

# THE MILITANT

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— symbol of a greedy boss

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## U.S. planes attack Iraq while 'allies' hesitate

BY DEREK BRACEY

As U.S. jets continue to attack Iraqi positions, the coalition of governments that joined Washington's forces in the Gulf war is becoming more vocal in its reluctance to continue the course of maintaining military pressure on Iraq. Since the January 17 cruise missile attack outside Baghdad and two further bombing raids by U.S., British, and French jets, several governments have said they are considering no longer giving blanket approval to military strikes.

U.S. planes fired a missile at a radar installation January 19, saying that the radar was aimed at them, and dropped cluster bombs on an anti-aircraft battery, in two separate incidents in northern Iraq. Similar attacks have occurred January 21 and 22 in northern Iraq and on January 23 in the southern part of the country.

The attacks occurred despite Baghdad's January 20 announcement of a cease-fire in the areas proclaimed off-limits to Iraqi aircraft. U.S. officials admitted January 24 that in the January 23 incident, at least, Iraqi radar had not been tracking U.S. planes. Iraq said the cease-fire was a gift to new U.S. president Bill Clinton in hopes of easing tensions and U.S. constriction of Iraq's economy and military. Washington continues to maintain an economic embargo established in August 1990, during the build-up to the Gulf war.

The regime in Baghdad has maintained that the no-fly zones are a violation of Iraqi sovereignty.

On January 20, Baghdad also announced that United Nations teams could enter Iraq on planes that cross the no-fly zones. Iraq had earlier banned UN flights, then said it could not guarantee their safety in the zones because of the military's attacks on U.S. planes. A 52-member UN weapons destruction team arrived in Baghdad January 21.

Meanwhile, more troops are on their way to the Persian Gulf region. UN secretary-



Iraqi soldier examines U.S. bomb dropped near town of Mosul. Paris and Moscow, among others, have expressed doubts over continuing attacks.

general Boutros Boutros-Ghali is proposing a force of 3,645 troops to the border redrawn by the UN between Iraq and Kuwait. This force is to include three mechanized infantry battalions.

The U.S. aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy*,

with 85 jets and its escort vessels left port in Naples, Italy, and is heading to the eastern Mediterranean.

The number of cruise missiles the Pentagon says hit their target in the January 19

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## Renewed war in Croatia in midst of Balkan talks

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Despite the start of yet another round of talks in Geneva aimed at ending the war in the Balkans, fighting and assaults on civilians continue to rage throughout Bosnia and have erupted anew in Croatia, breaching a year-long cease-fire negotiated by United Nations officials.

After two days of heated debate, the unelected Bosnian Serb parliament voted January 20 to approve a proposal to split Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 autonomous provinces linked together in a decentralized state.

This proposal had been presented January 2 in Geneva by former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance, representing the United Nations, and Lord Owen of Britain, representing the European Community. It had previously been approved by Bosnian Croat leader Mate Boban and accepted "in principle" by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Muslim-led Bosnian government.

Initially, right-wing Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic rejected the plan but reversed this position under pressure from his ally, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. In presenting this "peace plan" to his followers, however, Karadzic explained that they would not be abandoning their goal, a separate Serbian state in Bosnia that could later be annexed to Serbia.

According to a news analysis by John

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## U.S. oil giants to gain from Somalia invasion

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The U.S. invasion of Somalia, which officials continue to describe as a humanitarian mission to feed starving Somalis, comes at a convenient time for several U.S. oil companies.

According to an article in the January 18 *Los Angeles Times*, in the late 1980s nearly two-thirds of Somalia was allocated in the form of concessional blocs to the U.S. oil giants Conoco, Amoco, Chevron, and Phillips by dictator Mohammed Siad Barre, who ruled the country for two decades until being overthrown in January 1991.

According to the *Times*, "Companies holding the rights to the most promising concessions are hoping that the Bush Administration's decision to send U.S. troops to safeguard aid shipments to Somalia will also help protect their multimillion-dollar investments there."

"There's no doubt there's oil there," stated Thomas O'Connor, the principal petroleum engineer for the World Bank, who headed a three-year study of oil prospects in the Gulf of Aden off Somalia's northern coast. A 1991 World Bank report on eight African nations put Somalia and Sudan at the top of the list of prospective commercial oil producers.

"In the oil world, Somalia is a fringe exploration area," a Conoco executive stated, seeking to downplay the company's operations there. "With America, there is a genuine humanitarian streak in us... that many other countries and cultures cannot understand," he stressed.

While most of the U.S.-based oil compa-

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## Abortion rights activists mobilize to defend clinics in Washington, D.C.

BY BRAD DOWNS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Hundreds of defenders of a woman's right to choose mobilized here January 22-23 to successfully defend abortion clinics from attack by anti-choice protesters. In addition to many activists from the Washington, D.C., area, individuals and groups from other cities came to be part of the fight. The Women's Health Action and Mobilization organized two buses with 80 volunteers from New York.

Antiabortion forces had organized several days of activities around the Clinton inauguration and the 20th anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision on January 22. Leaders of Operation Rescue, one of the main anti-choice groups, had been encouraged by a recent Supreme Court ruling that an 1871 civil rights law could not be used to prevent the blockade of abortion clinics.

In the weeks leading up to the anniversary, hundreds of people attended planning meetings and training sessions organized by the Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force. Volunteers posted leaflets, made

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Pro-choice activists successfully kept open three clinics January 23

Militant/Margrethe Siem

India clashes are product of rising class tensions — page 9





## IN BRIEF

### British gov't weighing press curbs

The British government is considering curbs on the press that would include fines and mandatory apologies for those violating a proposed government-decreed "code of conduct."

According to a report leaked to major British newspapers in mid-January, the government of Prime Minister John Major is weighing a proposal to set up a Press Complaints Tribunal made up of a judge and two others appointed by the government. The body could rule that newspaper articles critical of political figures were in violation of its "code" and fine the papers or order them to print apologies and corrections, as defined by the tribunal.

Proponents of the measures have pointed to newspaper coverage of the royal family's marital problems and recent scandals involving government figures as justification for the press curbs.

### W. German growth lowest in decade

After shrinking for three successive quarters, the economy of western Germany posted its worst annual growth rate in a decade. Western Germany's gross domestic product (GNP) rose by a mere 0.8 percent last year — after adjustment for inflation — compared to 3.6 percent for 1991.

German employers have responded to the recession by slashing thousands of industrial jobs and cutting back production and investment. Volkswagen, Europe's largest auto manufacturer, announced January 13 that it would slash 30,000 jobs from its worldwide work force of 273,000 by 1994. Unemployment in the west of the country rose to 7.4 percent in December, while in the east it held steady at 13.5 percent.

### Israel to allow contacts with PLO

Israel's parliament, the Knesset, voted January 19 to make it legal for Israeli residents to have contacts with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The legislature struck down the formulation in a 1986 law labeling the PLO a "terrorist" organization.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin stopped the enforcement of the old law after taking office last July. The previous government used the legislation to jail antiwar activist Abie Nathan, among others, for meeting with PLO officials.



Protesters condemn detention of Haitian refugees in Florida. Haitians report being treated with respect and generosity in Cuba.

### Haitians boycott elections

Haitians boycotted the January 19 parliamentary elections staged by the military-backed dictatorship. Most polls were deserted; only a few dozen voters were seen at polls in downtown Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital.

Even United Nations officials, seeking to negotiate a political settlement in the country, labeled the elections illegitimate, saying they were intended to pack Haiti's senate with opponents of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. A military coup overthrew Aristide, the country's first democratically elected president, in September 1991.

### Haitians praise treatment by Cuba

Some 800 Haitian refugees voluntarily returned home January 13 and 14 after spending almost two months in Cuba. Cuba has received thousands of Haitian refugees, many of whom were trying to reach south Florida but whose rickety boats could not make it all the way.

"They treated us well, the Cubans," remarked Jean Mercera, one of the Haitians who returned to Haiti. "They gave us whatever we needed." In camps on the eastern coast of Cuba they received three square meals a day, clothes, toiletries, and decent shelter and bedding.

"Unlike South Florida," a January 6 *Miami Herald* article reports, "Cuba treats the boat people with respect and generosity, despite severe shortages of food and clothing [in the country], several returning refugees said."

### Cuban boat hijacked to Florida

A Cuban fishing boat was hijacked January 10 from the city of Mantua, in western Cuba, to southern Florida. The 14 hijackers tied up the boat's captain and commandeered it to the United States. Several miles from Key West, Florida, a U.S. Coast Guard cutter towed the boat to shore.

The 14 were all released the same day in Key West to a refugee center for Cubans. The boat's captain asked to be returned to Cuba. Federal officials said they would not prosecute the hijackers for violating international laws.

U.S. officials have also refused to prosecute hijackers who diverted a Cuban airliner to Miami December 29, effectively giving a green light to further acts of piracy against Cuba.

### Inflation soars in Russia

Russia began the new year with a surge in inflation. Prices have been rising by 10 percent a week and may increase by 50 percent in January, double the rate of recent months, Deputy Prime Minister Anatoly Chubais reported at a January 20 press conference.

Prices for basic foods have gone through the ceiling. The price of beef, for example, shot up to 1,300 rubles a kilogram, about half the average Russian's monthly pension.

Boris Fyodorov, another deputy prime minister, announced the same day that the Russian government would restrict easy industrial credits and raise bank interest rates to tighten monetary controls. He criticized the parliament for its vote earlier in the week to raise the minimum monthly pension from 2,250 rubles to 4,200 rubles.

### Puerto Rico language bill proposed

The new governor of Puerto Rico, Pedro Rosselló of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party, has sent a bill to the Legislative

Assembly that would declare English as well as Spanish the official languages of Puerto Rico. If approved, the measure would revoke a law passed in April 1991 that established Spanish as the sole official language in this U.S. colony in the Caribbean. The Puerto Rican Independence Party and other groups called demonstrations January 16 and 20 to oppose the bill, and other protests are planned.

According to a poll conducted last October and November, only 20 percent of Puerto Ricans on the island consider themselves bilingual and 95 percent prefer that Spanish remain the sole official language.

### Virginia executes disabled man

The state of Virginia electrocuted a wheelchair-bound man January 19, the first such execution since the U.S. Supreme Court allowed the death penalty to resume in 1976. After a federal appeals court and the Supreme Court turned down his appeals, Charles Stamper, who had injured his spinal column in prison five years ago, asked to be allowed to walk to the electric chair by using leg braces and a walker. His request was denied and instead he was dragged to the chair by prison guards.

Opponents of the death penalty had argued that the execution of Stamper, who had been convicted of murder, was simply vindictive because as a result of his physical condition he was not a danger to society. In his final written statement, Stamper, a former restaurant worker, said his execution "bruised and demeaned humanity."

### FDA misled women on implants

A congressional report states that the federal Food and Drug Administration (FDA) has for years misled women on the health risks of silicone and other breast implants, while the industry has covered up the problems. Even since the FDA imposed a partial moratorium on the devices last year, it has played down their health risks and has not monitored their use, the report says.

Since the early 1960s some 2 million women have received breast implants. Silicone leaking from the implants into the body has been linked to inflammation of joints and cancer. Implants covered with polyurethane foam have also caused serious health problems for women.

### Pan Am settles Gulf war bias suit

Pan American World Airways agreed January 21 to pay an Iranian-born U.S. resident and other plaintiffs \$11,000 to settle a lawsuit filed after the airline detained the man during the Persian Gulf War because of his Middle Eastern origin. Mohammad Ghonoudian was forcibly removed from a Pan Am plane on Feb. 1, 1991, and interrogated for three hours by Pan Am's security agents.

During the U.S.-led assault on Iraq, Pan Am established an explicit policy of barring people of Iraqi origin from all its flights. The company's racist action, which targeted not only Iraqis but others who "looked" Middle Eastern, led to the suit.

— MARTÍN KOPPEL

## THE MILITANT

### Clinton bombs Iraq

On Clinton's first day in office, U.S. planes once again dropped bombs on Iraq, continuing Bush's war drive. Clinton's cabinet choices show he is no friend of working people at home either. The 'Militant' will continue to focus on how workers, farmers, and youth can resist capitalism's drive toward war and depression around the world. Don't miss a single issue!



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# Demonstrators protest Iraq bombing

## Canada students rally in Victoria

BY NED DMYTRYSHYN  
AND DAN GRANT

VICTORIA, British Columbia — "No blood for oil," "Stop the bombing" shouted dozens of students as they marched through the streets of Victoria, January 22 to protest the bombing of Iraq by U.S., French, and British warplanes. As they made their way from the University of Victoria through Camus College, the students shouted "out of the classrooms: into the streets" and distributed leaflets urging students to march to the provincial legislature building.

Students carried signs and placards that read, "Stop the bombing," "Troops out of the gulf," and "U.S. out of Somalia." A petition signed by the protesters, demanding that the bombing stop and that the sanctions against Iraq be lifted, was presented to representatives from the office of New Democratic Party (NDP) parliament member John Brewin.

At the legislature more than 60 people participated in a spontaneous speak-out as a megaphone was handed from person to person to oppose the war. Mike Gardiner, a University of Victoria student who chaired the rally, explained that this action "is organized to show that people in Canada do not support the war and that Mulroney does not speak for everybody when he backs the bombing of Iraq." Brian Mulroney is Canada's prime minister.

Merle Segger, another University of Victoria student, stated, "we have the power to change things if we get involved and organize." Fiona, an activist in support of the people of East Timor, pointed to the slaughter of people in that country and the UN's hypocritical silence on this while condemning Iraq. "How can anyone believe in the UN today with what is going on in the world," she said.

A woman who had just returned from Haiti pointed to the fact that the Canadian

Bank of Nova Scotia operates in Haiti and profits from the murderous oppression of Haitians. Other speakers condemned the sanctions against Iraq as an act of war that has caused the deaths of tens of thousands of children. Criticism of the provincial NDP's support for the 1990-91 Gulf war was voiced by several speakers.

## California: action called 'in minutes'

BY ALEJANDRA ARANOVICH  
AND IVONNE ZARATE

SANTA BARBARA, California — A few minutes after the launching of 40 U.S. missiles against Iraq hit the news, some of this city's residents were organizing a public demonstration against this act of aggression. In the midst of a heavy downpour January 18, 95 people gathered in front of the courthouse for a noontime rally to register their outrage at the bombing and to demand further action against such policies.

Participants included members of the Campaign for International Diplomacy, a group formed two years ago during the U.S. war against Iraq; activists defending the rights of the homeless; faculty and students at the University of California in Santa Barbara (UCSB); and others of all ages.

Anita David, a UCSB student who is of Assyrian descent, expressed her anguish and anger at the killing of innocent people in Iraq. Elizabeth Robinson, a founding member of the Campaign for International Diplomacy and a professor of Middle East Studies at the UCSB, spoke against U.S. intervention, not only in Iraq, but in other parts of the world as well.

People in the United States should realize that since Washington does not care enough to provide people in the United States with decent housing, health care, and education, Rita Solinas, a member of Latinos for a Better Government said, it cannot possibly have altruistic motives in invading other countries. Joe Williams, an activist for the homeless, read a poem exposing the many



January 18 protest in Santa Barbara, California, against renewed bombing of Iraq.

lies the U.S. government tells.

The rally was covered by the local television station and shown on the evening news. Phone numbers and addresses were collected by rally organizers in anticipation of future actions.

## Youths march in Minneapolis

BY JON HILLSON  
AND WALTER BLADES

MINNEAPOLIS — For the second time in four days, 150 mainly young protesters took to the streets here on 24 hours notice January 18 to demand an end to Washington's air and missile attacks on Iraq.

Chanting "stop the bombing, stop the war, U.S. out now," the demonstrators held placards, passed out fact sheets to workers awaiting buses at rush hour, in 15 degree weather, many of whom were open to the activists' antiwar message.

The protest was called by the Emergency

Response Network, an anti-U.S. intervention coalition of Twin Cities peace and justice organizations.

While many of the demonstrators had marched against the U.S. war against Iraq two years ago, for some this was their first antiwar protest.

These new fighters included eight seventh- and eighth-grade students from the Clara Barton Middle School, young Black community activists involved in recent fights against police brutality, and Arab-American high school students.

Their vocal anger infused the rally with youthful militancy.

The crowd was addressed by representatives from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, Women Against Military Madness, Progressive Student Organization, and other organizations.

Palestinian activist Nihad Awad blasted Washington's murderous assault under United Nations cover, while at the same time it hypocritically marked the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King.

"It's supposed to be a day of peace and tolerance," Awad said. But in reality, it is "the bloodiest day of the year so far."

Meghan Peterson-McCoy, speaking for the Barton Middle School delegation, also denounced the U.S. air raids. "This killing must stop," the young activist said, to cheers.

The determined demonstrators then marched and chanted for a half mile through downtown Minneapolis to the Federal Building, where they were addressed by additional speakers.

There, Chris Nisan, a railroad worker and a member of the United Transportation Union and the Socialist Workers Party said to applause, "we must put the blame for these murderous attacks squarely on the U.S. government, which repeatedly violates Iraqi sovereignty."

Washington, Nisan stated, under outgoing president George Bush and incoming president Bill Clinton, is not "through with Iraq. There will be more interventions, more invasions, from Somalia to Bosnia. And we must be prepared to oppose them, as well."

## Houston marchers protest denial of new trial for death row inmate Ricardo Aldape Guerra

BY MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN

HOUSTON, Texas — Some 275 people marched through the east side of Houston to protest a January 14th court decision denying Ricardo Aldape Guerra a new trial. Aldape, a 30-year-old Mexican-born worker, who was framed up on charges of killing a Houston police officer, has been on death row for 10 years. He had won a stay of execution last September following an intensive international campaign to save his life.

Marchers carried placards with a portrait of Aldape, which proclaimed in Spanish, "I am innocent!" and others which said, "Save the life of Ricardo Aldape Guerra." As the chant rang out, "What do we want for Ricardo?" marchers responded, "Justice and freedom!" Among those demonstrating were construction workers, office cleaners and farm workers.

