

THE MILITANT

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education for privileged

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Miners and rail workers fight job cuts in Britain

BY JOHN SMITH
AND ROBERT HIGLEY

SHEFFIELD, England — On April 2 the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) shut down most of Britain's coal mines, while the Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers (RMT) brought the national rail network to a complete halt. London bus drivers, members of the Transport and General Workers' Union, stopped many of the city's buses as well.

The one-day strike in Britain coincided with protest demonstrations in 150 European cities called by the Brussels-based European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) to protest "mass unemployment, unacceptable working conditions, and the growing threats from racism and xenophobia," according to ETUC president Norman Willis.

The *Wall Street Journal* and other news organizations estimated that 1 million workers took part in these strikes and other actions throughout Western Europe.

Solidarity strikes are prohibited under British law, so each union officially walked out to protest attacks against its members. For the coal miners, this was their first national action since the one-year-long strike in 1984-85.

The 68,000 RMT members protested job losses, layoffs, and the increasing use of contractors to work jobs done by union members. For the bus drivers, this was their third one-day strike recently to protest sharp wage cuts and increased work hours.

The April 2 strike was prepared by votes in the miners' and rail workers' unions,



Miners from the Thoresby colliery in Britain participating in the April 2 strike

where large majorities supported it. The strike came one week after Parliament voted to approve a new plan to close and privatize mines. Thousands of miners will lose their jobs.

A storm of protest, including two huge demonstrations in London, met the Conservative Party government announcement last October that 31 of the 50 pits (coal mines) in Britain would be closed, eliminating 30,000 mining jobs.

During the 1984-85 coal strike, a majority of miners in Nottinghamshire and other Midlands-area coalfields turned against the strike, split from the NUM, and formed a new union, the Union of Democratic Miners (UDM).

When the mine closings were announced, however, pits in UDM-organized areas were the hardest hit. As soon as the new government plan was announced to keep open, at least temporarily, 12 of the 31 mines originally slated for closure, both NUM and UDM officials denounced the concession as a sham.

As the *Financial Times* noted March 31, there will be increased competition between the mines that remain open to lower their costs. The government hopes to use this competition to force through big changes, including 7-day operation, longer shifts, and weaker safety rules. All of this is in preparation for the planned breakup and privatization

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Massacres in S. Africa aim to derail negotiations

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Forces seeking to derail South Africa's multiparty constitutional talks carried out three massacres in the four days after negotiations to set plans for one-person, one-vote elections resumed April 1.

In the early morning hours of April 5, 10 young men aged 16 to 25, all supporters of the African National Congress (ANC), were gunned down while asleep in their beds in an area near Port Shepstone in Natal province. The attackers sprayed AK-47 assault rifle fire at the house and then blew it up with a grenade.

A spokesperson from the regional office of the ANC charged police commanders with being complicit in the massacre, pointing to statements from eyewitnesses to the attack that said the killers appeared so confident of immunity from arrest that "they did not even bother to run away" afterward.

Eight other Blacks were killed April 2-3 in Sebokeng and Evaton, two Black townships south of Johannesburg.

"Only those who want to postpone the transformation of our country into a democracy stand to benefit from such evil deeds," stated the ANC. "It is also clear to us that there are organizations that can only thrive under the conditions of violence."

ANC president Nelson Mandela interrupted his busy schedule to hold a special meeting April 5 in Cape Town with National Party leader F. W. de Klerk to discuss the violence and ensure that the multiparty talks continue.

A week prior to the latest massacre the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party had held a joint rally near Port Shepstone to

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Supreme Court clears way for law restricting abortion in N. Dakota

BY SARA LOBMAN

"The law says we must tell you ORALLY 24 hours in advance of the abortion that you have the right to receive state produced materials," begins the script that health-care workers at the Fargo Women's Health Organization in Fargo, North Dakota, must now read to every woman seeking an abortion. An April 2 Supreme Court ruling allowed a law to take effect that requires women to wait 24 hours before receiving an abortion in North Dakota.

The law requires the clinic to offer every patient two state-produced brochures: a 43-page booklet listing the agencies in the state that provide alternatives to abortion and a pamphlet that claims to detail fetal development every two weeks until birth.

"The law will also hurt minors," Jane Bovard, director of the Women's Health Organization, said in a telephone interview. The clinic must inform both biological parents, 24 hours beforehand, that a young woman plans to have an abortion. Approval of the custodial parent is required a second time, immediately prior to the operation.

The North Dakota law was first enacted in 1991. It was quickly challenged by the clinic as unconstitutional and the court is-

sued a stay that prevented it from taking effect. In June 1992, a Supreme Court decision on a Pennsylvania case upheld the constitutional right to abortion, but also ruled that states could impose restrictions that did not place an "undue burden" on women's access to abortion. The court ruled that a waiting period required by the Pennsylvania law did not impose such a burden. The Fargo clinic has argued that while a regulation requiring a 24-hour wait may not be a burden in a state with many abortion facilities, it is in a rural state like North Dakota, which has only one.

"Over 50 percent of the almost 1,500 women who came to the clinic for abortions last year traveled more than 200 miles," Bovard said. "Many traveled more than 500 miles." In addition to being the only clinic in North Dakota to offer abortions, the Fargo Women's Health Organization also serves parts of Minnesota, South Dakota, and even Canada.

The two doctors who work at the North Dakota clinic travel in from other states on alternate weeks to do abortions on Thursdays and Fridays. One lives in the Twin Cities, Minnesota, and works at a clinic in Montana. The other, who lives on the Iron

Range in northern Minnesota, works regularly at clinics in Duluth, Minnesota; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and in Indiana.

The 1991 legislation that mandates the waiting period and other restrictions was passed in the context of a months-long attempt by antiabortion activists to close down the Fargo clinic. Between March and October of that year, supporters of the anti-abortion Lambs of Christ mobilized to try to block patients from entering the clinic grounds. Hundreds of pro-choice activists mobilized to defend the clinic, successfully keeping it open.

The clinic no longer organizes or encourages the defense effort, Bovard said, because an October 1991 court ruling limits the rightists to two protesters. Many members of the antiabortion group have now shifted their attention to a campaign to close clinics in Minnesota, she reported.

In September 1992, however, several members of the Lambs of Christ who remain in Fargo traced the license plate of a woman who had come into town seeking an abortion. She had accidentally called the rightists' antiabortion clinic. They harassed her, and even filed papers in court to force her to

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Clinton's 'aid' to Yeltsin won't resolve Russia's crisis

BY GEORGE FYSON

Meeting with Russian president Boris Yeltsin in Vancouver April 4, U.S. president Bill Clinton announced \$1.6 billion in aid for Yeltsin's government. Clinton made no secret of his hope that the announcement will help Yeltsin's prospects in the April 25 referendum on his social and economic policies.

Despite the fanfare over Clinton's package, the more sober commentators in the big-business news media have raised doubts as to how much it will achieve. The package is but a tiny fraction of what would be needed to ease Moscow's effort to lead Russia toward capitalism. The \$1.6 billion adds up to about \$10 per person in Russia.

The biggest slice of the "aid" is nearly \$900 million in credits and grants for purchases of U.S. grain. This "is merely disguised assistance to US farm exports," the London *Financial Times* noted.

The remainder of the package also goes largely to U.S. capitalists for a variety of relatively small projects, such as \$215 million to help dismantle some of Russia's nuclear weapons; \$60 million to assist with

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Italian premier offers to resign

Italian prime minister Giuliano Amato offered to resign March 30 as the "Clean Hands" scandal has battered the credibility of the government and caused the lira — already devalued numerous times — to take another plunge. Amato said the spreading scandal has paralyzed his administration's efforts to carry out political and economic reforms. The leaders of several of Italy's political parties have already resigned from their positions.

Investigators have uncovered collusion between the Mafia and prominent politicians as well as an elaborate system of kickbacks and illicit donations to politicians of all major parties in return for government contracts. Such scandals, endemic to all capitalist regimes, have begun to surface from Italy to Japan as the world economic depression continues. The impact of the crisis compelled Italian president Oscar Scalfaro to appeal to Italians to disregard rumors of a military coup.

French premier seeks austerity

New French prime minister Edouard Balladur announced he is seeking \$3.55 billion in government budget cuts in an attempt to prop up the franc. Balladur also plans to press for greater monetary cooperation with Germany. He announced his first foreign trip would be to meet with German chancellor Helmut Kohl. The new French government indicated its desire to work more closely with Bonn in international trade negotiations as well.

Balladur was appointed to his post March 29 after an alliance of conservative parties overwhelmingly defeated French president François Mitterrand's Socialist Party in parliamentary elections the day before.

Ivory Coast guard seizes palace

Members of Ivory Coast's elite Republican Guard seized the presidential office buildings they were guarding March 28. Witnesses said the guard had seized the presidential armory and had brought in food for their occupation of the compound, which houses offices, meeting rooms, and facilities for state banquets.

The 45-strong presidential detachment is demanding payment of promised bonuses and improved conditions. The regime of President Felix Houphouët-Boigny has rejected the guard's demands.



Armenian troops captured the province of Kelbajar in Azerbaijan at the beginning of April. About 39,000 people, like those above, have passed through refugee centers to flee the fighting. An estimated 20,000 are missing or unaccounted for. The offensive was the latest in a five-year war between the former Soviet republics over territory, which began over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh majority-Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan.

British nuclear sub in Gulf

The nuclear-powered *HMS Triumph* submarine arrived in the Persian Gulf in late March at Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. It is on what the captain, Commander David Vaughan, called a "pathfinding" visit. The "hunter-killer" submarine is the first of its type to be sent by Britain to the area. Its arrival is aimed at Iran. Teheran recently received its first submarine and began training a crew for it. The U.S. government also has a nuclear-powered submarine in the Gulf, in response to the planned delivery of three submarines to Iran from Russia.

New nuclear accident in Russia

A steel tank containing uranium waste exploded near the Siberian city of Tomsk, Russia, on April 6, releasing radiation into the environment. The explosion caused a fire at a plutonium separating factory, exposing several firefighters to significant doses of radiation.

The Interfax news agency reported that about 2,500 acres were exposed to "higher-than-normal" levels of radiation, but that there were no immediate moves to evacuate

people from the area. A Russian Atomic Energy Ministry spokesperson said that radiation levels were "several hundred times lower" than in the 1986 explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

Debate on N. Korea posed in UN

The International Atomic Energy Agency asked the United Nations Security Council April 1 to review North Korea's opposition to the agency's terms for inspection of the country's nuclear facilities. After the decision, the governments of the United States, Russia, and Britain issued a joint statement calling on North Korea to comply with the agency.

Of the organization's 35-member board, 28 countries supported the proposal. China and Libya opposed sending the issue to the UN; India, Pakistan, Syria, and Vietnam abstained.

Canada imposes duties on steel

Canada imposed antidumping levies on imports of cold-rolled sheet steel from the United States, Germany, France, Italy, and Britain. It is the country's third retaliatory duty against a steel product since the U.S. steel industry filed unfair trade complaints against steelmakers from Canada and 18 other countries last year.

Revenue Canada, the agency handling trade grievances, named 109 U.S. companies among those it accused of selling steel at unfairly low prices and imposed taxes, ranging from 8.7 percent to 87.3 percent. Earlier the agency imposed duties on imports of hot-rolled carbon steel sheet products and carbon steel plate.

IMF: U.S. recovery may falter

The economic upturn in North America may weaken or halt, an International Monetary Fund draft report on the world economy said. IMF economists contended Bonn should cut interest rates, and Washington should abandon President Bill Clinton's economic plan. The IMF report, released April 1, implied the U.S. government had to

impose harsher austerity measures in order to cut the budget deficit.

The report said the economies of western European countries and Japan were weaker than expected. Recession in those countries may persist for several more months.

Philip Morris cuts cigarette price

Top tobacco product manufacturer Philip Morris announced a 40-cent-per-pack price cut for Marlboro, the top selling brand of cigarettes in the world.

The reduction startled stock market investors, who knocked \$14.75 off the price of the Morris shares. The company lost \$13 billion of its stock market value hours after the April 2 announcement of the price cut. The plunging tobacco shares caused a sharp fall of 68 points, or 2 percent, in the Dow Jones industrial average on the New York Stock Exchange.

Philip Morris, like other makers of premium brands of cigarettes, has seen its products lose market share to discount brands in recent years. Investors reacted with panic to the company's announcement, hinting it might open the way for a potential profit-threatening price war.

Restaurants charged with bias

A class-action lawsuit was filed against Denny's restaurant chain after numerous complaints by Blacks of racist practices in its California stores. In addition, U.S. Attorney John Mendez said a federal probe is under way and a decision on whether to file charges will be made soon. Among the complaints are that Blacks are charged a \$2 cover fee after 10 p.m. and are required to pay in advance for their meals.

New Cuban foreign minister

The Cuban government announced March 30 that 37-year-old Roberto Robaina González will replace Ricardo Alarcón de Quesada as foreign minister. Robaina, head of the Union of Young Communists, was chosen after Alarcón was recently elected to the presidency of the newly elected National Assembly.

El Salvador judge frees killers

On April 1, a judge in El Salvador ordered the release of Col. Guillermo Alfredo Benavides and Lt. Yussly Mendoza, both of whom served 15 months of 30-year sentences for the 1989 murders of six Jesuit priests and two women. The two are the first to be freed under a government amnesty law passed 10 days earlier, which provides a blanket amnesty for those accused of crimes in relation to the 12-year civil war.

The law was approved by the Salvadoran parliament, controlled by the right-wing Arena Party, five days after a United Nations-appointed Truth Commission found that the Salvadoran military was responsible for most of the crimes during the war in which 75,000 died. Many in El Salvador, the United States, and around the world, including the UN's "Truth Commission," have protested the amnesty.

—DEREK BRACEY

THE MILITANT

News and analysis on Washington's foreign policy fiascoes

George Bush lost the last U.S. presidential election because of his foreign policy failures in Iraq, Russia, and elsewhere. Democratic president Bill Clinton's recent foreign policy moves, from Haiti to Yugoslavia, have proved fiascoes as well. Meanwhile, the rulers in Washington and their imperialist rivals in Germany and Japan are taking steps toward more wars. The *'Militant'* explains why, and what working people can do to prevent the capitalist powers from leading humanity to a third world war.

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Bosnia 'Serb parliament' rejects UN plan

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The fighting in Bosnia marked its one-year anniversary with the self-proclaimed Bosnia Serb parliament rejecting the UN-mediated plan that calls for the partitioning of Bosnia into 10 autonomous provinces along ethnic lines. Several days earlier, the UN Security Council authorized the use of military force against aircraft violating its declared "no-fly" zone over Bosnia.

These events signal that what lies ahead for this embattled country is more of the same: stepped-up battles over land and resources among the warring gangs basing themselves on the Serb, Croat, or Muslim forces, bringing further death and devastation to working people living there.

How to go about intervening in this situation is a source of debate and conflict among the capitalist ruling powers in Europe and the United States — and within the Clinton administration itself.

In a 68-0 vote, with just one abstention, the leaders of the Bosnian Serb forces soundly rejected the Bosnia partition plan, which was put forward months ago by former U.S. secretary of state Cyrus Vance, representing the United Nations, and David Owen for the European Community. The plan also calls for a cease-fire and the deployment of up to 50,000 UN troops to enforce the accord.

Russia's deputy foreign minister, Vitaly Churkin, attended the Bosnian Serb meeting, arguing to no avail that they should accept the plan while negotiating over the land areas still in dispute.

The forces based on the Serbs, who made up 31 percent of Bosnia's prewar population, have seized 70 percent of its territory. They object to the Vance-Owen proposal because it would roll back the area they control to 43 percent. "We Serbs must militarily defeat our enemies and conquer the territories we need," said Vojislav Maksimovic, summing up the common sentiment of those attending the Bosnian Serb parliament meeting.

"As I read the story, they [Bosnian Serbs] left the door open and I think we ought to continue to try to persuade them to join the peace plan," said U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher, who continues to insist that the Serbs will eventually be convinced to sign the accord.

Serb leader Radovan Karadzic — who considers himself president of the self-styled Republic of Srpska within the current borders of Bosnia — called for further talks and threatened that if such talks made no progress within three weeks, then Bosnian Serbs would unite with Serbs holding about one-third of Croatian territory to establish a new joint state.

Bosnia president Alija Izetbegovic promptly rejected Karadzic's call for new talks and vowed to resume full-scale war against the Serb forces if they didn't approve the accord unchanged. A week earlier, Izetbegovic had signed an amended version of the Vance-Owen accords, at the time insisting that he would withdraw his signature unless Karadzic signed within 10 days. The Bosnian Croat forces had earlier accepted the entire plan.

With his plan collapsing, Cyrus Vance announced that he was stepping down as UN mediator. Norway's foreign minister, Thorvald Stoltenberg, is replacing him.

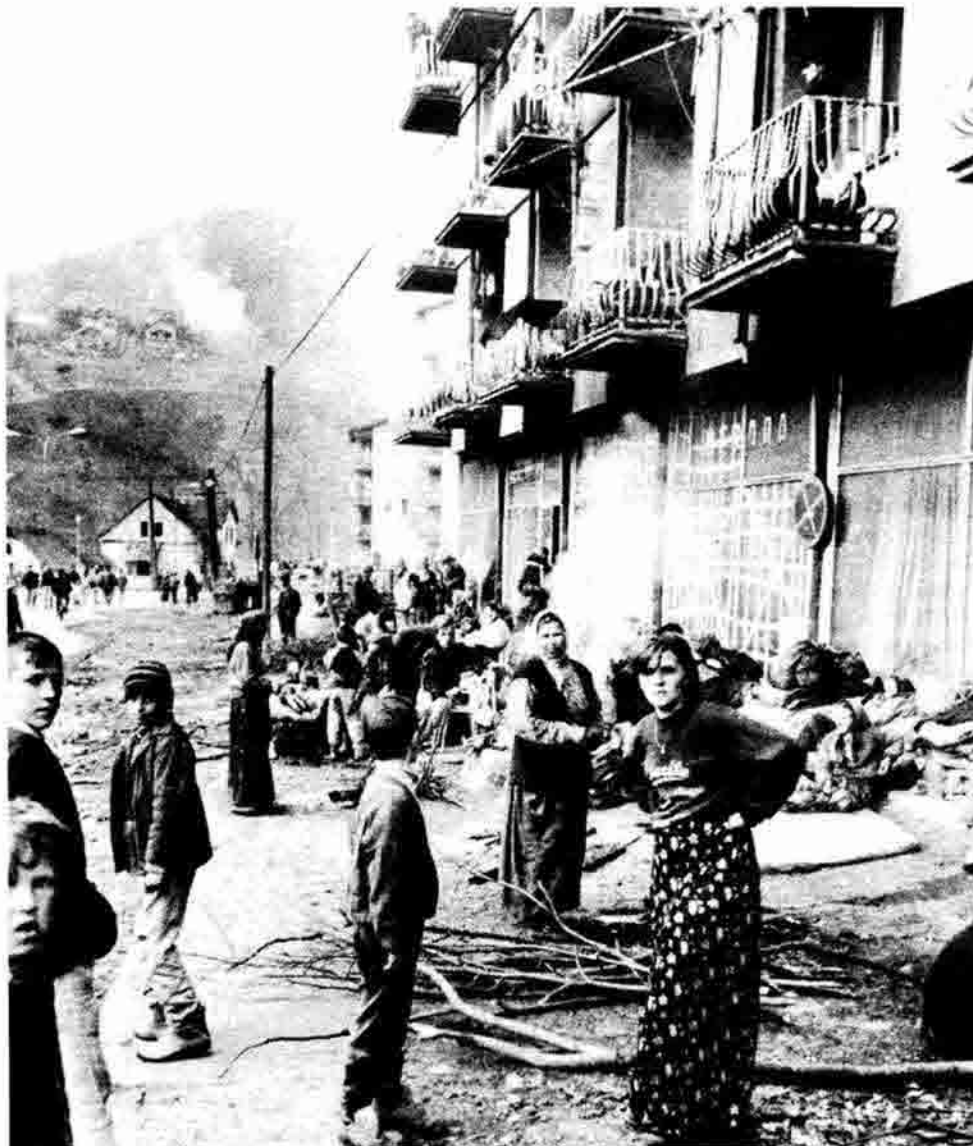
Cease-fire shattered

This latest turn of events was accompanied by renewed shelling by Serbian forces of Sarajevo and the east Bosnian town of Srebrenica, breaking a six-day-old cease-fire.

