

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Miners expand strike to West Virginia coalfields

BY MARY ZINS

PINCKNEYVILLE, Illinois — "The United Mine Workers of America [UMWA] are united today," Bob Clements said proudly as he picketed an entrance to Arch Mineral Corp.'s Captain Mine near here. On May 17, 300 miners from the Captain mine and from Zeigler Coal Holdings Co.'s Old Ben maintenance shop in Benton, Illinois, were called out to join the more than 2,000 other UMWA members on strike since May 10 in Illinois and Indiana.

Next day, the UMWA brought new forces into the strike. Another 2,000 miners in southern West Virginia set up picket lines at 18 coal mines owned by Arch Mineral and Ashland Coal Inc.

The miners are on selective strike against some of the companies that belong to the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the main coal industry bargaining group that represents 12 companies.

The union contract with the BCOA, which expired in January, covers 48,000 working miners and 12,000 retirees in the east and midwest. The BCOA contract has usually been a model for UMWA contracts with another 300 coal operators.

About 4,500 coal miners are now on strike in Illinois, Indiana, and West Virginia against four companies — Zeigler, Ashland, Arch, and Amax Coal Industries Inc.

As the *Militant* went to press, no new talks were scheduled between the BCOA and the union. UMWA president Richard Trumka said the strike will continue to expand "unless the coal operators... agree to keep their word," and release information on coal lands they own and control to the union.

Glen Brandhurst is 68 years old. He re-



UMWA strikers at Zeigler's Old Ben No. 24 mine in Benton, Illinois, May 17. Another 2,000 miners joined picket lines, bringing number of strikers to 4,500.

tired from the Captain mine in 1987 after working over 30 years in the mines. He is one of many retired members of the UMWA who are stopping by the picket lines and strike headquarters in southern Illinois offering their support.

"I'm not just fighting for my son who is a coal miner," he explained at the strike office in Percy, Illinois. "I'm fighting for a whole new generation of young people. They don't need nonunion mines," he said.

The fight for a contract with the BCOA in 1993 is a fight that has been brewing for years. In 1988, the BCOA signed a contract with the union that called for at least three out of five jobs at any new facilities opened by signatories to the contract would go to UMWA members laid off from their other facilities. Two weeks after the agreement was reached, a seminar was held in Miami, Florida, to discuss how companies could get

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East German metalworkers set back gov't austerity plan

BY JOHN COX

AND LUKO WILLMS

FRANKFURT, Germany — Under the pressure of a strike involving 40,000 workers in eastern Germany, and the threat of further strikes and actions in solidarity with the striking workers, the German metal and engineering employers' association made a major concession on May 14, agreeing to grant pay raises of up to 26 percent this year.

East German steel, metal, and engineering workers, organized by IG Metall (IGM), walked off the job May 3 in response to a decision by the employers to abrogate an earlier agreement that guaranteed pay raises this year of 21 and 26 percent in these industries. IGM members and other workers throughout the country had prepared for the strike with a series of demonstrations and warning strikes, including a rally of 70,000 in Bonn on March 26. The strike began in the eastern states of Saxony and Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. One week later, IGM members in the other three states of eastern Germany voted overwhelmingly to support the action in strike authorization votes. On the last day of the balloting, demonstrations involving more than 300,000 people were held throughout Germany in solidarity with the east German workers.

The May 14 agreement sets a deadline of July 1996 for wage parity between east and west German workers. This is later than the previous agreement. The pay raise will be gradually phased in. This will bring workers up to 80 percent of the west German wages by December of this year. The

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Rivalry between U.S. and European gov'ts intensifies over Yugoslavia

BY GEORGE FYSON

Following the rejection by European Community foreign ministers of the White House plan for military intervention in Bosnia, the conflict between Washington and its imperialist rivals in Europe over what course to follow on Yugoslavia has sharpened.

While debate continued in U.S. ruling circles over whether to proceed with military intervention in some form, U.S. officials at NATO headquarters in Belgium openly worried that Washington's loss of the initiative on this question could permanently weaken U.S. influence in Europe.

In early May Washington had announced its intention to bomb military positions and infrastructure of the Serb rightist forces in Bosnia, and to lift the UN arms embargo on the Sarajevo government. The goal of these moves was to force the Serb nationalist forces in Bosnia to sign the Vance-Owen cease-fire plan, which carves up Bosnia into 10 ethnically based zones. Following such a signature, U.S. ground forces would then spearhead a substantial "peacekeeping" intervention under NATO auspices.

Opposition to Clinton's war plans from Paris and London, which have ground troops in Bosnia under the UN flag, was accompanied by unusually sharp exchanges between U.S. and French government figures.

While France's foreign minister Alain Juppé criticized Washington for intending to



British soldier in Vitez, Bosnia. After strong opposition from Paris and London to Washington's plans for military intervention under its command, Clinton has stalled.

leave French forces to "do the dirty work on the ground down below," Senator Joseph Biden, a senior member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said at a public hearing May 11 "I cannot even begin to express... my contempt for a European policy that is now asking us to participate in what amounts to a codification of the Serbian victory."

Biden added, "After they held our coats on Kuwait and Somalia, they are asking us to put in a few thousand troops on the ground in order to have the right to speak and in order to help implement their idea of 'safe havens' for the Bosnians... Let's not mince words. European policy is based on cultural and reli-

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Canadian workers protest unemployment, social cutbacks

BY GARY WATSON

OTTAWA, Ontario — The largest anti-government protest in the Canadian capital in more than a decade took place here May 15.

Organizers estimated the rally size at 100,000 while police gave a figure of 60,000. Unionists, unemployed workers, farmers, Natives, women's rights activists, and students came together to demand government action against unemployment and a halt to cutbacks in social services.

While the majority came from Ontario and Quebec, some participants traveled as far as 3,000 miles to attend the protest. Teamsters from British Columbia and Newfoundland; airport workers from Nova Scotia; farmers from Manitoba; and paperworkers from northern Ontario all took part.

The streets of Ottawa were jammed with the more than 600 buses that came from several cities and towns in Ontario. Every major union in the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) had large contingents.

Several thousand Quebec unionists took part and there were many placards in French. Some 40,000 people demonstrated against unemployment in Montreal in early February.

The Quebec provincial government recently introduced plans for a two-year wage

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Clinton seeks UN troops in Haiti

In early May, U.S. president Bill Clinton began to push publicly for the formation of a 500-member international police force to be sent to Haiti. Washington is working to muster support for this proposal in the UN Security Council. The troops will allegedly be sent as part of a diplomatic effort that seeks the formation of a new government that will include supporters and opponents of deposed Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide; the granting of amnesty to Aristide's military foes; the resignation of the army command; and Aristide's return from exile. Aristide, who has in the past opposed foreign intervention, had no immediate comment on this proposal.

Detained Haitians on strike

One-hundred-fifty-eight Haitians being held at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, began their second hunger strike May 10. They are protesting the U.S. government's refusal to allow them into the United States. The refugees fled Haiti to escape the brutal military regime that overthrew the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide in September 1991. The U.S. claims they carry the HIV virus. Federal immigration policy denies entry to anyone carrying this virus, which causes AIDS.

Prosecutor asks 20-year sentence for former Cuban manager

Havana Radio reported April 29 that the prosecutor at Havana's Provincial People's Court asked for a 20-year sentence for Heberto López Morales, who, until his arrest last year, was general manager of Caribbean Audiovisuals. This firm exports electronic equipment.

López was prosecuted on charges of embezzlement, acts against economic plans and state contracts, and falsification of documents. He was tried for defrauding the government of \$1 million and carrying out \$1.5 million in "dubious" transactions involving 13 bank accounts in his and his wife's name in Cuba, Italy, Panama, and the United States. In addition, he evaded \$47,000 in taxes.

The former manager gave "innumerable gifts" to Cuban officials, according to an Agency of National Information (AIN) report. The AIN report said López gave Car-



Retired workers demonstrating in front of the Greek Parliament in Athens May 13. They joined thousands of members of the General Confederation of Greek Workers in a one-day strike to demand a 15 per cent wage increase.

los Aldana, the former head of the Cuban Communist Party's ideological work, two international credit cards, one under a pseudonym, which gave Aldana access to the company's funds. Aldana was removed from his post in 1992 and expelled from the party.

U.S. will resume nuclear tests

The nine-month U.S. Congressional moratorium on nuclear testing expires July 1, 1993. President Clinton announced he intends to approve a plan to resume underground nuclear explosions.

Washington last conducted a nuclear test in the summer of 1992. Officials of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency said that the governments of France and Russia will also lift bans on nuclear testing they imposed prior to, but contingent on, the U.S. ban.