"Why are they so eager to condemn this man?" said Gina Giannoa, who carried a banner in the march. "What are they afraid of? They have convicted and imprisoned an innocent man for 12 years. Now they want to cover their tracks. Where is justice?" Gina belongs to the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Council 8.

Construction worker Julio Quiroz explained that the demonstration was a way to "show the judges that the people are united."

Beatrice Torres said she was marching not only to protest the injustice being done to Aldape, but also to protest a variety of injustices, discrimination, and abuse. "We are being exiled, humiliated, and terrorized in our own land," she said. "In truth, the 'illegals' are not us, but them." Torres, originally from Mexico, is studying for her high school diploma.

The January 14th decision by the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals to reject a new trial for Aldape means that the case will be returned to State District Court where

Judge Woody Densen has promised to set an execution date.

The prestigious Houston law firm of Vinson & Elkins has agreed to donate their time to represent Aldape. Attorney Scott Atlas announced plans to file an appeal within 30 days in federal district court.

Alvaro Luna, coordinator of the Ricardo Aldape Guerra Defense Committee, as well as Aldape's parents, Francisca and Aureliano Aldape of Monterrey, Mexico, have recently appeared on Houston Spanish-language radio and television to discuss the case. They have also made English-language television appearances on PBS and Channel 13. They and other supporters describe Aldape's case as a symbol of systematic injustice to Chicanos and Mexicanos, comparing it with the

Los Angeles case of Rodney King as an example of cops' treatment of Blacks.

The Mexican government filed a friend of the court brief with the state appeals court and will likely follow with another to the federal court, said attorney Atlas.

Another friend of the court brief was filed by a coalition of Hispanic groups including LULAC, the Texas Catholic Conference, and the Mexican American Bar Association. The brief points out how ethnic prejudice and the fact that Aldape was an undocumented worker wrongly influenced the jury and the court proceedings.

Aldape defense committee leader Luna vows that the fight for Aldape's life and freedom will continue. "We will turn our anger into positive support," he stated.

## Socialist will run for mayor in Pittsburgh

BY JOHN COX

PITTSBURGH — Joanne Kuniansky announced her campaign for mayor here on January 20. Kuniansky, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union, is the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. She said that she and her supporters had planned on launching the campaign at the beginning of February, but opted to announce immediately in order to more effectively speak out against the U.S. bombing raids on Iraq.

On the first day of her campaign, Kuniansky participated in a vigil organized to protest the bombings. The vigil, which included some two dozen students and local activists, was one of several that were held in Pittsburgh. The first was organized the night of the January 13 attack on Iraq. Kuniansky and three supporters handed out statements condemning the aggression to participants at the rally. In the statement,

Kuniansky pledged to use the campaign to "help to mobilize opposition to the U.S. drive towards war, whether in Iraq, Somalia, Yugoslavia, or anywhere else."

The statement also pointed out the complicity of the Clinton administration in the attacks. "The incoming administration of Bill Clinton is an accomplice in the criminal aggression against the people of Iraq," said the statement, adding, "Clinton's support for these murderous attacks, combined with his policy of turning back Haitian refugees, should dispel any illusions that the new Democratic Party administration will be any more responsive to the interests of working people than the previous one."

Supporters of the socialist candidate also campaigned at an abortion rights march organized by University of Pittsburgh students January 22 to commemorate the anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision.



Oil worker Joanne Kuniansky

Militant



# Many buy 'Militant' for coverage on war drive

The bombing attacks on Iraq, Clinton's reneging on his campaign promise to halt Bush's policy of forcibly repatriating Haitians, and the ongoing fight to defend abortion rights have been on the minds of many workers and young people who have been buying the *Militant* newspaper.

Diana Cantu from New York reports that supporters there have

a leader of the Somali Association for Relief and Development (SAFRAD) who spoke at a January 9 *Militant* Labor Forum. She said it was important to continue to circulate the paper widely.

At the January 18 Martin Luther King Day parade in Denver, attended by about 20,000 people,

this sale, a door-to-door team in the community sold 17 single copies of the *Militant* and 5 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as 4 subscriptions — 1 to the *Militant* and 3 to *PM*. Last September the Immigration and Naturalization Service conducted a big raid on this plant.

In Greeley, Colorado, team members spoke with some of the workers involved in a United Food and Commercial Workers union organizing drive at the Monfort meat-packing plant. Workers at the plantgate bought 13 *Militants* and 5 *PMs*, and picked up information on the defense case for union and political activist Mark Curtis. At the University of Northern Colorado the team sold an additional 17 *Militants* and 3 subscriptions.

During the past week, the *Militant* sent out a letter to 1,000 of our newest subscribers in the United States encouraging them to sign up for a longer-term subscription. Signed by the paper's editor, George Fyson, the letter explained, "The *Militant* is unique. It is the only weekly newspaper in the world to tell the truth about political events from the viewpoint of the international working class." Readers of the paper were offered a special \$5 discount if they signed up within the next month for a one-year subscription. They were also encouraged to check out the invaluable political books published by



Militant/Joo Peterson

Selling the *Militant* at January 7 Miami picket

Pathfinder Press as a way to delve deeper into many of the political ideas covered in the *Militant* each week.

An important resource center for increasing the readership of the *Militant* are the public libraries. Currently 132 libraries in the United States are receiving the pa-

per each week. Distributors are encouraged to contact their local libraries and suggest that they subscribe. The yearly library subscription rate is \$80. Previous years of the *Militant* are also available on microfilm from University Microfilms International at 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Telephone: 800-521-3044. — BRIAN WILLIAMS

## The 'Militant' gets around

been circulating the paper at various political events throughout the city, with some success. At a January 16 demonstration of 200 people in Brooklyn protesting the U.S. government's treatment of Haitian refugees, 33 copies of the *Militant* were sold. Many were interested in the paper's back page feature coverage of the hunger strike by Haitians still being forcibly held at the Krome detention center in Florida.

New York supporters sold another 10 papers at a meeting organized by former presidential candidate Ron Daniels entitled "Campaign for a New Tomorrow." And at a forum held in New Haven, Connecticut, to discuss the mounting U.S. war drive, 10 papers were sold to the 45 people in attendance.

Among those praising the *Militant* for the accuracy and usefulness of its coverage of the events in Somalia was Asha Samad-Matias,

*Militant* distributors from the Denver area along with supporters from Utah and Iowa sold 98 copies of the paper. "The *Militant*'s coverage of the U.S. war moves against Iraq and the occupation of Somalia was what sold it to many people," reports *Militant* staff writer Naomi Craine, who was in town participating in the action. Many marchers carried signs and wore buttons protesting the antigay Amendment 2 that was passed in a statewide referendum in November.

In mid-January a team of *Militant* supporters spent a week introducing the paper to working people and students in Nebraska and Colorado. At a stop in Grand Island, Nebraska, supporters sold 18 *Militants* and 3 *Perspectiva Mundials* at the Monfort packinghouse plantgate there, reports team member Joanne Murphy. A week before

# 500 hear Cuban economist in British Columbia

BY PAUL KOURI  
AND COLLEEN LEVIS

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Some 500 people participated in meetings January 18-20 with Cuban economist Carlos Tablada in three cities of British Columbia (BC), Canada. The BC leg of the tour, which took Tablada to Nanaimo, Victoria, and Vancouver, were sponsored by the Pathfinder Bookstore and 22 student, labor, political, and Cuba solidarity organizations. They marked a strong beginning for an eight-city tour of Canada. Tablada will go on to tour Europe in February and March.

Tablada spoke on five campuses where a large number of young people wanted to know how Cuba is dealing with the world economic depression and how Cuba is different from Eastern Europe, China, and the former Soviet Union. His talk, entitled "Challenges Facing the Cuban Revolution Today," pointed out that Cuba is not forcing working people to pay for the world economic crisis that is deeply affecting it, as other countries in the world.

Tablada took this up at a meeting with 85 delegates attending the monthly meeting of the Vancouver and District Labour Council. The Council was also a sponsor of the tour.

### Basic needs are met

Tablada described the acute shortages of many basic goods in Cuba today, resulting from the collapse of trade with the former Soviet Union, in the context of the deepening world capitalist depression and the ongoing economic blockade by the United States. "While we have had to close 100 factories and reduce work hours due to shortages in fuel and raw materials," Tablada said, "we have not closed one hospital or school. No worker who is unemployed is without social security. Unlike many governments today who apply 'shock therapy' of radically increasing prices, we have rejected this approach. Through the ration system, every Cuban receives the basic necessities."

In his presentation to the unionists, Tablada explained how "the mistake of copying the Soviet economic model of the 1970s affected the unions. Assemblies became a formality. Union leaders no longer fully expressed the wishes of the workers. Corruption, bureaucracy, discontent grew. But the Cuban revolution was able to recognize and correct its errors. In 1986-87, as part of a rectification process initiated by

Cuba's communist leaders, 60,000 workplace meetings took place to discuss these problems.

"As a result," Tablada concluded, "40 percent of administrators of enterprises were replaced, 90 percent of secondary officials in the unions were replaced, and at its last congress in 1990, 100 percent of the top union officials were replaced."

In thanking Tablada, the president of the Labour Council, John Radosevic, noted the council's opposition to the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba. "You have made an impression on delegates here," he told Tablada. "Hopefully, there can be more exchanges of this kind in the future."

A student at the University of British Columbia asked Tablada, "Why is Canada trading with Cuba? Is this good for Cuba?"

Tablada said that this was positive both for Canada and for Cuba. "The aim of the U.S. blockade is to have no one trade with Cuba. We obtain products from Canada which are essential for our own development."

"In my opinion," he said, "Canada is trading with Cuba, as it has always done, for the same reasons as Western European countries do. The trade is the same unequal trade that exists with all third world countries. You can be sure Canadian companies are making profits by their trade with Cuba."

Tablada wound up his tour of BC with a talk to 100 people at a broadly sponsored citywide meeting at Vancouver City College. Discussing how Cuba is different from the former Soviet Union, Tablada described how both Fidel and Che criticized the Soviet system in the 1960s. "Che rejected the Soviet model because it promotes individualism, not the individuality of each worker, egotism not solidarity. They were not eliminating capitalist alienation but in fact making it worse."

"In the early 1970s a majority opted for the Soviet economic model. We have a single party in Cuba, but many different views. We don't resolve our differences with guns as was done in the Soviet Union under Stalin."

### Cuba condemns Somalia invasion

In response to a question on the United Nations military intervention in Somalia, Tablada said "Cuba is probably the only government in the world that has condemned the Somalia intervention. You don't solve the problem of hunger with guns —

unless of course you shoot all the hungry people. The cause of famine in Somalia is the world imperialist system. Before the white man colonized Somalia, there was no famine there."

In response to a question about the influence of consumerism on youth in Cuba, Tablada said "It's not normal to live with our present shortages. We need a number of things that make daily existence simpler so we can devote more of our time and energies to human relations, to the spirit of education."

"A society whose old and young think the same, whose individuals aren't critical, can't advance. People forget that Che wore his hair down to his shoulders. Part of my generation has become bureaucratized. In

many ways I feel closer to the younger generation," he said.

Interest in the ideas of Che Guevara and of Cuba today was shown by purchases of \$590 worth of literature at the Pathfinder tables set up at Tablada's engagements. Among the most popular titles were Tablada's book, of which 11 were sold, and *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today* — the introduction to the French-language edition of Tablada's book by Mary-Alice Waters, which has also been published as a pamphlet. Twenty copies of that pamphlet were purchased during the tour.

Paul Kouri is a member of USWA Local 3495. Colleen Levis is a member of Canadian Autoworkers Local 3020.

## Tablada will tour five British cities

Support is building for the British tour of Cuban economist Carlos Tablada. The tour will begin February 3 and is being sponsored by Pathfinder Press. Tablada will visit five cities in Britain: Bradford, Sheffield, Manchester, London, and Cardiff.

Endorsers of the tour include the African National Congress Mission to Britain and Ireland, the Cuba Solidarity Campaign, and the Korea Friendship Society. Tony

Benn and Ken Livingstone are among more than a dozen Members of Parliament (MPs) who have endorsed the tour. Tablada will address a meeting of MPs at the House of Commons.

Tablada has been invited to speak at eight universities and colleges. He will also address a meeting of the Association of South African Students. Justice for Mineworkers in Lancashire has also endorsed the tour.

### Schedule for Carlos Tablada's European Tour

#### BRITAIN

**Bradford:** Bradford University, Thurs., Feb. 4. **Sheffield:** Public meeting, Quaker House, Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. • University of Sheffield, Mon., Feb. 8 • Hallam University, Tues., Feb. 9 • University of Leeds, Tues., Feb. 9 • Liverpool University, Wed., Feb. 10. **Manchester:** Manchester University, Thurs., Feb. 11 • Metropolitan University, Fri., Feb. 12 • Public meeting, Mechanics Institute, Princess Street, Sat., Feb. 13. **London:** House of Commons, Mon., Feb. 23 • Queen Mary and Westfield College, Wed., Feb. 24 • Association of South African Students, Fri., Feb. 26 • Public meeting, Congress House, Great Russell Street, Sat., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. **Cardiff:** University of Wales, Thurs., Feb. 25.

#### SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** Public meeting, Medborgarhuset, Sat., Feb. 20, 4 p.m.

#### FRANCE

**Lyons:** University of Lyons, Wed., March 3 • Public meeting, Wed., March 3. **Paris:** Public meeting, Sat., March 13.

#### BELGIUM

**Brussels:** Public meeting, Huis der Mutualiteiten, Maison des Mutualites St. Gansstraat, Rue St. Jeans 32, Sat., March 6.

For details call: Sheffield: 0742 765 070; Manchester: 061 839 1766; London: 071 401 2409; Stockholm: 46 8 316933; France: 33 14 726 5821; Belgium: 32 32 721 615; or Pathfinder Distribution at 071 261 1354.



# Clinton's labor secretary gets high marks from top capitalists

BY PAUL MAILHOT

Working people who may have been hoping for a new labor secretary with some sympathies for unions and compassion for the working man and woman will be disappointed with President Clinton's choice of Robert Reich. Although the *New York Times* calls him "a prolific labor theorist," Reich actually has no proposals to turn around the declining standard of living of the great majority of working class people in the United States. A more appropriate title for him might be "corporate apologist."

Reich was, until his nomination, a lecturer on public policy at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government. Like all of the other appointees to Clinton's cabinet he is wealthy. In addition to a \$75,000 yearly salary from Harvard he darts around the country speaking at corporate meetings and trade associations for \$12,250 a shot. He ended up with the tidy sum of \$540,000 in 1992. This is not a man who has dedicated his life to the welfare of workers in factories and coal mines.

Clinton's cabinet is a combination of corporate lawyers and career politicians who are dedicated to the advancement of business interests. Robert Reich fits right into this mold. His latest book "The Work of Nations — Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism" is supposed to explain how all citizens of the country can flourish in the new "global economy." In the 320 pages of text, only five make mention of unions — mostly to point out their declining role and general irrelevance in today's world.

## Praise from business leaders

While the labor secretary is no friend of working people, he gets high marks from capitalist spokespeople. "Every business executive, government official, and concerned citizen who wonders how we can compete in the fast changing global economy must read this engaging book," writes James Jones, chairman of the American Stock Exchange, about Reich's book. Similarly Charles Villiers, former chairman of British Steel, writes, "No one can read this book without being moved. No one will be quite the same afterwards."

Reich argues that the U.S. economy must become more productive and competitive in order for all to prosper. To do this workers must be more educated and learn greater skills. He claims that the "struggle that preoccupied Karl Marx . . . was between those who owned the machines and those who ran them"; but such class conflicts are no longer relevant today.

According to Reich there are three basic

groups in society now: a thriving section consisting of people who process information and decide how to run things, which includes corporate executives, lawyers, doctors, investment bankers, and so on; a languishing second group of service-industry workers, who he calls "in-person servers"; and the hardest-hit group of factory and production workers, who he calls "routine producers."

Getting more people into the top group, which he claims is the one responsible for producing most value in society, should be the main objective of government policy, according to Reich. He does admit, however, that the task of transforming a majority of the work force into corporation heads, research scientists, design engineers, management consultants, and advertising and marketing specialists "would be daunting."

During his confirmation hearing Reich vowed to make the Labor Department respond to the needs of workers, but his main concern is for those making money — those who have "technical insight with marketing know-how, blessed by strategic and financial acumen" — who he sees as the most important elements of society. His view of the great majority of workers who really do produce the wealth of the country is summed up by his statement that "routine production workers can be hired temporarily."

## Worker training programs

The most talked about proposal by Reich is the idea that workers should be better trained, making them more valuable to industry and more able to compete for higher paying jobs. In his book Reich argues that government

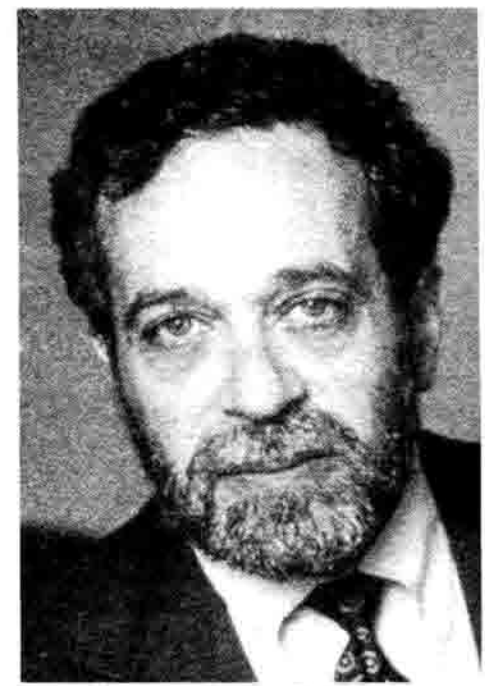
should join with private industry to invest more money in infrastructure, education, and training. He criticizes former president Bush for saying, "We have more will than wallet" in addressing such investment.

Perhaps the new labor secretary should check out President Clinton's inaugural address, which explained, "We must invest more . . . and at the same time cut our massive debt." How the two are done together is indicated in the next sentence: "It will require sacrifice." During his confirmation hearing Reich spoke against government-run training programs, saying that they "are a very expensive undertaking."