Living conditions are abysmal for the Muslim refugees attempting to survive in Srebrenica, where the population has swelled from 6,500 to about 60,000 since thousands of Muslims were forced to flee the nearby towns of Cerska and Konjevic Polje, which were overrun by Serb forces.

Several thousand refugees are living on only about four ounces of food per day plus a glass of powdered milk. Simon Mardell, a World Health Organization doctor who recently went to Srebrenica, reports that some 2,000 individuals have already died of hunger, exposure, and disease. Many are eating tree buds and 20 to 30 are dying there each day, he said.

A convoy of UN relief trucks finally entered Srebrenica March 28 after being held up outside of town by Serb forces for more than a week. However, Serbian mil-



Thousands of refugees live on the streets of besieged Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia

itary commander Gen. Ratko Mladic told UN officials that he would not permit any more convoys loaded with food and medicine into the Muslim enclave, but only empty trucks that could be used to transport Muslims out.

Six people, including four children, were crushed to death as more than 2,000 Bosnians crammed aboard 14 empty UN relief trucks, as they sought safe passage to the

town of Tuzla 45 miles away. About 5,000 individuals have been transported out of Srebrenica, with thousands more desperate to leave.

Sharply exposing the Bosnian government's use of the people of this region as pawns in its battle, the Muslim officer commanding the Bosnian garrison in Srebrenica, Nasir Oric, ordered the UN to halt these evacuations. As 16 empty trucks left the

enclave, thousands of angry Muslims gathered in the streets to protest this decision.

Several days earlier, Muslim authorities in Tuzla ordered the local militia to mine the roads and open fire on UN trucks carrying evacuees from Srebrenica. Under pressure from UN officials, Bosnian president Izetbegovic finally intervened to allow the convoy to arrive safely in Tuzla.

NATO to enforce flight ban

Meanwhile, the UN Security Council voted March 31 to begin enforcing the five-month-old UN ban on flights over Bosnia starting in mid-April. The vote was 14-0 with China abstaining.

In order to fly over Bosnia, all aircraft will now have to get permission from UN forces on the ground. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has agreed to take charge of implementing this decision.

Enforcing the flight ban has little military significance as virtually all the fighting is taking place on the ground. UN officials claim the flight ban has been violated about 500 times, though only one combat mission, by a Serbian plane, has been reported.

While U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher has raised the prospect of U.S. participation in a multinational UN or NATO force in Bosnia, the Pentagon continues to oppose sending U.S. troops there.

Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, also argues against carrying out air strikes against Serbian positions, claiming this would be ineffective from a military point of view.

Washington has periodically floated the idea of lifting the arms embargo against the Bosnian government. But this continues to meet opposition from Britain, France, and Russia.

U.S. president Clinton is now calling for tightening trade sanctions against Serbia. This policy, which has been in effect for the past nine months, has had devastating effects on working people while leaving the gangster misleaders free to continue their land grab. Inflation in Serbia is now running above 250 percent a month, and more than one-third of the population is unemployed.

2,500 demonstrate in Washington, D.C., demanding return of Aristide to Haiti

BY LINDA JOYCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Shouting "No Aristide — no peace!", 2,500 Haitians and supporters marched down Constitution Avenue here April 2. They demanded deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide's unconditional return to Haiti; an end to the forced repatriation of Haitian refugees; and freedom for the more than 200 Haitians who have tested HIV-positive and are being held under prison-like conditions at a U.S. military base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba.

A leader of the demonstration, Farah Juste, a popular Haitian singer living in exile in Miami, said in an interview, "One more time we'll raise hell in order to return constitutional order in Haiti. This is my seventh trip to Washington, D.C., and we'll keep coming back. We must make every effort inside and outside of Haiti to get Aristide back." Juste stated that the U.S. government barred her from visiting the Haitians held at Guantánamo, but she is going to continue to fight for Haitian refugees' rights. "If they return Aristide," she said, "we wouldn't have the refugee problem."

Philip Jacques, a computer operator from Queens, agreed. "The criminals ruling Haiti are not building our country, but destroying it by stealing money off the backs of the people in order to put it in foreign banks. That money should be used to satisfy people's needs," he said.

Demonstrators braved a pouring rain after riding hours in buses that came from as far away as Montreal, Chicago, and Miami as well as from numerous East Coast cities. Seven buses came from Florida.

A huge banner identified the majority of the marchers as members of the 10th Department, an organization of Haitians living in exile, which was formed at the initiative of the movement that brought Aristide to power. Many of the people demonstrating

had taken off work to attend the protest.

Anthony Armove, 23, a graduate student at Brown University, marched along with about 50 other students who were carrying silhouette figures representing Haitians held prisoner at Guantánamo. "We're calling for their release and for political asylum for all Haitians who want it," he said.

Younger students participated in the march too. Miami high school student Natalie Nichols, 18, said, "I'm here protesting for my mom's country. Clinton promised to help but he's not keeping his promise. People are dying in Haiti — that's why I'm here."

Rev. Jesse Jackson spoke to the rally, describing his recent visit to the Haitians imprisoned in Guantánamo. Although eight Haitians near death have been released due to international pressure and a New York judge recently ruled that 36 more must be allowed into the United States, Jackson said, there are still about 200 Haitians detained there. "In fact," he went on, "there are now more soldiers guarding the Haitians than there are Haitians in the camp."

To the loud applause of the crowd, former soldier Donovan Cole described his expulsion from the U.S. Air Force last November for "refusing his weapon." He received a general discharge because he would not follow orders to mistreat Haitian refugees who were held for months at Guantánamo before their forcible repatriation. "They wanted us to treat them like dogs," Cole said, "but I could not do it. We need more of us coming together. This fight is going to go on until Haiti is free."

Despite the rain, dozens of speakers denounced U.S. policy toward Haiti.

Several young Haitians, all in their twenties and recent arrivals to the United States, explained the hardships they had been through.

Ermond Benoit said they had first fought against repression, then were forced into the

underground after the 1991 coup that ousted Aristide. They had to flee in rickety boats for their lives last year, only to be mistreated by the U.S. military at Guantánamo. They now face inhuman conditions and minimum wage work in the tomato and vegetable fields near Homestead, Florida. "We just want to go back," he said. "With Aristide we wouldn't have all this."

Pierre Joseph, a Haitian at the demonstration who lives in Haiti and is returning shortly to continue his work with workers' organizations, said, "There is an important fight going on inside Haiti. Students are demonstrating. There are attempts to organize unions. The Lavalas movement is still alive."

On April 4, about 300 priests marched in Port-au-Prince in an antigovernment protest against the military's attack on Haitian monsignor Willy Romelus while he led a mass in Jérémie, Haiti, February 25 for the thousands of victims of the February 17 ferryboat disaster. Father Gerard Jean-Juste, head of the 10th Department who has been in hiding in Haiti since the coup, participated in the march.

Tony Jeanthor, a leader of the Haitian activists' group Veye-Yo in Miami, declared, "We will keep on marching on Washington until those that made the coup in Haiti decide to step down. We come to D.C. because this is where the coup originated. The U.S. government has been working with the Haitian military all these months to stall Aristide's return. They don't want to see the masses rise up. Thank God the Afro-Americans and other progressive people are joining in our fight. This is an international cause. If things change for the little guy in Haiti, there is hope for working people around the world."

Linda Joyce is a laid-off member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 627.

Defense of immigrant workers led to police frame-up of unionist

First in a series

BY NAOMI CRAINE

On March 4, 1988, several Mexican workers at the Swift meatpacking plant in Des Moines, Iowa, walked off the line, stopping production. They demanded to attend a meeting to protest the arrest of 17 coworkers by the immigration cops three days earlier.

A few hours later a young Swift worker, Mark Curtis, was arrested by the Des Moines police, taken to the city jail, and beaten. The cops hit him with a nightstick, shattering his cheek bone. It took 15 stitches to close the wound. As they were doing this, one of the officers called him a "Mexican-lover, just like you love those coloreds." After a trip to the hospital, they threw him naked into a cell, with no blanket or toilet facilities for the night.

The 29-year-old union activist and socialist was charged with attempting to rape a Black teenager, and with two counts of assaulting the police who beat him bloody. That was the beginning of the frame-up of Mark Curtis.

Curtis received an unfair trial. He was not allowed to present key evidence to the jury. In September 1988 he was convicted on false charges of third degree sexual abuse and first degree burglary and was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment two months later. Over the last five years thousands of youth, workers, and democratic rights activists around the world have joined in supporting his fight for justice.

From the day he was arrested, other forces have campaigned to convince people that Curtis is guilty of the crime he was accused of. These have included the Des Moines police department and the Iowa state prosecutors office, organizations in Iowa and elsewhere that say they speak for the rights of Blacks and women, some labor union officials, an antilabor outfit called the Workers League, and the father of the young woman who claims to have been raped by Curtis.

This article is first in a series that will tell the story of the Curtis case, reviewing the facts from the beginning and the political context in which they occurred. It will explain why there are those who want to keep this unionist behind bars, and why many working people and defenders of democratic rights have rallied and must continue the fight to defeat his frame-up.

Immigration raid at packinghouse

"To understand what happened to Mark and to understand what this means for working people, it's important to go into the situation that was evolving around Mark's frame-up," explained Kate Kaku, Curtis's wife and a leader of his international defense campaign, at a recent rally in Boston to win support for his case. "It begins with the packing industry," she said. "It begins with the changing composition of the working class in the United States, with the huge influx of workers from many countries in Latin America and Asia that has taken place over the last decade."

Three days before Curtis was framed up and arrested, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) conducted a raid at the Swift Packing Co. where he worked. "Federal marshalls were involved, local police were involved; it was very well organized," said Kaku. "They swooped into the factory and arrested 17 immigrant workers—16 Mexicans and one Salvadoran. It turned out the INS had gotten the help of Swift. They had actually organized this months in advance of the raid itself."

"They had gone into the personnel office of Swift, culled through the personnel records of every single worker and came up with a list of names of the people they were going to arrest," continued Kaku. "And they put the 17 names in a sealed indictment. It seemed like that to many of the workers on the line on March 1, 1988, that they actually had a list as they were going through the line picking people up. Many of the people who were arrested were working right on the kill-floor where Mark worked."

The Swift 17, as they became known,

were brought up on a variety of felony charges for having falsified documents, such as Social Security numbers and employment eligibility forms, in order to get jobs.

Several workers had applied for amnesty

This took place as the INS was trying to convince more undocumented immigrants to apply for amnesty under the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. The amnesty made it possible for a small layer of those without documents to gain legal status.

The Swift raid was seen by many as a federally organized probe to legitimize the illegal use of the confidential information disclosed on amnesty applications to victimize the undocumented. At least seven of the workers the INS picked up that day had already submitted their amnesty applications. This fact helped fuel outrage among working people in Des Moines and beyond, especially in the Latino community.

Immediately following the arrests, family members and friends of the Swift workers gathered outside the Polk County Jail in downtown Des Moines, demanding their release. These supporters were not even allowed to speak to the prisoners.

One of the Swift 17, Martin Castillo, pointed to the hypocrisy of the INS. "I'm confused about everything because they say we falsified our Social Security cards," he told the *Wall Street Journal*. "I don't deny that, but why did they encourage us to apply [for amnesty] and say they wouldn't prosecute us for what we did in our past?"

An INS deputy district director answered Castillo's question by telling the *Journal*, "Just because you are an applicant or have been given amnesty, it doesn't mean we are going to forgive your past sins."

Discussion among Swift workers

The arrests at Swift "elicited a lot of discussion and bewilderment at work," Kaku told the Boston gathering. "A lot of workers in this country fall prey to the propaganda that it's immigrant workers who take American jobs away, the 'Buy America' campaign, the anti-immigrant slant that takes place day in and day out. Some of the workers actually applauded when the immigration cops came in and arrested these immigrant workers, because they really bought into this."

"The fight for immigrant rights is one of the central questions facing working people today," she continued. "Workers and farmers around the world find themselves forced to leave their country looking for work, as the world depression continues to drag out. Many of these immigrants end up working in industries like meat-packing where low pay and poor conditions are becoming the norm."

"One of the things they like to do at Swift is demean workers," Kaku said. "They talk about Mexican workers as *mojados*, which means 'wetback' in Spanish, and refer to Asian women as prostitutes. They try to keep people divided, and encourage racism in the work force."

"One of the key roles Mark helped to play was as a real figure for unifying the workers at Swift. He spoke Spanish, which he learned as a teenager. Companies don't like it when you can communicate with fellow workers. Here's this white guy, who speaks Spanish, who talks about unity of the working class, the rights of immigrant workers, and the need for unions to get together," stated Kaku.

Meeting called to discuss raid

That's why when the immigration police arrested 17 of his coworkers, Curtis jumped into the discussions in the plant, arguing that the union should join in the fight to defend them.

As anger mounted against the arrests, activists in the Des Moines latino community called a meeting for 2:00 p.m., Friday, March 4. The forum, held at the United Mexican-American Community Center near



Militant/ Stu Singer

Mark Curtis (left) with Martin Castillo, one of the Swift 17 workers arrested by immigration police in March 1988.

the Swift plant, was set up to provide an opportunity for Swift workers and others to protest the raid and get some answers about the arrests and the amnesty program.

"Because the raid had taken place at Swift, management had originally agreed that they would allow any worker who wanted to go to this meeting," said Kaku. "But when 2:00 p.m. came around the company said, 'No, I'm sorry, we're going to have to run the line, we have 500 cattle we have to kill, and you're going to stay until the last one is cut up.'"

"This outraged whole layers of workers there. A number of them organized a walk-out; they just walked off the line to attend the meeting. This shut down the line. As any industrial worker knows, anything that shuts down production is a no-no for the company. They get hysterical; they want you back at work. This had never happened at Swift before."

"The company was forced to back down and agree that they would help to organize another meeting," she continued. "They asked the organizers to hold a second meeting at 5:00 p.m. That was the meeting that Mark attended, along with many of the workers at Swift."

More than 100 family members, supporters of the Swift workers, and community activists attended the first meeting, where a heated debate took place between the workers and INS officials.

"This meeting was quite a thing," Kaku noted. "People got up, in front of the INS, saying, 'I am illegal. I want to know what this means for me.'"

Alfredo Alvarez, then chairman of the Des Moines Human Rights Commission, and others at the meeting proposed organizing a protest march, which was called for March 12.

'This is an attack on everybody'

About two dozen workers from Swift, including Curtis, attended the second forum, and some participants in the first one stayed as well to continue the discussion.

"It was mostly guys from the kill-floor. Company representatives were there as well," Curtis described later. "Speaking in Spanish, I said, 'We need to get the union involved. It's not just an issue for the workers arrested, it's an attack on everybody in the plant.' I volunteered to begin to reach out to the rest of the workers at Swift."

"After the meeting I went with my coworkers to a nearby bar, Los Compadres, to have more discussion," Curtis said. "There were some other workers there too, and they were inspired by the militancy of the Mex-

ican workers in the walkout that day. 'That's the way we should do it every time the foremen mess with us,' one said."

Curtis left the bar around 8:30 p.m. that evening and went home. He was expecting two friends from out of town to arrive any minute. One of them was scheduled to speak the next night on a recent trip to Nicaragua at a Militant Labor Forum that Curtis was organizing.

He had to go to the grocery store to buy food for a dinner before the forum, so Curtis called a couple of friends, Ellen Whitt and Jackie Floyd, to let them know where he would be and to ask them to look out for his guests. At the trial Floyd, who worked midnight shift at the Firestone plant in Des Moines, testified that she received his call at 8:45 p.m. that evening. She knew the exact time because he had awakened her and she had looked at the clock to see if she had to get up for work.

About five blocks from his house, Curtis stopped at a red light. A young Black woman approached his car. She looked very upset, and begged him to give her a ride to her house. She said a man at the nearby TNT bar was after her. Curtis knew that a woman had been killed in that bar recently and was concerned about violence against women because a member of his family had been raped.

Curtis let the woman get into his car and offered to call the police. She didn't want him to do that, and asked for a ride home. She directed him to a house, and asked him to come up on the porch with her because she was afraid the man might be inside.

She went into the house, while Curtis waited on the porch. He never saw her again. A minute later the porch door behind him flew open. Curtis thought at first it was the man the woman was scared of. But it was the cops.

One of the police officers, Joseph Gonzalez, grabbed Curtis by the arm and shouted "I got him." Curtis assumed the woman had called them and they mistakenly thought he was the man who was after her. Gonzalez walked Curtis through the living room into the back bedroom. He handcuffed Curtis behind his back. The cop then pushed Curtis onto the bed, undid his pants, and pulled them down. "Let's see what we got here," said Gonzalez. He took Curtis's wallet and keys and placed him under arrest. Curtis was taken out of the house without even being allowed to fasten his pants. The police took him to the city jail. There he was beaten and called a "Mexican-lover." Another cop told him "I'll bet

Continued on next page

'I am convinced Mark Curtis was framed and is a victim of political harassment'

Supporters of jailed Iowa unionist speak out against slander campaign

We reproduce below excerpts of some of the recent letters sent by supporters of Mark Curtis's fight for justice to his defense committee.

These letters answer attempts, made by those who claim Curtis is guilty, to pressure endorsers of his case to end their backing of the defense effort. A political activist and union fighter, Curtis was framed up on false charges of sexual assault and burglary in March 1988. He was convicted of those charges later that year and is now serving a 25-year prison sentence.

Among those participating in the slander campaign against Curtis is Mary Bertin, a leader of the NAACP in Boston, Massachusetts, who sent out a letter urging disendorsement to many Curtis supporters.

* * *

Robert C. Roethig, Jr.

Member, NAACP,
Dubuque, Iowa

I am a member of the NAACP Dubuque, Iowa, branch. I am also a member of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. I have just read your letter, dated March 14, 1992, to the supporters of Mark Curtis. Your letter attempts to sway Curtis endorsers to disendorse.

The content of your letter troubles me, since I am a little closer to the situation than you are. I have made several trips to Des Moines and to Chicago in the last couple of years. No one organization in Des Moines, Iowa, in proportion to its members, has done more to stand, analyze and organize against racism whether it be in white sheets, in blue uniforms, or in three-piece suits than has the Socialist Workers Party.

Your letter explicitly lays the claim that the SWP is racist, and that the Mark Curtis Defense Committee is racist. Nothing could be further from the truth. Mark Curtis is not racist. SWP members that I know personally — Maurice Williams, James Warren and Mark's wife Kate Kaku, all persons of color — are not racist. The Iowa prison authorities who by now know Mark Curtis well by observing him, know that he is a nonviolent person. Mark's record in prison is exemplary. What I find very admirable about Mark is that while he has every right to be bitter, he is not.

The NAACP in Boston and elsewhere is not going to benefit from your campaign against Mark. Apparently, you are unfamiliar with some crucial facts of the case. There was no evidence of any kind of physical contact between Mark Curtis and the victim. Mark was not at the scene when the attack took place. He was at a bar; there were witnesses.