Court rules New York college violated professor's rights

A federal jury ruled May 10 that the City University of New York violated professor Leonard Jeffries' right to free speech when it removed him from his position as chairman of the Black Studies Department at City College last year. The jury awarded Jeffries \$400,000 in monetary damages. Federal district judge Kenneth Conboy will decide whether Jeffries will be reinstated. The college took action against Jeffries after he made anti-Semitic remarks in a speech at the Empire State Black Arts and Cultural Festival in Albany in July 1991. "Russian Jewry had a particular control over the movies," he said in that speech, "and their financial partners, the Mafia, put together a financial system of destruction of Black people." University trustees argued in the case that Jeffries was removed because he was a bad administrator.

Herrera executed in Texas

Leonel Herrera, 45, was executed in Texas on May 12 by lethal injection. Motions by his lawyers to present new evidence proving he did not commit the crime he was killed for were denied. The Supreme Court had used Herrera's case to restrict the rights of prisoners. In January the Court had ruled 6-to-3 that inmates presenting new evidence of their innocence were not ordinarily entitled to new hearings in Federal court.

Herrera was convicted in 1982 for the killing of a south Texas police officer and state trooper. His family testified that his brother Raul, who died in 1984, pulled the trigger. Raul Herrera told his lawyer in 1984 that he had killed the cops. Raul's son said later he witnessed the shooting. Attorneys say cops

beat a confession out of Leonel.

Ann Richards, the Democrat who is governor of Texas, refused to grant clemency or extensions requested by Herrera's attorneys.

53 miners die in South Africa

A methane gas explosion in a coal mine in Secunda, South Africa, killed 53 miners May 13. The mine, 80 miles east of Johannesburg, had received a national safety award earlier in the week. This is one of South Africa's worst coal mining disasters. Several hundred workers are killed annually in South Africa's gold and coal mines.

Paris tightens immigration laws

The French parliament voted 473 to 92 to make it tougher for children born in France of immigrant parents to become citizens. Previously, these children automatically became citizens at the age of 18, and their parents could apply for citizenship on their behalf when they were younger. Now children must apply in person when they are between 16 and 21 and they can be turned down.

Human rights groups say that this change will be used to discriminate against children whose parents are from Africa and the Middle East.

Spain devalues peseta

The government of Spain devalued the peseta, the country's currency, by 8 percent May 13. The Portuguese government subsequently followed suit, lowering the value of the escudo by 6.5 percent. This allowed Madrid to cut its key lending rate to commercial banks by 1.5 percentage points to 11.5 percent. The Spanish government hopes this will spark an economic recovery. Spain is mired by a 20 percent unemployment rate. The economic crisis has led the social democratic government of Felipe González to call early elections in June.

The latest devaluations put new strains in the European Community's Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM). London and Rome abandoned the ERM last year.

Hundreds killed in Kabul

Fresh fighting broke out between rival factions in the Afghan capital of Kabul. Troops loyal to Defense Minister Ahmed Shah Masood are attempting to recapture parts of the city controlled by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who was named prime minister earlier but never took the position. The International Committee of the Red Cross reported at least 700 dead and 3,000 wounded in six days of fighting in mid-May. About half of the 1.5 million residents of Kabul have fled the city in the past year. Afghanistan has been plagued with fighting between rightist guerrilla factions that toppled the government of former president Najibullah, who had been backed by Moscow. The rightist forces took over Kabul in May 1992 and have been feuding among themselves ever since.

—PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

News and analysis
on war in Yugoslavia

The 'Militant' provides weekly coverage of the war in former Yugoslavia. The paper's unique analysis explains why the carnage there is not rooted in "age-old ethnic animosities" but is the product of the crisis and intensifying conflicts of the depression-ridden world capitalist system. The 'Militant' explains why working people should oppose imperialist intervention in the region. Don't miss a single issue!



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Workers in Kenya resist austerity drive

BY JOHN MUNORU

Resistance by Kenyan workers, hit hard by government austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), is growing. The Associated Press reported that the Central Organization of Trade Unions called a general strike in early May to demand a 100 percent pay raise to offset the ever rising inflation. In a clear defiance of the government, most workers heeded the call for a nationwide strike, which led to the closure of banks, stores, factories, and transportation lines May 3.

President Daniel arap Moi's regime declared the strike illegal and arrested three labor leaders. According to the Associated Press report, there were a few minor instances of violence provoked by police called to break up the strike. There were instances of angry strikers responding by stoning police cars. The report said that most workers who heeded the call were angry over the arrest of the labor leaders.

As the world capitalist depression continues, the IMF, the World Bank, and imperialist governments have demanded that Kenya carry out very tough austerity measures to make Kenyan workers pay for this crisis. Some of the measures demanded by the IMF include the devaluation of the Kenyan shilling, speedy privatization of public assets, laying off one-fifth of the 220,000 public-sector workers, and removal of price controls.

IMF 'aid' discontinued

The neocolonial Moi regime had carried out these measures expecting foreign aid — which had been discontinued — to start flowing again. The IMF, however, refused to resume loans and demanded that the Kenyan government impose even tougher measures. Fearing the political consequences and resistance by the devastated Kenyan workers, Moi refused to impose the measures and even reversed some of the cuts already implemented.

The result is a seeming confrontation between the IMF and the Moi regime concerning tactics on how to suck more wealth out of the country's toilers. Moi went to great pains to explain that Kenya was not at war with the IMF, the World Bank, or the governments of "donor" countries. He said that

Kenya had only put a brake on implementation of the structural adjustments program to avoid a possible crisis. The IMF, however, as well as imperialist governments and financial institutions, continues to withhold \$480 million in annual foreign aid. Arrears of the \$6.8 billion foreign debt continue to pile up. Two devaluations of the shilling in two months have cut its worth by nearly 70 percent.

The austerity measures have had a devastating impact on the Kenyan toilers. The East African correspondent for *The Economist* reported April 24 that "even the trees have suffered. Along the road running north of Nairobi, to the foothills of Mount Kenya, hundreds of acacia and eucalyptus bear the wounds of recently amputated branches hacked off for cooking fuel. For the past three weeks, millions of the poorest Kenyans, who rely on kerosene to fire their stoves, have resorted to charcoal and

wood. There is little sign that things will improve."

'Kenya becoming a shambles'

Because of foreign currency shortages, fuel prices have skyrocketed. So have the prices of essential commodities. Most Kenyans cannot afford the increased costs of transportation, health care, education, seeds, and fertilizers. Inflation is at about 100 percent. The impact on tourism, a top foreign exchange earner, has been dramatic, with a 40 percent drop in the number of visitors. "Once a prosperous paradise amid the chaos of the Horn of Africa, is fast becoming a shambles," concluded the *Economist* article.

Imperialist governments have been alarmed by the crisis of this client regime in East Africa which has consistently helped prop up imperialist interests in the region. Moi's regime offered airfield and port facilities when Washington deployed thousands

of troops in Somalia.

Commentators in the big-business press around the world are now saying there is a need to stabilize the situation in Kenya in order to help set up a stable client regime in Somalia. The imperialist governments fear further destabilization if the economic crisis continues.

Already, a wave of demonstrations, strikes, and other struggles have forced the Moi government to hold the first multiparty elections in 26 years, release political detainees, legalize opposition, and allow freedom of speech, press, and assembly. Although the parliamentary opposition is made up mostly of former Moi confidants and turncoats, pressure on the ruling class by the workers' mobilizations has been great. When Moi opened the newly elected Parliament January 26, 88 members out of 195 sat on the opposition side. He suspended it the next day and even threatened to dissolve it altogether.

Khmer Rouge violence in Cambodia shows UN 'peace plan' is a fiasco

BY PAT SMITH

The escalating violence in Cambodia leading up to the May 23-27 elections is further indication that the UN-brokered "peace plan" there is a fiasco.

The UN is attempting to enforce the October 1991 agreement signed by the former Cambodian government and three opposition groups: the right-wing Khmer People's National Liberation Front, headed by Son Sann; the backers of Norodom Sihanouk, the former monarch of Cambodia; and the Khmer Rouge. More than 20,000 UN-organized soldiers, police, and other so-called peacekeepers are now administering the country under the UN Transitional Authority in Cambodia. The agreement calls for each of the four parties to disarm 70 percent of their troops prior to the elections.

The Khmer Rouge has not only refused to disarm, but has consistently violated the cease-fire. In recent months it has been responsible for murdering 12 UN personnel,

injuring at least 44 "peacekeepers" and killing, displacing, and injuring hundreds of civilians. The April 29 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that the Khmer Rouge is conducting daily military offensives in Cambodia's north and northwest. In March the United Nations logged 103 politically motivated killings in Cambodia.

The Khmer Rouge has a long history of violence against Cambodia's workers and peasants. It carried out a reign of terror during its rule from 1975 to 1979, driving millions out of the cities into the countryside and killing an estimated 1 million people. After its overthrow by Vietnamese forces in 1979, the Khmer Rouge, with support from Washington, carried out a bloody guerrilla war against the Cambodian government.

