where racists have been brought to court for carrying out attacks. On November 20 a 23-year-old racist who participated in attacks in the city of Rostock in August was given a suspended sentence and a fine.

In an interview Ahmed Faray, an immigrant rights activist in Berlin, related the story of a judge who sentenced a Turkish worker to five years' imprisonment for petty theft. The same judge sentenced a rightist thug to one year for killing an Iranian, and gave another four years in prison for hurling a Namibian from a fourth-floor roof. The judge, Faray said, declared that "human rights are for the natives," meaning native Germans.

The government has given the green light to the racists by negotiating deals with the governments of Romania and Bulgaria to accelerate deportations of asylum-seekers — many of them Gypsies — back to those two countries.

Official sympathy with racists

A new bill was announced December 7 that would substantially undermine the constitutional guarantee to request asylum. The Christian Democratic Union, the major party in government, has recently used the slogan "No to false asylum-seekers!" in its election campaigns.

The government has also lent comfort to the rightists through pronouncements by

high-ranking officials denouncing asylum-seekers and calling for more restrictive laws. In this manner the blame for the violence is shifted onto the victims.

The government of the eastern German state of Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, where Rostock is situated, recently published a position paper stating that "many people have already lost their tolerance for current policies toward foreigners and asylum-seekers." The interior minister of this state, Lothar Kupfer, has become a vocal advocate of deporting Vietnamese-born residents of Germany.

Kupfer is one among the many bourgeois politicians who have lent credibility to the racist thugs. Kupfer said he felt "a certain understanding" for the Nazis who led the attacks in Rostock in late August, adding, "People who camp out in front of other peoples' homes arouse aggression."

Der Spiegel magazine recently published what it says are internal police documents proving that Kupfer refused to provide special police protection to the Rostock hostel that was attacked August 22. City officials had known for several days in advance of the racists' plans but took no measures against them.

Super-exploitation

As in the United States and other imperialist countries, at the same time that the capitalist political parties cite immigration as a "problem" and actively promote divisions within the working class based on nationality, the German rulers are not interested in eradicating immigration. Their goal is to maintain a section of the working class in second-class status who they can exploit more harshly.

German capitalism extracts super-profits from the labor of immigrant workers, who are threatened with deportation if they protest their conditions or attempt to organize themselves. These workers are permanently denied fundamental rights. It is virtually impossible for them to gain citizenship, even for those who have been granted asylum or have worked for years in Germany under contract.

Wahid W., an immigrant rights activist in eastern Berlin, explained that construction firms pay Romanian workers \$2 an hour for jobs that would pay German laborers \$20 an hour. These workers are forced by their dire economic situation and by legal restrictions to live in campers set up on the construction sites.

Ultraright and fascist groups

Some of the rightist groups, including the recently banned Nationalist Front, the German Alternative, and the Free Workers Party, use terminology that echoes that of the Nazis. The German Alternative calls for a "German revolution" and the establishment of a "Fourth Reich," and played a prominent role in organizing the violent attacks of the last months.

Similarly, the Nationalist Front disdains electoral politics and focuses on mobilizing thugs in the streets to pursue its reactionary agenda. It hopes to provide a "new united force for all revolutionary nationalists" and even speaks of a "people's socialism," as Hitler did before taking office. Its members claim the Nazi genocide of the Jews is a myth, and one of the group's posters shows a man bowing before a Holocaust memorial

under the slogan, "Germans, Learn to Stand Tall."

Some of these groups have forged ties with other ultrarightist groupings in Europe. Some German rightists have fought with the Croatian Armed Force (HOS), an outfit that carries out attacks on Serbs in Croatia.

Two ultranationalist political parties have emerged in German electoral politics. The Republican Party, led by former Nazi SS sergeant Franz Schönhuber, campaigns on an ultraright program. While many of their members participate in and even lead racist attacks, the Republican Party itself is oriented primarily toward electoral activity. The Republicans recently won 11 percent of the vote in municipal elections in the Bavarian city of Passau.

The German People's Union is the other major far-right party that engages in electoral politics. It is considered to be to the right of the Republicans and has a stronger orientation toward street actions. The party has won seats in the state parliament of Schleswig-Holstein.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
January 8, 1968 Price 10c

HAVANA, Cuba — Scientists, writers, and artists from every part of the world are arriving here for the Cultural Congress of Havana, a week-long conference that will open Jan. 4. It promises to be the broadest international gathering of intellectuals concerned with special issues to be held in many years.

The central theme of the Congress will be the effect of colonialism and neocolonialism on cultural development, with specific reference to Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The participants have been invited from every part of the world. There will be delegates from 84 countries.