Demetria Morris described her attacker as 5'7" and smelled smoke on his breath. Mark is over 6'1" and does not smoke. What I have seen of the 1988 trial indicates to me that it was not fair. Relevant matters such as an earlier suspension from active duty for reasons of perjury on the part of the arresting

officer, [and] the fact that the two other cops who beat Mark into bloody unconsciousness in the police station — and while they did that they called him a "Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds." "Look at him! I'll bet he has AIDS!" — [were] also excluded. These same cops had shot a Black man dead in the same room as they beat up Mark. In fact the Des Moines cops have a very long history of racism, brutality, and corruption. I myself have spoken with young Black men in Des Moines. They are constantly being harassed, intimidated, followed and roughly treated by the Des Moines cops. Whenever they are out on the street, whether it is to go to school or shopping, cops are trying to provoke them.

After a November 1991 trial, federal judge Charles Wolle found those officers guilty of violating Mark's civil rights. I am sure that you know that it is nearly impossible to get a conviction against cops who exceed their authority. The evidence must be overwhelming; not just circumstantial. And in those cases, cities like Los Angeles or New York usually settle out of court, so that there will be no publicity. The Des Moines cops beat Larry Milton over the head with flashlights while he was, to use their words, "hog-tied." They got away with it. Even though they caused him irreparable harm. His skull was fractured and after they cracked his skull, they maced him. In your evaluation of the credibility of Mark Curtis and his supporters, you should have been made aware of the way the cops treat people of color and/or working people in Des Moines.

It is beneath the dignity of members of the NAACP, not to mention people in authority to make blanket statements, charges of racism, without specific examples. You do yourselves and especially the fight against racism no good by attacking Mark.

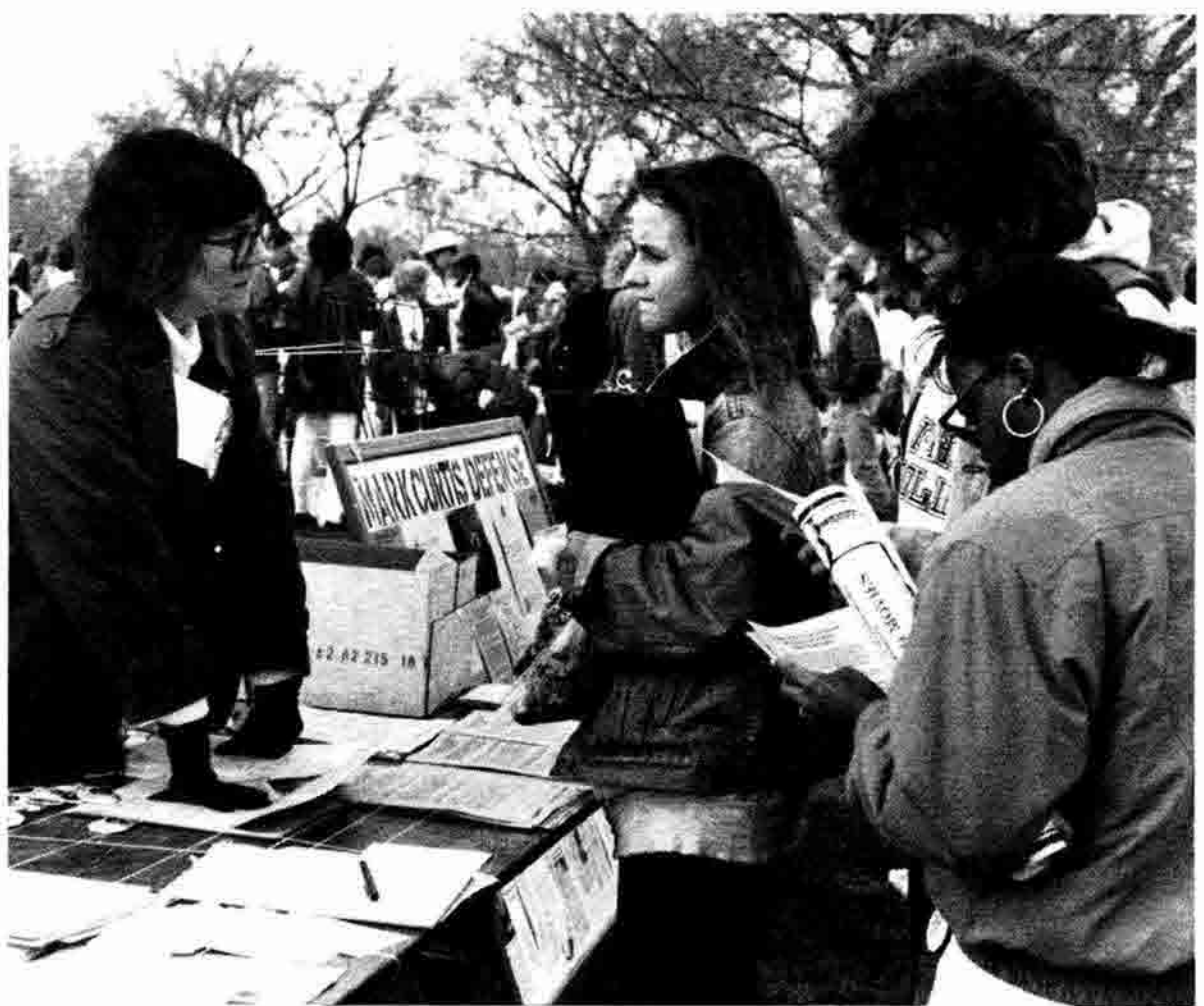
Ed McDonald

Westover, West Virginia

I am a blind person who had been involved for a number of years in various efforts to gain equality and first-class citizenship for all persons who happen to be blind. As a result of this experience, I know something about the effects of discrimination whether that discrimination be rooted in hatred, fear, or simple misunderstanding. . . .

Historically, one of the tactics often used by educators, rehabilitation workers, sheltered workshop supervisors, and others; to suppress the efforts of blind persons to organize themselves has been to try to divide the commitments and loyalties of those persons and thus to destroy their unity. A related tactic has been to try to eliminate or at least to discredit the leaders of organizing efforts among the blind.

I believe that similar tactics have been employed in the case of Mark Curtis and those who would support his cause. Curtis was obviously an effective leader in organizing workers (including immigrants and other minorities) to fight their exploitation by powerful corporate interests. These organizing activities, coupled with his political views, were clearly unpopular with both the economic and law enforcement establishments in the Des Moines



Winning support for Curtis defense among participants in 1989 abortion rights march in Washington, D.C.

Militant/Irene Sosa

area, therefore I am convinced that Curtis's frame-up and arrest were intended to suppress his political and organizing activities. I further believe that the charges of sexually assaulting a young Black woman were designed to arouse suspicions against Curtis and thus to minimize support among those groups who would otherwise endorse his resistance efforts.

With these thoughts in mind, I join with those of you who have stood in support of Mark Curtis since his arrest in 1988. Accordingly, I would urge members of the parole board to take an honest and realistic look at the facts of the case and to grant Mark Curtis the freedom he deserves.

John Bohlman

Member, United Transportation
Union Local 305,
Lincoln, Nebraska

I am a railroad conductor with 35 years on the old CB and Q and the Burlington Northern railroad. During those 35 years I

have been an active member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the United Transportation Union. I served as local legislative representative for 10 years, 5 years of which I was also assistant state legislative director.

I became a supporter of the Mark Curtis cause through reading the *Militant*, viewing the Nick Castle video, and discussions with friends who are members of the Socialist Workers Party.

I am still convinced that Mark was framed and that he is a victim of political harassment. The actions of the Iowa Parole Board and the carefully orchestrated campaign to deny him parole only serves to strengthen my convictions.

I am hopeful that Mark will prevail against this blatant attack on his civil rights.

Keep up the good fight, Mark. I admire your honesty, courage, and integrity.

* * *

Letters in support of Mark Curtis's fight for justice should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311. Fax (515) 243-9869.

Literature available from the Mark Curtis Defense Committee

The Frame-up of Mark Curtis by Margaret Jayko. The story of Mark Curtis, a unionist and fighter for immigrant rights who is serving a 25-year sentence in an Iowa prison on trumped-up rape charges. 71 pp., \$5 Order from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. (Please include \$3 for postage and handling.)

Video: On Trial. Television show with scenes from Curtis's trial. \$15.

State of Iowa v. Mark Stanton Curtis. Transcript of September 1988 jury trial proceedings that found Curtis guilty of rape and burglary. 446 pp., \$30.

The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis by John Gaige. Explains the political background to Curtis's case, the frame-up, and unfair trial. 25 pp., \$1.

Video: The Frame-up of Mark Curtis. Produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. This effective 49-minute documentary has clips from TV news broadcasts on Curtis's fight for justice; scenes from the trial; and interviews with Curtis, his wife, Kate Kaku, and others. Available in English or Spanish on VHS, Beta, and PAL for the cost of reproduction and shipping. \$15.

For these and other materials (except for pamphlet by Margaret Jayko, see above) write or call the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311. Phone (515) 246-1695. Bulk quantities are available. Many of these are also available in Spanish. Payments should accompany orders; make out checks to Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Please allow two weeks for delivery.

Frame-up of unionist

Continued from previous page
you've got AIDS."

Those remarks made clear, for the first time since Curtis had been arrested, what his real "crime" was and what the real charges were: fighting for the rights of working people, including those who speak a different language, come from a different country, or have a different skin color from the wealthy families who rule Des Moines and the rest of the country.

The next day the *Des Moines Register* printed an article headlined "Boy, 11, calls police, prevents rape of sister." The article stated that Curtis had been arrested while attempting to rape a 15-year-old high school student, and a call to the police from her brother had saved the day.

(To be continued)

A forerunner of Peru's Shining Path

Marx and Engels on the fight against Bakunin's 'barrack-room communism'

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

Big-business newspapers and politicians usually describe the Peruvian guerrilla organization Shining Path as terrorist, violent, communist, fanatical, or a combination of these labels. None of these define the political character of this reactionary, labor-hating group that falsely identifies itself as communist.

These commentators cannot explain why Shining Path, while using intimidation and violence against workers and farmers, wins support from certain layers of the population in Peru.

On the other hand, some radical forces that claim to speak in the interests of the working class — especially outside Peru — argue that Shining Path may be faulted for unjustifiable attacks on the labor movement but that it still qualifies as a revolutionary organization. After all, they say, isn't it true that the group gains a following among many peasants, who are an exploited class? Shining Path is fighting to overthrow the repressive capitalist regime in Peru — doesn't that make it progressive?

There is nothing unique about Shining Path. The kind of social and political conditions that have produced this phenomenon in Peru today have in the past spawned similar political formations in other countries.

More than a century ago Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the central leaders of the revolutionary working-class movement at the time, led a struggle against a grouping — headed by Mikhail Bakunin — that had a lot in common politically with today's Shining Path. Their writings on this experience are an extremely useful tool to understand the current events in Peru and elsewhere.

Marx and Engels lead IWMA

In the late 1850s and the 1860s there was a rise in working-class struggles throughout Europe, where the labor movement was the strongest. Out of these struggles the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) was formed in 1864. Led by Marx, Engels, and others, it was a broad political organization with a membership of tens of thousands of workers in several countries and included a range of political currents.

The IWMA joined strike battles. It was part of the fight for the eight-hour day. It organized campaigns in support of the an-

ti-slavery battle in the United States and the Polish independence struggle. When the workers of Paris established the first revolutionary workers' government in 1871 — the Paris Commune — the IWMA waged a big political campaign in its defense.

Marx and Engels were fighting to build a revolutionary workers' party rooted in the mass struggles of the working class. Their goal was to lead working people in action to gain confidence in their own capacity to govern society. In these struggles, Marx and

two major classes. They will either be won over to the working-class side or end up following the capitalist class.

The vanguard of the working class champions the interests of working farmers to forge an alliance of the exploited producers. In broad social struggles, Marx and Engels point out, communists "represent the interests of the movement as a whole."

Socialism cannot be imposed on the working class. "The Communists," the *Manifesto* stresses, "have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat

expelled, Marx and Engels explained their anti-working-class character and functioning.

While preaching against "authoritarianism," the Bakuninists "constitute themselves as a secret society with a hierarchical organization, and under . . . [an] absolutely dictatorial leadership," Engels reported to the IWMA.

One of the Alliance's secret documents stated that the revolution in Europe should be carried out by a "revolutionary General Staff" of 100 Alliance members acting on behalf of the oppressed. Engels pointed out that Bakunin was "treating the working masses as a flock of sheep blindly following a few initiated leaders."

The Bakuninists, calling themselves "people's avengers," advocated systematic assassination against representatives of the state. The Alliance threatened violence "against the revolutionaries who refuse to accept its dogma and leadership," Marx and Engels said.

They noted that Bakunin "preaches the cult of ignorance." He would urge youth not to study modern science and to leave the universities in order to follow the so-called theoretician's dogma.

Bakunin glorified the backward Russian peasant society of that time. He called for "brigand and peasant rebellion." But his program was as anti-peasant as it was anti-labor.

For example, the Alliance proposed abolishing the right to inheritance, which would force peasant families to lose their land.

Marx and Engels argued strongly against this perspective of imposing policies on working people by force. Instead, they said, a workers' government should take measures to "further the transition from private to communal ownership of land in such a way that the peasant comes to it of his own accord on economic grounds."

The Bakuninists, on the other hand, called for compulsory physical labor for all, communal eating places and dormitories, and "a long set of rules on education, work hours, feeding of children, . . . and so on," Marx and Engels reported.

Who would enforce these bureaucratic dictates? Bakunin and his inner circle, which was known as "Our Committee." The purpose of these rules, Bakunin said, was to make everyone "produce as much as possible . . . and consume as little as possible."

Barrack-room communism

In their report to the IWMA, Marx and Engels summed up this horrifying scenario of a regimented society of docile sheep:

"What a beautiful model of barrack-room communism! Here you have it all: communal eating, communal sleeping, assessors and offices regulating education, production, consumption, in a word, all social activity, and to crown all, *Our Committee*, anonymous and unknown to anyone, as the supreme director."

Marx and Engels described Bakunin's International Alliance of Socialist Democracy as a reactionary sect.

Today, Shining Path in Peru represents a similar political outlook. Like Bakunin's outfit, it is a petty-bourgeois group led by a clique of intellectuals around its leader, Abimael Guzmán, who is glorified as "Chairman Gonzalo."

While Bakunin used anarchist rhetoric, Shining Path uses Stalinist rhetoric borrowed from the privileged bureaucratic regime in China under Mao. But both share a hatred for the working class. Like its political predecessor, Shining Path uses radical slogans to attract desperate layers of society impoverished by capitalism, appealing particularly to the most politically inexperienced. It too abstains from the real labor battles taking place and attacks the working-class movement.

It likewise seeks to impose reactionary policies on workers and farmers in the name of socialism.

In confronting the political obstacle that Shining Path represents, working-class fighters today can profit from studying the revolutionary perspective Marx and Engels explained in the *Communist Manifesto* and the lessons they drew in the fight against Bakuninism.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Workers from voluntary work contingent at 1990 May Day rally in Havana. Cuban revolution is an example of leadership role of working class in transforming society.

Engels strove to win workers to an internationalist and communist perspective.

Bakunin, a Russian radical, led a sharply different current called the International Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Its starting point was anarchism — the idea that the state, not capitalism, was the problem to be abolished.

Bakunin argued that workers should abstain from political activity. They should simply declare a general strike and wait for the old regime to collapse. Instead of establishing a government of workers and farmers, he declared, the state — all states — should be abolished by decree.

The difference between these two political perspectives was over a decisive question: which social class today has the ability to lead a revolution and transform society?

Workers: only revolutionary class

Marx and Engels answered this question in the *Communist Manifesto*, which they drafted in 1847 as the program of the Communist League, the first revolutionary workers' party.

"Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class," the *Manifesto* states.

Workers are a productive and propertyless class. Only the working class, which keeps the factories, mines, and trains running, has the social weight and power necessary to lead other exploited classes in a political struggle to replace the capitalist rulers with a government of workers and farmers.

The conditions facing the working class push it toward collective resistance to the employers' attacks, allowing it to overcome the competition and divisions fostered by capitalism. Through these experiences workers can learn to think socially and act politically as a class.

No other class in society can play this revolutionary role.

The petty bourgeoisie, or middle class, which includes exploited and productive layers such as working farmers, owns some property and is prone to the conservative illusion of becoming bigger individual property owners.

As small proprietors, farmers cannot follow an independent political course from the

as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement . . . They point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."

With communist leadership, a fighting alliance of workers and farmers can be organized and mobilized to expropriate the capitalist rulers and embark on the road to socialism. This is the course the Bolshevik party under V. I. Lenin charted in the 1917 Russian revolution. This is also the road of the Cuban revolution, a revolution made by millions of working people.

Bakunin's group, on the other hand, was led by "young lawyers, doctors, and other doctrinaires" who were hostile to the working class, Engels noted in a letter to a contemporary. They thought they — not workers — should lead a revolt.

Bakunin's middle-class demagoguery won a hearing in the most backward areas of Europe in the 1860s.

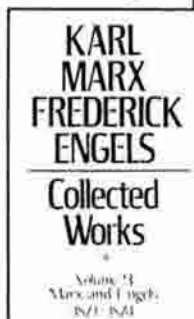
Nonetheless, Bakunin's radical-sounding antigovernment demagoguery won a hearing from some working people. His biggest support was in Spain, Italy, and southern France. These were among the most economically backward areas of Europe, where capitalism was not yet very developed. There was little industry — primarily there were small shops where class antagonisms were not clear to most workers, who were largely dispossessed peasants recently immigrated from isolated villages.

Bakunin's Alliance found almost no hearing in Britain, where workers were more concentrated in factories and had substantial class-struggle experience. The IWMA was much stronger there.

The Alliance joined the IWMA in 1869 and began operating as a secret faction inside it. For the next few years, the Marxist leadership waged a political fight against the Bakuninists and their disruptive maneuvers.

In a report on the 1872 congress of the IWMA, where the Bakuninists were finally

For further reading:



THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS
Founding document, written in 1847, of the modern working-class movement. It explains how capitalism arose as a specific stage in the economic development of class society and how it will be superseded through the revolutionary action of the international working class. 47 pages. \$2.50

MARX AND ENGELS: COLLECTED WORKS

Volume 23 contains three major articles on the fight against Bakuninism:

Fictitious Splits in the International,
by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

The Alliance of Socialist Democracy and the International Working Men's Association,
by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

The Bakuninists at Work. An account of the Spanish Revolt in the Summer of 1873,
by Frederick Engels

Hard cover, 808 pages. \$25

THE SECOND ASSASSINATION OF MAURICE BISHOP

BY STEVE CLARK

The accomplishments and lessons of the Grenada revolution and how it was overthrown from within by the Stalinist gang that murdered Maurice Bishop. In *New Internationalist* no. 6 \$10.00

Available at your local Pathfinder bookstore (see page 12) or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, add \$3.00 postage for the first book and \$.50 for each additional title.

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

DRIVE GOALS: 2,800 MILITANT ■ 600 PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL ■ 1,200 NEW INTERNATIONAL

'Militant' sets target week for drive

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The international circulation campaign is off to a good start. Results of the first week, reported on the accompanying scoreboard, show that the subscription drive for both the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* is ahead of schedule! Sales of *New International* are behind schedule, however. *Militant* supporters can quickly reverse this lag by building on the success of the subscription sales.

To keep up this momentum, the *Militant* is organizing a special nine-day sales and campaigning effort April 17-25. The aim is for every area to be on or ahead of schedule by the end of this target week. Supporters can then be in a position to consider raising their goals for the remainder of the drive.

All distributors are encouraged to adopt special goals for the target week and to plan out an ambitious schedule of daily sales activities including all-day teams organized for the weekends. The April 25 national march for gay and lesbian rights in Washington, D.C., can provide additional opportunities for reaching new readers and finishing the target week off on a high note.