The UN forces are using the current wave of violent attacks as an excuse to reduce the number of polling places during the elections from 1,850 to 1,400. This will prevent

many peasants from voting. Twenty parties have signed up for the elections, which will choose a 120-seat constituent assembly.

Dilemma for Japanese rulers

The violence in Cambodia has sparked debate in Japan. Last June, after a two-year fight, the Japanese Parliament voted to allow forces to be sent abroad as part of UN "peacekeeping" missions. This is the first time since World War II that Japanese troops are being deployed outside the country. Currently 700 members of the Japanese Self Defense Forces (SDF) are in Cambodia. They were sent with the understanding that they would remain out of harms way. "To tell the truth," an official involved in drafting the legislation told the *New York Times*, "the law was passed under some false pretenses, that no one could get hurt."

But the increasing violence has made it impossible to guarantee the safety of the Japanese forces. A 33-year-old Japanese civilian policeman serving with UN forces in Cambodia was killed by the Khmer Rouge in early May. This is the second Japanese casualty. A 25-year-old volunteer was killed in April.

Following these deaths, more than 40 UN volunteers resigned. On April 28, the 8-million-member Japanese Trade Union Confederation released a survey of its members. Of those polled 43.8 percent said the existence of the SDF violates the constitution.

Fearing a public backlash, Tokyo has been pleading with UN authorities to ensure the safety of Japanese troops and has ordered all its personnel to return to the capital Phnom Penh. The UN authorities in Cambodia, however, protested the move saying it undermines the chain of command and has ordered the Japanese troops to remain at their posts.

The debate in Japan has even broken out on television and in the press. The May 11 *Washington Post* reports on a TV news show that quotes several of the troops stationed in Cambodia. "How many of us will have to die before the government orders a pullout?" one of them said. Another questioned, "Do people in Japan know what is going on in Cambodia?" The *New York Times* reported May 13 that *Mainichi Shimbun*, a prominent newspaper in Japan, has called for a withdrawal of forces.

Tokyo, which sees its military involvement in Cambodia as a way to begin using its military might abroad, and as proof that it deserves a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, is anxious to avoid pulling its troops out of the country. Japan has also recently sent a 53-man unit to Mozambique.

On May 10, the Japanese government reached agreement with UN officials to assign Japanese election monitors, scheduled to arrive in Cambodia May 16, to the southern province of Takeo, considered a safer region. Tokyo hopes this will quiet those calling for withdrawal.

Pathfinder well received at Tehran book fair

BY MARCELLA FITZGERALD

TEHRAN, Iran — The sixth International Tehran Book Fair ended May 14 after 11 busy days. Hundreds of thousands of people attended, traveling from urban and rural areas of Iran and surrounding countries.

More than 1,500 publishers, including 530 Iranian publishers, exhibited 60,000 titles. Some 27,000 English-language titles were displayed, many from India.

The large booth exhibiting the full range of books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press of New York was a popular attraction among a layer of students, workers, and soldiers at the fair. This is the second year Pathfinder has been represented at the book fair.

More than 300 Pathfinder books were bought at the fair. The best-sellers were *The Communist Manifesto*, *Opening Guns of World War III*, *Problems of Women's Liberation*, *Sexism and Science*, and *What is Surrealism?*

Books on the subject of women's liberation accounted for one-fourth of those sold at the Pathfinder exhibit. Books on the Cuban revolution, as well as by Malcolm X and Leon Trotsky were also favorites. One library purchased the 14-volume set of the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* published by Pathfinder. There was also a great deal of interest in Pathfinder titles on Marxist philosophy.

Some 200 copies of the Farsi-language edition of Pathfinder's *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Che Guevara were also sold.



Books on women's liberation, Cuban revolution, Marxism, and Malcolm X were popular at the Pathfinder exhibit (above) at sixth International Tehran Book Fair. Workers, soldiers, and clergymen read and debated the contents of the books on display at fair.

This title was part of an exhibit by an Iranian publisher.

The English-language newspaper *Tehran Times* included an article in its May 11 issue entitled "American publisher exults over book fair sales." The paper interviewed Pathfinder representative Marcella Fitzgerald. "Well, I never saw such a favorable response from book lovers as I saw here in Iran," said Fitzgerald, comparing the Tehran bookfair to others she has attended in Ireland, Sweden, Denmark, and France.

By mid-morning every day, the exhibit

hall for Arabic publishers found fair goes sitting on beautiful rugs spread all around the hall reading and debating the contents of the books on display. These "reading lounges" included workers, soldiers, and clergymen, as well as men and women in traditional dress from rural areas.

The halls for Iranian publishers were packed, especially with young people, many of whom had come from the countryside to visit the book fair.

Pathfinder sales representatives plan to visit libraries and bookstores in Iran following the book fair.

Trinity strikers in Alabama turn down company's final offer

BY EVAN ROBERTS

BESSEMER, Alabama — "We were 100 percent strong in there. It was a unanimous vote against Trinity's offer," said striking steelworker Roger Johnson after a union meeting where 500 workers voted to reject the company's "final offer."

Trinity Industries had proposed that workers receive 13 percent in raises over the next four years and no improvements in costly medical insurance. The company insisted on firing 50 of 57 workers who were terminated for "strike misconduct." The company said these workers could not be "rehabilitated." It offered to suspend the other seven unionists instead of discharging them.

The company also demanded the dropping of all unfair labor practice charges by the union. The union has several grievances pending based on the firing of strikers, the company's refusal to negotiate in good faith, and the tear-gas attack on the picket line carried out by hired goons October 12. Reflecting the views of many strikers, Morris Wilson said the offer was "just outright union-busting."

The company's proposal resulted from Bessemer mayor Quitman Mitchell's efforts to settle the eight-month-long strike and prevent a threatened plant closure. Trinity has announced that it plans to close the Bessemer plant June 3. During the past few weeks, Mitchell twice visited Trinity headquarters in Dallas, Texas.

When he returned, the mayor sent a letter to local churches stating, "If this proposal is approved, there is an outside chance that the plant might remain open. . . I urge all the members of your congregation to pray . . . that this labor dispute at Trinity is resolved and that through the Grace of God, the plant will remain open."

In spite of the mayor's campaign, strikers rejected the offer in a stand-up vote. Mayor Mitchell complained, "the results would have been different with a secret ballot. Workers would have voted to go back to work, but they were intimidated into voting no."

'We voted our conscience'

Striker Ferlando Peterson responded, "We were not intimidated! We voted our conscience!" The tellers in the vote were five rank-and-file union members.

Strikers also voted 356 to 36 to ratify a conditional offer put forward by the union's negotiating committee. Billy McColeman, a representative of United Steelworkers of America District 36, told the press the offer

was "all of the company's proposal, with the exception of the withdrawing of our [unfair labor practice] charges."

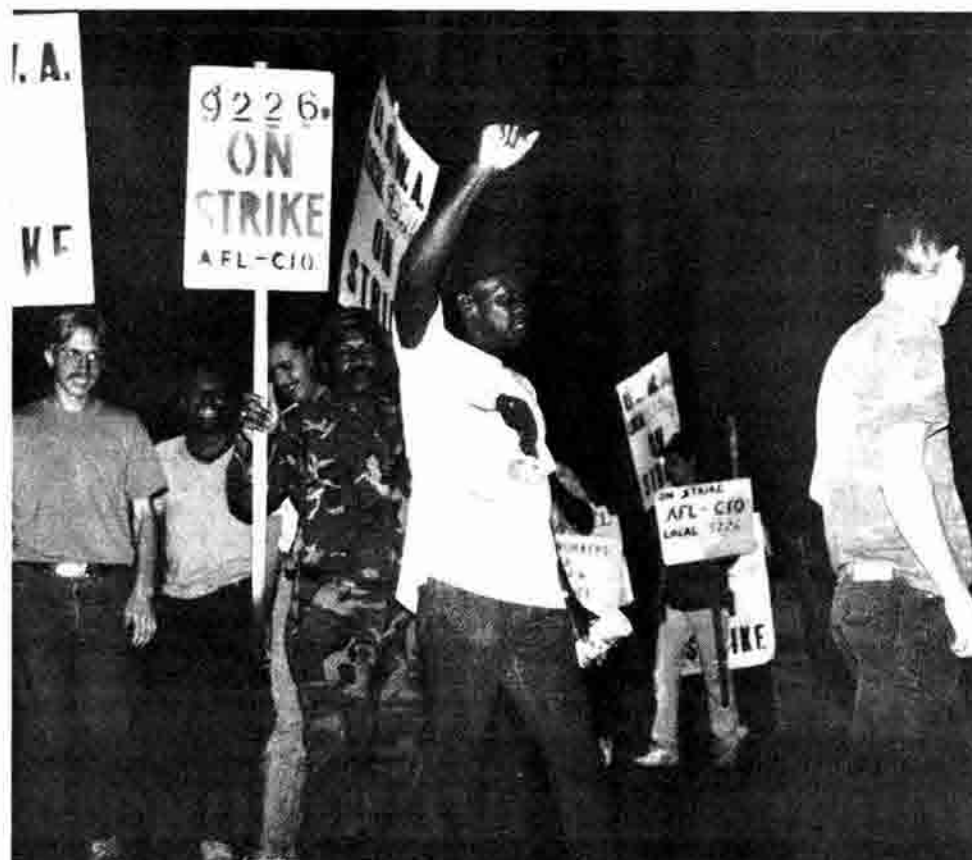
Many strikers who voted for the conditional offer did so because they felt it gave the union the best chance to win the unfair labor practice cases. "At least it gives us a foot in the door," said Morris Wilson.