In extending the invitation to the Congress, the Cuban initiators did not proceed on the basis of a narrow conception of the term "intellectual." In addition to artists, writers, and critics, there will be representatives from the physical and social sciences. Invitations were not made on the basis of political beliefs, and a diversity of views is expected to be heard at the Congress.

A preparatory seminar for the Conference was held here Oct. 25–Nov. 2. More than a thousand Cuban intellectuals participated. They generally agreed that there cannot be a significant cultural development under colonialism; that armed revolutionary struggle for socialist objectives is key to such development; and that intellectuals had the dual responsibility of developing their own work while at the same time contributing to the liberation struggle.

Such figures as Haydee Santamaria, of Casa de las Americas, advanced the idea that artists must experiment with new forms and styles to express the complexities of the underdeveloped world and should not be

restricted by so-called artistic realism.

Juan Bidobia, the principal organizer of the Congress, emphasized that while Cuba saw great value in the Congress, it had no intention of making any proposal that the Congress establish any kind of international organization, or adopt any particular programmatic stand.

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

January 9, 1943

The steady rise of OPA[Office of Price Administration]-authorized prices, above all prices of food, continues. This week the procession was led by increases in the price of milk and bread.

Flour prices have gone up about 10%. The amount of sugar, milk, and shortening in each loaf of bread has been cut. The consumer pays as much for a loaf of bread as he did previously, but the loaf represents less food than before.

Prices are so high that Donald Montgomery, former Department of Agriculture consumer's counsel, declared recently that 38% of American families will not be able to buy the meat allowed to them under the forthcoming meat rationing plan.

The price increases take place on the background of an ever more acute condition of shortage, particularly in beef and dairy products. Beef has become a rare item for workers in many parts of the country. Cream is a luxury food. Butter is scarce and often can be bought only by paying over ceiling prices.

These shortages strike hard and mainly at the workers. In the sections of cities where the wealthy live, goods are available because ceiling prices are higher. The rich are able to go to high-priced fancy restaurants, clubs and hotel dining rooms and eat of the best foods until surfeited. The workers must do without.

Hands off Yugoslavia, Somalia!

By offering NATO's services to the United Nations to shoot down Serbian planes, Washington is moving close to active military intervention in the former Yugoslavia. U.S. president George Bush and British prime minister John Major announced December 20 that they would push for a UN Security Council resolution that would authorize the use of force to make Serbia comply with a ban on flights over Bosnia — signalling that military action could be only days away.

Washington, London, and Paris have hesitated to adopt this course of action. The imperialist governments fear getting bogged down in the former Yugoslavia, and worry that the conflict might spread throughout the Balkans. Yet, despite their hesitations, the rival imperialist powers of Europe and North America have interests that increasingly conflict with each other, in a world capitalist economy marked by declining profit rates and stiffening competition over markets for commodities and capital.

The ruling families of the United States, Germany, Britain, and France are seeking to intervene in the Yugoslav conflicts to put their stamp on the outcome of events. It is not out of concern for the thousands of working people in Bosnia being slaughtered or brutally displaced by "ethnic cleansing" that they are contemplating military intervention.

The motives of Bush, President-elect Bill Clinton, Major, and French president François Mitterrand are as cold-blooded as those of the rival gangsters battling for control over Bosnia. Their hearts go out solely to hard cash, not human misery.

Washington worries that NATO might lose its predominant influence in military matters in Europe to one or another institution under the sway of Bonn or Paris.

The last thing the people of former Yugoslavia need is imperialist military intervention. In the past they have fought to overcome national divisions and unite to advance their own interests, including against Nazi occupation in the 1940s. From the beginning of the carnage a year and a half ago, layers of the working class in Yugoslavia have resisted the slaughter and the other horrors of "ethnic cleansing." Reliance on their own independent organization — not on any of the gangster-like regimes in Serbia, Croatia, and the other republics, nor on any capitalist government — is the only road forward.

In their fight to end the onslaught, people in Yugoslavia do need international solidarity. Working people around the world should demand an end to the economic sanctions against Serbia, as well as the arms embargo, massive food and medical aid to the besieged people of Bosnia, and the opening of the United States and other imperialist borders to refugees from Yugoslavia.

In Somalia, the ravaging of the country by armed gangs organized by rival factions of the former capitalist regime, serve as the pretext for the U.S.-led invasion. In the Horn of Africa, as in the Balkans, Washington's reasons for intervening are as cold-blooded as the bandits who steal food supplies. The U.S. rulers hope to set a precedent for further interventions and to establish a U.S. protectorate in that strategic area.