Already Pittsburgh supporters have met their *Perspectiva Mundial* goal of five.

Success in coalfields continues

The *Militant* continues to receive an excellent response from coal miners in the United States fighting for a contract. During the last week of March a team of four volunteers from New York, Pittsburgh, and Morgantown visited the southern West Virginia coalfields, selling 60 copies of the *Militant* and 4 subscriptions.

Team member Amir Jamali, writes: "Our first stop was at Naugatuck, where we spoke to striking nonunion miners at three mines owned by Zeigler Coal Co. They told us about their fight for the rehiring of four fired strikers, and how they are resisting the company's attempt to cut their medical benefits while also trying to organize themselves into the UMW." An additional 35 papers and 1 subscription were sold in visits to five other area portals. Sales and reporting teams in the coalfields are also visiting campuses and high schools.

The *Militant* was well received at the March 26 demonstration of 70,000 steelworkers and supporters

in Bonn, Germany. Five German youth joined a team of *Militant* supporters from Britain, Belgium, Sweden, and the United States in helping to distribute the paper at the action.

Haiti demonstration

A driving rain failed to dampen the spirits of the 2,500 participants in the April 2 demonstration in Washington, D.C., protesting military rule in Haiti and the U.S.



Militant/Amir Jamali
Selling *Militant* at rally of disabled miners in Charleston, W. Virginia.

government's forced repatriation of Haitian refugees. *Militant* supporters from five different cities sold a total of 77 papers, 6 subscriptions, 22 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* or *New International*, and \$328 worth of Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

Supporters in Newark, New Jersey, are recommending sales outside movie theaters showing the Academy Award-winning documentary, *The Panama Deception*. After two showings of the film in Hoboken, a total of 27 *Militants* and one subscription had been sold as well as four copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet, *Panama: The Truth about the U.S. Invasion*. In addition, 150 people signed petitions to place Mark Rahn, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of New Jersey, on the ballot.

Another good opportunity for circulating the *Militant* and winning new subscribers is getting public libraries to subscribe. "Read your paper in our current periodicals room in the library. Great job you're doing. I would like a one-year subscription," writes an individual from the Uni-

versity of Buffalo in New York. Subscriptions to libraries and other institutions can be purchased for \$80 a year.

The 'Militant' gets around

A member of the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST) in Brazil, who is in the United States through May and recently purchased a copy of the *Militant*, writes, "I would like to meet someone from your organization

to tell you about the MST and the violence that we have been suffering in Brazil because of our struggle.... I like your publication very much, and I would like information about the Mark Curtis case. The MST is campaigning in Brazil for his liberation."

Another example of how the *Militant* gets around comes from the island country of Sri Lanka located south of India. An article titled "New round of currency crisis hits Europe" by *Militant* managing editor Argiris Malapanis was translated into Sinhalese and published in a journal there.

Supporters in Greece have now been added to the scoreboard. Writing from Greece, Natasha Terlexis reports that she and another supporter sold 13 *Militants* during the first couple of weeks in March. Among those picking up copies were members of the Third General High School's occupation coordinating committee, which has been involved in a struggle for better education, and antiwar activists who are very interested in the *Militant's* explanation of the roots of the carnage in the former Yugoslavia.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 16% 460

SHOULD BE: 13% 350

END OF WEEK ONE

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES						
Portland, OR	5	15	33%	0	2	0
Washington, DC	21	75	28%	4	25	10
Salt Lake City, UT	20	75	27%	1	15	0
Cleveland	16	65	25%	0	4	0
Birmingham, AL	16	75	21%	3	10	2
Baltimore	15	75	20%	0	10	0
Denver	1	5	20%	0	2	0
Detroit	16	80	20%	0	10	0
San Francisco	22	110	20%	3	30	3
Philadelphia	16	85	19%	2	20	5
Houston	14	75	19%	2	20	8
Chicago	20	110	18%	4	25	0
Boston	18	110	16%	4	30	0
New York	36	225	16%	12	75	0
Pittsburgh	12	80	15%	5	5	0
Newark, NJ	19	135	14%	4	45	0
Des Moines, IA	11	85	13%	3	30	0
Santa Cruz, CA	1	8	13%	0	5	0
Morgantown, WV	8	65	12%	0	5	5
Twin Cities, MN	13	120	11%	1	15	0
New Haven, CT	1	10	10%	0	2	0
Seattle	8	80	10%	4	30	2
Los Angeles	16	170	9%	15	85	0
Atlanta	7	75	9%	2	10	0
Greensboro, NC	6	65	9%	3	7	0
Miami	5	100	5%	1	35	12
St. Louis	3	90	3%	0	10	0
Cincinnati	0	10	0%	0	2	0
U.S. TOTAL	346	2,273	15%	73	561	47
AUSTRALIA	4	30	13%	0	10	1
BELGIUM	0	8	0%	0	4	0
BRITAIN	6	35	17%	0	1	0
Manchester	6	35	17%	0	3	1
Sheffield	5	60	8%	2	5	5
London	5	60	8%	2	5	5
BRITAIN TOTAL	17	130	13%	2	9	6
CANADA	27	75	36%	2	15	12
Toronto	19	70	27%	3	10	1
Vancouver	14	65	22%	2	12	6
Montreal	0	5	0%	0	0	0
Quebec City	0	5	0%	0	0	0
CANADA TOTAL	60	215	28%	7	37	19
FRANCE	0	10	0%	0	3	0
GREECE	0	2	0%	0	0	0
ICELAND	3	10	30%	0	1	0
NEW ZEALAND	9	45	20%	0	1	1
Auckland	7	40	18%	0	1	1
Wellington	3	25	12%	0	1	0
Christchurch	19	110	17%	0	3	2
N.Z. TOTAL	19	110	17%	0	3	2
PUERTO RICO	1	1	100%	1	10	0
SWEDEN	10	65	15%	4	20	7
TOTAL	460	2,854	16%	87	661	82

IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL
UNITED STATES						
UMWA	8	15	53%	0	—	0
UAW	22	85	26%	0	—	0
UTU	16	80	20%	0	4	0
ACTWU	5	28	18%	2	12	0
USWA	13	85	15%	0	—	0
OCAW	6	50	12%	0	4	2
IAM	10	90	11%	0	25	1
UFCW	6	56	11%	0	35	0
ILGWU	1	20	5%	3	20	0
U.S. TOTAL	87	509	17%	5	100	3
AUSTRALIA	2	3	67%	0	—	0
NUW	0	3	0%	0	—	0
AMEU	0	3	0%	0	—	0
FPU	0	3	0%	0	—	0
AUSTRALIA TOTAL	2	9	22%	0	0	2
BRITAIN	2	6	33%	0	—	0
TGWU	1	6	17%	0	—	0
AEEU	2	12	17%	0	—	0
RMT	0	2	0%	0	—	0
NUM	0	2	0%	0	—	0
BRITAIN TOTAL	5	26	19%	0	—	0
CANADA	0	2	0%	0	—	0
ACTWU	0	9	0%	0	—	0
CAW	0	6	0%	0	—	0
IAM	0	10	0%	0	2	0
USWA	0	27	0%	0	2	0
CANADA TOTAL	0	27	0%	0	2	0
NEW ZEALAND	1	2	50%	0	—	0
MWU	0	5	0%	0	—	0
EU	0	8	0%	0	—	0
UFBGWU	1	13	8%	0	—	0
N.Z. TOTAL	1	13	8%	0	—	0
SWEDEN	0	6	0%	0	—	0
Food workers	0	5	0%	0	—	0
Metal workers	0	2	0%	0	—	0
Transport workers	0	13	0%	0	—	0
SWEDEN TOTAL	0	13	0%	0	—	0

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEU — Amalgamated Engineering Union; AMEU — Automotive, Metal and Engineering Union; CAW — Canadian Auto Workers; EU — Engineers Union; FPU — Food Preservers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; MWU — Meat Workers Union; NUM — National Union of Mineworkers; NUW — National Union of Workers; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; RMT — Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers; TGWU — Transport and General Workers Union; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFBGWU — United Food, Beverage and General Workers Union; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

Clinton's 'aid' won't help Russia

Continued from front page

the privatization of industry; \$50 million to encourage joint U.S.-Russian business ventures; \$82 million for equipment supplied by Caterpillar Inc. to repair oil and gas pipelines; \$150 million to help Conoco Inc. carry out oil exploration in Siberia; and \$48 million to bring 3,000 Russians to study politics in the United States in a so-called Democracy Summer.

U.S. officials also did not hide their hopes that the Vancouver aid promise could encourage further, and much larger, contributions from Washington's imperialist rivals. They want such pledges to come out of the meeting of Group of Seven (G-7) foreign and finance ministers in Tokyo April 14-15. Capitalist commentators' projections of what must be forthcoming range from \$10 billion to \$30 billion and more. At the Tokyo meeting, urged the *Washington Post*, "serious amounts of money will

need to be put on the table, not only by the United States but also by Japan and the big European countries. Japan, in particular, which until now has declined to provide substantial aid because of a minor territorial dispute with the Russians, needs to consider its interests more carefully."

These demands are heightening tensions between Washington, Bonn, and Tokyo. The *Financial Times* cited a Japanese official who said the size of the Japanese package "would be comparable to that of the U.S."

German chancellor Helmut Kohl stressed that "compared with what we Germans are giving and will still have to give Russia, [Clinton's \$1.6 billion] is a relatively small amount." Kohl pointed out that while Bonn would not be offering any fresh money, it had already "provided more than half of western aid."

The same week as the Vancouver summit, the governments of Britain

and Canada — two other G-7 members — announced aid for Russia of \$170 million and \$200 million respectively.

In contrast with such amounts, Harvard economics professor Jeffrey Sachs argues that about \$4.5 billion will be needed every three months simply to slow down Russia's inflation, which is now approaching 30 percent a month. Clinton's pledge itself "is a pittance beside Russia's huge needs," wrote Elisabeth Rubinfin in the *Wall Street Journal*. "It also is a tiny fraction of the estimated \$15 billion to \$30 billion lost in capital flight, which has sapped Russia's hard currency reserves in recent years."

As *Financial Times* columnist Edward Balls concluded, those arguing for aid to Yeltsin on the scale being discussed "will have a tough time persuading deficit-burdened G7 countries" to come forward with such large contributions.

South Africa engulfed in economic crisis

BY JOHN STEELE
AND STEVE CLARK

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — What struck African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela most when he walked out of prison three years ago after serving 27 years?

"That our people are still the hewers of wood and drawers of water," Mandela told the 900 participants at an ANC-sponsored International Solidarity Conference held in this city in late February. "That our people know only hunger, disease, poverty, and violence; that in the decades of apartheid rule, we were reduced to beggars in our own land."

These inevitable consequences of decades of racist oppression have been exacerbated in recent years by the severe impact of the world capitalist depression on the South African economy, as well as by the results of the decay of the apartheid system itself.

Forty-five percent of South Africa's population of 38 million live below the official poverty line.

This figure understates the economic and social devastation among South Africa's Black majority; disposable per capita income of Africans, so-called Coloureds, and Asians relative to whites is 12.3, 26.9, and 36.6 percent respectively. At the same time, poverty is also at the highest level since the 1920s for the country's 5 million whites, the defense of whose privileged conditions has been the stated aim of the apartheid system. While visiting the city of Pietermaritzburg in the eastern province of Natal, a *Militant* reporter was asked for money by two whites holding hand-scrawled signs saying they were out of work — a phenomenon unheard of a few years ago in South Africa.

Official jobless rates run at more than 40 percent. In some areas — such as the fast-growing African squatter communities on the outskirts of cities like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban, and Port Elizabeth — it goes as high as 80 percent.

Since the current recession began in South Africa in 1989, some 300,000 jobs have been lost. Only 4 percent of the 250,000 graduating students this year will get jobs according to some estimates. And 94 percent of South African political exiles who have returned over the past three years are unemployed.

The South African economy has been on a skid for more than a decade. The drop in the price of non-precious and precious metals and minerals has reduced a key source of export revenue. In 1991, for example, gold accounted for 30 percent of total exports, down from nearly 40 percent in 1988.

In the last quarter of 1992, the economy contracted 5 percent.

Real wages have fallen steadily, as well. Living standards are estimated to have de-

clined by more than 13 percent since 1989. Retail sales fell 4.3 percent overall in 1992, including a decline of 16.7 percent for butchers; 13.6 percent for department stores; 9.8 percent for bookstores; and 9.5 percent for grocers.

The annual inflation rate for food was more than 14.9 percent at the beginning of the year.

In September 1991, the National Party (NP) government instituted a 10 percent Value Added Tax (VAT) on all goods and services, including food, water, and electricity. The regressive VAT tax reduced even

members since 1991.

The employing class and its government also dealt some blows to fights by unionized workers in 1992. Last September 100,000 striking members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) went back to work after four weeks without any of their demands being met when union officials agreed to abide by a court ruling declaring the walkout illegal.

An article in October 1992 issue of *Mayibuye*, magazine of the African National Congress, commented that "Numsa activists

capitalist crisis on the oppressed majority.

The bedrock of the system are the ten artificial Bantustans or homelands — four of them nominally "independent" — where the majority of Africans are forced to live in poverty on 13 percent of South Africa's land. Unable to survive on subsistence farming, thousands are forced daily into the squatter communities and Black townships in the urban industrial areas.

South Africa has a massive housing shortage. Some 1.8 million units are needed now, and this figure grows each year. In 1992, 60 percent of African households could not afford to pay anything towards shelter. The estimates of South Africans living in squatter housing range from a low of 3.6 million people, by the regime's count, up to 10 million people by other surveys. In rural areas, an estimated two-thirds of the population are living in unhygienic, structurally unsound dwellings.

The distribution of potable water and sanitation services also reflects the inequality of the racially organized services. Fourteen million rural and eight million urban dwellers don't have access to decent sanitation services. Four million urban and seven million rural workers and farmers have no potable water.

Ninety-five percent of those without adequate sanitation are Black, while 99.9 percent of the white population have access to both potable water and adequate sanitation services.

The majority of Blacks still have no access to electricity. The Black Local Authorities (BLAs), the apartheid-established governments of the Black townships, do not maintain and upgrade the electrical systems. Similar inequities apply to the distribution of telephones and telephone service as well as post offices and postal services.

Under apartheid, the local governments of cities such as Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town and others — from which Blacks were barred from living until the beginning of this decade — were separate from the hated township administrations. The overwhelming majority of government funds for roads, schools, and other services flowed to the white city administrations.

In the Black townships today, the democratic demand for "one city, one municipality, one tax base" is being raised, after years of rent and tax boycotts led by civic organizations to protest the inequalities and substandard services. In the Transvaal region, which includes Johannesburg and Pretoria, 70 cities and towns are currently discussing restructuring along these lines.

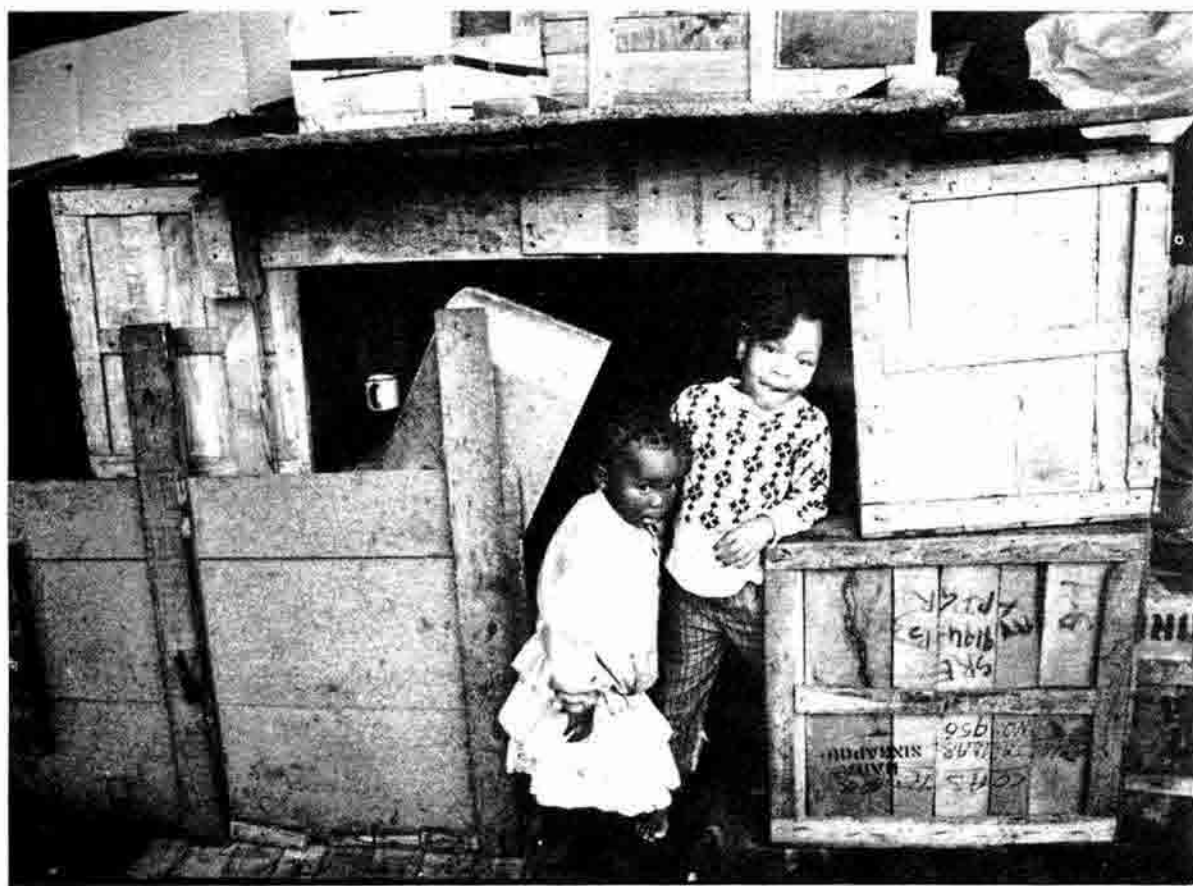
Social solidarity

The economic and social crisis of South African capitalism, with its uniquely perverse characteristics imposed by decades of apartheid, have promoted a growing breakdown in social solidarity.

South Africa has the highest murder rate in the world — 18,000 a year or 49 a day. Last year, in Johannesburg, out of a population of 2.2 million there were 3,402 murders — one in 647. This is on top of the violence inflicted on residents of urban townships and rural villages by forces covertly organized by the regime to suppress free political activity in substantial parts of the country in order to slow down support for the ANC.

"Crime is caused by a wide range of factors," Nelson Mandela said in an interview published in the February issue of *Mayibuye*. "The policy of apartheid itself, the lack of respect for law and order by the South African government and its agencies, unemployment, lack of housing and health facilities, the disparity in incomes, and the fact there are not sufficient educational facilities to absorb a substantial number of our children" are the root causes, Mandela said.

The biggest counterweight to this social breakdown is the political mobilization, consciousness, disciplined conduct, and



Eric Miller/Impact Visuals
Children in Durban in their home made of packing crates. In 1992, 60 percent of African households could not afford to pay anything for shelter.

further the living standards of working people, hitting hardest at the oppressed Black population. The ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) organized a two-day general strike in November 1991 involving as many as 4 million workers — the largest strike in the history of the country up to that time.

In its budget for this year, the regime raised the VAT tax to 14 percent and the price of gasoline by some 60 cents per gallon; as a fig leaf behind which to launch this assault, the government lifted the VAT tax on several basic food items, but rejected doing so on electricity, water, medical services, and medicine.