Other strikers expressed a lack of confidence that the labor board would bring back the fired unionists. Gary Trice stated, "I voted against the conditional offer. I feel like we all came out together and we should all go back together."

Some strikers decided not to vote, saying that they wanted to see the proposal in writing and to have more time to consider it before voting.

Striker Denise McNerney said, "I think people voted for the union's conditional offer believing it was the best way to defend the union at this stage. However, I think we could have continued to demand the company grant amnesty to all 57 fired workers before we end the strike."

In a statement released to the press following the contract vote, Trinity Industries



Militant/Denise McNerney
Trinity strikers on picket line last September in Bessemer, Alabama. After eight months on strike, 500 workers at Trinity rejected a "final offer" pushed by the mayor that included firing 50 strikers.

tries said it would "proceed with previously announced plans to close the Bessemer plant."

Evan Roberts is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 9226 on strike at Trinity Industries in Bessemer, Alabama.

Job accidents rise on British railways

BY TONY HUNT

SHEFFIELD, England — An increasing number of rail workers here are discussing Yorkshire Freight's as well as other rail companies' responsibility for accidents on the job.

On February 2, Jo Hillgrove, a worker at the Tinsley steel freight terminal in Sheffield, was nearly killed in an accident as a result of the "cost cutting" measures of Yorkshire Freight, her employer.

Hillgrove, a member of the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT) is seeking to return to work. As part of this effort Hillgrove is discussing with other union members the increase in dangerous working conditions on the railways and how to fight for greater safety.

On the day of the accident Hillgrove, who worked as a shunter (switchman), was a member of a three-person team moving damaged wagons to a repair shed. This involved the locomotive pushing the wagons backwards out of the yard toward a main rail line. Because of the potential danger of this maneuver, radios had always been used to allow communication between the shunters.

On this occasion there were no radios because they had been stolen at Christmas and management had refused to replace them.

Hillgrove was in the guards' van (caboose), which was leading the train. As the wagons accelerated and neared a red signal Hillgrove gave hand-signals to indicate the train should stop. It was not until the train had passed another red signal and had rounded a bend that she could see that the wagons were not attached to the engine. She was on a runaway train. Hillgrove applied the hand brake and the wagons hurtled into each other and crushed the guards' van, which derailed along with two wagons. Hillgrove jumped off the train just in time to avoid serious injury. The accident became a near fatality because of the lack of radios.

Hillgrove had only just returned to work after a six-week layoff for a back injury caused by falling through the rotted out covering over a pot hole, one of many in Tinsley yard. Tinsley is known locally as "the scrap yard" because conditions there are so poor. Prior to the February 2 incident there had been two near fatalities in four years.

Deraillments also occur in the yard because of poor track maintenance. Many rail workers recount stories of near misses and accidents in this and other yards. One rail worker described how management suspended him for two days without pay because he refused to do a job in Tinsley without radios 14 years ago.

Later, another guard from the same depot did the same job at Tinsley without the radios, which resulted in an accident. After an investigation took place, the company replaced the radios and the first guard (conductor) got his disciplinary charge revoked. He commented that after 14 years the Tinsley yard is still "a bloody disgrace."

Widespread accidents on railways

All over the railway system deraillments, signal failures, and injuries occur on a daily basis.

The government-controlled rail operators are slashing jobs in an attempt to cut costs to make the rail network easier to sell off to big-business buyers. This has resulted in deteriorating safety conditions.

Since 1979, British Rail cut the number of rail jobs 54 percent. At the same time average working hours have increased. Today 25 percent of a rail workers' earnings come from overtime payments. In January British Rail announced another 7,000 layoffs for this year.

At Tinsley Yard 144 workers have been laid off in recent months. The shunting teams are being reduced from two to one shunter per shift, greatly increasing the likelihood of accidents.

In the area covered by Yorkshire Freight, in just a four-week period leading up to the February accident, two trains derailed due to faulty equipment, and eight deraillments took place. Twenty injuries were reported during that time. The Yorkshire Freight Safety Brief of the same period reported five fires. In one of these incidents, 12 out of 20 extinguishers failed "because of poor or incorrect maintenance."

According to management figures, 1,250 rail freight workers were injured in Britain in 1992. One out of every 17 workers in the country can expect to have an accident at work this year.

Management blames workers

As the bosses step up their attacks on jobs and safety conditions, management is attempting to blame the workers for the accidents.

In discussing the incident at Tinsley, several rail workers in the area explained that the company encourages them not "to do things by the book" because management wants the jobs done quickly. But if anything goes wrong it is the work force that is blamed.

The issue of responsibility for accidents at work is also used by management to create divisions between coworkers. When Hillgrove recently sought to get some of her possessions from her locker in the yard, a supervisor ordered her off the premises. He made clear why when he said, "We cannot have people who have been involved in the same accident talking to one another."

In response to the accident at Tinsley, members of the union in the Sheffield area have been discussing the value of having a regular health and safety column in the local union newsletter. This would make it possible to log poor conditions at work with the aim of fighting to change them. Union members have also discussed writing to *Transport Review*, the national RMT journal, about health and safety questions.

Discussions have also centered on the role of government bodies such as the Railway Inspectorate and the Health and Safety Executive. Both of these bodies can make recommendations for safety improvements in the work place. However, from experience rail workers know that no government body can be relied on to change conditions at work. In 1991 after the rail crash at Cannon Street station, the Health and Safety Executive conducted what it called an "independent public inquiry." It concluded that the crash was caused by driver error. One consequence of this report was that Parliament empowered the police to test railway employees for drugs and alcohol.

New Zealand police measures

Continued from Page 16

squad, a special armed unit. Regular police in New Zealand, while having ready access to arms in their vehicles, do not normally carry weapons openly, instead employing batons and dogs.

Police Association

Preparing the way for steps to beef up police powers, like those that will take effect July 1, has been a growing campaign over recent years led by capitalist politicians and the police against "rising crime." The anti-working-class thrust of this campaign is reflected in the fact that those most commonly targeted as the "source of crime" are the unemployed and "lower socio-economic groups," especially Maoris and Pacific Islanders.

In the vanguard of the campaign to increase police powers and curtail legal rights has been the Police Association. An affiliate of the Council of Trade Unions, the main national union federation, the Police Association is a prominent rightist voice in capitalist politics.

Particular targets of the Police Association have been the Bill of Rights Act and the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families Act, which uphold the right to representation if detained and questioned by police. Responding to this campaign, law changes are presently under consideration

that would allow police to detain and question "suspects" without charging them, and to question children without informing them of their right to have an adult guardian present.

The use of confessions that cops force out of people during unlawful detention has become a subject of growing controversy in the courts in recent years.

In February, the Police Association helped publicize and build a march of 300 through Wellington to present a petition to Parliament demanding longer jail sentences and the abolition of bail and parole for "serious offenders." The Association had backed the petition drive, which gained over 270,000 signatures.

A Justice Department report issued last December revealed that the number of convictions resulting in imprisonment had more than doubled during the previous decade and that the average length of prison sentences had risen significantly. Prisons and police station cells are frequently overflowing, with those detained often exceeding available beds.

In March, press reports revealed that wardens at Mangaroa prison near Napier had placed inmates naked and outside over a four-day period and systematically beat them.

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

Poultry workers protest immigration raid

BY JON HILLSON
AND EDY RUGER

MARSHALL, Minnesota — Apparent company collaboration in an Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raid sparked a day-long work stoppage by hundreds of outraged union members here May 6.

An estimated 60 workers at Heartland Foods Corp., most of them Mexican, were arrested by the INS in a May 4 dragnet at the turkey processing plant or in their homes in a nearby trailer park.

An additional 50 workers targeted by the INS cops got word of the raid and did not show up for work, thereby eluding arrest.

At the time of the sweep, Heartland employed 630 production workers at the plant, which is located in a small southwestern Minnesota farm community.

As workers began reporting for work on the second shift May 6, they were told by company officials that they would not be able to get paychecks for relatives and friends snared by the immigration cops.

The checks were being held by the INS, the bosses initially stated.