"At his confirmation hearing, Mr. Reich said he hopes to funnel funds to private industry to allow companies to improve training programs for workers," reported the *Wall Street Journal*. Such programs primarily benefit employers not workers.

Greater skills and productivity won't solve the depressed state of the world economy, under which working people today are suffering. Capitalists in every country are fighting to be more productive in order to gain an edge over their competitors; and this competition is only increasing overproduction and unemployment. Eventually wars, which the Clinton administration is busy preparing, are the only "capitalist solution." Labor will have to fight for a different course.

Many news reports focused on Reich's remarks on the decline of union membership. "I don't think it's healthy. Workers need a voice," he said. But Reich believes the purpose of unions should now be to work in creative ways with management. From that point of view, a degree of unionization of



Labor Secretary Robert Reich

the workforce can be useful for employers. According to the new labor secretary, "Where workers have a voice, there is productivity and profitability."

Top labor union officials have heaped praise on the Reich nomination. AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland cited Reich's stature as a member of the Clinton inner circle in welcoming his nomination. "We believe that he can make a superb secretary of labor," said Thomas Donahue, the AFL-CIO's secretary-treasurer. "We have always argued that we need a secretary of labor who will be listened to in the administration, and it seems clear that he will be listened to."

However, it is clear from a reading of Reich's book and his Senate confirmation testimony, that what Clinton wants to hear and will be listening to is how to continue promoting capitalist business interests at the expense of working people.

# Striking Steelworkers join civil rights celebration in Birmingham, Alabama

BY DENISE MCINERNEY

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — "There has always been a close relationship between the civil rights organizations and the unions. When the civil rights marchers were being put in jail, it was the unions that raised the money to get us out," stated Reverend Abraham Woods, president of the Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Woods was addressing a crowd gathered at the historic Sixteenth Street Baptist Church to celebrate the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. "The unions and civil rights organizations must continue to work together," he added. "We must go to Bessemer and tell Trinity Industries, 'No more exploitation! No More!'" Woods then introduced members of the United Steelworkers of America Local 9226 who have been on strike against the Trinity Industries rail car plant in Bessemer, Alabama, since September 19.

The unionists had come to the celebration to seek support for their fight. Prior to the gathering at the church, strikers had handed out several hundred copies of an appeal for solidarity to onlookers and participants at the annual King Day memorial march.

Strikers Raul González and Grady King addressed the crowd at the church. They explained the central issues in the strike. These include wages, the high cost of health insurance, and the 53 unionists who have been fired for alleged "strike violations." González said, "By firing some of us, the company is trying to break our unity, and we're not going to let them do that."

Strikers explained that while Trinity has accused the union of violence, it has been the company and its strikebreakers who have been responsible for violence and provocative actions. On October 12, thugs employed by Trinity teargassed a peaceful picket line; on January 4, a strikebreaker shot one picketer, wounding him in the head, and pistol-whipped another.

After the unionists finished, Reverend Woods asked the gathering to take up a collection for the strike. "The civil rights community stand with the Trinity workers," he said. "We've got to help them."

In addition to donating over \$350, the 300 participants eagerly signed petitions circu-



Militant/Denise McInerney

## Trinity Industries strikers march in Martin Luther King Day celebration

lated by the union. These petitions demand that all frame-up charges against strikers be dropped, and that the scab who attacked the two unionists January 4 be prosecuted.

Union members who participated in the King Day activities were enthusiastic about the support they received. "It was very inspiring," said striker Sam Tartt. "I think the union should participate more in things like this."

Union member Matthew Perry, Jr. said, "We're grateful to have had the opportunity to participate. It's support like this that will help us win a decent contract. Rev. Woods told us that they would help us and people responded."

The strikers are planning future outreach activities, including trips to Atlanta and Pittsburgh to speak to groups of unionists and students.

Trinity claims to be operating the plant

with a small number of scabs, yet during the four months of the strike, they have not produced one rail car. A number of salaried personnel have been ordered to perform production jobs. Last week, two of these chose to join the union rather than cross the picket line.

The only negotiations between the union and Trinity since early November took place January 14. No progress was made, and no further negotiations have been scheduled. A major point of contention is the union's demand for amnesty for the 53 fired strikers.

Donations and messages of support can be sent to Local 9226 Strike and Defense Fund, c/o USWA District 36, P.O. Box 12445, Birmingham, AL 35202.

Denise McInerney is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9226 on strike at Trinity Industries.

## Perspectiva Mundial

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# 'Charge cops with murder' is demand of Toronto protest

BY COLIN MCKAY

TORONTO — Police authorities have decided that Toronto cop Tony Gallant will not be charged in the killing of Antonio Vega. Gallant shot Vega three times in the chest and chin early December 26, after Vega ran down an apartment hall carrying a kitchen knife. He was upset about the possibility that he may have been losing his job at a local supermarket and had been drinking heavily.

Gallant will be interviewed by the Special Investigations Unit (SIU). The head of the Metro Toronto Police Union said the interview was a formality, "just to wrap up the books."

Chanting "Charge the cops with murder," three hundred demonstrators gathered at Queens Park in front of the Provincial Legislature January 9. This was the second protest in one week against Vega's killing. Participants in the protest heard from several speakers, including city councillor Roger Hollander and Carolyn Egan for the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics.

"We called the police to ask them to come and help calm Antonio down. We did not expect them to come and kill Antonio," said Lily Samaniego, Vega's sister, who spoke at the rally. "Every officer should answer for each and every action. We will continue to struggle until positive gains have been won," she said.

The Hispanic Action and Defense Committee (HADC) was one of the main organizers of the protest. "We demand that the police officer who shot Tony Vega not block the work of the SIU by not giving a timely statement. If the facts warrant it, we demand that action be taken against the police officer responsible for the death of Tony Vega," said

Marcelo Ruiz on the organization's behalf.

The SIU was recently set up by the Ontario provincial government in response to many protests against killings by the Toronto police.

Arthur Lymer, president of the Metro Toronto Police Union, defended the cop's refusal to testify. Lymer recently headed a campaign by Toronto cops to defeat new provincial legislation that required them to write reports every time they drew their guns. The police launched a work-to-rule campaign culminating in a 10,000-strong cop rally at Queens Park. The government quickly backed down on the legislation.

"They're (the SIU) are looking for every excuse to charge a police officer," said Lymer in a Toronto *Globe and Mail* interview.

Dudley Laws spoke for the Black Action Defense Committee at the January 9 rally. A long time leader in the fight against cop brutality, Laws is being framed up by the cops on charges of smuggling immigrants into Canada. "The police should be charged with the murder of Tony Vega. They should not be given privileges. They are not charged as we citizens are



Militant/George Rose

Lily Samaniego, whose brother Antonio Vega was killed by police, at January 9 rally.

charged," said Laws. "If we must march these streets again and again to bring about justice, then that is what we must do. It is time we unite and demand our rights. We demand that the cops be charged with murder," he added.

John Steele, candidate for the Communist League in the upcoming provincial by-election for the riding of St. George's, also spoke at the rally. "This is the kind of public protest we need to expose the lies of the police and pressure the Ontario government to lay criminal charges against the cops," he said. "Vega was not a banker or a company president; he

was a worker. Cop violence against working people is just not a Toronto problem. It is a problem for workers around the world, especially those who are Black or who are immigrants. We face the violence of the cops who are acting on behalf of the multimillionaires and billionaires," he added.

Steele urged the participants to organize more public actions to win justice for Antonio Vega.

Colin McKay is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 245 in Toronto.

## Montreal police kill Black worker

BY GRANT MILLER

MONTREAL — Police here shot and killed 43-year-old Trevor Kelly January 1. Kelly, a plumber by trade, was the fourth Black to be killed by Montreal police in less than six years.

The police claim Kelly had attacked them with a knife. Their version has been widely

disputed. Dan Philip, president of the Black Coalition of Quebec, said, "Police lie.... There are too many cases where police say the other guy had a knife and they have been fatally shot."

Noel Alexander, president of the Montreal Jamaican Association, charged that it was "a case of provocation." He stated that there are witnesses who will not testify to the police but who are willing to speak to an independent inquiry.

Police originally said Kelly had made threats toward them as they drove through the neighborhood. But an article in the *Journal de Montréal* revealed that the officers who killed Kelly had tried to force their way into his apartment about an hour before the killing. Kelly refused and a loud argument ensued.

A friend of his who was in the apartment at the time said they were simply harassing Kelly. Police have not given any reason for the behavior of the two officers.

Later, according to one witness, when Kelly left the building the police followed him down the street in their car.

The police claim that after being threatened by Kelly, they got out of their car to arrest him and when he lunged at one of them with a knife he was shot.

According to the Toronto *Globe and Mail*, since 1987 Montreal police have killed eight men, of whom four were Blacks and three Latinos. Anthony Griffin was shot in November 1987 as he stood with his

hands in the air. Marcellus François was killed in July 1991 by police who stopped the car he was riding in while they were looking for someone else.

The *Globe and Mail* article does not include Osmond Fletcher, a Black man who police claim committed suicide during a scuffle with three cops who were trying to arrest him.

In 1991 a coroner investigating the cop killing of Marcellus François reported "disturbing signs in the... police force of insensitivity to, ignorance about, and a lack of respect for members of the black community." The report cited "evidence that cannot be ignored of a mentality that is intolerable."

The investigation of the killing is being handled by the Quebec provincial police force. On receiving their initial report the prosecutor announced that charges would not be laid against the officers involved.

A January 10 memorial service for Kelly was attended by about 150 people, from both the English-speaking and the French-speaking Black communities as well as some whites.

The Montreal police department has recognized its responsibility in the killing of Marcellus François and indicated its intention to settle with his family, but for much less than the \$5.5 million that the family is suing for. The family of Anthony Griffin received less than \$19,000, but is appealing the settlement.

## Farmers at convention discuss crisis 'worse than depression'

BY DEVON PARRY  
AND MATT HERRESHOFF

MONROE, Louisiana — Most of the 100 people who attended the 14th Convention the American Agricultural Movement, Inc. (AAM) were veterans of the tractorcades and protest actions organized by the AAM in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when thousands of working farmers mobilized to defend their land and livelihoods. The convention was held here January 7-9.

"A lot of us in AAM in the early days, we thought that change would be very drastic and very quick," David Senter, AAM projects director, told the convention. "We've learned it is more gradual," he added.

With the election of Bill Clinton, "I am very encouraged that the concerns of America's producing farmers will now be heard," said Johnny Porch, AAM president and a Tennessee cotton farmer.

With Clinton in the White House, "there may be the president of Cargill at the table," said Senter, "but I believe there's going to be a farmer there too." U.S.-based Cargill is the world's largest grain-trading company.

As Clinton enters office, working farmers continue to face a deep crisis. "I'm still receiving depression prices," Clifford Jones, a Texas grain farmer, told the *Militant*. "It's worse than a depression, it's a bloodletting," Carl King, president of the American Corn Growers Association, told the convention. "Margins keep getting thinner," Mississippi cotton farmer Sam Walker said.

Convention participants discussed the growing suicide rate among farmers. In Oklahoma, farmers are three times more likely to commit suicide than those who don't farm. Similar statistics were released for other states. The convention discussed plans for a national hotline sponsored by Willie Nelson's Farm Aid.

Many participants followed the press reports of the protests by French farmers last fall. Mark Ritchie, executive director of the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, based in Minneapolis, pointed to the big delegations from Japan, Korea, Canada, and the United States at the French demonstrations. "Agriculture is a world-wide thing," said Sam Walker. "They have just as good of land, just as good technology, as we do. I just wish there was some way all the farmers in the world could sit down."

Walker denounced U.S. policy in Somalia. "People in Somalia ain't hungry because there's no food; they're hungry because there's no money to buy the food," he said.

AAM leaders spoke out against the North-American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the U.S. government proposals in the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) talks. "The big money boys are going to be traders, shippers, trucking people, computer people," said Carl King.

"NAFTA and GATT are ugly remnants of the last 12 years," said Ritchie. "Farmers don't trade, farmers don't export; trade and export are conducted by large corporations," he told the convention. Ritchie argued for a "good" GATT and NAFTA to defend the interests of U.S. farmers.

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## Cleveland authorities whitewash murder of Black youth by police

BY DON MACKLE

CLEVELAND — The death of a young Black man at the hands of two Cleveland policemen has been ruled a "homicide during legal intervention" by the Cuyahoga County coroner here.

Michael Pipkins, 23, died December 28 while in custody of the police, who say they arrested him on suspicion of car theft. An eyewitness said police wrestled Pipkins to the ground. One cop sat on the back of his thighs and the other held him in a headlock. Pipkins died when the flow of blood to the brain was cut off, according to the coroner's report.

A series of rallies have been held protesting the action by the police and calling for them to be prosecuted.

"We want the police to be put on trial," said Jack Blair, Pipkins's stepfather, to a January 14 rally at Cleveland City Hall following the release of the coroner's report. Blair has spoken at three protest rallies.

"If everyone who has been beaten or harassed was here it would fill up this entire block," said Blair. "We are not just here for my son, we're here for everyone that has died mysteriously and had a report come back that the police used necessary force."

Blair called on the city prosecutor to file charges against the policemen involved. "If it was a policeman's son that was killed," Blair stated, "those police would be in jail right now. They need to be tried just like anyone else who kills someone."

Many at the protest actions condemned Cleveland mayor Michael White for covering up for the police. In a news conference White said, "It is clear that the coroner did not indicate anything was done to Mr. Pipkins out of the basic way in which the police interact in situations like this."

Don Mackle is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1170 in Cleveland.



# Steelworkers confront takeback demands

BY DON MACKLE

CLEVELAND — Steelworkers at Ryerson Steel and A.M. Castle Metals are still working without a contract. The most recent Castle contract expired September 30, 1992. Workers at Ryerson have been without an agreement since late August. Workers at both companies overwhelmingly rejected company offers which included demands that workers start making health care co-payments.

Castle and Ryerson are steel service companies, cutting and shipping steel to order. According to *Forbes* magazine, Ryerson is the third largest buyer of steel in the United States behind only GM and Ford. Castle is a \$500-million-a-year business with plants worldwide. The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) organizes about 400 workers at the Castle plants in Chicago, Cleveland, and Kansas City, Missouri; most of the other plants are nonunion.

Union members at Ryerson rejected the company offer by a vote of 360 to 60 in August. But union officials argued against a strike because the company had advertised for scabs in the week prior to the vote.

Ryerson's offer included a three-year wage freeze, the introduction of monthly payments and a deductible for medical coverage, and a signing bonus of \$3,000. Mel Coburn, recording secretary of USWA Local 2212 at Ryerson, described the company offer as unacceptable. "The \$3,000 lump sum is like a bribe for taking a bad contract. Then they repeated the offer right before the Christmas holidays — when people can use the extra money — hoping to divide the union," he said. "But we didn't go for it."

## Strike called at Castle

On October 3 the steelworkers voted to reject Castle's offer and went on strike. In addition to the company's demand for health care co-payments, it proposed \$1,000 lump-

sum payments in the first two years of the contract, and a 35-cents-per-hour increase in the third year.

Steelworkers on the picket line in Cleveland noted that the company was not claiming to be losing money, but that it wanted to follow the "national trend" of making workers pick up part of the costs of health care. Pickets followed Castle's delivery trucks and convinced some of the company's customers to honor the strike.

During the first week of the strike, Castle's supervisory and office personnel worked 12-hour shifts, and began advertising for replacement workers. Soon after, top officials of the USWA informed the company that union members would make an

unconditional return to work under the old contract. However, the company locked workers out for several more days before admitting them back.

While negotiations continue, a letter sent by Castle management to union members last fall indicates the hard line it is taking against the workers. Castle Metals president Richard Mork charged the union with improper strike-vote procedure. He also tried to divide the union by claiming the real purpose of the strike at Castle was to put pressure on Ryerson Steel in the negotiations there. Mork announced that "the company will stop deducting your union dues and payment of dues will not be required as a condition to keeping your job." At work, the company has closed the

union's in-plant office and has increased the number of supervisors on each shift.

Union officials are now proposing a strategy in which grievances would be piled up as a means to pressure the company.

In Cleveland, Mel Coburn was recently sent by his USWA local at Ryerson to a union meeting of the steelworkers at Castle to try to build links between the locals under attack. He said that "union members need to go to other unions' meetings and do things together." In addition, "they need to go to college campuses and talk to the students about why they should support the unions."

Don Mackle is a member of USWA Local 1170 in Cleveland.

## Families protest gov't attempt to hide evidence in Canada mining disaster

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — Families of the 26 miners killed in the Westray coal mine explosion last May 9 are condemning a decision by the Nova Scotia government to approve a demand from the mine's owner, Curragh Resources Inc., to flood the shattered mine. The government announced its decision at a news conference on January 6.

Curragh says that the flooding is needed to eliminate methane gases in the mine and will be a first step to rebuilding the mine and resuming production.

Joyce Fraser, whose husband died in the explosion, was one of many family members attending the news conference. She told reporters, "I just don't think that as far as they [the government] are concerned, the 26

men, or finding out what happened to them, really matters. They just don't want to find out what happened because they've all got their hands in it."

The families obtained an injunction in November to prevent Curragh from flooding the mine. They abandoned that legal fight due to lack of funds.

Albert Martin, whose son died in the explosion, noted, "This means that everyone is against us; we have to fight for everything we want to know."

"The local politicians," he said, "treat us like we're the plague."

The families want a thorough investigation into the explosion before any moves toward restoring the mine are made. This was promised by provincial premier Donald Cameron

in the days following the explosion. Nevertheless, in November a Nova Scotia Supreme Court ruling struck down a provincial government inquiry established soon after the explosion, saying the inquiry could compromise the rights of Westray mine managers.

Labour Minister Tom McInnis told the news conference that the government considers the mine too dangerous to allow further underground investigations into the deaths of the miners. Rescue crew member Jay Dooley said, however, the crews were prepared to reenter the mine if necessary.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Canada's federal police force, says it has already gathered all necessary evidence from inside the mine. It claims it is conducting an investigation that could lead to charges of criminal misconduct against mine company officials.