Working people in the United States and worldwide should oppose these imperialist aims both in Somalia and in the former Yugoslavia.

U.S. and allied troops out of Somalia!

Hands off Yugoslavia!

Imperial arrogance

The collapse of Washington's case against a Mexican doctor kidnapped from his country at the U.S. government's behest only serves to highlight the criminal character of the rulers' attitude to the laws and sovereignty of the United States' neighbors in the world.

In the "noble cause" of fighting drugs, U.S. officials organized a pirate expedition to Guadalajara, Mexico to abduct Dr. Humberto Alvarez Machain in April 1990. Alvarez was then promptly taken into the custody of the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency in El Paso, Texas, charged with participating in the torture of U.S. drug agent Enrique Camarena Salazar, and threatened with a sentence of life imprisonment.

Two years later the U.S. Supreme Court officially sanctioned this action when it ruled that Washington has the legal right to kidnap citizens of another country for prosecution in the U.S. regardless of terms of existing extradition treaties, which Washington currently has with 102 other nations. Imagine the outrage from this country's rulers if any government in the world proclaimed a similar right to enter the United States to seize anybody it wished to haul before a court!

Protests over this decision came from numerous governments, including Canada, Argentina, and Switzerland. The usually pro-U.S. *Economist* magazine of London said the decision made the U.S. "a sponsor of vigilante values."

Outrage in Mexico over this decision threatened to disrupt negotiations over the North American Free Trade Agreement, which was in the process of being completed at the

time. The legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union for southern California, Paul Hoffman, aptly summed up the fiasco this case has turned out to be for the U.S. rulers when he pointed out, "What the Supreme Court did was authorize lawless behavior. Now it turns out the government also didn't have a case against him." But Washington's action would have been no less outrageous had it managed to make some charges stick against Alvarez.

Washington's declaration of its right to kidnap individuals anywhere in the world reeks of imperial arrogance.

This was a repeat performance of Washington's invasion of Panama in 1989, when it seized then Panamanian president Manuel Noriega, forcibly bringing him to the United States to stand trial on drug charges.

The attempt by the U.S. government to restrict trade with Cuba by businesses in other countries, which was recently passed by Congress as part of the Torricelli bill, is another example of Washington attempting to exercise imperial prerogatives.

These actions show the disdain Washington holds for other nations' right to sovereignty, as well as for norms of international law. Despite assertions that its policies are based upon the highest motives, when it comes down to it Washington follows the crude doctrine that massive military might makes right.

Working people throughout the world should oppose and condemn Washington's self-proclaimed "right" to police the world.

Return Palestinians home now!

In a blatant violation of basic human rights, Israel's Zionist rulers expelled 415 Palestinians on December 17, arrested days earlier in mass police sweeps in the West Bank and Gaza, and dumped them in a deserted rocky area in Lebanon.

The Palestinians are now stranded in freezing weather in a strip of land between Lebanese border patrols and Israeli troops in southern Lebanon.

The expulsions are against not only the interests of the Palestinian people but the entire Israeli working class, as well as working people the world over.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin claimed he ordered the inhuman mass expulsions in retaliation for "terrorist" killings of Israeli soldiers.

But the chief terrorist in the region is the Israeli government itself. Its armed forces maintain the occupation of West Bank and Gaza by brute force and violence. The recent killings of Palestinians in Gaza and elsewhere, including an eight-year-old girl, show the true face of the Zionist occupiers. The round-the-clock curfews amount to virtual house arrest for the entire Palestinian population in the occupied territories. Palestinians inside Israel are brutalized and discriminated against on a daily basis.

Despite their nearly 50-year-long terror, the Zionist rulers have not been able to put an end to the just struggle for Palestinian self-determination.

The expulsions, and the blatant manner in which they were carried out, caused widespread condemnation of Tel Aviv's actions around the world. Led by Washington, the United Nations Security Council and the European Com-

munity, joined in demanding the deportees be allowed to return home. President-elect Bill Clinton disapproved of the deportations as well, while not uttering a word against Israeli killings of Palestinian children.

Rabin's government takes advantage of the terrorist methods employed by Hamas and the Islamic Holy War to garner support among working people in Israel for its use of naked violence against the Palestinian people.

The tactics Hamas uses, which include killings of opponents and threats against Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) leaders, hurt the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination. Many Palestinian leaders have spoken out against such tactics. Hamas's openly stated anti-Semitism is reactionary and should be rejected. Such positions divide Palestinians from the working class inside Israel at a time when the possibility and the necessity for such an alliance is greater than ever.