"So the people decided they wouldn't go to work," a union activist told the *Militant*.

The handful that initially refused to report on duty stayed in the company cafeteria, informing incoming workers of management's position on the checks.

The crowd grew. "Not a single Mexican worker would go in" said a union activist who is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 544.

The majority of the plant's workers are Mexican and Chicano.

As news of the protest spread, children and spouses of workers arrived at the plant gates to demonstrate their solidarity. They were joined by day-shift workers participating in the stayaway.

"Then, the supervisors began changing their story," the union member said. "They said they had the checks in their safe. They said the checks would be sent to Mexico. They threatened to fire people."

Officials from the UFCW's district office in Mankato were summoned, and negotiations began. Consultations with the protesting unionists were held on the sidewalks and in the lunchroom.

That afternoon, the workers agreed to return to work on May 7 after receiving a company promise that the paychecks, along with back vacation and half of an upcoming bonus, would be given out on May 13.

In a telephone interview May 16, UFCW Local 544 shop steward René de la Cruz said that 90 percent of the workers seeking pay withheld by the company received it. Two families and several individuals were being denied the funds because Heartland decided to deduct hotel and motel bills it stated were owed by the workers for room tabs when they first arrived in Marshall.

At the time, de la Cruz said, "the company said it would pay. We think these workers should get the checks. The union is taking this up."

No workers were disciplined for the job action, which resulted in a production drop from 65 to 15 turkeys an hour. This reduction forced supervisors to turn back trucks hauling the live fowl.

The Heartland plant was also the target of an INS raid in November of last year, when 27 undocumented workers were arrested and deported.

Company works with INS

The work stoppage was fueled by a widespread belief that the company helped set up the Mexican workers for the immigration police.

Workers here say that company personnel provided around 100 such workers, recruited by Heartland in Eagle Pass, Texas, with counterfeit identification and documentation.

These workers were placed in a trailer park, owned by a Heartland production manager, in nearby Tracy, Minnesota.

In some cases, the trailers had no running water for several days.

The Mexican employees started work at the standard \$6.30 an hour, accumulating a 50 cent hourly bonus, payable at completion of six months employment.

The bonus nets workers up to \$700. Wages top out at \$6.90 an hour.

Both the November and May raids occurred about two weeks before arrested workers reached the half-year payoff eligi-

bility requirement.

Virtually all of those arrested at the plant in the most recent raid worked second shift. As they were finishing the turn, they were herded into a small, unused cafeteria by a supervisor who told them they were required to go to a "meeting" on "sexual harassment."

As the workers assembled in the room, the bosses turned the meeting over to INS agents, who began going through the crowd asking for identification.

Heartland supervisors blocked access to exits and bathrooms.

The undocumented workers were then arrested, handcuffed, and taken out by the immigration cops, while other INS agents raided the trailer park.

"There has never been any attempt by Heartland to employ illegal immigrants," claimed Heartland general manager George Spang.

An alternative view was offered by unionist de la Cruz. The company "has no mercy for anybody," he said. The raid "was totally cold-blooded." Like many workers, de la Cruz believes management and the INS worked hand-in-glove with each other.

"You feel like you've been stabbed in the back," he said. "You lose respect for the company, you stop caring."

The packinghouse unionist, who has worked at Heartland for three years, said he backed the action of the workers who protested inside and outside the plant.

"There was a lot bottled up," de la Cruz said. "The people are tired of being called dumb, stupid Mexicans, that you don't mean anything, that you're just a dumb worker."

The protest was against unjust treatment in the plant, as well as seeking to secure "what was rightfully due" the workers who were arrested and deported, he said.

Despite the anger, the protesting workers were "very disciplined" de la Cruz explained. "We didn't want any destruction of property. We said, 'we're human beings who have rights.'"

Everyone who participated in the action,



Several of the 60 workers arrested in an immigration raid at the Heartland Foods turkey processing plant in Marshall, Minnesota. The raid sparked a one-day work stoppage.

he said, "felt really good because we were sticking together. People were saying, 'for the first time, we believe in unions.'"

This spirit was a marked change from days earlier.

Immediately after the raid, workers leaving the plant told the *Militant* the atmosphere inside was "very sad."

"I was once deported with my daughter," stated Gloria, a production worker. "I worked to get papers. But I think if you come here to better your life, you should have that right, even if you don't have papers."

The protesting unionists included virtually all the Spanish-speaking workers, most of them Mexican, along with several Guatemalans, Hondurans, Salvadorans, and Nicaraguans.

Supervisors held workers coats, and formed "human chains," one Heartland employee said, to keep them from walking off

production lines to see what was happening, or to join the job action.

The handful of Black workers, who were born in the United States, went into work, said de la Cruz, but signed a letter in solidarity with the protest. Recently arrived workers from Africa, several dozen of them from Somalia, avoided the conflict.

Virtually every worker who is white "let us know they supported" those who stayed out, even though they also continued to work, said de la Cruz. "They said things like, 'it's about time something like this happened.'"

These indications of support help bring people together and strengthen the local, stated de la Cruz. "People are starting to understand that union means power."

Jon Hillson is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1000.

INS arrests Minnesota packinghouse workers

BY JON HILLSON

WORTHINGTON, Minnesota — Combined forces of the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), U.S. Border Patrol, Minnesota State Police and local cops arrested 55 undocumented workers here and in several surrounding rural southwestern Minnesota communities April 13 and 14.

Forty of the workers were deported several days later. Most of them are from Mexico, while several are from Nicaragua and Honduras.

The sweep covered several packinghouses, including the Monfort Pork plant in Worthington, the largest in the area. An undisclosed number of workers were arrested in a raid on the Tony Downs packinghouse in Madelia, a small town northwest of here. Two were detained in the Twin Cities and hustled to Worthington for processing.

Most of the Worthington-area workers were seized in their homes or while waiting in line at a Department of Motor Vehicles office in the town courthouse.

"The cops went in without search warrants and broke down doors," one Monfort meatpacker told the *Militant*. In their zeal to bust the workers, the cops put out a dragnet on anyone who looked "illegal."

They nabbed 18-year old Jorge Sifuentes, who was born in Texas. The cops demanded he produce a green card, as proof of his legal residency.

"My color says I'm illegal," Sifuentes commented. "But I'm an American citizen."

The police also conducted random identification checks of Hispanic motorists and passengers.

The Hispanic Organization of Worthington, formed three months prior to the raid, protested these and other acts of racist intimidation.

The attack was the largest of its kind in Worthington, a city of 10,000, whose rising Hispanic population now stands at 500. Ad-

ditional immigrants from Mexico and Central America live in towns and trailer parks in the adjoining countryside.

The Monfort Pork plant, which employs 1,450 workers, is organized by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1161. It is the largest unionized packinghouse in Minnesota.

Half of the workers are Hispanic, most of them Mexican, according to José Maldonado, union steward on the second shift kill floor. "About 20 percent are from Vietnam, Laos, and China; 20 percent are white; and 10 percent are Black," he told the *Militant*.

Nearly 30 Ethiopians, along with workers from Cuba, Libya, and other countries also work in the plant.

Maldonado, along with union members José Jiménez and Guillermo Ramírez, described the raid and the situation in the packinghouse in an interview.

'Police riot'

"We call what the police did at people's houses a 'riot,'" Maldonado said. After the arrests, he explained, there was no legal help for anyone.

The atmosphere in the plant among the Hispanic workers, "is more cautious, more guarded," said Ramírez. "People think there will be more [immigration raids]."

All were critical of the fact that the union made no public statement against the INS sweep. "We all pay the same dues," Maldonado said, "we all work under the same contract. The union should do something, but the officials say they don't want to get mixed up in this."

The company sometimes piles extra work on the Mexicans while going soft on workers who are white, Jiménez explained, "to make sure there are conflicts."

Supervisors, who are overwhelmingly white, implement this policy. They sometimes "forget" how many hours the Mexi-

cans work, shorting them on paychecks, Jiménez said.

Even some Mexican workers with proper work documents, Maldonado said, think they should get easier work, leaving harder jobs for the "illegals."

Local cops enforce discriminatory treatment outside the plant, Ramírez said, "always messing with the Mexicans, hassling with them."

There's a reason for Monfort's efforts to pit people against each other, Maldonado explained. "Our contract expires next year. In our last contract we got a lump sum and a few cents."

"Some of the whites think the union is for them," Maldonado continued. "When the union doesn't stand up for the Mexicans, the Mexicans say it's against them, 'why bother, we can't do anything.' But the bosses know if we're divided they can smash us. The union has to be against the exploitation of everybody."

In a brief conversation at the union office, Local 1161 President Henry Martin told the *Militant* that he had "nothing to say" about the INS sweep.

In wake of the raid, city officials called a special meeting. The mayor, police chief, and community figures attended.