Pressures on unions

The pressures of falling real wages and mounting joblessness are bearing down on the nonracial unions within Cosatu. For the first time in more than a decade the union movement has declined in numbers over the past two years. Cosatu has lost some 75,000

say there were membership gains during the strike and that workers' confidence in their ability to challenge the employers has grown enormously. . . . However, they concede there is also demoralisation among workers over the outcome of the strike, with many feeling they should have resisted the court decision. This has led to some tensions between the national leadership and local and regional structures."

As part of its budget austerity perspectives, the National Party regime is also calling on the unions to limit wage demands in the next round of bargaining to 0.75 percent and to forego centralized collective bargaining (and, left unsaid, to forego centralized use of the strike weapon as well).

On March 17, the day the budget was announced, unionized teachers took to the streets in Johannesburg and other cities to protest State President F.W. de Klerk's refusal to budge from a 5 percent wage increase; teachers are demanding a 30 percent increase in the overall allocation for teachers' wages.

The action was organized by the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadt), a nonracial affiliate of Cosatu that organizes mainly Black teachers in the still-separate school system for Africans, Coloureds, and Indians; the Department of Education and Training (DET) is the government agency that runs these schools.

The protests were backed, however, by the Union of Teachers' Association of South Africa and Natal Teachers' Society, which organize largely white teachers in all-white schools responsible to other government agencies.

The teachers protests were also supported by Cosatu and by various student organizations, such as the Congress of South African Students, which has been waging its own fight against examination fees that make schooling a matter of economic privilege rather than a social right.

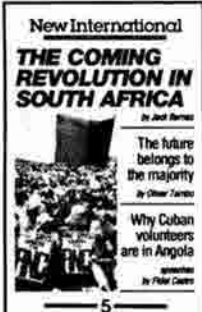
Apartheid structures and social services

The state structures and organization of social services established under apartheid operate to maximize the onerous impact of the

from PATHFINDER On the struggle in South Africa

New International no. 5

The Coming Revolution in South Africa



Discusses the national, democratic revolution to overthrow the apartheid system and establish a nonracial, democratic republic. 198 pp., \$9.00

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by Nelson Mandela

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solidarity that has risen with the mass democratic movement led by the ANC. The election over the next year of a new government can put qualitatively greater power behind that movement for social equality and justice.

"It is when a united, democratic, and non-sexist society has been installed, which will be able to address all these socio-economic ills," Mandela says, "that we can hope to get on top of the crime wave which is rocking the country."

Disintegration and decay

Anger is rising among working people over the continued revelations of massive corruption in the National Party government and throughout its complex system of racially based departments and structures. Such corruption, endemic to capitalist governments, is accelerating in South Africa today, as functionaries of the white-supremacist regime recognize that the trough from which they have long fed will soon dry up.

Large tracts of state-owned land, for example, are being transferred or sold to private owners for a song. Among other things, these crooked transactions shrink the land available to a new government to build needed housing and provide farm plots to landless toilers.

A recently released report by former au-

ditor general Peter Wronsley condemns the NP government for "mismanagement, deficient controls, and negligible records." Members of the all-white Parliament have exposed that more than \$1.5 billion of government funds have been lost during the past year and a half as a result of fraud, graft, and other forms of corruption.

The Wronsley report revealed, among other things, that the NP regime spent \$750 million last year to cover budget overdrafts by the bloated administrations of the so-called "independent" homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei.

"The corruption in the Bantustans is a reflection of the corruption of the government," ANC leader Nelson Mandela told students at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg March 13.

"The government is sweeping everything under the covers," Mandela said. "Every position which they are taking is intended to cover up, not to expose." Mandela said the ANC is "demanding a commission that will involve the support of all population groups to investigate the corruption, because it is the corruption of the government that propels the corruption of the Bantustans."

Among the latest government scandals was the revelation that millions of dollars have been paid out to ministers and deputy



Militant/John Steele

Getting water in Soweto. Fourteen million rural and eight million urban dwellers don't have access to decent sanitation service.

ministers for the upkeep of their own homes. Last year, 29 ministers and deputy ministers received a total of \$1 million. Pik Botha, the foreign affairs minister, received a perk of \$42,000 to "maintain" his \$245,000 home. Trade and industry minister David Graaff received more than \$50,000 for one year's upkeep of his two private homes.

Placards carried by angry teachers in recent demonstrations condemned the waste

and corruption by the de Klerk government at the same time that the regime is poor-mouthing in response to calls for funding to prevent teacher layoffs, pay a living wage, and improve the conditions of Black schools. A central demand of the teachers is the abolition of the apartheid education structures and their replacement, as emblazoned on union T-shirts, with "one education department" for the entire population, regardless of skin color.

ANC youth leaders tour Baltimore, New York

Baltimore unionists extend solidarity

BY GREG McCARTAN

BALTIMORE — "We are here to say that your support has been crucial in bringing us to this decisive point in the struggle against apartheid. Your continued solidarity is essential in ensuring that the first democratic elections in our country take place as soon as possible," Eldred de Klerk told 35 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) at a meeting here March 29.

Gathered for an after-work meeting in the cafeteria of G & G Uniforms, the garment workers extended their solidarity to leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League visiting this city as part of a nationwide speaking tour.

The vice-president of ILGWU Local 106 welcomed de Klerk, Lundi Rasmeni, and Thabo Mzilikazi and presented a card signed by most local members "in support of your struggle against apartheid and for the first elections to a democratic government in South Africa."

De Klerk described how industrial workers forged the Congress of South African Trade Unions through massive battles and the role of the labor movement in the fight for a nonracial and democratic South Africa. He explained how the white minority regime has sought to entrench divisions among the workers and rural toilers for the benefit of the wealthy rulers and discussed the gigantic tasks ahead in addressing the social and economic devastation of apartheid.

One worker asked how the African National Congress, given the situation in South Africa and the racism of the government, would insure that balloting would not be rigged by the government and that elected representatives would be allowed to be seated in a new parliament.

De Klerk explained that the ANC is fighting to establish an independent electoral commission and a Transitional Executive Council that would oversee aspects of government. These moves would put the democratic movement in the best position to thwart the regime's attempts to fix the elections.

The ANC youth leader also agreed with another worker who, upon learning about the segregated and inferior educational system for Blacks, pointed out that without increasing the educational level of the population a new government would not be able to move the country away from apartheid.

After the meeting, union members shook hands with the three young antiapartheid

fighters and a half-dozen members signed up to participate in future activities in the city in solidarity with the struggle in South Africa.

Greg McCartan is a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 106.

Hundreds participate in campus discussions

BY RACHELE FRUIT AND BAXTER SMITH

BALTIMORE — "Here," Lundi Rasmeni said, "we have rap. Back home we do the *toyi-toyi*." With that the 23-year-old South African led 50 people in the *toyi-toyi*, a South African dance popular at mass demonstrations. This was the final meeting of a seven-day tour here of African National Congress (ANC) Youth League representatives.

Rasmeni shared the podium with Thabo Mzilikazi April 3 at the central library. At other events they spoke with Eldred de Klerk and Lulu Johnson, two other leaders of the ANC Youth League.

The youths spoke to more than 800 people at 23 meetings and events. These included two high schools and 11 colleges, including Johns Hopkins University, a University of Maryland campus, and several community colleges. They also spoke to three gatherings of unionists. One was inside a plant organized by the International

Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. They also addressed a meeting of members of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees who are track workers at Amtrak and had an after-work discussion with members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

The youths fielded a variety of questions during the tour, including on government-sponsored violence, inclusion of whites in the struggle, and negotiations between the democratic movement and the white regime.

At a March 30 meeting at Morgan State University, a South African student in the audience asked why, since the ANC and other organizations such as the Pan Africanist Congress have armies and the support of the majority, they do not simply take power.

De Klerk responded that the capability to wage armed struggle does not automatically mean that it is the correct course. The goal, he said, is to oust the government, preferably in a free and fair election. He added that the ANC is opposed to killing innocent people.

The South African youth leaders thanked supporters for maintaining pressure on Pretoria. "The picketing in the U.S. . . people marching into Congress saying, 'put an end to dealing with South Africa,' has forced the government to negotiate with us," said Rasmeni. International solidarity, along with campaigns of mass action in South Africa, is what has compelled the white minority regime to come to the bargaining table, he said.

Besides the union and campus meetings,



Militant/Baxter Smith

ANC member Lundi Rasmeni (with cap) speaking to Baltimore high school students

the youths appeared March 28 at Trinity Baptist Church. In addition they answered questions on a March 29 call-in show on the radio station of Morgan State University. A portion of one meeting where they spoke was broadcast on local television.

City Council president Mary Pat Clarke awarded the South African youths individual citations. The council passed a resolution declaring March 29 "African National Congress Youth League Student-to-Student Day in Baltimore City." The resolution expressed the council's "continued support for a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa."

Rachele Fruit is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 70.

New York visit reaches workers and students

BY KATHERINE LEE

NEW YORK—Ntombenhle Sibeko, a South African youth leader, just completed a week-long tour here. Sibeko serves on the African National Congress Youth League Executive Committee in Natal Province. She is one of five ANC youth leaders currently touring the United States.

The tour began with greetings from Rev. Wyatt Walker and the 1,500 member congregation of the Canaan Baptist Church in Harlem. Meetings took place at Hunter College, Borough of Manhattan Community College, and Brooklyn College. Sibeko addressed a citywide meeting at the hospital workers union Local 1199 hall March 25.

Sibeko is a Zulu-speaker from Natal, the region where government-instigated violence has most hindered the democratic movement in South Africa. She talked about the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in perpetuating brutal attacks and assassinations in an effort to close off open political discussion. Nevertheless, she said, the ANC is winning support in the province. "We support the ANC because they are not fighting against Zulus, but fighting against apartheid," she added.

Addressing the question of the negotiations between the democratic movement and the white regime, Sibeko said, "If we had run out of the means of struggling, de Klerk wouldn't talk. When we negotiate with him, he's the one in the weak position because of all the pressure we've put on him. We are in the strong position," she added. "Now for the first time we will be able to vote for our government, able to say how we will be governed. But de Klerk is not taking it lying down."

Clinton's 'national service' plan will make education more of a privilege, not a right

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

President Bill Clinton's plan for a "national service" program for youth can be described with a well-known saying: all that glitters is not gold.

The proposal is touted as an expansion of educational opportunities and a way for young people to contribute to society. But the program will not increase access to education. Rather, it is intended to reinforce the idea that education is a privilege, not a right. In this period of economic depression, the government will continue to cut back on funding for public education.

A central aim of Clinton's initiative is to force more youth to make payments on the burgeoning student debt. According to U.S. Department of Education statistics, the government has been lending about \$11 billion per year recently in what were formerly called Guaranteed Student Loans. In 1991, student

NEWS ANALYSIS

loans in default exceeded \$15 billion, 10 times higher than a decade earlier. The debt has been rising at a more rapid pace since.

Clinton outlined his two-part plan in a March 1 speech at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey. This summer, the government would select 1,000 young people and give them minimum wage for eight weeks, plus \$1000 each for college tuition or job training.

Presenting the program as "community service," the president said youth would immunize young children, serve as teachers' aides, clean up neighborhoods, work with the elderly, "combat homelessness, and help children in trouble."

In addition, some of the youth would be assigned to aid local police departments through "a new police corps trained to walk beats," Clinton said. "We'll also organize others in our communities to keep kids out of gangs and off drugs." Cops, however, do not perform a "community service." Their job is to victimize working people and protect the profit system of the rich.

Clinton describes the second part of his plan as a way for more youth to go to college by allowing them to pay off student loans through similar work projects. This program, to begin in October, would involve 25,000 participants, rising to 100,000 by 1997. In exchange for a year of such minimum-wage jobs, students would get partial government funding for two years of education.

The *Washington Post* hailed Clinton's speech as a "reintroduction to an older ethic. The American community has splintered apart, Mr. Clinton says. Service to one's country, in one's country, can repair it." The *New York Times* also applauded the president's initiative and said he "struck a chord of idealism and commitment."

At the same time, the big-business media cautioned their readers about excessive expectations. The *Times* threw cold water on the idea of "a full-scale program open to virtually all college students."

Not an entitlement

In fact, Clinton's proposal is a far cry from his election campaign rhetoric. During the 1992 race he had promised to replace the current student loan program with a fund "to guarantee every American who wants a college education the means to obtain one."

In his March 1 speech, however, the president insisted that his education plan will not be an entitlement program, that is, a program that every student has a right to obtain. He also stressed that the federal government would take as little responsibility as possible for the program and would rely heavily on private business to fund it.

In response to the worsening economic crisis, the government has announced sharp cutbacks in social spending. While Clinton's budget currently calls for a slight increase for education, White House spokesperson George Stephanopoulos said about the national service plan, "The deficit is bigger. We are going to have to make tough choices. Some of those choices might entail scaling back some of the investments that [Clinton] dearly wants to move forward on."

Education is not a priority for the wealthy families that rule the United States. Between

1970 and 1990, spending on public education was reduced from 3.2 percent to a mere 1.7 percent of the U.S. budget, less than most other governments in the world, according to the 1992 *World Development Report*.

State governments have slashed funds for education in recent years, leading to big tuition hikes, layoffs of faculty and staff, and cutbacks in programs. At the State University of New York (SUNY) and the City University of New York, the country's second- and third-largest public college systems, tuition has almost doubled in the last two years. SUNY has cut 5,000 of 26,000 faculty and staff since the mid-1970s. Many public universities are being forced to rely increasingly on private funding.

Because of tuition hikes, "a lot of students have been driven from public colleges and universities and, increasingly, people are also having trouble affording community colleges," said Stacey Leyton, president of the United States Students Association.

Students are also becoming heavily burdened with debt. In 15 years, loans have increased from 17 percent of financial aid to 50 percent. The student debt is rising annually by \$2 billion or more.

To make austerity more acceptable, the government pushes the patriotic theme that "we're all in this together." Clinton evoked John Kennedy's Peace Corps and described his national service program as "an army of 100,000 young people" working

to "serve our country."

But there is no common interest between working people and the majority of students, on the one hand, and the billionaire families Clinton represents, on the other. The government's approach to education makes this clear.

In spite of the glowing rhetoric, Clinton's proposal would cover no more than 2 percent of the 5 million students who receive federal financial aid. "If a million students want to use the program in a year, we can't afford that," he stated.

In his speech accepting the Democratic nomination last year, after describing his proposal on student loans, Clinton went right to the point: "You must do your part. You must pay it back."

Enforced debt collection

The purpose of the government's initiative is not to give students an opportunity or a break. It's to force more youth to make more payments on the growing student debt. The goal, the *Washington Post* editorialized, is to "cut down on defaults."

For example, administration officials have suggested that loan payments should be automatically deducted from paychecks by the Internal Revenue Service. They also indicate that students in the national service program would still have to pay some tuition.

For working people, however, the problem is not that student loan defaults are

increasing. The real crime is that youth who want an education are forced into thousands of dollars of debt in the first place. Millions of students must then spend years working to pay back these loans, with interest.

Clinton repeatedly describes his education proposal as a "reward," not an elementary right. This and other government schemes seek to reinforce the argument that only a minority of young people can benefit from higher education.

Right-wing commentators voice this ruling-class view even more explicitly. In a recent article titled "What to do with today's dunces," nationally syndicated columnist William Rusher argued against the idea that "children are all capable of absorbing a college education." He defended the double system: "One for those only skilled enough for vocational training, and one for the much smaller number," he said, "that can truly benefit from a higher education."

The expansion of access to education over the past few decades, through gains such as affirmative action programs for Blacks, other oppressed nationalities, and women, was the result of mass struggles by workers, farmers, and youth. Education, like Social Security or health care, is a class question.

As the government presses its attacks on public schooling, working people and youth will have to continue to fight for education as a universal right, not a privilege for a few.

'Working class is stronger' in Cuba today

BY SARA LOBMAN

NEW YORK — "The working class in Cuba is politically stronger than it was one year ago, 5 years ago, or 10 years ago," Mary-Alice Waters told an audience of several hundred here. She was speaking at an April 3 Militant Labor Forum titled "Cuba Today: Challenges Facing the Working Class."

Waters, the editor of *New Internationalist*, had just returned from a three-week reporting trip to Cuba, where she participated in a student seminar at the University of Matanzas. In Havana she attended an international women's conference in solidarity with Cuba, sponsored by the Federation of Cuban Women.

"The working class is not getting stronger because life is getting easier in Cuba," Waters stated. "In fact, the opposite is true. Every week life is harder. And there is no end in sight."

Cuba is living through the worst economic conditions it has confronted since the 1959 revolution. Brought on by the sudden loss of trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since 1989, and exacerbated by the 33-year-old U.S. trade embargo, the economic crisis has led to serious shortages of food, medicine, clothes, soap, and many other necessities.

"There is not enough food," Waters explained. "What they have is rationed, but a degree of hunger is an everyday reality for many people." Because of shortages of basic food items such as bread, coffee, and milk, many people do not eat breakfast anymore. For some, sugar water, the old standby of the working class and peasantry before the revolution, is the morning meal. "Most Cubans will not present the situation this starkly," Waters said. "They will tell you they are doing OK. But it is important that supporters of the Cuban revolution not hide from this reality."

'Real politics opening up'

The collapse of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, however, together with the political challenges of how to advance on a socialist, working-class course under these conditions, has also caused real politics to open up significantly in Cuba, Waters said.

"After almost two decades of relying on the Soviet Union, suddenly none of the old dogmas and schemas hold," she said. "Everything must be thought through from the beginning. This is not something unique to Cuba. The crumbling of the Stalinist roadblock — which doesn't mean its elimination — has also had an impact elsewhere in the world."

The economic and social crisis of capital-



Mary-Alice Waters at April 3 forum

ism is also driving workers around the world closer together as the obstacles that have kept us apart are destroyed. This is the most important development occurring in the world today, Waters said, because it increases the possibilities of working-class leadership developing. This is as true for workers in Cuba as for workers in the United States.

Under the impact of the economic crisis, a process of social differentiation is taking place in Cuba. Different social layers generally opt for different ways to resolve the economic problems.

The working class, Waters said, tends to look to its own collective strength, to organize voluntary work brigades to provide the labor necessary to grow the food and meet other challenges. But a layer of technocrats and managers are not interested in solving everyone's problems. They are looking out for themselves and their families. Waters pointed to some of the managers she met during a visit to new tourist hotels at the Varadero beaches near Matanzas. In order to obtain badly needed hard currency, the Cuban government has been on a campaign to develop tourism, and some 50,000 Cubans are now working in the tourist facilities, where they now have access to goods that can only be purchased with hard currency earned through tips. As a result, the social inequality is increasing, Waters noted.

"You've met people like them before, elsewhere in the world," Waters said, referring to some of the hotel managers and

others who seek privileges through their access to hard currency. "Gold chains around their necks, expensive watches, and everything. They represent a layer of relatively better-off Cubans who see capitalism as the solution to Cuba's problems."

The voluntary agricultural brigades remain the heart and soul of the working-class radical to advance the revolution. "Without working people charting this course of mobilizations to resolve the food crisis, and without an equitable system of rationing scarce items," Waters said, "there would have been food riots by now."

'Like the early 1960s'

"Several longtime friends, oldtimers who have been part of the vanguard since the early days of the revolution, told us the same thing in almost the same words," Waters reported. "The feeling in Cuba today, they said, is like the early 1960s. Much of the political rigidity is gone." These are people, Waters said, who remember the political ferment of those years, as the working-class vanguard fought to develop a proletarian leadership and course.

The depth of political discussions going on in Cuba today was apparent in the response to the *Militant*, the Spanish-language socialist publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press, Waters said. A substantial collection of Pathfinder titles, as well as the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, was recently donated to the library at the University of Matanzas.

"These books did not come from an institution," Waters said. "Rather, they were donated by working people, like those in this room tonight, who understand why such books are weapons for the front-line fighters." The fact that these books came from fellow working-class fighters in the United States and elsewhere had a real impact on the Cuban students and professors at the university, she added.