Chris Martin, whose brother died in the explosion, believes its cause must be investigated before the mine is allowed to reopen. "The Department of Labour laid 52 charges. Shouldn't they have found out what happened and resolved those charges before they allow this mine to go into operation again?" he said. The number of charges against mine officials under the Nova Scotia Occupational Health and Safety Act was reduced in December to 18 by provincial government prosecutors.

Curragh says its aim in reopening the mine is to recover the 11 bodies still entombed inside. "We haven't even proposed putting the mine back in operation," said Curragh president Clifford Frame on January 7.

But Joyce Fraser says families have been told by Curragh that the bodies would be recovered only as part of a plan to reopen the mine.

"They told us they will go to a certain point and if they can't recover the bodies, if it is going to cost too much money, then they won't go after them. Everything is money to them," she said.

Roger Annis is a member of Canadian Auto-workers Local 1900 in Montreal.

## Quebec garment workers return to work, accept some concessions following lockout

BY JENNIFER SMITH  
AND ANDRE LaPLANTE

MONTREAL — Some 3,000 members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) here were back on the job December 14 after accepting a new contract, with some concessions, by a majority of 73 percent. Because of the workers' resistance, the bosses felt compelled to withdraw several of their worst demands.

The conflict erupted with the expiration of the previous contract on November 30. At that time, the owners of 37 companies organized in the Quebec Men's Clothing Manufacturers Association demanded that the new master agreement contain major concessions, especially on wages, seniority, and holidays. To make their point clear, they threatened to impose a lockout if the union didn't accept their contract by December 4.

During the first week of December, union officials called a series of local meetings, which most workers attended. At the officials' urging, the workers rejected the bosses' contract by a vote of 95 percent. Most were very angry with the employers' demands.

Following the rejection of the employers' contract, 17 of the largest companies locked out some 2,300 workers on December 7, while 19 shops employing about 900 workers remained open.

Most workers were initially shocked by the bosses' initiative. But the second day of the lockout, picket lines were put up in front of several of the closed shops, demanding that the doors be open. These pickets involved several hundred workers for the duration of the lockout.

A broad discussion developed during the week on why some factories were open and others not. Despite the fact that some workers suggested transforming the lockout into a strike involving all ACTWU members, no attempt was made to overcome the division

created by the lockout. In fact, union officials strongly opposed any idea of a strike.

## Companies make second proposal

After one week of the lockout, the employers made a second contract proposal on December 11. They also agreed to reopen their factories December 14, provided the union organize at least one local meeting to vote on their offer quickly.

On the night of December 12, workers at the Jack Victor shop voted to accept the contract as recommended by union officials. This shop employs about 350 workers. The next morning some of the locked-out companies reopened their doors. During the following two days, union locals held membership meetings.

Union officials decided against calling a single mass meeting where all 3,000 ACTWU workers could assess the contract together. In previous negotiations such mass meetings played a major role in helping workers to come to a common position and see their collective power.

In each of the local meetings, union officials explained the new contract offer. No written information was provided. The following highlights were presented:

- Some protection to workers who lose their job as a result of the introduction of technology would be provided, with recall and bumping rights based on seniority. But these job changes may result in lower wages.

In their first contract proposal the bosses had tried to tie seniority to the machines in an attempt to drive out workers with higher wages and seniority. If a machine was to be eliminated through the introduction of new technology, the operator would have lost that job and laid-off workers would have been denied recall rights. The bosses had also pushed for the right to lower hourly wage rates or establish piece rates along with new machines.

- The previous contract language remains as is on absenteeism. The employers had demanded the right to fire workers absent from their job "without valid reason" on the second day of absence. Now it is the third day, as before.

- The bosses dropped the demand to have the right to fire anyone who did not

work previously agreed to overtime.

- The employers retreated from their demand to eliminate one week from the three-week summer holiday and add it to the one week at Christmas vacation.

This demand had provoked a lot of opposition. Most shops are very hot during the summer. And many immigrant workers use the three-week vacation period to visit families.

## Important concessions in contract

Union officials also explained in the meetings that the new contract proposal still contained two important concessions.

First, a wage freeze is imposed in the first year of the contract. While there are 25-cent and 39-cent raises the following two years, inflation will result in an overall wage decrease.

The bosses had been demanding a wage freeze in the first year, followed by a 2 percent and a 2.5 percent increase in the next two years. The union had demanded 50 cents an hour in each of three years.

Second, the new contract extends the probation period from 30 to 60 days of work for union members moving to a new plant. These workers also lose some benefits.

Seventy three percent of those present at the meetings voted to accept the contract. Compared to the meetings held before the lockout, these were small. There was little discussion.

According to the Montreal daily *La Presse*, Clement Godbout, vice-president of the Quebec Federation of Labor, said that the new contract was a victory for garment workers. But this was not the view among many workers, at the meetings and back at work. Nearly everybody expressed that it was a bad contract.

Claudio, a worker at Eversharp who voted yes, told *La Presse*, "I am going to find another job. I am insulted that we were locked out. We are treated like second-class citizens."

On the other hand, Hélène voted no, saying the contract was "terrible and disgusting. Only if we stand up and fight do we win anything."



Militant/Monica Jones  
Entrance to Westray mine shaft after explosion that killed 26 in May 1992.

### Labor news in the Militant

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# Debate over new trial for Leonard Peltier

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

MINNEAPOLIS — A debate is unfolding in the pages of this city's newspaper, the *Star-Tribune*, as to whether Leonard Peltier should be granted a new trial. Peltier, a leader of the American Indian Movement, has been in jail for 17 years after being convicted on frame-up charges of killing two FBI agents in 1975 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. A motion for a new trial in the case is currently being considered by the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court in St. Paul.

An international defense effort has resulted in Peltier becoming one of the most famous political prisoners being held in a U.S. prison today. Hundreds of supporters of democratic rights rallied in support of Peltier in St. Paul in early November when oral arguments on his petition for a new trial were heard by the Circuit Court. More than 60 members of the U.S. House of Representatives, organized by Rep. Don Edwards of California; a former FBI agent; and scores of religious leaders and organizations have filed friend-of-the-court briefs in support of Peltier's application for a new trial.

In the years since Peltier's conviction, evidence has been forced to light showing that contrary to the testimony of the Bureau's experts, Peltier's gun was not used to kill the agents; the FBI fabricated affidavits that were used to extradite Peltier from Canada to stand trial; the government now admits that they don't know who shot the agents; the FBI was guilty of hiding evidence from Peltier's attorneys that would have assisted them in defending their client.

On December 18, some 35 FBI agents and 25 Hennepin County sheriff's deputies invaded the Minneapolis city council meeting. The council was discussing a resolution submitted by council member Carol Johnson, which demanded a new trial for Peltier. In the face of the cop mobilization, Johnson withdrew the resolution.

In a December 28 column in the *Star-Tribune*, William Kunstler of the Center for Constitutional Rights denounced the police invasion as disgraceful. "Under any circumstances, this type of intimidation would be unfortunate," Kunstler said, "but here it is particularly outrageous since a federal appeals court has already accused the FBI of 'improper conduct.'... The FBI is afraid of a new trial because it knows that Peltier would be acquitted." Kunstler is a member of Peltier's legal team.

Nicholas V. O'Hara, the special agent in charge of the FBI's Minneapolis division, responded in a guest column in the *Star-Tribune*. "Although I am only a South Dakota farm boy," O'Hara said, "I still am able to recognize those situations where there is a compelling need to take another look at a

given set of facts to ensure that justice has been done. Kunstler should make no mistake: All the rights and privileges of his client, Peltier, have been jealously guarded from the start to ensure he got a fair shake. And he did."

If assertions of improper conduct by the FBI were true, O'Hara argued, "the courts would have acted on his behalf by now."

The following day city council member Dennis W. Schulstad joined the discussion in a letter to the editor. He took responsibility

for asking the FBI's help in defeating the resolution before the council December 18. "In the aftermath of the execution of one of our police officers and the sharp increase in violent crime we are experiencing," he explained, "this is hardly the time or place to call for the release of the convicted murderer of two FBI agents."

Kenneth Tilson, another of Peltier's attorney's responded, "There are thousands of pages of briefs, articles, and books, none of which support" the government version of

the case. Tilson argued that O'Hara was aware that the FBI fabricated documents to obtain Peltier's extradition and knew about criticism by the courts of the FBI's conduct in the case. The defense attorney offered quotations from numerous court records and other legal documents detailing the frame-up against Peltier organized by the FBI. "Agent O'Hara has made it a primary business of the FBI to conduct a concerted political campaign against Leonard Peltier," Tilson concluded.

## Los Angeles police revive smear of Rodney King on eve of federal trial



Rodney King after being beaten by Los Angeles cops in March 1991

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Now facing federal trial, the Los Angeles police who beat Rodney King have revived the racist smear charge that they were trying to subdue "a PCP-crazed giant." At the time of King's March 1991 beating, a blood test established that there was no evidence of the drug PCP in his system.

In the wake of the massive Los Angeles riots sparked by the acquittal of the cops who beat King last year, the federal government indicted them on civil rights charges. The case of the four cops is now moving toward trial.

The scurrilous attack on King is included in a pretrial brief filed by three of the defendants. On January 22 the court denied a motion by the defendants demanding that the government prove that King was beaten because he is Black. The prosecution had already indicated that it did not intend to establish that racism was at the root of the police violence. Instead it will argue that King's civil rights were violated because the beating was an intentional use of unreasonable force.

Milton Grimes, King's new attorney, branded the renewed PCP charge "a sickening attempt to influence the public through the media."

King's July 1992 testimony before the federal grand jury that indicted the cops was reported on for the first time in the *Los Angeles Times* January 21. During the first trial, the prosecutor never called him to testify against the police who brutalized him. He is expected to testify in the upcoming federal trial.

At the grand jury hearing, King explained that he had followed police instructions the night of the beating, laid spread-eagle on the ground, and only moved when a cop painfully twisted his arm behind his back. Defense lawyers assert that King attempted to throw off the police when they tried to handcuff him. King said after the beating, in which he was repeatedly kicked, struck with batons, and hit with two 50,000 volt electric darts from a Taser device, he "felt beat up and like a crushed can.... To wake up and to tell me that I attacked some officers, I felt real bad."

## U.S. oil giants to gain from Somalia invasion

Continued from front page

nies halted their exploratory operations once Siad Barre was overthrown, Conoco continues to maintain an office in the capital city of Mogadishu. In fact, Conoco has been actively involved in assisting in the U.S.-led military occupation there.

When U.S. marines invaded the country, the Conoco Somalia Ltd. corporate offices became the de facto U.S. embassy, used by special envoy Robert Oakley as his temporary headquarters. Marine Brig. Gen. Frank Libutti issued Conoco's resident general

manager, Raymond Marchand, a letter of commendation stating, "Without Raymond's courageous contributions and selfless service, the operation would have failed."

**25,000 U.S. troops remain**

In an operation timed to coincide with the inauguration of U.S. president Bill Clinton, 1,100 marines were withdrawn from Somalia January 19 and 20. Those troops were replaced by 900 Australian soldiers. Washington continues to maintain 25,000 U.S.

troops in Somalia.

According to Lieut. Gen. Robert Johnston, the overall commander of the Somalia military operation, no further U.S. withdrawals are expected until the United Nations Security Council approves a resolution transferring control of the military intervention from the United States to the United Nations.

While U.S. military commanders would like to turn this operation over to the United Nations as soon as possible, UN officials have indicated that they are not yet ready to assume this role. Johnston is hoping to put in place a UN force of 15,000 troops.

According to the January 23 *Washington Post*, so far Pakistan and some African governments have committed about 7,000 troops to this planned UN force. France and Italy, which had been hesitant to stay on longer without the full U.S. force in place, are now reconsidering. Canada continues to insist that its forces are leaving with the U.S. troops.

The UN force is now envisioned to include a U.S. contingent of 1,000 troops, plus an amphibious assault force of about 4,000 U.S. marines and sailors stationed offshore.

**Reconstituting police forces**

Meanwhile, the U.S. troops are continuing their drive to forcibly disarm Somalis while attempting to reconstitute police forces and put in place new political structures in towns they occupy.

"It's hard to tell whom to disarm," said Capt. Tom Wilk. "Lots of guys you end up taking weapons from are farmers trying to get their produce out."

In the city of Baidoa, the U.S. military has been actively involved in setting up a so-called civilian security committee. Selected Somalis are now being included as part of the U.S. military patrols of the city. This is seen as a step toward forming a local police force under Aden Nur Sheikh, who was the police chief in Baidoa during the reign of terror of former Somali dictator Siad Barre.

According to the *New York Times*, U.S. officials are hoping to undertake similar efforts in nearby towns such as Bardera and Kismayo.

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# India events based on rising class tensions, not clash of religions

BY GREG ROSENBERG

NEW DELHI, India — In the crisis that engulfed India last month, government officials and media commentators worldwide portrayed the events as a religious conflict between Hindus and Muslims. More than 1,200 people were killed and thousands injured in riots and police killings that followed the December 6 demolition of a mosque in the northern town of Ayodhya. Capitalist newspapers contended that India was enmeshed in a "religious crisis" that was simply the latest in a long history of violence based on religious intolerance.

The reality is different. Behind the destruction of the mosque and subsequent "religious" riots lies the conflict of classes in India, the world's second most populous country with 860 million residents. India is being hit hard by the world economic depression. The Ayodhya events underlined Indian capitalism's instability and rising tension between classes throughout the country.

Rightist political groups are utilizing the economic crisis along with longstanding divisions among working people along religious, caste, language, and national lines to advance their own reactionary political objectives. This is illustrated by the Ayodhya events.

The mosque at Ayodhya, known as the Babri Masjid (Babar's mosque) was built in the 16th century. It has only become a subject of heightened controversy recently, as Hindu chauvinist organizations have led a campaign to destroy it and build a shrine in honor of the Hindu deity Ram. The chauvinist groups claim that Ram was born on the very same site 5,000 years ago.

In 1988, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), with allied groups such as the Rashtriya Swayamsewak Sangh (RSS — National Volunteer Corps) and Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP — World Hindu Council), began a campaign to have the mosque destroyed.

In 1990, BJP leader L.K. Advani led a march to Ayodhya that was halted by the government. Attempts to begin work on the new temple were broken up, leaving a dozen people dead. In the controversy surrounding this the government of Vishwanath Pratap Singh collapsed.

The BJP and other rightist groups organized a several-year campaign that exhorted their followers to bring bricks from all over India and outside the country to be used in constructing the new temple.

## Call for 'Hindu state'

The BJP's calls to support this campaign were filled with religious pleas and a political message: since India is majority Hindu, there should be a Hindu state. BJP and RSS leaders toured the country on buses adorned with political posters and Hindu idols calling on people to turn out in Ayodhya on the given day.

By December 6, hundreds of thousands had gathered at Ayodhya, waiting for the nod from religious and political figures to "begin construction."

As first hundreds, then thousands rushed the barbed wire gates surrounding the mosque, Indian army troops and cops, many openly sympathetic to the gathering, melted away. The mosque was demolished by thousands wielding pick axes, iron bars, ropes, and using their bare hands. Hundreds of others subsequently rampaged through Ayodhya, burning Muslim-owned stores, beating up residents, and trashing at least one other mosque.

Within hours, riots broke out throughout the country. Massive numbers of troops and cops were deployed from north to south, some with shoot-on-sight orders. In subsequent days, curfews were imposed in virtually every Indian city.

Working people were the victims in the riots. In some areas, a majority of the victims were Muslim. But Hindus also were killed. Since the Indian press censored itself, there is no accurate breakdown on the victims.

Indian police and army troops were brutal in many areas. In Bombay, where hundreds died, it is estimated that 90 percent of the deaths were caused when cops fired straight

into protesting crowds. Indian army troops and police have recently come under international scrutiny for their brutality. Amnesty International issued a report last year that said "torture is pervasive and a daily routine in every one of India's 25 states."

India, which is often touted as "the world's largest democracy," was a colony of the British empire for 200 years before winning independence in 1947. An underdeveloped country, it is one of the world's poorest. With a per capita gross domestic product of \$298, living conditions for most working people are at the bare minimum for human subsistence.

## Economic 'reform'

At the urging of India's capitalist ruling class and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao of the ruling Congress Party launched an austerity program in July 1991, packaged as "economic reform," to benefit India's ailing economy. The target of these measures is the working class and peasantry.

One of the government's first moves was to devalue the Indian currency, the rupee, by 25 percent, making the prices of basic commodities even higher for working people. Under the auspices of cutting government spending, Rao announced plans to reduce wages, cut spending for food distribution programs, and close unprofitable state-owned industries.

Inflation has grown to 12 percent. Unemployment, already large, is growing and industrial output is down. Hundreds of millions of working people already live below the poverty line — which is officially the equivalent of \$7.55 per family per week. Infant mortality is 95 per thousand, and adult illiteracy is 56.5%.

About 75 percent of the population lives in the countryside, and agriculture accounts for a large portion of economic activity. Some 20 years ago, India's rulers launched the "Green Revolution," with the stated purpose of making the country self-sufficient in food production. The real goal was to bring agriculture into the fold of modern capitalist commodity production. But despite some big advances in that period the government is once again shopping on the world market for food.

The Green Revolution never included a radical land reform to benefit poor peasants or landless agricultural workers. Only one-third of India's vast, rich, arable lands is irrigated. And Rao's measures on the land, including abolishing price supports for fertilizer, hit peasants the hardest, while benefiting large capitalist landowners.

## Debt and imperialist exploitation

In addition to facing exploiters at home, working people have the additional burden of the \$77 billion foreign debt owed to bankers in North America, Japan, and Europe. Annual debt-servicing amounts to a third of India's export earnings. The debt stood at \$20 billion in 1980, and has grown an additional 27 percent in the last five years.

Rao's moves aim to open up India to greater investment by capitalists outside the country. But the imperialist exploiters are insisting that "reforms" first be instituted that will make such investments to exploit labor and raw materials more profitable. "Needed," said the *Economist* in a 1992 article, "A sub-continental Thatcher." (Margaret Thatcher, British prime minister from 1979 to 1991, made her reputation by spearheading government reductions in social spending and other attacks on working people.)