Maldonado addressed the gathering, telling Worthington's establishment, "you've got to change. I've lived here 15 years and you've never known I've existed. But I work here and I am going to die here."

Maldonado, Jiménez, and Ramírez agree that the INS will not be able to drive the Mexican workers and other immigrants out of the plant.

They will keep coming for jobs, Ramírez said, "to better their lives. They move for the same reason anybody moves — for work."

That is why, Maldonado said, "we are here to stay."

1993 SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY-BUILDING FUND

\$75,000

City	Goal	Paid	Percent
Philadelphia	\$3,090	\$1,875	61%
Detroit	\$3,140	\$1,230	39%
Salt Lake City	\$3,000	\$1,105	37%
Greensboro	\$1,950	\$535	27%
Birmingham	\$1,500	\$400	27%
San Francisco	\$6,500	\$1,558	24%
Atlanta	\$2,500	\$450	18%
Twin Cities	\$5,000	\$840	17%
New York	\$8,000	\$1,330	17%
Newark	\$4,000	\$647	16%
Miami	\$1,500	\$235	16%
Los Angeles	\$6,500	\$982	15%
Seattle	\$2,500	\$290	12%
Chicago	\$3,000	\$318	11%
New Haven	\$500	\$50	10%
Cleveland	\$2,000	\$190	10%
Baltimore	\$2,500	\$205	8%
Boston	\$3,000	\$170	6%
Des Moines	\$1,500	\$80	5%
St. Louis	\$3,350	\$55	2%
Albany	\$200	\$0	0%
Albuquerque	\$200	\$0	0%
Cincinnati	\$300	\$0	0%
Denver	\$200	\$0	0%
Houston	\$3,500	\$0	0%
Morgantown	\$1,500	\$0	0%
Pittsburgh	\$2,000	\$0	0%
Portland	\$200	\$0	0%
San Diego	\$500	\$0	0%
Washington	\$2,400	\$0	0%
Other	\$50		
TOTALS	\$76,030	\$12,595	17%
Should be	\$75,000	\$25,000	33%

\$12,595

Public meetings will help kick fund into high gear

BY MAGGIE TROWE

Socialist Workers Party leader Francisco Picado will speak at a special Party-Building Fund meeting in Salt Lake City, Utah, May 22-23 on the opportunities and challenges facing the working class in Cuba today.

Picado, a Miami garment worker, was part of a *Militant* reporting team to Cuba in March. He, along with *New Internationalist* editor Mary-Alice Waters and *Militant* staff writer Sara Lobman, represented the Pathfinder publishing house at a student conference organized by the University of Matanzas Social Sciences Department. The delegation participated in the workshops prepared by students at the school and gave two presentations on the situation facing young people in the United States today.

They also showed a video on the frame-up of U.S. union and political activist Mark Curtis, who is currently serving a 25-year sentence on trumped-up charges of sexual assault and burglary in Iowa.

The Party-Building Fund, which has the goal of raising \$75,000 by June 15 to cover costs of *Militant* reporting teams to Cuba and the production of two *New Internationalist* magazines, starts its third week behind schedule. After two weeks — one-third of the drive — the total collected is \$12,595. To be on schedule, we should have \$24,750 in hand.

Funds have been coming in at an

increased rate, however. A total of \$8,435 from 15 cities has arrived in the past week. With a number of meetings around the U.S. planned for the next few weekends, it should be possible to get the drive back on schedule.

In addition to the Salt Lake City and Denver meetings, other programs on May 22 include a "U.S. Hands Off Yugoslavia" forum in Philadelphia featuring *Militant* editor George Fyson, and a Houston forum on South Africa with Brian Pugh, who recently visited that country to cover the revolution there for the *Militant*. Brian Taylor, who this year participated in an agricultural brigade in Cuba and a *Militant* reporting team to South Africa, will speak in Atlanta. Supporters from Birmingham, Alabama, will be participating in that meeting.

Doug Jenness, author of the Pathfinder pamphlet *Farmers Face the Crisis of the 1990s*, will speak at a meeting in Chicago June 5.

Fund supporters in Philadelphia are in first place this week, having sent in 61 percent of their goal of \$3,090. Fund coordinator Susan Apstein reports that 23 people there have so far made pledges ranging from \$20 to \$1,000. Philadelphia fund supporter Henry Hillenbrand, a rail worker and member of the United Transportation Union, has been talking to fellow workers who regularly read the *Militant*. One reader pledged a day's pay to the Party-Building Fund when Hillenbrand asked him for a contribution.

Fund supporters are encouraged to include reports on fundraising forums in their areas when they send in contributions each week. Special success in reaching out to unionists, student activists, and others would be of particular interest to our readers.

To be counted in the Party-Building Fund scoreboard in the *Militant*, contributions must be received by Tuesday, 12 noon E.S.T.

I pledge — \$500 — \$250 — \$100 — \$50 — \$other

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZIP _____ COUNTRY _____

PHONE _____

Send to Socialist Workers Party, 406 West Street, New York, NY 10014

UMWA miners expand strike in West Virginia

Continued from front page

around this provision of the contract.

Winning the authority to enforce this provision of the 1988 contract is a pressing issue for miners in this area. The only Arch Mineral facility in the state not on strike is the Horse Creek strip mine near Pinckneyville. The mine is scheduled to be closed within months and some 70 UMWA miners will lose their jobs.

Since the early 1980s, workers at the Captain mine have witnessed Arch Mineral practice "double breasting." The company has taken coal lands in the area, sometimes even resources adjacent to the Captain mine, and opened them as a new mine under a subsidiary's name so as to circumvent provisions of the union contract. Each time the union fought back to keep the new mines in the UMWA.

Jerry Walker, on picket duty outside an entrance to the Conant mine, said that Arch Mineral opened it under a subsidiary's name, claiming it was a different company. He pulled out his last paycheck stub from the Conant mine. Arch Mineral was printed at the top. "They're just trying to break the union," he said.

Ray Riechenberg was at the newly opened strike center for UMWA Locals 15 and 16 from the Conant and Kathleen Arch Mineral underground mines in Cutler, Illinois. He explained that after one year of employment at a company that signed the contract, workers are entitled to nine paid personal days. An additional paid day off is earned for each year worked after seven years employment with that company at any of their mines. When he started at the Conant mine a year ago, he lost nearly 30 paid days off. "I worked for Arch Mineral since the early 70s when they first opened up, and they treated me as if I were a brand new employee."

Rich Shawga, 34, who worked on maintenance at the mine tippie, is vice president of UMWA Local 1392. He called Arch Mineral the "grandfather of double breasting." "We've watched them slice up and dice up our futures into little sections of ground saying this is one subsidiary, this is another. In the end we're left with nothing." He added, "All we're asking for is the right to work."

Fred Wagner, who worked as a water

truck driver, is president of UMWA Local 1392. "The UMWA is ready for this strike," he said. "The companies are practicing unfair labor practices and this local is organized and prepared. When Arch's Kathleen and Conant mines went on strike May 10, even the quieter members of the local were asking when would we take this stand," he said at the strike center in Percy.

A family auxiliary meeting to include all supporters from all the Arch Mineral union locals is scheduled for Wednesday. The picket lines and strike centers are staffed 24 hours a day and open to all supporters. The United Auto Workers union has offered the UMWA a \$50 million credit line for strike payments if needed. The UMWA is responding to invitations to speak at nearby union locals.

Arch Mineral resumed some production this week at the Conant mine using supervisors from that mine and the Kathleen mine.

UMWA Local 15 member Jerry Walker said, "This may be a very hot summer, and the winter might get real cold, but we're in this fight to the finish."

Rich Shawga summed up the sentiments of many. "This battle is still in its infancy, but what we do," he noted, "is going to impact on working people and unions across this country."

Buck Creek strike

Two other important developments in the coalfields are the continued strike by miners at Buck Creek Coal in Sullivan, Indiana, who have been on strike since April 1, and the coming union representation election at the Zeigler Coal Marrowbone mine complex in southern West Virginia. That vote, supervised by the National Labor Relations Board, will be held May 26 and 27.

Support from other unions is coming in for the miners. UMWA Region 3 Director John Cox reported that the union office in Boonville, Indiana, has been getting calls from union locals in St. Louis, Chicago, and from Oregon wanting to help. Cox stressed that unionists are welcome to visit the picket lines and that union representatives are available to visit other unions if they're invited.

Cox also reported that the extension of the strike to other mines in Indiana and

Illinois has boosted the morale of the Buck Creek strikers. Strikers from other nearby mines now have more time to help staff the picket lines at Buck Creek where the miners who joined the UMWA two years ago are fighting to win their first union contract.

So far, there have been no attempts to bring in replacement workers at the BCOA mines that are on strike. But the companies have brought supervisors together from a couple of mines in order to move coal at the Old Ben No. 1 and No. 2 mines and the Kathleen and Conant mines.