Clear positions such as are advocated by many Palestinian leaders themselves against terrorist methods, the use of violence within the liberation movement, and anti-Semitism, are necessary for the advance of the struggle for self-determination.

The denial of basic human rights to millions of Palestinians by the Israeli rulers, however, is at the root of the violence against working people in Israel and the occupied territories.

Young people and the labor movement around the world should unequivocally demand that the expulsions of Palestinians be reversed.

Mexico student conference debates trade agreement

Continued from Page 10

ers in the United States and Canada was another topic of discussion. Resolutions from several workshops proposed that student organizations should raise demands on Washington and Ottawa to drop immigration restrictions "so that workers can move and work freely across borders."

U.S.-Canada trade

Many delegates from Canada argued throughout the conference that the 1989 Free Trade Agreement (FTA) between the United States and Canada is the major reason behind the current economic recession and the cutbacks in social services enacted by the Mulroney government. Unemployment in Canada is now nearly 12 percent.

"We are the people who have experienced free trade for the last four years," said Jamie M'Evoy, a member of the Canadian Federation of Students. "Under the FTA we have watched the effects of the worst economic depression since the 1930s," he said.

"We can tell our Mexican brothers, our social structure is under attack," he continued. "We see the gradual undermining of our health-care system. Our universities are under threat of privatization. Canada's stricter environmental regulations are compromised to lower U.S. standards."

Alex Boston, from Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia, said the new trade agreement would make things even worse. "Canada will be completely taken over by U.S. multinationals if NAFTA is implemented," he said. "The notion of a Canadian 'ruling class' is a myth."

"Canada is one of the six or seven wealthiest imperialist powers in the world," responded Patricia O'Beirne, a student at McGill University in Montreal and a member of the Young Socialists. It is far from becoming a U.S. colony, she said, noting that Canada's banks and monopolies are a major part of the international imperialist system.

These corporations are exporting not the "Canadian dream" but big capital and the accompanying exploitation, misery, and oppression — especially to Latin America, and the Caribbean, as well as Asia, and Africa, she stated.

"The truth is that both Liberal and Conservative governments have been carrying out sharp cuts in unemployment insurance, hospital care, welfare, and education for more than 15 years," O'Beirne said. "Canada's capitalist rulers have stepped up these attacks and have every intention of squeezing working people even more as a worldwide depression of their system has set in. This will be just as true whether the new free trade pact is signed or not."

O'Beirne said the FTA had not eliminated protectionist barriers between the United States and Canada. She pointed out the numerous recent trade disputes between Washington and Ottawa over the export of lumber, beer, and other commodities.

"Why should working people in Canada oppose the elimination of tariffs between the two countries? The argument that we should fight to protect 'our' jobs or 'our' social system against workers in the United States or any other country is a deadly trap," the young socialist said.

She pointed to the spectacle of auto workers in Canada competing with U.S. auto workers for jobs by accepting concessions to prevent General Motors from closing plants, as an example of where protectionist arguments lead.

"Instead of fighting for 'Canadian jobs' we should join our brothers and sisters across the border when they are in fights like the auto strike in Lordstown, Ohio, earlier this year," she said. "We are part of an international working class that shares a common exploitation and a common enemy, regardless of what country we live in."

Debate on Cuba

The last day of the event a delegate from the Guadalajara-based Federation of University Students proposed that the conference adopt a resolution condemning the 33-year-old U.S. trade embargo against Cuba. "What does Cuba have to do with NAFTA?" asked a student from Canada.

The Mexican student pointed to the November 24 vote at the United Nations that overwhelmingly condemned the U.S. embargo. Both the Canadian and Mexican governments, acting to defend their own trade and markets, voted for the resolution proposed by Cuba. Only the governments of the United States, Israel, and Romania opposed the resolution.

"My organization strongly objects because we are in favor of the embargo," said Wozny of the AFL-CIO youth group. He was a lonely voice, however. Of the 150 conference participants, only Wozny and the representative of the Democratic Socialists of America Youth Section voted against the proposal to condemn the U.S. embargo against Cuba.

Similar discussions and debates can be expected to take place among students and other youth who will participate in many of the actions projected out of the Guadalajara meeting. The conference called for coordinated protests against NAFTA in January and April of 1993.

Unionists end strike against 'Pittsburgh Press'

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, 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 to let other *Militant* readers

sent some 600 workers, agreed to similar wage and benefit packages. One of them, Mailers Local 22, faces substantial job eliminations.

The Scripps Company put the *Pittsburgh Press* up for sale in October after failing to reach an agreement with the unions, and after its attempt to print the paper with scabs was defeated by a mobilized labor movement.