## Working-class resistance

The economic crisis and government assaults on the working class and peasantry are being met with resistance by working people. On November 25, 1992, half a million workers marched in Delhi to protest government attacks on wages and other measures. Thousands of strikes, involving millions of workers took place last year, from the public sector to jute mill workers (jute is a crop used in the manufacture of



Ayodhya mosque being demolished December 1992. The Ayodhya events underline the growing instability of Indian capitalism.

rope and other materials).

Trucking strikes paralyzed the country last summer. One hundred fifty thousand textile workers walked out in December in the southern state of Tamil Nadu over attacks on wages.

On June 16 last year, 12 million workers participated in a one-day strike against the government austerity program. Thousands were arrested for "attempting to disrupt normal life."

Among small farmers, resistance has mounted, especially in the northern states of Punjab, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh — the heart of the Green Revolution.

Only 10 percent of India's workforce is organized in trade unions. Virtually all unions are affiliated with various political parties, including the ruling Congress Party, the Stalinist Communist Party of India (CPI) and Communist Party of India (Marxist — CPI-M), and the social-democratic Janata Dal party.

While trade unions and the parties they are linked with have organized some strikes and protests against the belt-tightening moves, they have not organized a nationwide, sustained political fight against the government's offensive or the rightist political campaign of the BJP and its allies.

The BJP supports the austerity program. The CPI and CPI-M, which administer the state of West Bengal through the Left Front government, have often given open support to moves by the Congress Party governments during the past several decades.

The Rao government is working on closer ties with Washington. Joint Indo-U.S. naval exercises were held in 1992, and more are planned for the summer of 1993. New Delhi joined with Washington in 1991 in an effort to repeal the United Nations resolution equating Zionism with racism.

In December, India sent two naval vessels and 3,000 troops to Somalia — its largest ever such participation in a UN military operation.

The Indian army is fighting political and military insurgencies in Punjab, Assam, and Kashmir.

## Roots of 'communalism'

In 1947, at the time of independence, the old British colony of India was partitioned into India and Pakistan, which was majority Muslim. The British rulers had long encouraged every imaginable division of working people — religious, caste, sex, nationality, and so on. During the independence movement especially, the British exerted great efforts to divide Muslim from Hindu. The Indian ruling class has continued to encourage such divisions.

While the Congress Party, which has been in power for most of the time since independence, claims a policy of secularism, it has often fanned the flames of communalism, as the so-called interreligious conflicts are known. Hinduism is pushed by the government, and there is no separation of church and state.

The rightist BJP and its allies have seized

upon the economic and social crisis in India to rally forces behind the banner of a "Hindu India." In doing so, they target scapegoats, Muslims especially, as the cause of the crisis.

These forces call for India to build up its nuclear arsenal, which it began stockpiling nearly 20 years ago, in preparation for accelerated military action against the rival capitalist regime in Pakistan, which also has nuclear capability. They also call for the expulsion of Muslim Bangladeshi refugees from the northeastern state of Assam.

The BJP claims that Muslims, who constitute 11 percent of India's population, have a high birthrate that threatens the Hindu majority. They claim that Muslims living in India hold loyalties to Pakistan, and that this is proved because Muslims clap for Pakistan during soccer matches with India.

The BJP draws its support primarily from middle-class Hindus. Many of its leaders come from the RSS and VHP, which go back decades in advocating Hindu chauvinism. The RSS organizes some 25,000 special "schools" around the country, where young Hindus receive, among other things, forms of military training.

These rightists also campaign against "special privileges" accorded those who benefit from affirmative action programs, known here as "reservations plans."

This affirmative action program draws working people from poorer backgrounds into certain types of employment and education. It cuts across, among other things, the caste system, which divides those of the Hindu religion into thousands of subgroups.

Modern class society has partially cut across the castes, and further modified the hierarchical system. But the castes continue to exist. The rightists mount campaigns to scapegoat those who have escaped this system by converting to Islam, or mobilize outrage by middle-class layers over what is perceived as unfair economic advancement of others.

While no working-class leadership exists to speak on behalf of the workers and peasants of India, important examples of class solidarity did emerge during the recent clashes.

In Bombay and Bhopal, Muslim and Hindu residents in some areas joined together to form patrols to prevent rioters from attacking people and buildings.

In Calcutta, jute mill workers walked out of a plant to prevent a group from physically destroying a place of worship.

Thousands of students joined protests in various cities to protest the mosque's demolition and rioting. At Aligarh Muslim University, students maintained night-long vigils against riots, particularly around the residences of Hindu teachers and students.

Greg Rosenberg is a member of United Auto Workers Local 879 in St. Paul, Minnesota.



# Two years later, Iraq continues to suffer effects of U.S. assault

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

Two years after Washington and its allies unleashed the Persian Gulf war, U.S. and British planes and warships were again bombing the people of Iraq. In addition, the murderous effects of the 1990-91 war continue — from the trade embargo to radioactive contamination caused by the U.S. military.

Eric Hoskins, medical coordinator of a Harvard study team which issued a firsthand report in May 1991 on the destruction of Iraq, wrote in the January 21 *New York Times* that Washington's forces left at least 10,000 radioactive artillery shells dispersed throughout Iraq and Kuwait. Made from a byproduct in the manufacture of atomic bombs and nuclear fuel rods, the "depleted uranium penetrators," as the shells are called, were designed by the Pentagon to pierce a tank's armor and then burst into flames, burning the crew alive.

Hoskins notes that the 40 tons of depleted uranium shells "may be the cause of fatal illnesses, including cancer and mysterious new stomach ailments, showing up in Iraqi children." He adds that "UN personnel and aid workers have seen children playing with empty shells, abandoned weapons and destroyed tanks."

The U.S. government and United Nations inspectors have raised a hue and cry about Iraq's alleged nuclear weapons capacity. Yet, Hoskins points out, they have been "remarkably silent" about the U.S. atomic debris strewn across the country that has contaminated the soil and drinking water.

The Harvard doctor reports that this problem "is made worse by malnutrition and poor health conditions" caused by the trade embargo against Iraq, which the United Nations Security Council imposed in August 1990 as the first step in the Persian Gulf war.

Recent articles in big-business newspapers have cynically downplayed the effects of the cutoff in trade, claiming the Iraqi government has rebuilt the war-torn country. But in fact the ongoing embargo has been catastrophic for working people in this

country of 18 million.

According to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), almost 47,000 children under the age of five died in Iraq in the first seven months of 1991 from the effects of the war and economic embargo. The child mortality rate is even higher today, UNICEF officials report. "The effects of sanctions on health is devastating," said Sigdigh Ibrahim of the UN agency.

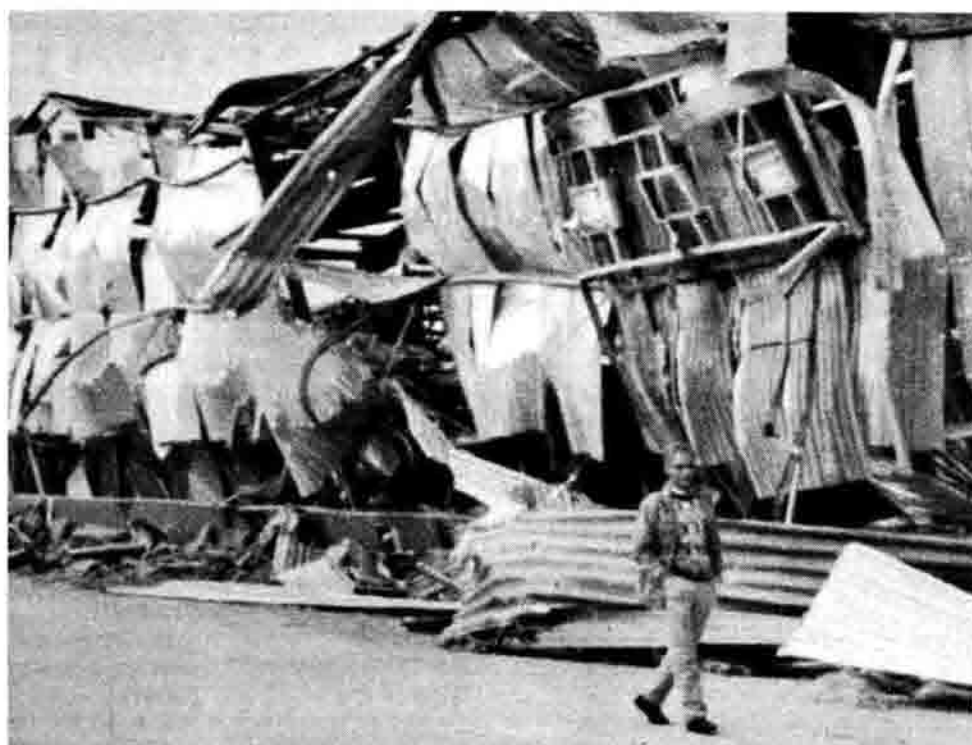
The cutoff of trade with Iraq has created food and medicine shortages and led to skyrocketing inflation. The price of rice has increased 40-fold. "Beans are a luxury now," an angry Baghdad housewife explained. Medicines are unavailable for working people with diabetes and heart disease.

In spite of this continuing crime against the people of Iraq, the U.S. rulers did not achieve their major aims during the Gulf war and have not since then. In fact, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein has outlasted George Bush. The ruling billionaire families decided to dump Bush above all because of the U.S. fiasco in the war against Iraq — they lost confidence in his ability to defend U.S. business interests effectively.

Washington's goals in the war were to bolster U.S. economic and political domination in the Middle East. It sought to impose a reliable, obedient regime in Iraq that could ensure stability and greater U.S. control of oil reserves in the Gulf, pushing back the struggles of working people throughout the region, particularly that of the Palestinians.

In carrying out the assault on Iraq the U.S. capitalists also hoped to overcome the so-called Vietnam syndrome, the deep-seated opposition among working people at home to U.S. wars against other countries. And they sought to use their military might to deal economic and political blows to their imperialist rivals in Europe and Japan.

Since 1979 Washington's policy in the Middle East was to undermine the Iranian revolution, which had overthrown the Shah, the main prop for imperialist interests in the region. For a decade the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations backed the capitalist



Baghdad baby milk factory after February 1991 air attack. U.S. and allies bombed civilian industry and infrastructure, causing food and health crisis for Iraqi people.

regime of Saddam Hussein in its bloody war against Iran — the U.S. military and financial support for Saddam is now becoming better known through the "Iraqgate" affair.

Following the failure of that policy, the U.S. rulers saw their golden opportunity with the Iraqi regime's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. They then unleashed one of the most barbaric slaughters in modern times.

## More bombs than in Vietnam

Between Jan. 17 and Feb. 27, 1991, U.S. and allied forces dropped 88,000 tons of bombs on Iraq — much more than the total tonnage dropped during 10 years of the Vietnam war. The Pentagon later admitted 70 percent of its bombs missed their targets, killing thousands of civilians. On February 13 two of these bombs destroyed an air-raid shelter in a neighborhood in Baghdad, killing 200 civilians; the top brass defend that massacre to this day.

Washington then moved to implement the words of Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff: "First we are going to cut it off," he said, referring to the Iraqi army. "Then we are going to kill it." At the beginning of the ground offensive February 24 and 25, the U.S. army equipped tanks with giant plows and literally buried

alive thousands of Iraqi soldiers in 70 miles of six-foot-deep trenches.

The single biggest bloodletting occurred during the last 48 hours of the assault, as thousands of Iraqi soldiers tried to flee back home on the highway from Kuwait City where they had been abandoned by the Saddam Hussein regime without officers, food, supplies, or antitank weapons. The soldiers, no longer a fighting force, were simply a crowd of people doing their best to surrender or get out of the line of fire.

U.S. planes bombed both ends of a four-mile stretch of highway to seal it off. Then they simply carpet-bombed a road that was as crowded with trapped vehicles as a Los Angeles freeway at rush hour. Thousands of people were slaughtered in what the Pentagon generals gruesomely called the "kill box." One returning U.S. pilot described it as a "turkey shoot."

It was not a war. It was a one-sided massacre of human beings attempting to surrender. Washington still refuses to say how many Iraqis were killed, but one U.S. official admitted between 100,000 and 200,000 were slaughtered.

When the Bush administration halted the ground offensive, it thought it had virtually clinched victory and that Saddam Hussein would be quickly overthrown by disgruntled Iraqi military officials. Washington therefore decided not to launch a drive into Baghdad that risked an unacceptably high cost in U.S. casualties. While Bush came in for major criticism in ruling-class circles for this decision, none of his capitalist critics has offered an alternative course that would have led to political gains for Washington.

## Political fiasco

As a result, Washington ended up breaking its teeth on the Persian Gulf conflict. It did not succeed in establishing a pro-U.S. protectorate in Iraq.

With less public confidence in the government's direction of foreign and military policy today, the U.S. rulers have been unable to push back the Vietnam syndrome. They have now placed this problem in the hands of Bill Clinton in hopes that he will be more successful in carrying out an aggressive foreign policy course.

Instead of stability, the Gulf war weakened most of the regimes and exacerbated all the conflicts in the Middle East, such as the renewed struggles by the Kurdish people in Iraq and Turkey.

The Iraq war also intensified the rivalries between Washington and other imperialist powers. While the U.S. imperialist rulers gained a relative edge over Tokyo and Bonn, the result is that both the Japanese and German governments are now taking major steps to rearm themselves and become involved in military interventions in the world.

As the world sinks deeper into economic depression, these imperialist rivalries are growing sharper, as seen in the former Yugoslavia and elsewhere. Instead of a new world capitalist order, the Gulf war can be more accurately described by the title of *New International no. 7*, "Opening Guns of World War III." This issue of the Marxist magazine gives a clear working-class analysis of the Iraq war and its consequences, and is worth studying to understand the events unfolding today.

# U.S. planes continue attacks on Iraq

Continued from front page

attack on an industrial complex outside of Baghdad continues to decline. Pentagon officials had said January 18 that 37 of the 45 missiles fired from ships in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf hit their target. Now they admit that more may have missed the target, without giving a figure. One missile hit a heavily used international hotel in the city, another hit a house. Three civilian deaths were reported.

## French government objects

Leaders of several governments considered as U.S. allies in the campaign against Iraq are showing reluctance to continue the campaign of military pressure that defines U.S. policy. Three days after the January 17 cruise missile attack, French foreign minister Roland Dumas said to the French cabinet that the bombing "went beyond the Security Council resolutions."

French jets participated along with U.S. and British planes in two bombing raids on Iraqi missile sites. France, however, declined to be part of the attack on Baghdad. Washington decided to use missiles instead of jets. "Since the end of August we have been committed to united action to protect the populations above the 36th and below the 32nd parallels," said a French official. "That doesn't mean we'll be in agreement to go and bombard civilians."

In response to Dumas's statement, British prime minister John Major, who campaigned successfully to have the Tomahawk missile attack delayed for two days, said the bombardment was wholly justified and that France was consulted about the attack.

Two days before Dumas's statement, the Russian government also said that the attack was inconsistent with international law. A government spokesperson said the U.S.

bombing was not in proportion with what Iraq had done, because of the civilian deaths. He added that the attack should not have occurred without a meeting of the entire Security Council and that further attacks should be discussed by council members beforehand.

## Arab governments draw back

Several Arab governments that supported the United States in the 1991 war are drawing back from the U.S. pressure campaign on Iraq. Saudi Arabia has tried to distance itself from U.S. activity. While the rulers of that country allowed U.S.-led squadrons to leave Saudi bases on bombing runs, no Saudi jets participated.

Regimes in Egypt, Syria, Qatar, and Iran have all complained about the continued use of force against Iraq. Some governments have begun pointing to a double standard being applied by the United Nations, particularly over UN resolutions on Bosnia and Israel, which they say should be pursued with the same vigor as Iraq.

The government in Ankara, Turkey, is also uneasy about the recent military strikes. Washington has been using Turkey's Incirlik air base to patrol the northern aircraft exclusion zone in Iraq. Ankara has requested that the United States minimize the use of the firepower of its jets using Incirlik.

Turkey has been pushing for military action in Bosnia against Serbian forces. Turkish president Turgut Ozal announced that he wants to meet with Clinton over this.

The Clinton administration has begun discussing how it can get out of the Iraq situation. Clinton said in an January 13 interview with the *New York Times* that unlike Bush, he was not determined to see Hussein ousted. "My job is not to pick their rulers for them. . . . If [Saddam Hussein] wants a

different relationship with the United States and the United Nations, all he has to do is change his behavior."

Clinton quickly backed away from that statement, saying the next day that he had no intention of reestablishing relations with Hussein and that the *Times* had misinterpreted him. Nevertheless, other U.S. government and military officials have also indicated they are ready to come to terms with Baghdad.

Elaine Sciolino reported in the January 23 *New York Times* that Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell "is said to believe that . . . the United States and its allies might have to learn to coexist with [Saddam Hussein] in power in Iraq."

## New International no. 7 Opening Guns of World War III Washington's Assault on Iraq by Jack Barnes

\$12



Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Please include \$3 handling, \$.50 for each additional book.



# Britain: actions continue in defense of miners

Two thousand coal miners and their supporters rallied in Sheffield's city center January 16 to demonstrate against the British government's plan to close 31 mines and lay off 30,000 miners. The action was called by Yorkshire and Humberside Trades Union Council. National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) vice-president Frank Cave spoke and called on the trade union movement to take action in support of the campaign to defend miners' jobs.

Coal miners expressed many opinions on the January 16 march about how best to resist the assault on jobs. "We can't strike by ourselves like we did in 1984," one miner from Prince of Wales Col-

miner described the subsidy proposal as "paying for ourselves to have a job, and they will still close the pits."