Participants in the New York forum responded to an appeal to help make such donations of books possible and contributed more than \$2,500 toward a newly established Books for Cuba Fund.

"Communists aren't born anywhere in the world," Waters concluded. "And you can't learn to be a working-class fighter by reading books, however indispensable it is to study. Communists are forged in real struggles lead the working class fights to meet the challenges it faces. Today in Cuba there are even greater possibilities for this to happen. That is the most important reason the working class in Cuba is stronger today."

Swedish rulers begin cuts on social wage

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — November 19, 1992, was a black day for the rulers in Sweden. That day the Swedish krona fell victim to the huge pressures that built up in Europe in the currency turmoil last fall. Overnight interest rates of 500 percent and billions of dollars spent by the central bank to defend the krona proved to be in vain and severely hurt the financial system in Sweden. The government was forced to allow the value of the krona to drop relative to other European currencies. The governments of Britain and Italy had previously devalued the pound and the lira as part of the currency crisis that shook western Europe.

The government had been able to build unity among the various political parties in Sweden around defending the krona. This resulted in two package agreements between the government and the social democratic opposition on huge cuts in social security and tax increases. The unity has now turned into open division over how to proceed with the attacks on working people.

The enormous government subsidies given to the banks in an attempt to restore confidence in the financial system became a focus of public debate, as did the cost of rapidly rising unemployment. The jobless rate is up from 3 percent two years ago to over 12 percent today. The bourgeois coalition government proposed cutting unemployment benefits to 80 percent of wages, down from 90 percent, and eliminating benefits for the first five days of a period of unemployment.

The Social Democratic Party opposed this proposal, favoring tax raises and cuts in other benefits.

The Social Democratic Party and one of the parties in the government coalition proposed a special tax to cover deficits in the fund for unemployment benefits. "Those who have a job should pay for those who are unemployed," they argued.

Three of the governing parties want to change the whole system of unemployment benefits tied to one's income. They propose instead one basic benefit in all social security programs that would be paid by the state. If a worker wanted higher income compensation, he or she would have to pay for further insurance privately. This is opposed by both the social democratic party and the Liberal Party, one of the four ruling parties.

The populist right-wing New Democracy, an opposition party, favors huge cuts in social security programs and taxes. It proposes means-tested social security programs, arguing against family allowance payments for every child, independent of the parents' income, and other social benefits.

The Lindbeck commission

Attempting to restore unity, the government appointed a commission of economists in December 1992 led by professor Assar Lindbeck, a prominent adviser to successive social democratic governments in the post-war period. Lindbeck is now an adviser to the ruling coalition.

The government hoped to give their proposed cuts a more scientific veneer through this commission, which has now come up with over 100 proposals. Among them are a cut in income compensation to 70 percent for all benefits, reduced subsidies to farmers, a more centralized government, and greater wage differences. The "scientific" authority of this commission is already waning, as a parliamentary crisis has developed around the proposed cuts in unemployment benefits.

The government wants a broad agreement on both the short-term cuts and the more long-term reductions. And they want to pull the social democratic opposition into the agreement. So far no accord has been reached. The right-wing New Democracy party is cautious in casting their vote for the proposed cuts in social security, which are unpopular.

Local governments

In order to get around this parliamentary crisis, the employers and local governments are trying to take the initiative. Most union contracts are now expiring, with the end of the income policy agreement signed two years ago.

The employers are refusing to negotiate industry-wide national contracts. They are instead pushing for contracts with each com-



Militant/Birgitta Isacsson
Construction workers protest unemployment in Stockholm, January 1993. Swedish workers are beginning to resist government and employer attacks on living standards.

pany that include individual, not general, wage increases. In negotiations with weaker unions, such as the retail workers' union, companies are attempting to take away overtime payments on weekends and premium pay for night shifts, increase wage differentials, and reduce vacation pay.

In response to these attacks the union has called a nationwide strike of 3,000 workers. This would cut off deliveries of fresh food to warehouses beginning April 1, the date the contracts expire. The employers announced they will lock out 5,000 retail workers in response.

Contracts with the metal worker's union also expire April 1. So far the employers have not even responded to requests for

national contract negotiations. The metal workers' union is preparing pickets for eventual strike action at large workplaces.

Such preparations for a possible showdown between labor and several corporations have not been seen since the big lock-out of 1980.

The bosses are also on a productivity drive, using the dramatic rise in unemployment to force fewer workers to do more work. In the town of Uppsala, the bus company that handles local passengers attempted to cut the number of drivers nearly in half and reduce services. The drivers organized a protest, however. Thousands of passengers joined the action. The company fired four drivers, but new protests

India, Pakistan came close to nuclear war

BY GREG ROSENBERG

In the spring of 1990, the rival capitalist regimes of India and Pakistan came close to nuclear war. This is the main theme of a lengthy article by Seymour Hersh that appeared in the March 29 issue of the *New Yorker* magazine. The story was picked up by the Associated Press and run in some newspapers in the United States.

Hersh writes that "the Bush administration became convinced that the world was on the edge of a nuclear exchange between Pakistan and India, as both nations continued their tug of war over control of the state of Kashmir, on India's northern border, whose status has been in dispute since the collapse of the British empire in India, in 1947."

"During months of increasing tension," continues Hersh, "India has massed two hundred thousand troops, including paramilitary forces, in Kashmir, and had deployed five brigades of its most sophisticated attack unit, the Indian Army Strike Corps, fifty miles from the Pakistani border in the south. Pakistan, against which the much larger India had fought — and won — three wars since 1947, openly deployed its main armored tank units along the Indian border and, in secret, placed its nuclear weapons arsenal on alert."

Hersh also revealed that in December 1986, during large-scale maneuvers by the Indian military, tactical nuclear weapons were integrated into day to day field maneuvers. This operation, code named Brass Tacks, took place about 100 miles from the Pakistani border in the Indian state of Rajasthan. According to Hersh, there is evidence that the Indian general in charge, "had toyed briefly with the possibility of simply moving his armies, which had gone into the field with extra fuel and ammunition, across the border and dismembering Pakistan."

The report is based on an extensive series

of interviews with high ranking officials of the former Bush administration, State Department, CIA, and Pakistani government. While most demanded anonymity, Richard Kerr and Robert Gates agreed to go on the record.

Kerr, then deputy director of the CIA, told Hersh that the May 1990 events were "the most dangerous nuclear situation we have ever faced since I've been in the U.S. government. It may be as close as we've come to nuclear exchange. It was far more frightening than the Cuban missile crisis."

Gates, a former longtime CIA official who was then the deputy national security adviser for the White House, told Hersh "Pakistan and India seemed to be caught in a cycle that they couldn't break out of. I was convinced that if a war started, it would be nuclear."

According to Hersh, the crisis was averted by a May 1990 U.S. delegation to Islamabad and New Delhi that included Gates, Richard Haass, ranking National Security Council aide for the region, and John Kelly, Assistant Secretary of State for Near East and South Asian Affairs. The delegation told Indian and Pakistani leaders that Washington would share its satellite intelligence with both sides so as to be able to simultaneously verify troop withdrawal from border areas.

Secretive operation

Hersh writes that news of this confrontation remained a secret from the U.S. Congress. This was to protect government officials from the fact that the Reagan administration was well aware of Pakistan's efforts to construct nuclear weapons, despite certifying otherwise to Congress year after year. Pakistan had long been a loyal U.S. ally in the region, from which U.S. spy agencies organized listening posts aimed at the former Soviet Union, and played an important role in delivering aid to the rightist Afghani

won their jobs back.

On March 25, 2,000 people demonstrated against cuts in child care in the Stockholm area. The march followed many similar protests in the suburbs. In the southern town of Malmö several demonstrations of high school students have taken place against cuts in education.

In Stockholm the local government has now decided to reduce welfare payments by 50 percent for those who do not accept jobs the local government offers. This will affect many unemployed youth who are on welfare because they do not qualify for unemployment benefits. They will be forced to work for wages below union levels, something not heard of in Sweden since the 1930s.

A proposal to make high school students pay for their school lunches is now being prepared by the local government in Stockholm.

Continued war drive

As the attacks against the social wage at home intensify, the Swedish rulers are involved in more imperialist military operations abroad. The Swedish rulers are also increasingly allied with Washington in their foreign policy. Swedish soldiers are now in Croatia and Macedonia as part of the UN forces. The government also sent a military hospital to Somalia. In early March, Swedish foreign minister Margaretha af Ugglas visited South Korea. She then went to Washington to follow up on the visit of Prime Minister Carl Bildt last year. She met with U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher and discussed whether Sweden will provide more troops in the former Yugoslavia.

In an interview after the visit, af Ugglas said, "I feel considerable hesitation to take such a step as participating in peacemaking operations, as I always have to think of the safety of Swedish lives. But," she continued, "it is natural that Sweden participates in such operations... Sweden supports and recognizes the leading role the United States plays in the world today." Af Ugglas expressed her unqualified support for Washington taking a lead in military operations in the Balkans.

groups fighting the Soviet-backed government and Soviet troops.

Both India and Pakistan continue to deny that they have nuclear weapons. India exploded its first nuclear device in 1974, and under successive Congress Party governments has built up a large arsenal. Hersh's article says that Pakistan is thought to have between six and ten nuclear warheads.

The state of Kashmir, two-thirds of which is controlled by India and the rest by Pakistan, has been a source of ongoing conflict between New Delhi and Islamabad. There is also a decades-old movement by Kashmiris for independence.

India maintains 400,000 troops in Kashmir, which is about the size of the state of Utah. Neither India nor Pakistan favor Kashmiri independence. Pakistan wants the territory to be incorporated into its borders, claiming the right to do so because Kashmir is in its large majority Muslim. Pakistan has funded and armed several guerrilla groups to press for incorporation. The Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, which has been fighting for independence since 1964, is for Kashmiri self-determination.

In the past several years, the Indian Army has waged a savage war that has left thousands dead in Kashmir.

Kashmir was the only state in the South Asian subcontinent not allowed to vote on self-determination in 1947. A United Nations resolution calling for a plebiscite by Kashmiris on its status has been ignored. India has refused to allow it.

Even if aspects of Hersh's report are exaggerated, it underlines two facts. One, the growing instability throughout the capitalist world. Secondly, the fact that development of nuclear weaponry is becoming widespread. This makes the likelihood that nuclear weapons will be used in some conflict more, not less likely.

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

Massacres in South Africa aim to derail negotiations

Continued from front page
celebrate four months of relative peace in the Natal region.

De Klerk calls up 21,000 reservists

The April 5 massacre comes on the heels of a decision by the National Party government to mobilize 21,000 army reservists, allegedly to combat crime. The ANC condemned this move, charging the government with trying to find a military solution to a political problem.

"Based on experience of previous call-ups," said an ANC statement, "we fear that the major call-up of 21,000 reservists could, instead of helping to prevent violence, lead to serious intimidation of local communities and even more violence."

Speaking March 27 at a conference of the Patriotic Front — a coalition of groups in the democratic movement — Mandela addressed the mobilization of reservists by the white regime. "Beefing up the brute force of a discredited security apparatus is not the answer," he said. "Resorting to draconian security measures of an illegitimate regime only helps to conceal the hand of the main culprit and to foment deep divisions within society."

"The most certain antidote to violence and other ills ravaging our country," he said, "will be the election of representatives of the people to draft a new constitution and set up a democratic government. Sooner rather than later this is what multiparty negotiations must emerge with."

Mandela reiterated the ANC's demand for the speedy introduction of a transitional executive council, which would ensure multiparty control over all security forces.

Patriotic front conference

The conference of the Patriotic Front took place March 27-28 in Lenasia, south of Johannesburg.

Mandela spoke sharply about the violence gripping the country at the opening of the event. "Day in and day out, gruesome murders are committed against innocent people," he said. "It is not material whether the victims are Black or white. For in the final analysis, those who rely on shedding the blood of innocents can have no purpose in mind other than to undermine the peace process that all patriots seek to consolidate."

"There can be no doubt about who the main culprits are," Mandela continued. "Those who instituted a policy that decreed others subhumans in their land of birth could not but rely on violence to maintain their vile system. . . . Those who manufactured nuclear bombs to kill in defense of apartheid cannot be expected to act with compunction when their power is threatened."

The ANC president also spoke against violence by individuals and organizations in the democratic movement. "Political and other organizations have a responsibility to promote peace," he said. "They must ensure their members do not act in a manner that undermines these principles. They must scrupulously avoid the danger of their structures and members being used by the angels of death."

About 150 delegates from more than 50 political, religious, and cultural organizations agreed to participate in the upcoming democratic election for a constituent assembly as part of an ANC-led alliance. The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) boycotted the session. Conference participants, however, agreed to seek PAC and AZAPO participation in this political alliance for the elections.

Mandela invited delegates and other democratic forces to attend an ANC conference in June to discuss the economic reconstruction of the country and the dismantling of the apartheid state machinery.

Ongoing multiparty talks

The multiparty talks, aimed at setting the stage for the constituent assembly elections, resumed a few days later. Representatives from 26 political organizations are participating — up from the 19 who attended earlier talks last May. The PAC and the Conservative Party are among the groups participating for the first time.

Because of the procedural nature of the two-day session, Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not attend.

The plan is for a core of senior negotiators to meet on an ongoing basis to take up such issues as how to deal with political violence and the scenario for the transition process. Their proposals will be presented to the Multiparty Negotiations Forum where broader agreement or consensus will be sought. A full plenary session attended by 260 delegates, including party leaders, will be convened periodically to ratify these decisions.

Meanwhile, an April 2 *Cape Times* article reported that next month the de Klerk government plans to reincorporate into South Africa the four Black Bantustan "homelands" — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei — that the apartheid regime had previously claimed were independent states.

The ANC rejected de Klerk's move, however, stating that reintegration of the homelands should only be done after agreement at multiparty talks. "The key element of this proposal is reincorporation into a South Africa that has a democratic constitution," said an ANC statement, "and not in terms of the existing apartheid constitution."

N. Dakota abortion law takes effect

Continued from front page

postpone the procedure.

"I have mixed feelings about the ruling," Bovard said of the April 2 decision. The North Dakota attorney general issued an opinion stating that the counseling session that begins the forced 24-hour waiting period can be handled by phone. According to Assistant Attorney General Sidney Fiergola, the state attorney general's opinion is "binding on state officials until it is overcome by a court of law."

"The worst of our fears — women driving hundreds of miles only to be trapped in town for 24 hours, or having to make the trip twice — may not be realized," Bovard said, pointing out that this doesn't alter the parental notification requirement for minors.

The clinic must still offer patients the information on agencies offering alternative procedures and on fetal development during the phone interview, and it is still forced to make clients wait 24 hours after calling in.

The clinic has appealed the law to the U.S. Court of Appeals. An April 14 hearing will determine if the case will go to trial.

Moves to defend Florida clinics

The North Dakota ruling comes as abortion rights activists in Florida mobilize to defend clinics in that state in the wake of the March 10 murder of Dr. David Gunn.

The killing has provoked outrage in Florida. The *New York Times* reports that abortion rights activists, "galvanized by the slaying," are demanding that abortion clinics be

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

ALABAMA

Birmingham

German Steelworkers Fight Layoffs. An eyewitness reportback. Sat., April 17, 7:30 p.m. 111 21st St. S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Hear the Socialist Alternative to War, Racism, and Economic Depression. Speaker: Kevin Jones, Socialist Workers candidate for Los Angeles city controller. Sat., April 17, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

CONNECTICUT

New Haven

Abortion Is a Woman's Right! A panel discussion with Jennifer Hadayia, founder, Yale Clinic Defense Task Force; representative, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., April 17, 4 p.m. Dwight Hall Common Room, 67 High St. (between Elm and Chapel). Donation: \$3. Tel: (203) 772-3375.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Speak Out against Attacks on Immigrant Workers. Speaker: Amir Jamali. Sat., April 17,

7:30 p.m. 191 7th Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 727-8421.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Defend Palestinian Rights! Speaker: Jon Teitelbaum, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 1776. Sat., April 17, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Pittsburgh

Turmoil in Russia. Speaker: Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers Party, member, Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers. Sun., April 18, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

BRITAIN

London

How We Can Defend Abortion Clinics and Women's Right to Choose. Speaker: Joyce Fairchild, participant in Dublin protests for abortion rights. Sat., April 17, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Manchester

Government Attacks and Working-Class Resistance. Speaker: Helen Warwick, member, Railway, Maritime and Transport Union. Sat., April 17, 6 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839-1766.

What's Happening in Russia Today? Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, contributing editor, *New Internationalist*. Sat., April 24, 6 p.m. Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839-1766.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

What Malcolm X Means Today. Sat., April 24, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Rd. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Wellington

The Crisis in Russia: Dilemma for Imperialism. Sat., April 17, 7 p.m. 23 Majoribanks St., Courtenay Pl. Donation \$3. Tel: (4) 384-4205.

protected and that those who disrupt their services be punished.

In Miami, abortion rights supporters are training activists to defend the clinics in central Florida, near Melbourne. An Operation Rescue training camp has been in session in Melbourne and the antiabortion forces are expected to blockade area clinics over Easter weekend.

A training session organized by the North Miami National Organization for Women drew almost 50 people April 3. Two other training sessions, including one at Florida International University, are planned. Pro-choice activists will head up to the Melbourne area April 9, where they will join local forces to defend clinics there.

Iceland shipyard workers win victory

Continued from back page

men were given layoff notices.

On January 30, 11 shipyard workers took their position on the lid that covers the safety equipment that has to be released so that a ship can slide into the sea. On the newly repaired and painted ship *Julius*, the whole crew was watching. At least four foremen, the company director, the staff manager, the financial director, and an advocate from the Central Organization of the Employers gathered around the workers. The men had refused to slide the ship down and the company was preparing to let the foremen do the job. The workers prevented the ship from being released. The company director called

this action illegal and filed charges against the union.

"We decided to fight," said Árni H. Kristjánsson, a workers' representative, on television news after winning the case on the contract, "and we gained something. The employers are bold nowadays, but we don't have to take it. In that, our case is a precedent for the labor movement."

A ruling in the second case is expected in a few weeks.

Sigurlaug Gunnlaugsdóttir works in the fish-processing industry and is a member of the union Framsókn (Progress) in Reykjavík.

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A word from their corporate sponsors? — We reported that the Panamanian government had



Harry Ring

banned *The Panama Deception*, an account of the U.S. invasion of Panama. Now, even though it's won the Academy award for best feature-length documentary, PBS, the na-

tional public television network, has refused to show the film.

Think you've heard everything? — The Japanese labor department ruled that a supermarket worker who died after working 360 days in a row was not the victim of overwork. Denying compensation to his family, the department explained that the rules require that to be certified as the victim of overwork, it's necessary to be sick or injured at least seven days prior to dropping dead.

It's called chutzpah — Responding to a Congressional vote

that it enact rules to curb the spiraling cost of cable TV, the Federal Communications Commission said that in order to do so it would have to require a modest increase in cable rates.

You better believe it — Repurchasing the *New York Post*, media mogul Rupert Murdoch warned *Post* unions he would be pressing for new givebacks. "I'm not here," he explained, "as some fairy godmother to pour money into the paper."

50-50 — There's the old wheeze about the restaurant operator charged with adding horsemeat to his rabbit

stew and assuring the judge he was very fair about it — half a horse, half a rabbit. And there's the Chrysler spokesperson who justified the \$12.2 million paid Lee Iacocca last year by noting that Chrysler workers had received "profit-sharing" checks averaging \$429 a piece.