ON THE PICKET LINE

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.

Teamsters Local 211, which has been on strike against the *Pittsburgh Press* since May 17, has agreed to a new five-year contract. The agreement was reached with Blade Communications, which is in the process of buying the *Press* from the E.W. Scripps Company. Blade also reached agreements with nine other printing unions. This clears the way for the purchase, which has to be approved by the U.S. Justice Department. Blade already owns the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, the other daily paper in Pittsburgh. The *Post-Gazette* has not come out during the strike because its printing and distribution was handled by the *Press*.

The contract reportedly includes raises of \$112 per week over five years, higher pension benefits, and a \$1,000 signing bonus. Workers will pay more for health benefits. The contract allows Blade to implement a new distribution system, which will eliminate 260 of 620 Teamster jobs, spread over five years.

Teamsters who lose their jobs, or who accept early retirement, will receive a buyout ranging from \$10,000 to \$75,000 depending on length of service. The new distribution system will also eliminate most, but not all, youth carriers. The union succeeded in prohibiting company supervisors from doing work at the distribution centers.

The other nine unions, repre-

In late July some 5,000 workers from dozens of unions surrounded the *Press* building and prevented trucks from leaving. The company's attempt to print and distribute the paper from remote sites also met resistance from squads of strikers, subscribers sympathetic to the workers, and newsstand owners who refused to carry it.

The strikers' fight was so popular that all major advertisers felt compelled to withdraw their advertising from the scab paper, and the courts delayed ruling on the company's request for an injunction limiting pickets. After two days the company threw in the towel and ended its attempt to print with scab labor. The union officials then ended the pickets as a gesture of good faith to help negotiate a contract. Although Scripps then refused to accept the unions' "final offer," the new owners have reportedly agreed to do so.

The new owners have announced that they plan to merge the *Press* and the *Post-Gazette* into one daily paper, laying off part of the editorial staff. Some members of the staff are challenging the merger under anti-trust laws, and are trying to engineer an employee buyout of the *Press*.

Northwest Airlines demands \$900 million in givebacks

Northwest Airlines is on a drive to obtain \$900 million in concessions from its union employees. Nationwide, some 26,000 workers at Northwest are members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM); 9,000 flight atten-



Militant/Sheila Ostrow

July rally to support the Pittsburgh Press strikers

dants are members of the Teamsters Union; and 5,500 pilots are represented by the Airline Pilots Association.

Northwest has lost almost \$1 billion over the past three years. Most of the airline's nearly \$2 billion of debt was incurred in 1989, when owner Al Checchi bought the airline in a highly leveraged buyout, which received major financing from Bankers Trust and KLM Royal Dutch Airlines.

Facing stiffening competition and declining profit rates, a growing number of airlines—including TWA, USAir, and Alaska—have demanded and obtained major concessions from IAM members. Delta, a nonunion airline, has also announced plans to cut its workers' wages.

In a November 18 letter to Northwest Airlines president John Dasberg, IAM vice-president John Peterpaul stated that the machinists union had agreed in principle to negotiate approximately \$300 million in concessions over the next three years.

At a packed membership meeting of IAM Local 1833 in Minneapolis November 19, international representative King McCollough's motivation for accepting concessions found little support. A former Eastern airline mechanic stated, "I've seen this movie before. Concessions don't work. They don't save your job. I'll vote no on this."

A ticket agent who had attended

the meeting said, "I'm torn. I don't want to lose my job, but I really don't want to throw my wages down a black hole. I don't know what choice we have."

British Columbia K-Mart workers fight for union contract

Striking K-Mart workers in Port Alberni, British Columbia, have been picketing outside the boarded-up store where they once worked. K-Mart locked its doors July 6 when one hundred members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1518 struck to press their demands for a first and fair contract.

Although workers at non-union K-Mart stores have received wage increases and benefit improvements, union employees were offered nothing. The workers want parity with other K-Mart employees, a union shop, and seniority rights. K-Mart has hired part-time employees at lower wages rather than give the work to senior employees.

Recently four full-time employees were terminated without warning or just cause. These workers were not given the option of part-time work, and part-timers were then hired. K-Mart workers and supporters responded to this attack November 9 by blocking trucks removing merchandise from the Port Alberni store.

Twelve people were arrested.