## 'Pit camps' organized to stop shutdowns

Women Against Pit Closures (WAPC) launched a new protest campaign against the government's assault on coal miners' jobs January 11. They started a "pit camp" outside the gates of Markham Main colliery in Armthorpe near Doncaster, South Yorkshire. The event was widely covered in the local and national media. Three other camps were launched in the following days. Ten camps in all



Miners demonstrate in London against pit closures last October

## ON THE PICKET LINE

liery said. A miner from Kellingley Colliery thought there was not much chance of stopping the pit closures "whatever we do." Another said, "even if we lose we've got to give them a fight."

Prominent among the participants on the march were members of Women Against Pit Closures. Also at the demonstration were some of the "Middlebrook 89," locked-out women mushroom pickers who are fighting against wage cuts.

In a setback for the government, the High Court ruled December 21 that the decision to close 31 pits had been carried out illegally. The judges said that the future of all 31 mines should have been subject to a consultation procedure adopted after the 1984-85 strike. They did not, however, order the government and British Coal to resume production at the ten pits where work has already stopped. Workers at these pits now clock in for work each day and are sent home. Many have taken redundancy (buyouts).

One scheme being debated in ruling circles recently is a five-year subsidy on coal to keep mines scheduled for shutdown open, financed through increased electricity bills. An editorial in the *Times* December 11, however, dismissed the proposal as a "panic measure" that would "set back privatisation of British Coal." A Kellingley

are projected at the mines immediately threatened with closure.

WAPC has played a major role alongside the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in the protest campaign. A national WAPC demonstration will take place in London February 6.

The Armthorpe WAPC camp has been bustling with activity. It operates 24 hours a day, with people taking 4 hour shifts. Passing motorists and the contractors who are dismantling the pit hoot their horns in support of the protest. Doncaster Council has provided a hut with water and heat and officially sanctioned use of land outside the pit gates.

Another trailer home of supporters houses women who had set up Peace Camps at Greenham Common during the 1970s and 1980s to get nuclear missiles removed from the military airbase in Berkshire. "The idea behind the pit camps came from the visit of miners wives to Greenham Common during the 1984-5 strike" said Betty Cook from Barnsley.

Local people at Armthorpe have supplied the camp with bags of coal and wood for heat. Mick Varley, a retired miner and local councillor, carries water from his house nearby. There are solidarity messages on the trailer wall from local shops. After a few days the camp visitors book was filling up

with names of all those who came to show support.

Women who have recently been fired because of union activity at the Middlebrook Mushroom Farm in North Yorkshire have visited the pit camp several times. The camp organizers decided to show their support for that struggle by asking all visitors to sign a petition organized by the Transport and General Workers Union.

Miners from the Hatfield and Armthorpe NUM branches are actively supporting the camp by doing four-hour stints as well.

WAPC leader Brenda Nixon declared, "we don't consider defeat, we're fighting to win and we'll stop at nothing." Nixon and Aggie Currie, another leader of the fight, explained that the objective of the camps is to keep the issue of pit closures in the news. They pointed to a message in the visitors' book — "Don't underestimate the women."

## Canadian labor gives boost to miners strike

Striking gold miners at Royal

Oak Mines in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories in northern Canada continue to gain solidarity from working people across the country.

The December 18 issue of *CONTACT*, the national newsletter of the Canadian Autoworkers Union (CAW), reports that the union has raised more than \$250,000 for the strike fund of Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW) Local 4, the union which represents the Yellowknife miners. More than half the money has come from four mineworker locals of the CAW in British Columbia whose members are each sending two hours of pay per month.

Two members of CLASS, the CASAW wives support committee, were warmly received at the Canada Council meeting of the CAW in Toronto on December 11-13. CLASS president June Roberts spoke to the more than 300 delegates from across Canada and gave an update on the strike. Delegates took materials for their locals and contributed \$10,000 to the CASAW strike fund.

Roberts spoke in Montreal on December 15 to 1,000 delegates attending the Social Affairs Fed-

eration of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CGN), where she received a rousing ovation. Many delegates pledged support to the CASAW strike. The federation represents hospital workers in Quebec.

Royal Oak and police, meanwhile, continue to wage a highly publicized campaign blaming CASAW strikers for an explosion at the mine in September that killed 9 workers. There have been no charges laid to date nor has any evidence been made public.

## Domino Sugar strike reaches for support

Three hundred and fifty members of International Longshoremen's Association Local 1814 have been on strike against Domino Sugar Co. in Brooklyn since October 3, 1992.

With the expiration of the contract in October, the company put forth a series of concessions they wanted from the workers. Noting that the company was making profit, the workers rejected the concessions and voted to strike. As the strikers explain on the picket line, two of the main issues involved are the proposed introduction of part-time workers and what the company proposes as "flexibility" — the right to shuffle workers from one job classification to another.

In an effort to broaden out the strike, a rally of 150 strikers and supporters was held outside the Domino Sugar headquarters in Manhattan January 6.

On January 21, the strikers organized a bus to go to the Domino Sugar plant in Baltimore to reach out to workers at that plant and to put pressure on the company.

Contributors to this column include: Tony Hunt from Sheffield, England; Jim Spaul, member of National Union of Mineworkers in North Yorkshire, England; Rose Knight, member of Rail, Maritime, and Transport union in Doncaster, England; Roger Annis, member of Canadian Autoworkers Local 1900 in Montreal; and Nancy Rosenstock, member of International Association of Machinists in New York.

## 'Amsterdam News' on the new Pathfinder offices

The following article appeared in the January 16 issue of New York's *Amsterdam News*. It was entitled, "Pathfinder Press turned into a state-of-the-art publishing house."

BY CHARLES BAILLOU

On West Street overlooking the Hudson River in Lower Manhattan, the building housing Pathfinder Press, *The Militant* news-weekly and the Socialist Workers Party has had its interior transformed, it appears, into a user friendly, state-of-the-art workplace.

And visitors at its recent open house tour saw first hand what donor dollars, volunteerism and a clear goal can accomplish. This effort is being financed by what Pathfinder calls its International Expansion Fund. And the goal for the fund is \$3 million.

This expansion is necessary, it is said, to better equip the publishing house for increased production and distribution of its radical and progressive books and related publications.

"We think more and more people are looking for alternatives, looking for ways to fight back," said Steve Clark, editorial director of Pathfinder Press. "They need the lessons of those who have struggled. And that's what Pathfinder is in the business of doing."

Those struggles, according to Clark, were led by revolutionaries ranging from Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Leon Trotsky to Maurice Bishop, Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. "We try

to publish them in their own words," he said during a conversation near his desk.

"Unfortunately," Clark went on, "not much of anyone else is interested in doing that. But we find that a lot of working people and youth are interested in reading, and they need those lessons."

"People say communism has collapsed. Well, we don't think that's true. We think that as long as there is oppression, racism, discrimination against women, cop brutality, and as long as working and poor people are exploited, all history tells us from Spartacus and the slave revolts to today that people are going to join together and look for ideas on how to struggle."

But the Communists of the former Soviet Union apparently disagree. They seem so convinced that Communism is untenable that they have stopped publishing books by Marx, Engels and V.I. Lenin, according to a story Clark referred to that was published in the Dec. 18 issue of *The Militant*.

Noting that U.S. volunteers went to Moscow to "rescue" books by those authors, Clark said, "The same bureaucrats that published those books, now that Communism is supposedly dead, were selling those books to paper mills to recycle them. So we bought 40,000 volumes of Marx, Engels and Lenin in English for a quarter a volume." He added that Cubans bought a comparable number of the Spanish editions.

Asked why he thinks the Soviet bloc "bureaucrats" so swiftly gave up on their ideological underpinnings, Clark contends: "The



Militant/Selva Nebbia

Offices of the *Militant*, completed a year ago. Since then Pathfinder Press offices in same building have been remodeled along similar lines.

regimes of those countries had long ago given up any effort to apply the programs of Marx, Engels and Lenin. They were simply regimes run for the interest of a small, privileged layer.

"But," he went on, "they had to link themselves to the Russian Revolution for legitimacy. So that's why they continued to produce the books."

Oddly enough, Clark said interest in Marxist books seems to be growing in this country. "The interest and demands for our literature is greater now than it has ever

been, including literature on the Soviet Union and material by revolutionary leaders like Leon Trotsky and V.I. Lenin."

But Malcolm X and Nelson Mandela are Pathfinder's hottest sellers, Clark said. "A lot of stores that wouldn't touch Malcolm X years ago are now ordering his books."

Also, he noted, there is "tremendous interest" now in the works of Nelson Mandela and in Thomas Sankara, the young leader of Burkina Faso, who was assassinated several years ago.



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

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

## CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

**Germany: The Fight against Racist Attacks.** Speaker: Markie Wilson, Socialist Workers Party, member, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Sat., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**Germany: The Fight against Anti-immigrant Violence.** Speaker: Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for County Commission, District 3. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 137 N.E. 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Translation to French.

**Eyewitness Report and Slide Show on the Cuban Revolution Today.** Speaker: Rolande Girard, just returned from youth brigade to Cuba. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 137 N.E. 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Translation to French.

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

**U.S. Rulers Drive to War in Yugoslavia.** Speaker: Richard Rathes, Socialist Workers Party, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, Local 365. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. S.W. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

## MARYLAND

### Baltimore

**No to U.S. Assaults on Iraq!** Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

**The Art and Politics of Käthe Kollwitz.** Ted Klitzke, dean emeritus of Maryland Institute—College of Art, will present original etchings, lithographs, woodcuts, and drawings of German socialist who depicted horrors of World Wars I and II and conditions of the working class. Sat., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**The Fight to Defend Indian Fishing Rights Today.** Speakers: Leonard Thompson, member, American Indian Movement; David Manuel, Native American activist; Tom O'Brien, activist in struggle to defend Indian treaty rights. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

## MISSOURI

### St. Louis

**The Clinton Presidency — Challenges Facing Youth and Trade Unionists.** Sat., Jan. 30, dinner 5:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 1622 S. Broadway.

Donation: \$4 program, \$5 dinner. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

**The Clinton Presidency — Challenges Facing Youth and Trade Unionists.** Sat., Jan. 30, dinner 5:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$4 program, \$5 dinner. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today.** Speaker: Martin Koppel, editor of *Habla Malcolm X*, new Spanish collection of Malcolm X's speeches; attended literary conference in Holguin, Cuba, in October. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**Israel's War on Palestinians. Stop the Deportations!** Speakers: Hanna Eady, director, New Image Theater, Palestinian artist; George Chalmers, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

## AUSTRALIA

### Sydney

**The Fight against Racism in Europe.** Speaker: Marnie Kennedy, Communist League candidate for House of Representatives in the seat of

Grayndler. Sat., Feb. 6, 6 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

## BRITAIN

### Manchester

**Behind the War in Yugoslavia: An Eyewitness Account.** Speaker: Anne Howie, Communist League. Sat., Jan. 30, 6 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

## CANADA

### Toronto

**Youth in Cuba Today: Taking on the Challenges Facing the Revolution.** Speaker: Barb Graham, participant in recent youth brigade to Cuba. Sat., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$4. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

### Vancouver

**The Challenges Facing the Cuban Revolution.** A series of three classes. (1) "Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today: Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the '90s." Tues., Jan. 26, 7 p.m.; (2) "Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End." Tues., Feb. 2, 7 p.m.; (3) "October 1962 'Missile Crisis': The U.S. War to Crush Cuba. Lessons on How to Fight Washington's Aggression Today." Tues., Feb. 9, 7 p.m. All classes at Pathfinder bookstore, 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24th Aves.). Donation: \$2 per class or \$5 for all three. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

## ICELAND

### Reykjavik

**United States against Iraq — What It Is Really About.** Sat., Jan. 30, 1 p.m. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

**Social Rights or Charity?** Sat., Feb. 6, 1 p.m. Klapparstíg 26. Tel: (91) 17513.

## NEW ZEALAND

### Wellington

**Hands Off Iraq! What's Behind U.S. Attacks?** Speaker: Janet Roth, Communist League. Sat., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation: \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

**Somalia: Aid or Invasion?** Speaker: Communist League representative. Fri., Feb. 5, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation: \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

## New York City

**Support Asylum for Haitian Refugees! Eyewitness Reports from Guantánamo Bay and Krome detention centers.**

Sunday, January 31, 7 p.m.

Speakers: Harvey McArthur, *Militant* reporter who recently traveled to Haitian camp at Guantánamo Bay; Ciliese Succes, political refugee held in Guantánamo Bay; Richard Tallini, co-chair of National Lawyers Guild at Touro Law School, recently returned from visiting Haitian hunger strikers at Krome detention center in Miami; Moise St. Louis, Haitian Enforcement Against Racism. 191 7th Ave. (2nd floor). Donation: \$4. Dinner and photo exhibit before program at 5 p.m. Donation: \$5. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

# War spreads in former Yugoslavia

## Continued from front page

Burns in the January 23 *New York Times*, both the Bosnian government and the Serbian rightist leaders in Bosnia "appear to have accepted the proposal... only as a tactical maneuver, not with any intention of carrying it out."

Karadzic has also called for plebiscites so those living near the proposed borders can decide in which province they want to live.

## Dispute over Bosnia boundaries

The Vance-Owen plan for Bosnia leaves unsettled the precise boundaries for each of the 10 proposed Bosnian provinces. This has spurred renewed fighting between the armed factions based in the Serbian, Croatian, and Muslim communities in Bosnia, as leaders of each of the competing bureaucratic gangs seek to maximize their control over disputed territories.

Fierce fighting was reported along the Drina River separating Bosnia from Serbia, as Muslim forces launched mortar attacks into Serbia. Some of the sharpest discord between the Muslim- and Serb-based forces involve proposed provinces in eastern Bosnia along the Serbian border.

Clashes were also taking place in the town of Gornji Vakuf, in central Bosnia, between feuding Croat and Muslim forces in an area where roughly equal numbers of Croats and Muslims live.

Rightist Serbian forces continue their siege of Sarajevo without interruption. They continue to refuse to place their heavy weapons under UN control — as mandated by the recently signed Bosnia agreement — until

the disputed boundaries are redrawn to their satisfaction.

The Croatian army launched an attack January 22 against Serbs near the port city of Zadar on the Adriatic Sea, shattering a year-long cease-fire in Croatia that 14,000 UN troops inside the country have been attempting to enforce. The Croatian troops moved with tanks, artillery, mortars, and infantry along a 60-mile front, with battles raging in a series of towns.

The January 1992 cease-fire in Croatia halted seven months of fighting that had claimed at least 25,000 lives. Serb-based armed groups had been left in control of almost a third of Croatia's territory, on which they proclaimed an independent state they called the Serbian Krajina Republic.

The Serbian armed groups responded to the renewed attack in Croatia by breaking into UN storage depots and seizing artillery and other weapons. They then declared a formal state of war and massively began to shell the port city of Zadar.

After two days of fighting, casualties were high. Serb forces reported at least 28 dead on their side while the Croatian police in Zadar said at least six Croatian soldiers

were killed and 15 others injured.

In a letter sent to the UN Security Council, the rump state of Yugoslavia, composed of Serbia and Montenegro, threatened to send Yugoslav army troops to Croatia to reinforce the Serbian forces fighting there.

According to the January 24 *New York Times*, Croatian president Franjo Tudjman defended the Croatian army's actions, saying that "the attack did not amount to aggression because Croatian troops were attacking positions on Croatia's soil."

## Forced detention camps

All sides in the fighting in Bosnia continue to hold prisoners and detain civilians. Estimates vary widely — some U.S. officials claim the number of people in detention camps is in the range of 35,000 to 70,000. According to these claims the Serbian forces run 135 such prison camps, and Muslim and Croat groups operate another 39.

The January 22 *New York Times* reports Croatian troops are also detaining 840 Serbian civilians in the town of Rascani in western Bosnia.

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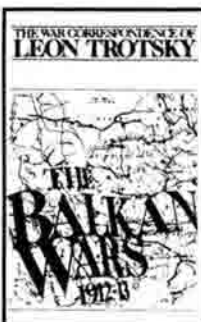
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Including an emperor's outfit?  
— "Not since the Kennedy admin-



Harry  
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istration have we had a president who could be so influential fashion-wise. Clinton is in the process of learning what it means to express leadership in terms of clothing." — Richard Martin, curator of the Costume Institute of New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**Maybe even some cholera** — A spokesperson for Britain's National Assn. of Undertakers says the industry has been hit by a 10 percent drop in the death rate, coupled with recession-inspired expense-trimming. But, according to the *London Daily Telegraph*, he's optimistic: "The death rate is expected to start going up again next year... Things could change quite quickly if we had a decent flu epidemic."

**Early for Easter** — Jesus has arrived and he's a doll. The maker says the doll is to help children discover Jesus and, additionally, to provide solace to the elderly, the infirm and the stressed out. A news

report says he has "bright blue eyes." And, we'd guess, a white complexion. Machine-washable, \$29.95.

**Natch** — Jesus is but the first in a series of dolls. Next off the production line will be Mary and God (We're waiting to see the Holy Ghost). Anyway, a reporter who saw the prototype of God says he's "a white-haired, white-bearded, white man."

**Can't get too carried away** — Basing its findings on a study it terminated two years ago, the Environmental Protection Agency finally reported that second-hand smoke causes some 3,000 lung can-

cer deaths a year and increases the risk of serious illnesses among children. For reasons unstated, the EPA said it would not release the finding of the same study linking second-hand smoke to 37,000 heart disease deaths annually.

**The cookie pushers** — For us, the Nabisco logo used to mean fig newtons. Today, of course, it's RJR Nabisco, with the diffident sounding initial standing for R.J. Reynolds, the tobacco folk. We don't know how cookies are doing, but RJR Nabisco's coffin-nail sales are going nicely. Last year, its worldwide gross on cigarettes was \$8.5 billion, with a profit of \$3.1 billion.

**Ah, what do they know** — Despite expert assurances to the contrary, a recent poll found that nearly two-thirds of the U.S. people think we're still in a recession.

**And guaranteed to go down a green tube** — The *San Francisco Chronicle* noted a study that "socially responsible" mutual funds (investing in firms that assertedly don't pollute, etc.) had returns 1 percent lower than conventional funds. This evoked a rejoinder from Peter Camejo, head man at Progressive Asset Management. Camejo cites two studies showing that "socially responsible" stocks provide a 2 percent higher return.