But Buck Creek is actively trying to recruit scabs. They've been running ads in a

number of papers throughout the coal fields advertising "Employment Opportunities for Experienced Coal Miners. Buck Creek Coal, Inc. is announcing mail-in requests for permanent employees to replace striking workers..."

A few days before calling out the second wave of miners on strike, UMWA president Rich Trumka visited the union picket lines in Indiana and Illinois. "We'd appreciate any support we can get. We need food and money to sustain the strike," Cox said. "I know from my experience in the Pittston strike how good it was for other union people to come down and show their support."

Hundreds honor life of ANC leader Oliver Tambo at New York meeting

BY MAX MONCLAIR AND MARY-NELL BOCKMAN

NEW YORK — One thousand anti-apartheid activists, diplomats, youth, and others came to the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine May 16 to celebrate the life of African National Congress (ANC) leader Oliver Tambo, who died of a stroke April 4. The memorial was sponsored by the ANC and the Coalition for Democracy in South Africa (CODISA).

The service, presided over by the Rev. David Nkwe, Episcopal Bishop of Klerksdop, South Africa, included diplomats, elected officials, artists, and activists. Lennox Hinds, cochair of CODISA, acknowledged UN ambassadors from the Organization of African States, China, Italy, Barbados, and the Middle East. Greetings were read from U.S. president Bill Clinton, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"Oliver Tambo lived because he surrendered his very being to the people," said Lindiwe Mabuza, the ANC's representative to the United States, quoting an excerpt of the eulogy given by ANC president Nelson Mandela at the May 2 funeral for Tambo in Soweto. "People across the globe of all nations are united against apartheid. All tyrants come today and are gone tomorrow. The people live on. While we live, O.R. [Oliver Tambo] will not die."

"Change has never been closer at hand,"

said New York City mayor David Dinkins. "The establishment of a nonracial government in South Africa will be the greatest monument to Oliver Tambo," stated Ibrahim Gambari, of the UN Special Committee against Apartheid.

Many spoke about Tambo's efforts to build the ANC during his exile after the 1960 banning of the organization, and the role he played in building a mass anti-apartheid movement in South Africa after his return there in 1990. Nomgcobo Sangweni of the ANC Women's League described his fight to advance women's rights in South Africa and in the ANC. "He was a fighter and he taught us to be fighters," said Tambo's daughter, Thembi. Cleveland Robinson, chairperson of the New York State Martin Luther King Commission, urged participants in the memorial to follow Tambo's example. "Freedom for South Africa is freedom for all, including here in the United States," he concluded.

Other speakers included South African actor Zakes Mokae; Congresswoman Maxine Waters of California; Prexy Nesbitt of the Mozambique Solidarity Office in Chicago; singer Harry Belafonte; Keba Birane Cisse, ambassador of Senegal to the UN; and George Houser of the American Committee on Africa. The cast of Sarafina and the René McLean Quartet provided a musical performance and members of the South African community performed several South African songs, including the ANC anthem.

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

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

Final push needed to meet goals

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Heading into the final days of an international campaign to win new readers, supporters of the *Militant* and other socialist publications are mobilizing for an all-out effort to make their goals. As the chart on this page indicates, supporters still face the substantial challenge of selling 771 subscriptions to the *Militant*, 146 to the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 535 copies of *New International* magazine.

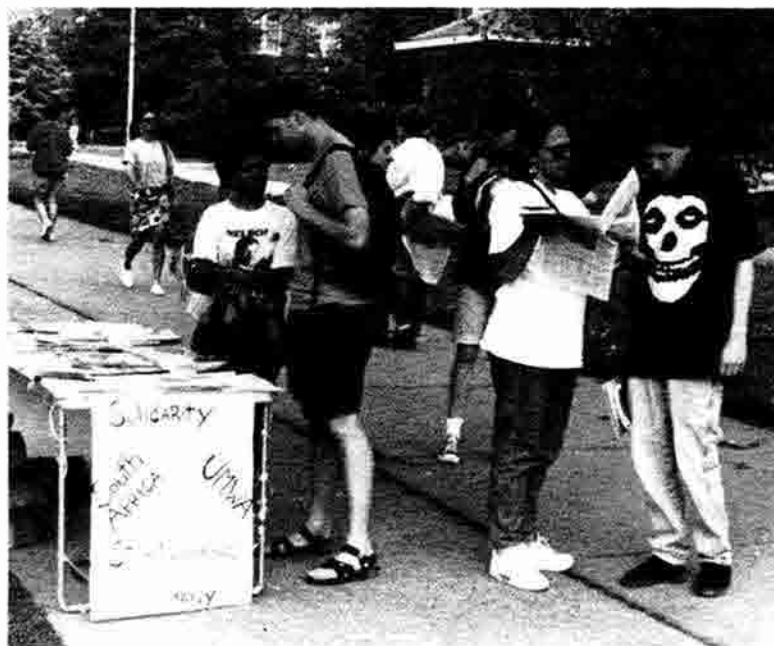
At mine portals, factory gates, campuses, and picket lines, *Militant* supporters are finding workers and young people who are eager to discuss world politics and consider the working-class perspective the paper offers.

A team of *Militant* supporters from across Canada and the United States traveled to Ottawa, Ontario, to participate in a May 15 demonstration against government cuts in unemployment compensation and social services. They sold 150 single copies of the *Militant*, 12 subscriptions, half a dozen copies of *New International* and one subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial* at the protest.

Miners, supporters buy subs

"We sold three subscriptions to strikers at Arch Mineral mines in Illinois," reported Mary Zins. "Many of the miners we talked to on the picket lines had seen the *Militant* before they went on strike. They said there is a lot of discussion about the paper among the miners. People don't agree with everything in the *Militant*, but a lot of them think it's helpful in getting out the truth about their contract fight. Many strikers wanted to discuss what's happening in Yugoslavia and the workers' fight in Germany, as well as the coverage on labor struggles in the United States."

Miners in the western coalfields are following what is happening with the miners' strike in the east, and welcomed the *Militant's* coverage when a sales and reporting team passed through re-



Militant/Harvey McArthur
Selling the *Militant* to students in Carbondale, Illinois.

cently. The team sold five *Militant* subscriptions when they visited portals at the Decker and Big Sky mines and took the paper door-to-door in the nearby communities of Sheridan and Gillette, Wyoming.

Sales in Canada, Britain

Paul Kouri from Vancouver faxed in a report on a trip to the Elk Valley in southeastern British Columbia, where nearly 2,000 coal miners were either locked out or on strike last year. "Over the course of two days we sold nine *Militant* subs, one to *Perspectiva Mundial*, three *New International*s, and a few books and pamphlets," Kouri wrote. "The massive union-busting offensive waged against these miners over the past year helped them readily understand the importance of the battle being waged today by U.S. coal miners, as well as other struggles."

At a rally of striking Timex workers in Dundee, Scotland, *Militant* supporters sold a subscription to one of the strike activists and 15 single issues, reports Ian Grant from London.

In addition to sending in 27 *Militant* subscriptions this week, supporters in Los Angeles have really started to sell *New International* — going from 25 to 72 in just one week. "Things are on an upswing," declared Tim Elliot. "A lot of it is being in the right place at the right time," he said. "We've been going to all kinds of political activities and going door-to-door through working-class neighborhoods."

Helping other areas

Some *Militant* supporters from areas that are doing well have volunteered to help out areas that are further down on the chart. Jo Rothenberg from the Twin Cities and Betsy Farley from Birmingham, Alabama, for example, are traveling to St. Louis to lend their energy to the circulation effort there.