In a letter to the *Alberni Valley Times*, striker Verna Proctor explained, "We have been union certified for 18 months and still don't have a first contract. For years we have had to work under these conditions and now we must stand up to the company and make ourselves heard." The "K-Mart Dozen" were held in contempt of court for violating an injunction. The charge was later dropped. □

Canadian unionists plan protests against cuts in unemployment benefits

With the unemployment rate soaring to 11.8 percent, the highest in a decade in Canada, Ottawa has escalated its attack on working people by announcing drastic cuts to unemployment insurance benefits and freezing the wages of federal government workers for two years.

The British Columbia Federation of Labor convention in early December adopted an emergency resolution calling on the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) to plan a national day of protest including rallies, marches, and work stoppages demanding that the government annul the proposed unemployment benefit cuts and that a new election be called.

Mike Barker, delegate from the Hospital Employees union explained, "It's possible and necessary to defeat the legislation proposed now. We can't necessarily force an election but we can mobilize in the streets to defeat this attack. We have no guarantee that we will win but if we fight it will put us in a stronger position for the next struggle." □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Bill Scheer, member of Ironworkers Local 527 in Pittsburgh; Michael Goldwater, member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 1781 in San Francisco; Dan Grant and Ned Dmytryshyn from Vancouver, British Columbia; and George Rose, member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1967 in Toronto, Ontario.

LETTERS

Activist acquitted

On December 9 anti-police brutality activist and former Socialist Workers candidate for Congress Chris Nisan was found not guilty on a charge of failure to yield to an emergency vehicle, which carries a \$152 fine.

The trumped-up charge stemmed from an October 22 incident in which Nisan, while stopped at a traffic light, observed Minneapolis police brutally throwing a Black man down on the sidewalk. Seeing that Nisan was witnessing their conduct, the police changed their behavior, picking the man up and dusting him off. After deciding that the danger of more serious police brutality had passed, Nisan pulled away, and was pulled over and ticketed.

The two cops who issued the ticket, Blackwell and Hirsh, said that Nisan's car blocked them from going around the corner to assist a fellow officer.

Fifteen activists attended the trial in support of Nisan, including Matthew Ramadan from the Northside Residents Redevelopment Association; Mel Reeves, editor of the *Minneapolis Spokesman*; Mahmoud El-Kati, a professor at Macalester College; and Lynn Hinkle, United Auto Workers Local 879 commit-

teeman. Also, 20 letters of support demanding that the charges be dropped were sent to the city district attorney.

Explaining her ruling of not guilty, Judge Dolores Orey cited the contradictions in the cops' testimony as establishing reasonable doubt. The cops angrily stormed out of the courtroom right after the verdict.

Joe Callahan
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Grain monopolies

The editorial "Farmers lose in trade conflict" in the December 4 issue of the *Militant* explains clearly why workers and farmers have no interest in taking sides in the "free trade" conflict over agricultural goods between the U.S. government and members of the European Community.

One statement in the editorial is misleading, however. Referring to the Cargill and Continental monopolies, it says, "These grain giants set the world market prices of food commodities."

While these traders do set the prices farmers get, they do not control world price levels. These prices vary daily with perceived changes in supply and demand as reflected in markets like the Chicago Board of

Trade. Cargill then sets the prices it pays farmers so that Cargill makes a profit on every bushel of grain it buys no matter whether the farmer makes a little or loses a lot on each bushel. As Doug Jenness explains in the *Pathfinder* pamphlet, *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s*, the big grain merchants "are price makers and keep working farmers in the role of price takers."

Cargill also uses its tremendous size, monopoly position in the U.S., and its own international communications network to learn and control information that will lead to changes in world prices. Cargill makes deals that give it superprofits because it has a better idea, first, about what the demand and supply situation will be.

All this power still doesn't allow them to set prices on the world market. In the workings of the capitalist system, competition between the world's food traders and paying food buyers is continuously changing prices. Furthermore, these supply and demand price changes include the continual drive of prices under capitalism towards the lowest cost of production. Saying that the grain giants set world market prices makes it sound like they have more control over the workings of the capitalist world economy than

they really do.

But as the *Militant* editorial points out, competition between the imperialist powers over these very markets and profits (which includes prices) is what fuels the trade wars and the shooting wars they lead to. And, as the editorial says, there are big stakes for the governments of each national ruling class in trying to convince farmers that they should support "their" governments in these conflicts.

John Staggs
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Rescuing Marx's works

As an occasional reader of the *Militant* I was very pleased to read a few issues back that you had the foresight to rescue the works of Marx and Lenin from Progress Publishers in Moscow. These are very important works and I find it hard to believe that there were not more organizations involved in trying to save them. I have always wanted a complete set but due to the cost I have been unable to realize this.