## Families demand entry into mine disaster hearing

BY BRUCE KIMBALL  
AND KAREN KOPPERUD

GREENSBORO, North Carolina — On January 13, families of three Virginia miners killed in a December 7 explosion picketed Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) hearings in Wise, Virginia. The hearings are part of the investigation of the accident that killed eight miners at South Mountain Coal Co. No. 3, a small nonunion mine near Norton, Virginia.

The protesters, who included relatives of Mike Mullins, James Mullins, and Brian Owens, as well as members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) women's auxiliary, were protesting their exclusion from the closed hearing. Company representatives were allowed to be present.

The family members and supporters of the miners argue that employees, fearing for the future of their jobs, will not be completely truthful if interviewed in front of company officials.

### Government blames miners

The protesters also rejected insinuations by Assistant Labor Secretary William Tattersall that individual miners were to blame for the explosion. Tattersall, who heads MSHA, issued a "Hazard Alert" December

22 claiming smoking materials and cigarette butts had been found on and around the victims and that a methane gas monitoring device on a continuous mining machine had been blocked out. The protesters say the hearings are currently an obstacle to uncovering a broader range of probable causes of the disaster.

The UMWA is supporting the families' efforts to open the hearings. Its statement said it was "concerned that the full truth comes out as to the all-over cause of the explosion."

Wayne Browning, a cousin of one of the miners killed, told the *Coalfield Progress*, "We don't want the smoking issue to overshadow other parts of the investigation."

The question of who is responsible for mine safety is an important one. In early January, State Delegate Clarence Phillips announced he was proposing legislation that would make mine safety violations a felony. Anyone tampering with methane detectors or possessing smoking materials in an underground mine, or anyone knowing about such activity, could be subject to a fine and a jail term of one to five years.

Phillips explained that his legislation was directed against deliberate attempts by individual miners to defy safety practices. He

maintained that regular inspection by state and federal agencies are effective in enforcing safety practices involving design and construction.

### Unsafe levels of gas

Joe Main, head of the UMWA's Department of Health and Safety, disagreed. In a January 11 letter to Tattersall, Main showed how over the years MSHA has narrowly focused attention on the role of smoking materials in explosions and downplayed more important causes of the tragedies. In fact, he said, coal mines are filled with all kinds of ignition sources and the key to avoiding explosions is ventilation of mines to dilute and carry away methane so it cannot explode. The real question is how methane gas accumulated to such explosive levels at South Mountain No. 3.

Main also said changes in MSHA ventilation standards last November have stripped away protections with regards to records certifying the calibration of methane monitors, methane monitor locations, and ventilation plans. He noted that past investigations of small mines have disclosed many failures to meet state and federal

health and safety laws and lax enforcement by regulatory agencies.

Protesters pointed to the responsibility of the company for maintaining mine safety. Pamela Grear said that if the miners had tampered with the continuous miner, it was because "you've got to meet production or you lose your job."

Several miners in the area explained how many companies will try to convince miners to cut corners and disregard safety. A common sentiment was that even if smoking did cause the blast, it was because the companies have created an atmosphere where hazards are downplayed. As one miner said, "It's still the company's fault."

There is "a temptation on the part of some to blame this epidemic of coal mine tragedies on everyone from God to Mother Nature to the dead and injured miner's themselves," Main explained. "But the closer you look at each one, the more you see a consistent pattern of operator negligence coupled with MSHA's indifference."

Bruce Kimball is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1391.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



HAVANA, Cuba — The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba meeting here Jan. 24-26 decided that Anibal Escalante and eight others should go before a Revolutionary Tribunal or criminal court on charges of acts against the party and the revolution.

It was charged that they had organized a "microfaction" to oppose the political line of the party, that they illegally obtained secret or confidential party and government documents, and that they sought to have the USSR and other countries apply economic and political pressure on Cuba to force it to change its political line.

In 1962 Escalante was removed as organization secretary of the Integrated Revolutionary Organization, precursor of the new united Communist Party of Cuba. A long time functionary of the old Popular Socialist (Communist) Party, Escalante was bitterly assailed at that time by Fidel Castro as guilty of bureaucratic and sectarian abuses of his position. He left Cuba, first for Czechoslovakia then the USSR. He returned in 1964 and was made manager of a small farm near Havana engaged in experimental poultry breeding.

The group reportedly circulated Soviet materials extolling the virtues of material incentives in increasing production as opposed to the moral incentives that Cuba is relying on.

Raúl [Castro] charged that the group committed the following acts: "Establishing contacts with Soviets, Czechoslovakians and East Germans — some of them members of the party, others members of the government, and still others reporters with access to members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — with the aim of informing them of

the antiparty views of the Escalante group; forming a favorable state of mind for the views of this group so that there should be political and economic pressure by the Soviet Union to compel Cuba to adopt a political line more closely paralleling that of the Soviet Union."



February 6, 1943

Reports about the sales of the newly published book by Leon Trotsky, "In Defense of Marxism," are beginning to come in from all parts of the country and, according to Pioneer Publishers, which issued the book a little more than a month ago, the response is invariably enthusiastic.

"You've done a real service to the labor movement," says a letter from a Chicago industrial worker to Pioneer. "I don't often buy books, and I seldom keep those I buy, but I'll always treasure this book because it teaches the method of Marxism so vividly and clearly."

A student at a west coast university says: "I am not a Trotskyist, and may never be one, but this book convinced me that of all commentators on the Russian-Finnish war, Trotsky alone correctly analyzed the main trends of events."

A former member of the Young Communist League in Michigan says that he had read a few magazine articles by Trotsky before this, but "my eyes were really opened by this book."

"I was in the YCL for almost two years, and although I was considered quite a student there, I realize now that they didn't teach us even the rudiments of Marxism. I have been to the library, and am now on the second volume of that great book, Trotsky's 'History of the Russian Revolution.'"

Pioneer reports that the book is having excellent initial sales. Several university bookshops and libraries have already ordered the book.

## One-day strike of Boeing workers protests company-imposed contract

BY BOB BRUNEAU

SEATTLE — Thousands of Boeing Co. engineers and technical workers in Seattle; Portland, Oregon; and Spokane, Washington, participated in a one-day strike January 19. The strike, the first in the 47-year history of the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association (SPEEA), was called to protest the new three-year contract that Boeing unilaterally imposed on its engineering and technical employees. The company has repeatedly refused to return to the negotiations table to resolve differences concerning pay for SPEEA members.

After working without a contract since December 1, the SPEEA membership ignored the union leadership's recommendation and voted December 7 to reject the company's "last and final offer." "We feel the contract was inadequate," said Sandra Brouillette-Jobe, a computer programmer at the Everett plant. "I'm annoyed Boeing has stuck the contract down our throats."

SPEEA leaders said that between 80 and 90 percent of the 28,300 workers it represents stayed off the job during the strike. Only 17,000 are members of the union.

### 'Militant' Prisoner Subscription Fund

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

The new contract severely limits pay raises and Cost of Living Allowances (COLA). It relies heavily on merit raises, to be issued at the discretion of the company. Boeing engineers earn an average of \$46,250 a year, while technical workers earn an average of \$31,650 a year. Newly hired technical workers can earn as little as \$16,200 annually under the new contract.

While imposing some of the monetary provisions of the contract, the company has suspended grievance procedures and security for shop stewards, and has stopped collecting union dues.

The SPEEA contract discussion takes place in the context of continuing workforce reductions at Boeing. The fight also follows the concessionary contract recently accepted by Boeing workers organized by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in October 1992.

On January 13, just hours after SPEEA announced its decision to hold its one-day strike, the IAM announced that it would begin to circulate merger petitions among SPEEA members at Boeing plants. This merger proposal was met with anger by the leadership of SPEEA. Charles Bofferd, SPEEA executive director, said, "This isn't a merger; it's a raid." Bofferd charged that the IAM was using the merger proposal to shore up declining IAM membership.

Kathleen Wheeler and Mark Severs, former candidates for governor and U.S. senate for the Socialist Workers Party, issued a statement urging all workers to "join with members of SPEEA in their fight for a decent contract." The statement called for "a unified fight against the company. IAM members should be encouraged to support their coworkers in SPEEA."

Bob Bruneau is a member of IAM Local 751A at Boeing Renton.



## Executions 'demean humanity'

In a statement before his execution, Charles Stamper wrote that putting him to death "bruised and demeaned humanity." Virginia prison officials dragged the disabled man from his wheelchair to the electric chair January 19, after his court appeals were rejected.

At the same time, the Texas Court of Criminal Appeals turned down a request for a new trial from a young Mexican worker on death row. Ricardo Aldape Guerra was framed more than 10 years ago on charges of killing a Houston cop. No evidence was ever presented linking him to the shooting. To obtain a conviction, police hid the existence of an eyewitness whose testimony supported Aldape and coached other witnesses. During the trial and in the media, the prosecution smeared Aldape as an "illegal alien." There have been rallies in his defense and he has won support internationally, including from the Mexican government.

The cases of Stamper and Aldape demonstrate the role of capital punishment in this society as a terror weapon against working people and against workers who are Black in particular. This weapon has for decades been used to attack and intimidate unionists and other fighters.

Society's rulers use executions — along with statutes like the "sexual predator" law in Washington state, which allows inmates to be held in prison after serving their

sentence — as part of their efforts to create a pariah section of society that is looked on as less than human. They hold up this "criminal element," generally portrayed in a racist framework, as a scapegoat for the violence and brutality that abound under capitalism. The "crime" question is used to mask the real source of violence and economic problems and to gain acceptance for attacks on workers' rights. For example, the rulers of the United States point to the need to protect society from homicidal "monsters" and "predators" in order to justify all sorts of undemocratic measures. In this atmosphere, police are granted greater powers to carry out beatings and frame-ups under the banner of law and order.

But the most notorious murderers are in Washington and the other centers of imperialism. Those who ordered the bombing of Iraq in 1991, knowing the tens of thousands of casualties that would result, and who continue the air strikes today, have much more blood on their hands than anyone on death row. The capitalist rulers, in the name of defending their interests at the expense of their rivals, are leading the world toward more bloody slaughters and at the same time attacking the rights and living standards of workers at home. They go free while Aldape and others face the electric chair and the gas chamber.

Working people should fight to abolish the death penalty!

## Bosnia plan means more war

The continued military assaults on working people in Bosnia and the unraveling of the year-old United Nations-negotiated cease-fire in Croatia mean more devastation and deaths in these embattled lands.

The war that has been raging in the former Yugoslavia for the past two years is not an ethnic war of Serb versus Croat versus Muslim, but a war organized by the now-divided bureaucracy that ruled the former Yugoslavia, as each faction seeks to maximize its military and political power at the expense of the others. It is a land grab by gangsters who have absolutely nothing in common with the workers and peasants, for whom they claim to speak.

The proposal from the Geneva talks to divide Bosnia into 10 autonomous provinces — each based on a single nationality — that will formally remain part of a single decentralized Bosnian state will not bring peace to the area. It is simply a formula for endless wars in the future.

This plan, now endorsed by leaders of the Serb-, Croat-, and Muslim-based forces, leaves unsettled what the actual boundaries dividing these 10 arbitrarily imposed provinces will be. The proposal itself is expected to generate a new round of battles over the exact dividing lines.

This supposed peace plan has nothing whatever to do with the needs of working people of differing ethnic backgrounds, who prior to the outbreak of this bureaucratic turf war had been living and working side by side for decades.

The renewed fighting in Croatia threatens to lead to a series of major battles between Croatian and Serbian armed

forces, whose conflict in a seven-month period in 1991 claimed at least 25,000 lives.

The Serbian president of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, has threatened to intervene with that country's considerable military force in both Croatia and Bosnia. The Yugoslav army has said it wants to carry out air strikes in Croatia and directly aid the rightist Bosnian Serb forces that continue to besiege Sarajevo.

During his election campaign for U.S. president, Bill Clinton called for a more aggressive U.S. policy of military intervention in the Balkan conflict. He advocated military enforcement of the ban on flights by Serbian planes over Bosnia, along with possible bombing of Serbian airfields. These actions, just like the continued economic embargo being imposed on Serbia and Montenegro, will only strengthen the hand of one or another of the gangster regimes battling for power.

The road forward to end the carnage engulfing the former Yugoslavia lies in working-class unity against imperialist intervention and the warring bureaucratic misleaders. This path was taken 50 years ago when the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia led a successful revolution against landlords, capitalists, nationalist misleaders and imperialist occupiers to obtain land, democratic rights, and better social conditions.

As the struggle in the Balkans deepens, an international working-class leadership capable of advancing along this road can and will be forged once again.

## Defense of abortion is in streets

Another battle in the fight to defend women's right to abortion has been waged in Washington, D.C. Hundreds of pro-choice activists successfully mobilized against Operation Rescue's attempt to shut down abortion clinics in that city January 23. The response of young people to calls to defend the clinics once again points the road forward in the struggle to defend democratic rights today.

Antiabortion forces planned demonstrations and clinic blockades January 20-23 in response to the 20th anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* court decision that expanded the right to abortion. These anti-choice groups were able to gather 75,000 for a march and rally January 22. But when they attempted to shut down three clinics the following day, they were met by an effective defense guard of pro-choice fighters.

Operation Rescue had been emboldened by a Supreme Court ruling 10 days earlier that said the Civil Rights Act of 1871 does not prohibit antiabortion groups from blockading clinics and intimidating patients. While this ruling is certainly no aid to abortion rights supporters, the mobilization in Washington demonstrates that by itself this is not a decisive obstacle to the defense of women's rights. The question of whether women retain the ability to control their own bodies through access to abortion will be decided in action, in the streets, and at the clinic doors.

President Bill Clinton's repeal of the so-called gag rule, which banned abortion counseling at federally funded clinics, and the easing of other restrictions, is a welcome move. It should also be recognized that Clinton made these changes precisely because of the widespread sentiment among working people in favor of women's right to choose — demonstrated in successful mobilizations to defend abortion clinics in several cities over the past year and a half. The gag rule itself was unenforceable and had already been put on hold by a court order.

The struggle over abortion rights is not going to go away quickly. It is an ongoing fight that is part of the ruling class's offensive against the rights and expectations of women and of the working class as a whole. The attacks will continue for the simple reason that the freedom to choose when and whether to have children is an essential aspect of women achieving real equality and independence.

The antiabortion forces have taken to the streets and are trying to physically impose their will on women seeking abortions. Working people and youth, who have the most at stake in this battle, need to take this challenge head-on. We need to rely on our own actions, our own combined strength, to defend the fundamental right of women to choose abortion.

## Zoë Baird: one more greedy boss

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Despite the hoopla over President Bill Clinton's new cabinet "looking more like America," the incoming administration is less representative than ever of the people who live and work in the United States. A handful of Clinton's nominees for cabinet posts are Black or female — more than in previous administrations — but the change is only superficial. The individuals who will run the government — especially those who happen to be Black and female — have nothing in common with the vast majority of Blacks, women, and working people in this country.

Several of the many lawyers given top level jobs by the new president earned more than \$500,000 last year, and every cabinet member had an income of at least \$100,000, placing them among the highest paid 2.5 percent of the population. Most were corporate lawyers and business executives before being asked to take on "civic duty." These men and women have become wealthy meeting the needs of the capitalist rulers at the highest levels.

A prime example is Zoë Baird, who, until a scandal that the Clinton team regarded as a minor question blew up in their faces, was being touted as the nation's first female attorney general. Baird is a prominent corporate lawyer who was paid more than half a million dollars last year as vice-president and general counsel for Aetna Life and Casualty Co. Her husband, Paul Gewirtz, is a professor at Yale Law School. Between them the two command a net "worth" of \$2.3 million.

Baird withdrew her nomination when the fact that she and her husband had employed two undocumented Peruvian workers as their domestic servants could not be brushed aside. The couple was hired in 1990 as a nanny and driver for Baird. For two years the well-heeled lawyers did not pay any of the Social Security taxes due for their employees. After Baird was nominated for the position of attorney general, they scurried to pay up over \$12,000 in back taxes and fees, and a \$2,900 fine to the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) for hiring immigrants who lacked the proper papers.

### Not your typical working mother

Before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Baird tried to justify her actions by saying she had been acting "more as a mother than as a person who would be sitting here before you to be attorney general." This impressed a handful of her former supporters. For example Patricia King, a professor of family law at Georgetown University, said that while she no longer supported the nominee, "all of us women are so proud of the fact that Zoë Baird is a woman. . . . Her defense of using parenthood has sort of struck a chord among women." Many more people recognized that the hiring practices of this corporate lawyer, however, have nothing in common with the child-care problems working-class women face.

From a working-class person's viewpoint the scandal involved is not that Baird hired "illegal aliens" instead of U.S. citizens.

One aspect of the real scandal is that Baird is guilty of being nothing more than a cheap and greedy boss. Like many other employers, she and Gewirtz sought to save money by paying the standard rock-bottom wages for domestic "help," and also by not paying Social Security taxes. Social Security is a key part of the social wage workers in the United States have managed to wrest, along with unemployment compensation and other programs, from the bosses and their government through decades of struggle. It was clearly of no concern to Baird that the workers she employed would have no right to Social Security in their old age.

### The real scandal: immigration restrictions

The second part of the real scandal is the nature of INS immigration and employment restrictions themselves. Baird's supporters argue that her actions were a mere technical violation of the rules, one that is rarely punished. This is basically true, and illustrates the fact that the real target of these laws is not employers who hire undocumented workers but rather the immigrants themselves.

Restrictive immigration laws operate to create a pariah layer of laborers within the working class who can be forced to accept lower wages and worse conditions under threat of being discovered and deported. As an example for all, Baird's former employees are now being hunted down for deportation, while Baird slides back to her \$500,000 job. The employing class uses the restrictions and inequalities to pit workers against each other, based on their immigration status, to more easily drive down the living standards of the working class as a whole. One of the tasks of the attorney general is to oversee the INS and the enforcement of its regulations against immigrants. There is no doubt that Baird would have carried out that task as rigorously as any man if she had gotten the job.