Sweet charity — Houston's Methodist Hospital enjoys a tax-exempt status as a nonprofit charitable operation. It turns away people who are uninsured and even members of health maintenance organizations. Its well-heeled patients enjoy the amenities of a luxury hotel. How then is it charit-

able? The hospital prez explains that "it is a charitable purpose to provide care to a rich man or a poor man."

Second thoughts — About that San Diego synagogue where the chief rabbi and his assistant rabbi had an affair and she was asked to leave. (The temple board had voted that he should retain his post, noting that "forgiveness is in our Jewish tradition.") Since then, he's decided to quit too — shortly after the Central Conference of American Rabbis announced an investigation of the matter.

Violence, racism routine in L.A. police department

BY SANDRA PUCCI AND HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — A ruling by the judge in the trial of the cops who beat Rodney King two years ago underlined the fact that the key issue in the case — police racism and violence — will not be presented before the jury. Judge John Davies ruled that the prosecution could not introduce as evidence the manuscript of a book written by defendant Stacey Koon soon after the state trial of the cops last April.

The original manuscript of the book reeks of naked racism and of near-psychotic satisfaction in brutalizing people.

When published, some of the most blatant material was edited out of the book. Prior to publication, however, the *Los Angeles Times* obtained a copy of the original manuscript and a May 16, 1992, article quoted extensively from it.

Describing the police beating of King, Koon conjures up a racist fantasy. He writes, "[King] grabbed his butt with both hands and began to shake and gyrate his fanny in a sexually suggestive fashion. . . a mixture of fear and offense came over Melanie [Singer]." Singer was the highway patrol officer who initially pursued King. "The fear was of a Mandingo sexual encounter."

Explaining his fantasies, Koon says, "In society there's this sexual prowess of blacks on the old plantations of the South and intercourse between blacks and whites on the plantation. And that's where the fear comes in, because he's black."

Koon gleefully recounts various occasions of brutalization. In one incident, after having repeatedly shot a Black man, a fellow cop asks if the man will die. Koon reports that he replied, "No way . . . not a Negro. They're too dumb to go into shock."

Describing how he viciously kicked a Latino, Koon offers geography:

"My boot came from the area of lower California and connected with the suspect's scrotum about lower Missouri. My boot stopped about Ohio, but the suspect's testicles continued into upper Maine. The suspect was literally lifted off the ground. The suspect tried to speak, but it appeared he had something in his throat — probably his balls."

This incident was caught on videotape and subsequently used as a "training tool" for young cops. "The tape was to become a legend in its own time," Koon boasts.

Despite Koon's recounts of overt racism and brutalization, Davies ruled it was an inadmissible evidence.

"In my judgment, to admit this evidence would tamper with the effectiveness or integrity of the fact-finding process in this case," he said. "It could create unfair prejudice that might result in an improper or irrational verdict based upon an instinct to punish."

His ruling was consistent with a course he has followed from the outset of the trial. No evidence has been permitted of hundreds of other incidents that prove what the cops did to Rodney King is something that is done by cops every day. The only difference in this instance is it happened to be captured on videotape.

This approach is shared by the prosecution, which has sought only to establish that the beating was a violation of what is said to be Los Angeles Police Department policy.

In his manuscript Koon said that the incidents and racist slurs he documents are not unusual, but rather a reflection of the way cops think and feel. Referring to the "too dumb to go into shock" comment, he said, "That's something that's said all the time on the street. It's what keeps policemen sane."

On this point, there is truth in what Koon says. His racism and his appetite for violence is no aberration. It is typical of cops in Los Angeles and everywhere else.

This was amply confirmed by the Christopher Commission study of the Los Angeles Police Department after the King beating.

The commission published almost 700 samples of messages exchanged by cops on their patrol car computers. Below are a few examples. Obvious errors in spelling and punctuation have been corrected.

"What's up in the ghetto boy. Oh they just captured the susp. A day without violence is like a day without sunshine. The sun shone last night."

"I almost got me a Mexican last night but he dropped the damn gun too quick."

"Oops . . . I haven't beaten anyone this bad in a long time."

"Oh not again. What you do that for? I thought you agreed to chill out for a while."

The last two messages are an exchange between defendant Laurence Powell and another cop shortly after the beating of Rodney King.

'No-fly' zone in Los Angeles

As the trial of the four cops who beat King comes to a close, authorities have acted to establish an unprecedented "no-fly" zone that would bar media helicopters and planes from all of Los Angeles County.

After the verdict is announced, media aircraft seeking to cover a protest demonstration or other public reaction would have to obtain authorization from the Federal Aviation Administration, which has been asked to impose the restrictions.

The flight ban was requested by the Los Angeles Police Department, the county sheriff's office, the California Highway Patrol, and the city fire department.

Media officials ducked commenting on the move. But Bob Tur, the KCBS reporter who filmed the beating of truck driver Reginald Denny during the riots last year after the cops' acquittal in the state trial, spoke out bluntly.

"It would clearly be designed to control the news media," he said.

"It scares me," he added. "You cannot have prior censorship in this country. . . . The federal government and local government do not want people to see the truth."

Meanwhile, Los Angeles police chief Willie Williams said up to 6,500 cops with "special equipment" will be on the streets from the moment the case goes to the jury.

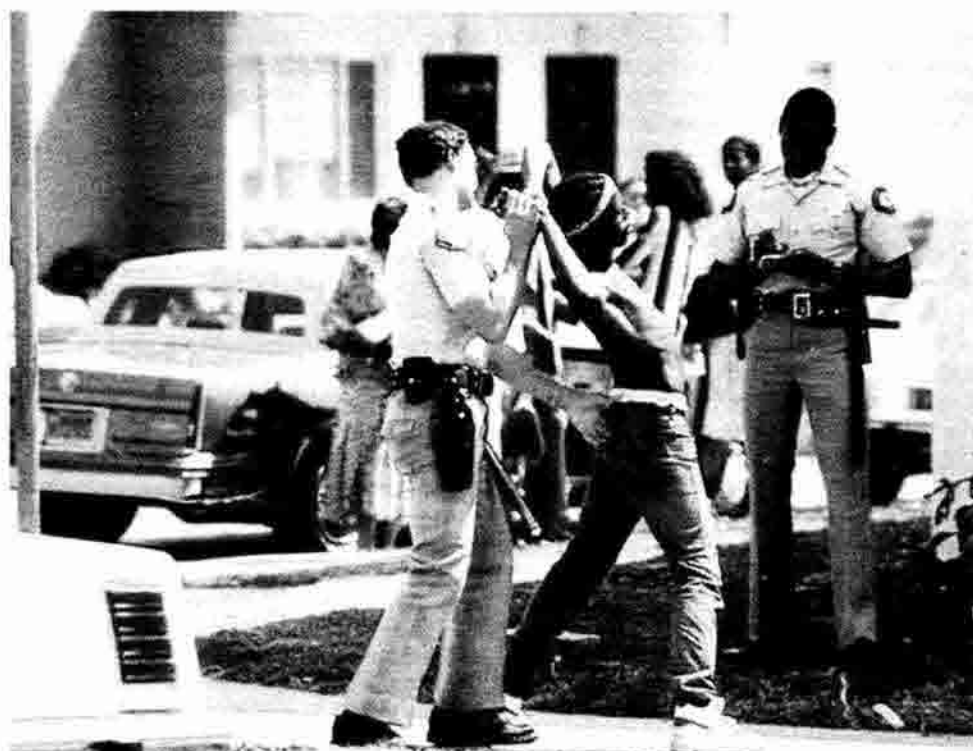
Assuring that the National Guard would also be on call, a Guard officer said four armored personnel vehicles had already been moved into the area to protect soldiers, if needed, in a "high-threat environment."

In addition, Mayor Tom Bradley, Governor Pete Wilson, and the police chief have called on the presiding judge in the trial to delay the reading of the jury's verdict.

City officials are also researching whether Bradley has the legal authority to postpone the slated April 20 mayoral elections if he deems it necessary.

The recent measures by city officials are intended to create a climate of intimidation against working people and undercut democratic rights. They come as the trial of the three youths charged in the beating of Denny was about to begin. All three are Black.

Growing numbers of people are convinced that the youths, charged with attempted murder, are victims of a racist double standard when their treatment at the hands of the law is compared to that of the cops who brutalized King. The Denny trial has now been delayed until July.



Los Angeles police (above) treat working people on a daily basis the same way they handled Rodney King — as do other cops around the country.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the interest of the Working People
April 22, 1968 Price 10¢

The attempted assassination of West German socialist youth leader Rudi Dutschke April 11 touched off the sharpest clashes between police and German students since Hitler's rise to power in 1933.

At this writing Dutschke is still in critical condition in a West Berlin hospital after a neo-Nazi gunman shot him three times — in the chest, cheek, and in the back of the head. The would-be assassin, Josef Bachman, claimed he was "inspired" by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King.

The radical students, led by SDS (German Socialist Students' Union), have directed most of their fire at the reactionary newspaper monopoly owned by Axel Springer. SDSers charge that the Springer press monopoly has "manipulated public opinion against basic democracy" in general and against SDS and Rudi Dutschke in particular.

The students cite as one example a headline in Springer's *Bild Zeitung* calling on cops to attack student demonstrations: "Truncheons Out — Against Students!"

Five straight days of demonstrations followed the shooting of the SDS leader. Cops used clubs and water cannon to break up angry assemblies at various Springer offices. The *New York Times* reported April 17 that more than 200 students had been injured and nearly 1,000 arrested, mostly in Hamburg and West Berlin.

SDS leaders are reportedly considering shifting the focus of their actions from the Springer combine to the government's draft "emergency law" which is scheduled for a vote in Bonn next month. The law would give the West German government virtual police-state powers during "emergencies." SDS has called a national march on Bonn May 11 to try to block the repressive legislation.

The Association of German Students —

the official national student organization that all of West Germany's 280,000 college students belong to — has asked for a one-week postponement of the opening of the spring semester for student assemblies to discuss "press concentration," and the emergency laws.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (50) CENTS

April 17, 1943

The Post Office-Biddle attack on *The Militant* was not terminated by the March 7 order revoking the second-class mailing privileges of this paper. Although *The Militant* was informed at that time that it could go through the third-class and fourth-class mails, the postal authorities have since then continued to persecute and harass this paper and to interfere in the most high-handed manner with its delivery to subscribers.

The New York Post Office has received orders to withhold all copies of *The Militant* from delivery until after they have been examined and released in Washington. The result has been to delay the delivery of the paper for as long as two weeks after its printing.

The Militant is the only paper in the country being subjected to political censorship and threatened issue by issue with non-delivery if its contents do not satisfy the bureaucrats in Washington. The reason is that *The Militant* is the nation's most consistent and hard-hitting defender of the rights of the labor movement, working farmers and Negroes, that it is the most merciless opponent of Big Business profiteering and fraud, that it is the most unsparing and honest working class critic of reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the administration.

So many labor and liberal organizations and journals have condemned the Post Office's attack on *The Militant* as a flagrant violation of freedom of the press that the authorities appear to have postponed their drive to completely silence this paper.

Defend abortion, clinic by clinic

The women and men who are preparing to defend abortion clinics in Melbourne, Florida, are right on the mark. Their example should be copied every place that clinics are under attack.

The abortion rights activists in Florida are responding to the March 10 murder of Dr. David Gunn in Pensacola and a months-long Operation Rescue training camp that is concluding this month in Melbourne. The antiabortion "graduation class" is expected to mobilize to shut down area clinics the weekend of April 10-11.

An April 2 Supreme Court ruling upheld a 24-hour waiting period for abortions in North Dakota. The law requires the Women's Health Organization in Fargo, North Dakota, — the only abortion clinic in that state — to offer women state-prepared booklets on "alternative agencies" and fetal development. It also includes a parental-consent clause aimed at minors.

Defenders of a woman's right to choose in Florida — by organizing their own training sessions in Miami and elsewhere, and by preparing to converge on Melbourne — are affirming that the only way to defend the right to abortion from right-wing attacks is with arms linked — in

the streets, clinic by clinic.

Gunn lived in Alabama. He commuted by car and plane to perform abortions in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida. The Fargo clinic also relies on the services of doctors who live and work elsewhere much of the time. Many women travel hundreds of miles to obtain an abortion there.

The attack on Gunn and the Supreme Court ruling highlight the added problems that rural women face in exercising their right to choose to have an abortion. Eighty-three percent of the nation's counties have no doctor who will perform an abortion.

Defenders of abortion rights should respond to the attack in North Dakota in the same way that clinic defenders are responding in Florida. There is a history of working people and youth fighting to defend the Fargo clinic. Now is the time to draw on it.

The forces seeking to push back women's rights, including the right to abortion, are mobilizing their numbers to intimidate both doctors and women who choose to have an abortion. Only mass action by youth, workers, farmers, and others who support the right to abortion can take on this challenge.

Education is a right

When President Clinton recently outlined his so-called national service program at Rutgers University in New Jersey, the audience cheered him enthusiastically. He said the proposal, offering up to 100,000 students some tuition aid in exchange for working as teachers or social workers, would make youth "agents of renewal" in a campaign "to change America."

The administration's national service proposal, however, is not designed to give most students an opportunity to get higher education or to contribute to solving the social problems working people face. National student lending is a big and profitable business, and the bankers want the government to crack down on indebted students. As in the case of many Third World countries, where the suffocating debt burden has become unpayable, bankers want to find some method to squeeze more payments out of students. This may involve students working minimum-wage jobs for years, extracting debt payments from paychecks, or some other scheme.

Clinton's plan makes an appeal to youth who want to volunteer their abilities to combat the rampant homelessness, illiteracy, the health-care crisis, and other aspects of today's social catastrophe. Like its predecessors — from John Kennedy's Peace Corps to George Bush's "thousand points of light" — Clinton's program seeks to channel youth into a patriotic identification with "our country." But working people and the vast majority of youth have no

common interests with the ruling billionaire families, on whose behalf Clinton proposes to make steep cutbacks in fundamental social programs that far outweigh the "national service" project's token measures.

To address this crisis, it will take a mass, fighting, social movement led by working people to demand that the government launch a sweeping public works program, paid at union-scale wages, to build and repair much-needed schools, hospitals, child-care centers, and the country's infrastructure. Such a struggle, which will attract millions of youth, can press for providing full employment by shortening the workweek with no cut in pay, raising the minimum wage, and expanding affirmative action for Blacks and women.

The current education system is a class institution, designed to favor a wealthy minority while working-class youth are increasingly driven away from pursuing more than minimal education. It will take a fight to make public education a truly universal right.

Is such a change possible? Yes. In Cuba, by taking power out of the hands of capitalists, workers and farmers have established the right to universally free education, including college. Voluntary mobilizations of hundreds of thousands of working people and youth have wiped out illiteracy and are now involved in other efforts to transform society. Youth in the United States and elsewhere can learn from the example of the Cuban revolution.

'Aid' to Russia won't solve crisis

President Bill Clinton hopes his announcement of a \$1.6 billion aid package for the government of Russian president Boris Yeltsin will open the way to much larger contributions from the Group of Seven nations, whose foreign and finance ministers are meeting April 14-15 in Tokyo. The funds are needed, Clinton says, to keep Yeltsin in power and push Russia closer toward the restoration of capitalism.

The capitalist "experts" on this subject estimate it will take tens of billions of dollars to stabilize the Russian currency, compensate for massive capital flight, and otherwise soften the blows on working people that Yeltsin's so-called market reforms are bringing in Russia.

The main problem facing the rulers of the imperialist countries is that a capitalist class — owning the mines, factories, banks, and land — does not exist in Russia. Washington, Bonn, and Tokyo cannot restore capitalism simply by pouring funds into the country. They can only impose that system after first dealing a crushing defeat to the working class there.

In spite of the U.S. rulers' need to stabilize the situation in Russia, Clinton's aid package is hardly a drop in the bucket. The \$1.6 billion is barely \$10 per person.

The U.S. administration can't expect much help from the other governments of the Group of Seven either. The entire capitalist world is gripped in the beginning stages of a depression. The seven wealthiest imperialist countries all face the same dilemma: either sink funds into Russia, with

no guarantee of success, or use the resources to cope with their own economic and social crisis.

The governments of Germany and Japan, for example, are under tremendous pressure to agree to huge aid packages. German chancellor Helmut Kohl has pointed out that his country has already provided "more than half of Western aid." But to continue to pour aid into Russia, while at the same time massively supporting the economy of eastern Germany, the German government will need to raise interest rates. This would plunge the country further into crisis and will increase the tensions between Germany and other European nations. But if Germany fails to provide enough aid to Yeltsin, the crisis in Russia will deepen.

For working people in Russia, the solution is not hand-outs from the imperialist powers. The crumbling of the Stalinist regimes presents, for the first time in decades, the possibility of the workers and farmers in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe mobilizing their own power to advance their class interests. These interests will not be served by reestablishing capitalism — with its exploitation, unemployment, and wars. The only course that will advance the needs of the vast majority is the fight to organize society on the basis of solidarity — the original goal of the Russian revolution. In resisting the devastating conditions capitalism is wreaking on them, working people in Russia can reach out to fellow fighters around the world and take steps toward resuming the socialist road that the workers in Russia began in 1917.

Miners and rail workers fight job cuts in Britain

Continued from front page

tion of British Coal.

When the NUM members voted for the 24-hour strike, pressure built up among UDM members to participate. Many UDM miners joined with NUM members in the large protests after the first mine closing announcement in October.

The UDM officialdom, however, chose the day of the NUM strike to hold a vote on their own one-day strike at the pit entrances — on the company side of the picket lines. Since NUM members would be picketing, the UDM members most favorable to strike action would not be voting, while others would have extra encouragement to cross the NUM lines.

At the Thoresby colliery, 80 percent of the 1,000 miners are in the UDM. They worked right through the 1984-85 strike. But when he spoke at the Thoresby picket line April 2, NUM branch secretary Keith Stanley reported, "UDM underground miners have mostly stayed away from work. Only a handful of faceworkers have shown up. No coal is being cut here today. This is a big victory."

"UDM members have been demanding to know what their officials are playing at, organizing a ballot on the same day as the NUM strike," he said. "In one case, an underground team of UDM miners confronted their branch officers wanting to know why we're getting in each other's way, and saying we should all be out together."

Paul Galloway, an NUM activist who works at the Thoresby mine, reported that there was no coal production there on the day shift and minimal production on the afternoon and night shifts.

Coal production was also halted at Ollerton, another majority-UDM pit a few miles away, and production was disrupted at other UDM-organized mines.

It was announced April 5 that the UDM miners voted 3,673-2,943 not to hold their own strike.

London looked like a 'ghost town'

The RMT organized 5-10 pickets at most main railway stations and signal boxes for a few hours early April 2. Commuters generally stayed out of London, many workers stayed home, and business slowed down to a crawl.

At Waterloo station, RMT pickets were joined by a number of bus workers and by some train drivers from the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF), which did not officially join the strike. ASLEF members joined the picket lines in some places though, and brought refreshments to the RMT strikers.

There were small marches throughout Britain, but no single mass demonstration was organized. About 500 people, organized by the National Miners Support Network, protested in London. NUM President Arthur Scargill was part of a rally of 1,000 in Barnsley. A rally of 400 took place in Albert Square, Manchester.

In Doncaster, a crowd of several hundred applauded when Brenda Proctor, a leader of Women Against Pit Closures, announced that coal production at Thoresby and Ollerton had been stopped. She also reported that workers at 10 London hospitals slated for closure were taking part in protest strikes.

Other labor actions in Europe included a four-hour general strike in Italy, called by the three main union federations, and marches and rallies in 35 cities in Sweden.

The British government and ruling class attempted to minimize the strike action's importance, but threatened serious reprisals if more strikes follow.

An editorial in the April 2 *Financial Times*, for example, said, "Today's one-day strike by some rail, bus and mine workers will be supported by little more than 100,000 people and will have a minimal impact on the UK economy. . . . The mineworkers at least have the excuse that they have grand historic traditions to salute as they dwindle into industrial irrelevance."