My suggestion to help you in your efforts to make them available to working people is to explore the feasibility of offering them in a "book club" installment program. This would reduce the cost to man-

ageable monthly amounts and would thus make it much easier for the people who want and require this valuable resource an immediate practical and affordable method of obtaining it.

Thom Jarvis
Oshawa, Ontario

Editor's note: *Pathfinder Press* is currently making the Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works of V.I. Lenin, and Writings of Leon Trotsky available at discounts of 25-30 percent off normal rates. These offers, which expire January 31, are available to members of the *Pathfinder Readers Club*. To inquire about the special offers and about joining the *Pathfinder Readers Club* (for a \$10 annual fee), contact the *Pathfinder* bookstores listed on page 12, or *Pathfinder* at 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Payments can be made by cash, check, or by Visa or MasterCard.

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.

U.S. is forced to release doctor who was framed, abducted from Mexico

BY SARA LOBMAN

A U.S. federal judge threw out charges December 16 against a Mexican doctor, Humberto Alvarez Machain, who was kidnapped from his country in 1990 by bounty hunters hired by the U.S. government to stand trial in the torture and murder of a U.S. drug agent. In his ruling, U.S. District Court judge Edward Rafeedie said the evidence presented during two weeks of testimony had been based on "hunches" and the "wildest speculation." The prosecution failed to show that Alvarez had participated in the torture of the drug agent, Enrique Camarena Salazar, he added.

Rafeedie also disclosed that a Mexican police officer had told U.S. government lawyers in September that they were prosecuting the wrong man. The officer apparently told FBI agents that based on his questioning of numerous suspects, another doctor, not Alvarez, had been present while the drug agent was interrogated.

Alvarez was abducted and flown to the United States on April 3, 1990. The kidnapers, claiming to be Mexican Judicial Federal Police officers, arrested Alvarez in Guadalajara after informing him he was being charged with performing an illegal abortion. He was flown to El Paso, Texas, turned over to waiting U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officials, and arraigned in the U.S. district court in Los Angeles.

U.S. officials claimed that Alvarez, a gynecologist, had administered drugs to Camarena so that the agent's heart would not

fail during torture allegedly inflicted on him during questioning by drug traffickers.

Alvarez's kidnapping provoked a storm of protest from the Mexican government and a debate within the United States. Mexican attorney general Enrique Alvarez de Castillo told the U.S. attorney general that it was the "exclusive province of Mexican authorities to fight narcotics trafficking... within its own territory."

In August 1990, Judge Rafeedie ordered Alvarez's release on the grounds that his kidnapping violated international law. A federal appeals court upheld the decision, but in June 1992 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled, 6-3, that the United States was entitled to kidnap citizens of other countries for prosecution in the United States, regardless of protests from the

other nation or the terms of existing extradition treaties. The governments of Canada, Argentina, and other Latin American countries joined the Mexican government in protesting the Supreme Court decision. The Mexican government called the ruling "invalid and unacceptable." On June 15 it ordered the suspension of DEA activity on Mexican soil. After assurances from U.S. officials that there would be no further kidnappings, the ban was lifted. Paul Hoffman, legal director for the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of southern California, who argued the doctor's case before the Supreme Court, said of this week's acquittal, "What the Supreme Court did was authorize lawless behavior. Now it turns out the government also didn't have a case against him."

Alvarez, who had planned to return to Guadalajara immediately following the acquittal, was forced to spend an extra day in a federal detention center where immigration officials claimed they were going to question him about his immigration status. Virginia Kice, a spokeswoman for the immigration service's western regional office acknowledged that this was "a means of buying time."

Alvarez was finally released December 16. He flew home at his own expense. Judge Rafeedie refused a request by his lawyer that the U.S. government pay his airfare. He arrived in Mexico City proclaiming his innocence. The Mexican government said it would not prosecute him in Camarena's death.

Alabama strikers seek broader support

BY BETSY FARLEY

BESSEMER, Alabama — As the strike against Trinity Industries here enters its fourth month, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 9226 members are extending their outreach work to other unions and the community. Strike activists recently spoke to students at the University of Alabama in Birmingham at the invitation of two professors there.

Evan Roberts, a union member who worked in assembly before the strike, spoke

to one class. The students were interested and sympathetic, asking questions for nearly an hour following the presentation. Roberts explained the issues — medical insurance, wages, pensions, and amnesty for those fired for "strike violations."

"But we're not just fighting for ourselves," Roberts said. "This strike is part of something bigger. The standard of living for all working people has been declining for the last 10 years. We're fighting to turn that around. We're fighting so the working class

doesn't have to pay for the economic crisis," he continued.