Baird's positions on many issues besides immigrant rights show what Clinton is looking for in his government. She declared that her priorities as attorney general would include pushing for 100,000 more police on the streets, a federal death penalty law, and restriction of the appeal rights of prison inmates. In addition, she has campaigned to limit civil damage suits against corporations and to weaken rules protecting "whistle blowers" from company reprisals.

These anti-working-class policies are what the new administration will seek to carry out, and they govern the qualities Clinton is now looking for in his search for a replacement for Zoë Baird.



# Equal education for all? Not under capitalism

BY SARA LOBMAN

President Bill Clinton's decision to send his 12-year-old daughter to an expensive private school in Washington, D.C., has provoked a discussion that highlights the character of education under capitalism: there is no equal education for all. The education available to you or your children depends directly on the social class to which you belong.

## AS I SEE IT

Clinton, a self-proclaimed proponent of public education, was quick to assure skeptics that his decision did not reflect his opinion of Washington, D.C., public schools. Clinton was only doing what was best for his child's education, his press secretary said, adding lamely that "Clinton supports the public school system."

The argument that there is no contradiction between decent public education for all children and private schools has been repeated by many others. A letter printed in the *New York Times* January 17 repeats a 1956 quote from Thurgood Marshall, at the time a leader of the NAACP and prominent civil rights lawyer. "A man has the right to get the best education possible for his children," Marshall said in explanation of his son's attendance at the prestigious Exeter prep school.

American Federation of Teachers president Albert Shanker, supporting Clinton's decision in a paid column in the January 10 *New York Times*, provides a long list of public officials who have sent their children to private schools. Many, Shanker enthuses, have "excellent, life-long records" supporting public education. He then goes on to explain his solution to poor public schools: "We need to take the roughness out of public schools," he says, by removing to special facilities "youngsters who are violent and disruptive." Shanker concludes that "even if public schools were all they could be," some people would still choose to send their children to private schools, "but at least decisions would not be based on great differences in educational quality." In other words, the poor quality of public schools can be fixed by simply removing "trouble-makers," and private schools are necessary to provide people with a "choice."

But Shanker is dead wrong. While it is of no consequence to working people that a Clinton or any other ruling-class figure might send their children to a private school, the fact remains that a public school system providing quality education for all is incompatible with the existence of private schools for the wealthy. Under capitalism, the pressure will always be for education to serve the needs of the wealthy rulers, who do not need a population that is uniformly well-educated and self-confident. Capitalism requires a large layer of working people who can — perhaps — read and write, and who have other minimal skills necessary to work in the factories and offices. More than this, and especially education for adults, is regarded as sheer waste.

Thus the public schools are set up, by and large, to duplicate and reduplicate the existing division of society

into classes. For their own children, and for layers of the middle class, who will perform jobs requiring special skills, the rulers preserve a system of private schools and academies. A small number of the public schools, which are in effect also reserved for the children of wealthy families, serve the same purpose.

This is no secret. Jonathan Kozol, in his book *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools*, points to the vast differences between the poorest school district in Illinois, which spends just \$2,100 per child, and the wealthiest, which spends more than \$10,000. The top private schools spend even more than this. In many of the poor public schools Kozol visited, the children were taught how to work in fast food restaurants and even how to punch time clocks.

These schools, not much more than training programs to prepare a generation of wage-slaves, have little to do with the public education that the working class fought for in the past. In the 1830s and '40s, public education was raised as a demand by the labor movement, along with the demand for the 10-hour day and for public libraries and educational programs for all working people — young and old. The goal was not to create better workers or to enable individual workers to escape into the middle class, but to produce more confident fighters and rounded human beings, with a clearer idea of their place in the world.

In 1848, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels included in the *Communist Manifesto* the demand for "free education for all children in public schools." To this they added the demand for the end of child factory labor "in its present form" and for the combination of education with productive labor for all children.

As long as private schools exist, the employer class has no need for the public schools to be real centers of educa-



Junior high school in Manhattan. A public school system providing quality education for all is incompatible with the existence of private schools for the wealthy.

tion. These schools will always be among the first victims of cost-cutting measures. It is only when all children — rich and poor — attend the same public schools, that there is any possibility of these schools receiving adequate funding. It is only by fighting for this kind of education, which includes both the facilities and the time for working people to educate ourselves throughout our lives, that we can begin to cut across the limitations imposed on education by capitalism.

## Activists defend Washington clinics

Continued from front page

phone calls, sent mailings, and took out advertisements in a local newspaper to encourage others to join in defending the clinics.

Students at several area campuses set up tables and began signing up volunteers as soon as the spring semester began. At American University and George Washington University, students signed up hundreds of supporters in less than a week.

The antiabortion forces had begun their protests at the inaugural events January 20. The following day, they restricted their attack to one clinic where nine abortion opponents made it past the clinic defense and were arrested after attempting to chain themselves inside the clinic. All of the patients were able to make their appointments.

On January 22 Operation Rescue and other antiabortion organizations held a march and rally. Police estimated that 75,000 attended. Later in the evening, 200 abortion rights activists attended a vigil organized by the National Organization for Women on the steps of the Capitol.

January 23 saw the biggest turnout of abortion rights activists yet. Starting at 5:00 a.m., clinic defenders began mobilizing at several sites around the city. The antiabortion forces attacked three clinics. Pro-choice defenders were able to prevent them from getting near two of them, until police arrived and ordered everyone away from the doors. As soon as the defense teams stepped away, the antiabortion forces moved in. It took the police hours to clear the entrances. Most of the 286 adults and 21 juveniles arrested were charged with disorderly conduct. Many left the area without even paying a fine.

At the third clinic, several of the anti-choice people were able to chain themselves to the underside of two cars. Four others attached themselves to iron pipes welded to a four-foot section of railroad track and then attached to the clinic door. In spite of this, the clinic opened only an hour late.

The Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force held an evaluation meeting later that day. They announced that their next meeting will be February 10 at 7:00 p.m. at the Washington Peace Center.

## LETTERS

### Haiti refugee protest

Detroit Pistons basketball player Olden Polynice was nearly arrested outside the Krome Detention Center in Miami January 5. A hunger strike by 159 Haitian refugees being held there was occurring to protest their detention. Polynice was born in Haiti and moved to Brooklyn when he was 7. He has been outspoken in his opposition to U.S. policy toward Haitian refugees and to Haiti's military government. In spite of his status as a prominent Haitian-American and as a professional athlete, the Migra cops at Krome were ready to arrest Polynice for trying to visit the refugees in a "restricted" area.

Gary Boyers  
Detroit, Michigan

### Presumed innocent

Articles in the *Militant* last year responded to attacks on frame-up victim Mark Curtis by assorted groups and individuals who claim to speak for the rights of women, Blacks, or unions. You pointed out that these forces are backing away from the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

This retreat on an important democratic principle is taking place not only in the Mark Curtis case. Legal aid clinics in both Toronto and Ottawa, Canada, have adopted a policy of refusing to defend men who are accused of battering women. The clinics, which are pub-

licly funded, are supposed to provide legal assistance to people who cannot afford to hire a lawyer.

In July 1992 the Law Society of Upper Canada, the governing body for the legal profession in Ontario, gave its approval to this policy, which had been challenged by criminal-defense lawyers. The legal aid clinics assert that defending men accused of wife-beating would conflict with their goal of opposing violence against women.

"Similarly, we don't represent landlords because we do a lot of work on behalf of tenants," said David Bennet, a senior counsel for the Ottawa clinic.

Apparently it never occurred to these legal whizzes that the police might falsely accuse someone of assault. Into the trash goes the presumption of innocence.

The analogy with landlord-tenant cases has nothing to do with it. The mistake in the legal aid clinics' policy is that it ignores the role of the police, who are the ones who decide if and when to lay charges.

If legal aid clinics, which supposedly help out poor and working people, take the position that someone accused by the police — of any offense whatsoever — is automatically guilty, then the cops have just been handed a new weapon for frame-ups and victimizations.

Revulsion of working people against wife-beating, and the growing belief that violence against women must be treated as a crime,

not a "private matter," is a step forward for women's rights and thus for the unity of the working class. That doesn't mean the police have been transformed into defenders of women's rights. The refusal of police in city after city to act against right-wing goons who flagrantly violate the law and attack abortion clinics surely illustrates which side the cops are really on.

Granting more power to the cops, and taking away rights from those accused by them, does nothing to advance the interests of the oppressed.

George Rose  
Toronto, Canada

### Discussions on the job

At the U.S. Repeating Arms plant in New Haven, workers organized by the International Association of Machinists are having a variety of political discussions as the contract expiration date of February 28 approaches. One subject is overtime, with some workers favoring working as many Saturdays as possible while others point out that fighting for a higher wage is a better way to make a living than working exhausting hours. There is also discussion of the company's failure to pay into the pension plan as much as it promised, and the union leadership has told the company we will strike if the company's back debt of several hundred thousand dol-

lars into the pension fund is not resolved.

In a discussion around the U.S.-France-European Community trade dispute over agricultural subsidies, one coworker with relatives who are family farmers agreed the government acts in the interests of the food processing monopolies against small farmers, and that the government should be compelled by working people to guarantee farmers a fair price for their crops, and that it should be made illegal for banks to foreclose on these farmers. Another coworker agreed the government does nothing to help family farmers or other working people, but said, "the government can't ban foreclosures because that is part of the free enterprise system."

Will Wilkin  
New Haven, Connecticut

### School violence

Rhetorical questions are being asked of late concerning school children and guns — the death toll builds in our nation's schools as they become a free fire zone. There are many factors having an effect upon this disturbing development: social-economic conditions brought about by 12 years of overt, right-wing politics-with-a-smile. Little kids with their "Rambo" lunch boxes and camouflage fatigues: you have to assume that these kids were also exposed to the films and

attitudes sanctioned from the top of U.S. leadership.

There is a danger when bombing within national boundaries of sovereign countries becomes "normal." Shoot-outs become the law of the land. If our schools do reflect our society, then we are in big trouble!

When the economic bottom finally falls away in America as it did in the Soviet Union, look forward to the factionalism of vigilante groups vying for power over a once proud and powerful land. And the next time you hear of another school shooting, think about the smiling illusionist Ronald Reagan and the war gurus of the 1980s who did indeed teach your children well in the lessons of conflict resolution: when in doubt, shoot it out!

David Hawker  
Ripley, New York

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

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



## Mandela addresses Washington, D.C., rally on challenges in S. Africa today

BY MARGRETHE SIEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "We have now reached a crucial moment," in the anti-apartheid struggle, Nelson Mandela told a rally of about 400 at the Metropolitan Baptist Church here. "We and the government have decided that elections, in which all South Africans are to take part, should be held by the end of this year. That is a challenge to democratic forces inside and outside the country."

"I have no doubt that 1993 is going to be the most decisive year in our history, and that the democratic forces are destined to win. That will be not just a victory of the people of South Africa, it will be the victory of the democratic forces in the United States of America," said Mandela, who is president of the African National Congress (ANC). His words were greeted with applause.

Mandela was invited to the United States by the chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus, Kweisi Mfume, to take part in the activities around President Clinton's inauguration.

Jesse Jackson, leader of the Rainbow coalition, chaired the meeting. Deposed president of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, shared the platform with Mandela. Aristide called for support to the struggle for democracy in Haiti and South Africa. This was the first time Mandela and Aristide had met.

Among the many guests were ambassadors and government officials from several African countries, former mayor of Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic José Francisco Peña Gómez, Malcolm X's widow Betty Shabazz, New York mayor David Dinkins, Virginia governor Douglas Wilder, and a number of business executives and labor officials.

Jackson launched a drive to raise \$1 million to support the ANC and to aid it in the fight to win the coming elections. An estimated \$100,000 was donated at the event, including a check of \$15,000 from supporters of President Aristide.

Mandela explained that sizable funds are needed to ensure that the democratic movement can mobilize the entire population leading up to and during the elections. "We have to start a voter education campaign. We have to train people" who have been denied the vote, pointing to the special challenges in rural areas where the majority of the Black population resides.

"The ANC is the only political organization in South Africa that has stood up for democracy," Mandela said, emphasizing that the ANC is the only organization that can "bring the government closer to the people, and that can ensure that all human beings, Black and white, have a chance to determine their own future. We are confident that if we get the resources, the ANC will win."

"But we have no intentions of establishing a government which represents one political party," the ANC leader said. "We propose to invite all other political organizations with a significant following to join us in power so that we can establish a government of national unity."

"We are working very closely with [South African president] Mr. de Klerk, the leader of the National Party, a former enemy of democracy. Apartheid works within the political institutions set up by the government in order to defeat the democratic movement and to enable the white minority to retain power."

"We want our country to solve its problems peacefully; to establish a democratic government which represents all national groups in our country. We will then together be able to face the problems facing our country today."

Mandela was also the featured guest at a luncheon sponsored by the Rainbow Coalition following the public meeting.



Mandela speaking in Washington, D.C., January 19. "1993 is going to be the most decisive year in our history," he said.

## U.S. tour of South African youth set for March

BY DEREK BRACEY

Several young political activists from South Africa will tour the United States in March and April. The 1993 Student to Student Anti-Apartheid Empowerment Tour will provide an opportunity for young people and workers to find out about and discuss the unfolding revolution in that country.

Two members of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League, Ignatius Jacobs and Mlungisi Johnson are among those planning to participate in the tour. Organizers are currently setting dates and raising funds for the tour. They are working to involve as many as eight South Africans.

Committees preparing the tour have been

formed in New York City; New Brunswick, New Jersey; Boston; Detroit; Portland, Oregon; and Houston. Work on the project is also under way in 12 other cities.

The tour is a result of the African National Congress Support Conference, which drew more than 400 people from around the United States to New York City in mid-November. A student and youth workshop, which included many young people who had not previously been active in the anti-apartheid fight, spent more than two hours discussing the proposed tour. Supporters in New York formed a committee, the Student Anti-Apartheid Network, to carry out the proposal.

The South African youth will be speaking as the ANC mobilizes working people for a fight to set elections for a new government

in South Africa in 1993. The ANC won some important battles in this struggle in 1992, including a campaign of mass action launched in July.

The ANC is inviting opponents of apartheid around the world to join in this crucial stage of the campaign to win a nonracial, nonsexist South Africa. The central theme of the youths' tour will be to work with others to raise funds and draw more fighters into preparing South Africans for what will be the first election open to the entire population.

Those who would like to work on the tour in their area can contact the Student Anti-Apartheid Network, c/o National Lawyers Guild-NYC, 55 Sixth Avenue, New York, NY 10013; or call (212) 472-0603.

## Effects of oil spill continue to be felt in Shetlands

BY DEBBIE DELANGE AND RICH PALSER

SHETLAND ISLANDS, Scotland — Ten days after the oil tanker *Braer* ran aground, spewing 85,000 tons of crude oil into the sea off Shetland, gale force winds have dispersed the oil slicks and the emergency has been officially declared over. However, farmers, fishermen, and workers here are fearful of the longer term effects of the oil pollution, and are demanding measures to prevent such disasters occurring again.

"The oil hasn't disappeared. Just because you can't see it doesn't mean it's gone away," said Kenneth Pottinger, captain of a fishing boat based at Scalloway, 20 miles north of the wreck site. A temporary ban on inshore fishing has been imposed around the southern part of the main island, while tests on water and on marine life are carried out. The Shetland Fishermen's Association estimates that 5 to 10 percent of fishing grounds are affected, and that up to a quarter of salmon farms are currently banned from selling their fish. Fishing, fish farming, and fish processing account for 29 percent of employment here.

"We feel tremendously relieved; it could have been far worse," said Pottinger. Had the *Braer* been carrying a heavier crude oil, or the seas been calmer, the immediate damage would have been still greater. However, another result of this unusual combination was that oily spray was carried over headlands and beaches to the grazing and farm lands. This affects 2 percent of the islands' land surface, including some of the best farmland. More than 7 percent of the 1,800 Shetland farmers and crofters have been affected. "Our surface crops — £10,000 worth of cabbage and swedes — can't be sold," said Kenneth Mainland, whose farm at Brake is in the affected area. "We don't think there is much oil but we don't know the long term effects. We'll have to wait and see what the tests show."

Paul Horsman, spokesperson for the Greenpeace ship *Solo*, anchored at Scalloway, explained that islanders were caught between a rock and a hard place. If they protest over the spill they fear consumers will not want Shetland lamb and salmon because of the pollution, but if they remain quiet they won't receive adequate compensation. "The spill is just the start of the

problem. The oil is dispersed in the water column, in the sediments, and on the land. That's where the problems are for the future," Horsman said.

On the day following the shipwreck, local councillor Willie Tait blamed the crew for the disaster, arguing that they abandoned ship too early. "I don't think they acted quickly enough. If it was a British ship with a British crew I don't think they would have done what they did," he said. The *Braer*, which had a Greek captain and mainly Filipino crew, was passing through the 22-mile channel between Shetland and Fair Isle when the engines failed and gales drove it onto the Shetland rocks. The crew were taken off after the coast guard pressured the captain to abandon ship to save lives. "The problem is not the crew or the captain," said Collin McRay, Transport and General Workers Union shop steward in the islands' Environmental Health Department. "They get the blame but it's the oil and shipping companies putting profits before safety."

The shipping companies argue that oil spills are inevitable as long as tanker trade continues. "It's a trade off between how much

the world wants oil and the amount of environmental pollution it can put up with," claimed Chris Horrocks, secretary general of the International Chamber of Shipping. Faced with increasing international competition, and under pressure from the big oil companies to keep rates down, these companies are keeping aging ships in service to avoid the rising costs of new ships with more advanced construction. To avoid criticism being pointed at them, BP, which has a major oil terminal here at Sullom Voe, issued a memo advising managers to "keep their heads down" over the *Braer* disaster and not be drawn into debate about tanker safety.

For several years islanders have been pressing the government to increase controls over oil shipping by banning tankers from the channel south of Shetland, or enforce piloting of tankers through the channel. Local writer Jonathan Wills says a disaster like this was predicted three years ago by a senior government official, and that the failure of the government to act was "criminal negligence."

Debbie Delange is a member of the Rail, Maritime and Transport union.