But an article in the April 3 *Economist*, titled "The British Disease, 1993," took a more sober view of the situation. Taming Britain's "overmighty unions" the article commented, is "at least one achievement of the Thatcher years [that] endures. Or does it?" Margaret Thatcher was prime minister of Britain for most of the 1980s. "The industrial future will not necessarily be as peaceful as the recent past," the article said.

As punishment for the strike, British Coal announced it would stop deducting union dues for the 20,000 working NUM members. But even the *Financial Times* noted that most miners will continue paying their \$4.50 per week to their local branch of the union.

British Rail announced it lost some \$15 million due to the one-day work stoppage, and threatened to go to court or carry out mass firings if the RMT organizes another action.

The rail workers union, however, has called another strike for April 16. NUM president Scargill said in a television interview, "Workers in all unions should join in our next one-day strike."

John Smith is a member of the National Communications Union. Robert Higley is a member of the RMT and works as a trainman at London Bridge. Ann Flander, Jim Gordon, Rose Knight, Jo O'Brien, Jim Spaul, and Helen Warnock also contributed to this article.

Should rail workers fight against concessions?

BY JO ROTHENBERG
AND JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — In the next several weeks, nearly 4,000 rail workers, members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) representing train crews on the Burlington Northern (BN) north line, will be voting on a proposed contract that most of us believe is a bum deal.

Even top union officials involved in negotiations with

UNION TALK

the BN brass, who are campaigning to convince us to vote for the tentative agreement, tell us they think this is a bitter pill to swallow.

If ratified, the contract will drastically cut crew sizes, virtually eliminating brakemen from freight trains and slashing switchpersons from yard crews.

These cutbacks will increase the potential for serious injury.

The rail bosses dangle severance payoffs, signing bonuses, and the promise that those of us who are laid off will receive 75 percent of our salary to convince us to agree to eliminate up to 1,600 jobs, further risking life and limb.

This is all supposed to keep BN "competitive" with its rivals, who have already slashed crew sizes and increased work loads while rushing new-hires to become conductors and engineers.

The UTU members on BN's north line, which runs from Minneapolis to Seattle and Portland, Oregon, are the last railroad workers in the country who have not yet accepted such work rule concessions.

Top union officials argue that because of our status as the last stronghold of opposition to crew-size concessions, it's useless to hold out any longer.

We'd better accept what's on the table, the argument goes, because if we don't the bosses will ask the government to step in and impose an inevitably worse "settlement."

This outcome is feared by many rail workers, and is the source of discussion and debate among UTU members.

Many railroad workers argue that due to decades of government intervention into rail labor disputes — through presidential boards, congressional oversight, judges, and arbitration courts — it has become virtually impossible to fight against Congress, the White House, and the rail bosses.

As proof of this, many point to the congressional back-to-work order — and UTU compliance with it — that

ended the union's 19-hour national strike in April 1991.

Such fatalism affects UTU members, who know that this contract will mean lost jobs, increased hazards, forced transfers, and further demands from the company.

Disbelief in our capacity to defend ourselves against mounting assaults by the carriers only makes it easier for the bosses to get whatever they want from us, whenever they want it.

By voting for a proposal that eliminates nearly a third of our jobs, we only further weaken our union. These concessions will invite additional attacks to satisfy the company's demands for greater productivity and a "competitive edge."

UTU members in Willmar, Minnesota, recently told us the nonunion Red River Valley & Western Railroad in Breckenridge, Minnesota, is now running remote control engines. These are operated by one person working on the ground, who performs switching duties while operating the engine with a hand-held device.

Fifteen years of concession bargaining in auto, steel, rail, airlines, and basic industries have resulted in fewer jobs, falling wages, worse working conditions, and more injuries.

These are grim realities BN's contract sweeteners can't hide.

A letter entitled "Your Job Your Future," written by "A Fellow Brother" and circulated to UTU members in Minnesota, urges fellow unionists to check the record. "General Motors employees will tell you," it says, "how fast percentage employees at home last on the payroll. Their answer will be NOT LONG."

The real aim of the rail bosses is, in fact, to buy out or drive out higher paid veteran workers and replace them with new employees hired at 75 percent of the basic wage to work longer hours with fewer benefits on shorter crews.

BN has no intention of paying large layers of the work force to stay home.

Its goal is the same as that of other major U.S. corporations, such as General Motors, IBM, Sears, and the airline giants — to squeeze as much as possible from our labor for as little in return as they can get away with.

The seriousness of the contract discussion is echoed by many rail workers.

"We're talking about our lives, our livelihoods," said John Soucek, a Minneapolis switchman with conductor rights hired a few years ago.

The BN, he said, has played off "old guys against young guys for years. They want younger hires to do more work for less money. They can throw the senior guys a bone, furlough the new hires and then cut the guys in the middle to pieces."

"Any time [BN] could nail us, they did," Soucek con-

tinued. "They play us like a concert violinist. And in the contract, the hostlers [engine movers in rail yards] get it even worse than we do. This situation is getting dangerous. There will be more injuries, more deaths. We need some unity, we need it badly."

Contract should be rejected

Rejecting the contract will tell BN's owners we intend to defend our union and our rights.

"We've been going back for years," said fellow worker Leonard Yotter, a Minneapolis switchman with more than three decades of service. "I'm old enough to know about things in the 1930s. After the robber barons, we fought our way to better living standards. Now they're trying to take it away from us. We've got to stand up and fight."

Fighting means looking at our unions in a completely different way — as an organizing, mobilizing tool of collective struggle that defends the interests of all working people, against the bosses and their government.

This has been done before, and under far worse conditions than those we face today.

Workers in the 1930s acted to defend the interests of our class, not according to the profit demands of the bosses.

They won the solidarity of millions by engaging in struggle, championing the rights of the most oppressed including unemployed workers, and gaining the confidence to defeat the union-busting designs of the world's richest corporations, their lawyers, politicians, and police.

They stopped believing the bosses' side that there was nothing they could do change their lot in life. They decided it was better to fight than to concede.

This decision, made at first by small groups of workers, struck a chord with thousands, and then millions of working people whose struggles changed history.

Railworkers today do not stand alone.

Resistance in the labor movement, from embattled coal miners to steelworkers in Bessemer, Alabama, shows that many of us are prepared to stand up and fight — without guarantees of success. Recently nonunion miners at the Marrowbone complex in West Virginia went out on strike to prevent the company from cutting health benefits and pensions and changing work schedules — without guarantees of success either, without even a union.

What is guaranteed is that without a fight there will only be further setbacks.

Jo Rothenberg and Jon Hillson are switchpersons on the Burlington Northern in Minneapolis and members of UTU Local 1000.

LETTERS

Int'l Women's Day

An International Women's Day rally in Stockholm March 8 was attended by 3,000 people. It was called by a coalition of more than 40 organizations, political parties, and some unions.

One of the speakers was Margó Ingvarsson, chairperson of the RFSU (National Organization for Sexual Enlightenment). She said that since abortion became legal in Sweden in 1975, there have been no reported deaths from illegal abortions.

A leaflet was distributed at the demonstration about the threats to abortion rights. Recently representatives of five bourgeois parties filed a motion to cut the time for having an abortion from 18 weeks to 12 weeks. The government is also considering allowing student doctors and nurses to refuse to take part in education on abortion.

As Margó Ingvarsson said, those doctors who have moral doubts about what is going on in our uteruses can specialize in ear, nose and throat instead.

Kerstin Granberg
and Maria Hamberg
Stockholm, Sweden

Communist International

The April 12 issue of the *Militant* printed Professor Ronald Grigor Suny's favorable review of the Pathfinder title, *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples Unite: Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920*. Professor Suny is the author of the scholarly work, *The Baku Commune 1917-18*, a detailed account of the short-lived Soviet power that was forged after the Russian revolution by the Baku working class under Bolshevik leadership. This in itself makes the review so much more noteworthy. It is an important and welcome contribution to the efforts that make the acquisitions

of the Communist International in Lenin's time available to workers and youth around the world.

In my opinion there are certain political errors and inaccuracies in Professor Suny's review, however. For example, he claims that Lenin in his original "Draft Theses on National and Colonial Questions" demonstrated "his own readiness to ally with 'bourgeois nationalists.'" But there is no mention of "bourgeois nationalists" in Lenin's theses, let alone a call for alliance with them. No reading of Lenin's theses can yield such a class-collaborationist political orientation. In fact, Lenin consistently presents a class view of social relations and the alliance that he fights for is that of workers and peasants. After Lenin, Stalinist parties adapted to bourgeois nationalism and helped capitalist classes consolidate their rule.

Professor Suny also takes exception to Lenin's explanation of the class character of bourgeois democracy, which shows that capitalist property is hidden behind it. He thinks that Bolsheviks took an "arrogant" tone towards bourgeois democracy and western parliaments. But who else — except the imperialist powers, mainly bourgeois democratic and mainly through formal proceedings of their democratic parliaments — unleashed World War I, and slaughtered the toilers in different countries? They have repeated this, the latest example being the assault on Iraq in 1991, and are driving for another one.

Such a slaughter will occur on a much larger scale unless the workers disarm the imperialists beforehand, as the Russian workers and peasants did in the October revolution of 1917. A scientific understanding of the class character of democracy, equality, etc. concretely, and not in the abstract, goes back to Marx and Engels and is an acquisition of the modern working class.

In his book professor Suny documents the treacherous complicity of the British authorities in murdering the leaders of the Baku Commune. Those Bolshevik leaders fought for Soviet democracy whether they were in minority or majority. "During the whole period of the commune not one member of the anti-Bolshevik parties was arrested, let alone executed," concludes Professor Suny in his book.

Even on this scale Professor Suny's own work shows the leaderships of two contending classes in action. It also shows that the rise of Stalinism later on (and the present gangsterism of the fragmented Stalinist bureaucracy) was not a continuation of Bolshevism, but a counterrevolution against it.

Professor Suny's review remains a valuable contribution to the task at hand, as I mentioned earlier. This "militant past" is now available in all its honesty for working people to read, learn, and connect with it in struggle to shape the future.

Samad Sherif

Brooklyn, New York.

Capitalism dehumanizes

I am a worker. I have a Master of Science degree and I am certified by the state of Ohio as a chemical-dependency counselor. I am employed by a capitalist health care firm in Ohio. I counsel alcoholics and other drug addicts and persons needing help with emotional pain.

My belief is that capitalism is truly evil, that our capitalist society is in decay, and that more people are seeking counseling for depres-

sion, anxiety, despair, and addiction in response to the horrors of capitalism. Most people are so brutalized and dehumanized by capitalism that counseling becomes a rare opportunity for a human exchange that is genuine, caring, and honest.

Corporate policy here stresses short-term counseling. Medication is invasive and should be used only as a treatment approach of last resort but it is prescribed liberally because it is easier and more profitable than therapy. People emotionally and spiritually starved by our capitalist society are given the latest miracle drugs, Prozac and Zoloft. Encouragement, praise, insight, compassion, time, empathy, comfort, and genuine human caring are in short supply but there is plenty of medication on hand. It is reductionism. Human beings are reduced to their symptoms. He is depression. She is anxiety.

I am a socialist and a worker.

Q: WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO THE BERLIN WALL?

A:



The average worker in America produces \$100,000 of product per year while earning a fraction of this. Where does the rest go? I earn \$15 per hour. The company charges \$70 per hour for my services.

I hope my workplace struggles remind my socialist comrades that those with white shirts, ties, and credentials are workers too. More people are becoming mentally ill as capitalism decays yet the capitalist mental health system should be approached with great caution.

Michael James
Kettering, Ohio

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.

Steelworkers on strike in Alabama discuss company's threat to close

BY E. MASSEY WHITT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — On March 30 Trinity Industries Co. announced that it will close its railcar plant in Bessemer, Alabama, by June 3. Over 500 members of United Steelworkers of America Local 9226 have been on strike at the plant for more than six months in an effort to win better wages and benefits and to defend their union.

Trinity claimed "continuing financial losses and unforeseeable business circumstances related to the labor strike," are responsible for the "permanent closure" of the plant. Staggered layoffs of the few replacement workers and management personnel currently working are scheduled to begin immediately.

Grady King, a striker who worked at Trinity for eight years, said "the company is not making this announcement for financial reasons. They want to bust the union. They don't want organized labor in the plant."

Reflecting the views of many strikers, King continued, "I think they're bluffing. They won't close this plant — it's big business and involves too much money. This is not just a hamburger shop, you know... But we're standing firm."

Striker Shelton McCrahey pointed out, "the announced closing further registers a defeat for the company. They have not been able to run this plant with scabs the way they planned. No matter what happens, we've shown that this plant will not be run nonunion no matter who owns it

— now or in the future."

USWA Local 9226 president James Allen said the union's demands on Trinity are to keep the plant open, sign a fair contract, and grant amnesty to all strikers accused of alleged strike violations. The union plans to maintain picket lines and to send strike activists out nationally to talk with workers and local officials at other Trinity plants. "This is being organized as we speak and will involve people in this local," he said.

The strikers have received support from many unions and other organizations. Recently the union received a donation of more than \$400 from steelworkers in Rheinhausen, Germany, who are fighting against the closing of the Krupp steel mill where they work.

Trinity Industries has refused to negotiate with the steelworkers and instead organized hired thugs to attack the picket line with tear gas last fall. The company has tried to provoke incidents on the picket line while scabs have fired shots at strikers and hit pickets with their cars.

In spite of well-documented attacks on strikers, Jefferson County circuit judge Roger Halcomb recently found USWA Local 9226 guilty of violating a court injunction and fined it \$25,000. Every future incident judged to be in violation of the injunction will result in an additional \$5,000 fine for the union. The USWA is appealing the decision.

Trinity pays no property taxes for the railcar plant, saving \$460,000 a year. The Bessemer plant was owned by Pullman



Militant/Phoenix Kendrick

March 6 rally of Trinity strikers and supporters in Bessemer, Alabama.

Standard until 1981; Trinity began leasing it from a city agency in 1984. The company operates at least 60 other plants in the United States.

"I think they are closing the plant down," Local 9226 member Mary Vining said, while standing on the picket line. "They can afford to close it and write it off in taxes. They could also shift their production to other plants — reopen some of the plants

that are closed down now."

Asked if she thought the six month strike has been worthwhile, Vining said, "Yes. You have to stand somewhere and I'm on this side."

USWA District 36 director Richard Davis is drafting a letter to Trinity asking for its cooperation in a union-backed feasibility study on employee ownership. Many strikers are now discussing this idea.

Striking worker Mike Nelson, 61, said, "If Trinity shuts this plant down, the struggle for organized labor is not going to be over. The company may as well realize a man has to make a decent living, and he has to have security. That's what this struggle has been about."

"I think [the plant closing] will bring union people closer together, more determined than ever to stand for what they think is right," he added. "Trinity can close this plant, but if they are going to build railroad cars in the United States, they might as well get ready for some more [strikes], because there will be more."

Continued on Page 12

Iceland shipyard workers win victory

BY SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — On March 25, the Labor Court here ruled that the shipyard Stálsmidjan/Slippurinn broke a contract with workers when it cut off five hours of fixed overtime per week beginning January 1.

The ruling closes a case filed by the union Dagsbrún (Dawn) against the employer. A second case is still pending, filed by the Central Organization of Employers for Stálsmidjan against Dagsbrún for "illegal action."

Workers repair, clean, and paint ships in the yard. The majority of the 100 workers there are skilled or semiskilled, mainly organized by the Metal Workers Union. About 15 workers who move the ships, wash them, paint, and do unskilled labor are organized by Dagsbrún. The number of those workers varies — there are more in the summer and fewer in the winter.

The same is true for the hours of work. In the winter overtime can almost disappear for two or three months.

The contract, agreed to several years ago, was based on the idea that overtime pay would compensate for the low income from eight-hour workdays which are the norm when business is low.

Four years ago the shipyard's ownership changed and what was formerly Slippurinn was taken over by Stálsmidjan. Historically, both companies belong to the same family. The director, who remained in his position through the change, told workers they would continue under the same terms as before. The new management, however, later called the promise "terms of hiring" not "contract terms," and claimed therefore, it could be changed. The ruling by the Labor Court clarified that the company is responsible for upholding the contract.

The groups of skilled workers had received compensation known as "transport and food supplement," which was rolled into their wages. The unskilled workers proposed a solution along the same lines for their five hours of fixed overtime, but with no success. The company made several attempts to simply cut

out the five hours a week, threatening the workers they could lose their jobs. In a November 1992 letter to the group, the company unilaterally abolished the five hours of overtime as of January 1.

In the course of last year, as unemployment grew from around one percent to five percent in Reykjavik, the shipyard did not

hire workers, although ships were waiting to be serviced. The amount of overtime was enormous. The new work schedule was designed to serve the needs of the company alone, by forcing work to be done whenever needed. The workers then decided to refuse to work any overtime. In late January two

Miners force boss to rehire fired workers

BY ELIZABETH LARISCY

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — More than 400 miners at a nonunion coal company in Mingo County, West Virginia, ended a 10-day strike when the company agreed to reinstate four employees who had been fired after leading the walkout. Company officials had alleged the men threatened a supervisor during a picket line confrontation on the first day of the strike. After the supervisor returned to the picket line and fired the men, the strike spread to the deep mines, preparation plant and another surface mine.

The strike began over the slashing of benefits and bonuses by the new owner of the Marrowbone Development Co., Ziegler Coal Holding Corp. of Fairview Heights, Illinois.

Marrowbone was originally developed by A.T. Massey Coal Co. and reorganized under Shell Oil Company in 1987. Zeigler acquired Shell Oil's coal assets last year.

The Marrowbone mines comprise one of West Virginia's largest coal operations. They produced a combined 4.4 million tons of coal in 1991, according to the National Coal Association. They have been run nonunion since opening 17 years ago. The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has attempted unsuccessfully to organize the mines in the past.

Townpeople in Naugatuck where the mines are located described the attitude of the company as arrogant and greedy. Zeigler

thought "the miners were dumb hillbillies who were overpaid" one union member said.

The UMWA immediately came to the defense of the nonunion miners, agreeing to represent the fired workers and holding standing-room-only meetings with miners in the area. In less than a week Howard Green, UMWA international board member for District 17, announced that 400 union cards had been signed.

The strikers held firm to their position that they would not return to work until all four miners were reinstated. After several attempts to break down the unity of the strikers with calls and letters urging them to meet with the company, only 30 crossed the picket lines to talk with the company about the benefit cuts. No coal was moved. Strikers said that company people had attempted

to load stockpiled coal into train cars but weren't able to operate the equipment correctly. Four company representatives approached pickets at the company gates on April 2 and told them the company would rehire the four. Joe Stanley, a spokesman for the striking miners said, "They promised no retaliation against employees. We've taken them on their word at it. We'll have to see how they react." He added he hopes the union election will be soon.

UMWA leader Howard Green said, "Eighty-three percent of the miners signed UMWA cards. We're confident we can win if the government moves on our petition to hold the union representation election."

Elizabeth Lariscy is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 347.

UMWA calls support rally in St. Louis

BY MARY ZINS

ST. LOUIS — The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) has called a solidarity rally here for Saturday, April 24. A leaflet for the event, titled "Solidarity '93 Labor Rally — Our Fair Share Now," calls on unionists and other working people to join coal miners that day to "help us show the coal operators labor stands together. United we stand — divided we beg."

Newly elected UMWA international executive board member Bill Brumfield said the union is trying to build the rally throughout the coalfields, as well as in St. Louis and other urban centers in the area. The rally is scheduled to start at 11:30 a.m., Saturday, April 24. It will take place at the May Amphitheater, Kiener Plaza, 7th and Market St., St. Louis. For more information call (217) 529-8301.