Since the strike began the company has attempted to maintain production with supervisors and scabs, but so far not one railcar has been produced. "The company has less than 50 scabs," Roberts told the students. "When people have come to apply for work, we've been able to convince most of them not to cross the picket line."

Trinity's disregard for safety on the job is also another concern of the union. Since the strike began there has been a drastic increase in serious accidents. One supervisor was seriously injured when a railcar was moved while he was still doing correction work from a scaffold.

In mid-December Trinity top management fired 17 supervisors, offering them the choice of staying on as hourly workers at \$7-10 an hour, the same wages the scabs receive. Workers on the picket line say this reflects the difficulty the company has had in recruiting people to cross the line.

Solidarity from other unions remains strong, especially from coal miners, whose contracts expire in February 1993. United Mineworkers of America (UMWA) District 20 presented the local strike and defense fund with a check for \$1,000. Several UMWA locals have taken up collections for the Steelworkers, and the UMWA local from the Arkadelphia mine brought over a pickup truckload of food to add to the Christmas week grocery distribution at the union hall. Contributions have been received from locals of the USWA, International Molders' and Allied Workers' Union, Amalgamated Transit Workers Union, Communications Workers of America, United Rubber Workers, United Auto Workers, and many others.

Miners from UMWA Local 1928 are hosting a Christmas party for the Steelworkers and their families at the UMWA union hall. Toys for strikers' children have been donated by the Jefferson County Labor Council, USWA Local 1013, and others.

Strikers recently spoke to the weekly United Fellowship Breakfast sponsored by a number of Birmingham-area Black churches. Strikers Juanita Lee and Shelton McCrahey invited the ministers to join them on the picket line at the plant, and a collection was taken up. The local also organized its first "Women's Day" on the picket line on December 15. When scabs and supervisors left the plant that day they were greeted by a picket force of women strikers and strike supporters with signs that read, "The union is forever — bosses and scabs are temporary," and "Trinity is the Grinch who Stole Christmas."

Betsy Farley is a member of USWA Local 2122 at USX Corp.'s Fairfield Works.



Strikers' picket line in front of Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama. Solidarity for the strike remains strong.

Gov't may weigh tax on health-care benefits

BY SARA LOBMAN

A growing number of politicians and professors in the health-care field are throwing their weight behind various plans to tax the health-care benefits of working people as a "solution" to the health-care crisis in the United States.

This approach, called "managed competition," would require all workers to pay taxes on the amount of money their employer spends on health-care benefits that is more than the cost of the least expensive plan available. In this scheme, designated "sponsors" would represent groups of insurance "consumers" and would be responsible for negotiating the best insurance rates. The taxes would supposedly become an incentive to push for the lowest rates.

Proponents of managed competition claim that it would make everyone, workers and bosses, more conscious of the cost of health care. Individuals and businesses would supposedly choose health plans more carefully, forcing insurers to offer more competitive rates. As is often the case with proposals for new taxes, its supporters claim

that the money would be used for an especially good purpose: it could buy insurance for millions of people who at present have no medical coverage, they say. This is based on the false assumption that there is a connection between how a tax is raised and where the money is spent.

Working people in the United States do indeed face a tremendous health-care crisis. Nearly 30 million people, including 12 million children, have no medical insurance whatsoever. Even with insurance coverage, workers are often forced to pay thousands of dollars in deductibles and copayments a year. The average family spent \$4,296, 11.7 percent of their annual income, on health care in 1991.

Health-care benefits have been a target of employer attacks as well. Employer-financed contributions for family health coverage fell from 51 percent in 1980 to 34 percent in 1988. In the same period, hourly health insurance benefits have been reduced almost by half, from \$1.63 per hour in 1980 to \$0.85 per hour in 1989. The Supreme Court in November upheld a lower court

decision that employers may slash the health insurance coverage of workers who develop costly illnesses. The ruling came out of a lawsuit filed on behalf of John McGann. McGann had worked at a Houston music store for six years when he contracted AIDS. Soon after he filed his first claim with his employer's health insurance, the company lowered the lifetime limit on AIDS-related employee health benefits from \$1 million to \$5,000.

David Himmelstein, an assistant professor at Harvard Medical School and an opponent of managed competition, pointed out that the result of the tax would be to force many people into inferior health plans. "If you don't have strong penalties to drive people into cut-rate plans," Himmelstein said, "they don't have incentives to go to what is lower quality care. And the bottom tier of this system could be very poor."

In an interview with the *Wall Street Journal* December 18, President-elect Bill Clinton indicated support for the idea of taxing health-care benefits above a certain level.