Readers who would like to help out during the final days of the sales campaign can contact *Militant* supporters in your area at the addresses listed on page 12, or call the *Militant* offices in New York.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 72% 2,029

SHOULD BE: 88% 2,450

END OF WEEK SEVEN

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
New Haven, CT	10	10	100%	2	2	3	5
Cleveland	62	65	95%	1	4	13	25
Portland, OR	14	15	93%	2	2	4	10
Salt Lake City, UT	65	75	87%	11	15	19	35
Atlanta	63	75	84%	10	10	9	20
San Francisco	90	110	82%	30	30	53	70
Cincinnati	8	10	80%	1	2	1	3
Miami	76	100	76%	26	35	34	50
Denver	6	8	75%	2	2	3	5
Houston	56	75	75%	10	20	17	25
Twin Cities, MN	89	120	74%	20	20	31	38
Los Angeles	125	170	74%	76	85	72	95
Washington, DC	55	75	73%	12	25	23	40
Detroit	58	80	73%	4	10	9	30
Chicago	79	110	72%	13	25	5	35
Philadelphia	58	85	68%	13	20	14	25
Baltimore	51	75	68%	0	10	0	25
Seattle	54	80	68%	13	30	19	35
Boston	74	110	67%	19	30	30	45
Birmingham, AL	50	75	67%	6	10	9	20
Morgantown, WV	42	65	65%	2	5	8	20
New York	145	225	64%	48	75	51	95
Newark, NJ	85	135	63%	21	45	36	70
Pittsburgh	50	80	63%	7	8	9	25
Santa Cruz, CA	5	8	63%	0	5	2	5
Des Moines, IA	52	85	61%	28	30	19	40
Greensboro, NC	39	65	60%	5	7	7	30
St. Louis	43	90	48%	3	7	4	40
U.S. Total	1,604	2,276	70%	385	569	504	961
AUSTRALIA							
	26	30	87%	9	10	14	20
BELGIUM							
	0	8	0%	0	4	0	10
BRITAIN							
London	49	60	82%	6	5	20	25
Manchester	21	35	60%	1	1	8	20
Sheffield	20	35	57%	0	3	9	15
Britain Total	90	130	69%	7	9	37	60
CANADA							
Toronto	56	75	75%	7	15	12	45
Vancouver	51	70	73%	7	10	25	30
Montreal	37	65	57%	9	12	27	60
Quebec City	1	5	20%	1	0	0	2
Canada Total	145	215	67%	24	37	64	137
FRANCE							
	2	10	20%	1	3	4	10
GERMANY							
	11	15	73%	0	0	1	4
GREECE							
	6	5	120%	0	1	1	2
ICELAND							
	9	10	90%	0	1	1	3
NEW ZEALAND							
Wellington	41	40	103%	2	1	10	10
Christchurch	22	25	88%	0	1	5	8
Auckland	38	45	84%	4	1	8	10
New Zealand Total	101	110	92%	6	3	23	28
PUERTO RICO							
	2	1	200%	3	10	2	10
SWEDEN							
	44	65	68%	19	20	15	20
TOTAL	2,029	2,860	72%	454	667	665	1,261
SHOULD BE	2,450		88%	525		1,050	

IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
OCAW	43	50	86%	2	4	10	18
UMWA	51	60	85%	1	—	0	—
UAW	69	85	81%	1	—	16	25
UTU	63	80	79%	1	4	11	27
USWA	64	85	75%	3	—	2	25
IAM	62	90	69%	3	25	15	35
ACTWU	15	28	54%	9	12	4	20
ILGWU	8	20	40%	21	20	6	15
UFCW	17	56	30%	26	35	10	26
U.S. Total	392	554	71%	67	100	74	191
AUSTRALIA							
NUW	2	3	67%	0	—	0	—
AMEU	0	3	0%	0	—	0	—
FPU	0	3	0%	0	—	0	—
AUSTRALIA TOTAL	2	9	22%	0	—	0	—
BRITAIN							
TGWU	7	6	117%	0	—	0	3
RMT	9	12	75%	0	—	2	6
AEEU	2	6	33%	0	—	0	6
NUM	0	2	0%	0	—	0	2
Britain Total	18	26	69%	0	—	2	174
CANADA							
CAW	9	9	100%	1	1	3	4
USWA	7	13	54%	1	2	8	2
IAM	1	6	17%	0	—	0	2
ACTWU	0	2	0%	0	—	0	1
Canada Total	17	30	57%	2	3	11	9
NEW ZEALAND							
EU	5	5	100%	0	—	0	1
UFBGWU	3	8	38%	0	—	1	1
MWU	0	2	0%	0	—	0	1
New Zealand Total	8	15	53%	0	—	1	3
SWEDEN							
Metal workers	3	5	60%	0	—	0	1
Food workers	3	6	50%	0	—	0	2
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	—	0	—
Sweden Total	6	13	46%	0	—	0	3

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; AEEU — Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers 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

'No U.S. troops to Yugoslavia,' says socialist candidate in Cleveland

BY RONI McCANN

CLEVELAND — U.S. president Bill Clinton, on a one-day stop here May 10 to speak about his economic plan, was met by Socialist Workers Party candidate Amy Husk Sanchez. Sanchez, who is running for mayor in the November elections, and her supporters carried signs demanding "No U.S. Troops to Yugoslavia" and passed out campaign statements opposing the war moves.

The activity was part of a week-end of events launching the socialist campaign. Sanchez, 34, is an assembly line worker at Ford Motor Co. in Avon Lake, Ohio, and a member of the United Auto Workers union.

Sanchez was interviewed by three television stations along with the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* and *News Herald*.

"Why are you focusing on this issue, don't you have anything to say about the economy?" asked one reporter. "I have plenty to say about the economy," Sanchez responded. "Clinton's economic proposals are a continued assault on the lives of working people already bearing the brunt of the economic depression and worsening social conditions we are living through today."

"However, the central political question we face, and that workers and farmers like us face internationally, is the drive to lead us into a bloody and brutal war. It is not in our interests to send U.S. troops into Bosnia nor is it in the interests of the people in the former Yugoslavia. That is why I am campaigning here today to oppose these moves."

At an abortion-rights picket line held that morning, several activists were happy to meet the socialist candidate. "We need a pro-choice candidate," said one woman.

The action, attended by 100 people, was called to protest a recent decision by the board of Hillcrest Hospital to end abortion services at the facility. Sanchez and her supporters campaigned at a table with books and literature from Pathfinder and the *Militant* newspaper. They distributed a statement calling for defense of a woman's right to choose abortion and urged everyone to join forces this summer to defend Cleveland clinics from Operation Rescue. The rightist antiabortion group has targeted the city as one of seven it will focus on in its July 9-18 "Cities of Refuge" campaign.

Some 15 students at Oberlin College signed up to be part of the clinic-defense actions at a campaign table on campus May 12. On the advice of a couple of students, Sanchez and her supporters moved their table to a park in central Oberlin where a crowd of 75 youth had gathered to debate Jed Spock and his wife, Cindy. The Spocks were preaching on campus against homosexuals and abortion rights, and on other social questions.

"Oh, good, the *Militant* is here," said one student subscriber. "Many came to greet Sanchez, take flyers, and buy copies of the paper. Several wanted to know why her campaign demanded no U.S. troops to Yugoslavia. 'Doesn't something have to be done to stop the slaughter?' one student asked. Sanchez explained that there is no history of U.S. imperialist troops being used on the side of workers and youth anywhere in the world and we shouldn't be tricked into thinking they will now. She encouraged them to read Malcolm X's writings on the role played by United Nations troops in the Congo in the 1960s."

Agricultural brigade in Cuba transforms consciousness about social role of women

The following article appeared in the March 5, 1993, issue of *Bohemia*, a national weekly magazine published in Cuba, under the title "Women Speak in Confidence: Women Workers of the Trailer (In Spanish: *Mujeres hablan en confianza: las obreras de la carreta*). Translation from Spanish is by the *Militant*.

BY MIRTA RODRÍGUEZ CALDERÓN

Their fingernails are manicured and their faces suntanned. They ride through the fields of Alquizar in a vehicle that everyone identifies with them. Their lives, their work, and their way of viewing themselves as women is reviewed in a study by sociologist Marta Núñez Sarmiento, which is being discussed in scientific circles.

* * *

During her childhood, Guanímar was a vacation haven, the beach where wealthy families came to bathe on their days off; the place where on Christmas and Three Kings Day (January 6) her loving mother and father received gifts from poor fishermen and from their children, longing for the bicycle they used to see her ride, or the white shoes given her by a young girl whom she could never forget.

As she grew up and developed her talents, sociologist Marta Núñez Sarmiento always viewed the small coastal village of Guanímar in Alquizar, about 60 kilometers from the capital, as a place of love and longing, where she could greet the majority of the inhabitants by name.

Today Guanímar no longer has 200-some inhabitants, but over 500, and Marta Núñez has returned there once again. This time, however, it was not to look at the poverty, or the ships, which could be seen in the early mornings bringing back their paltry catches. In 1992 she went there to study how much Guanímar has changed, to identify the transformations, and to spend several months getting a clear picture of the behavior and characteristics of a brigade of women agricultural workers who are in the vanguard of the vanguard of women in the workplace.

Dr. Núñez Sarmiento's firsthand study of this type of unit is not the first such one she has done. Previously she studied women textile workers (with a team of investigators from the Federation of Cuban Women), and later spent several months with women workers at the Angel Guerra tile factory in El Husillo in Marianao, where a group of young women handle 7,000 pounds of bricks every day, both wet and dry.



Members of a women's agricultural brigade in their trailer at Guanímar, Cuba. The brigade has boosted their self-confidence and changed how others view them. *Bohemia/Orlando Maguiera*

Changes in consciousness of women

But what this sociologist was looking for in her study of the agricultural workers was not production figures, nor facts for singing praises. She was pursuing the higher goal of discovering the changes in consciousness of women who, for a number of hours each day, leave behind their role as housewives and go to work not as office clerks, nurses, or teachers, but in nontraditional jobs, almost totally removed from the labor and social patterns of their mothers. Doing so brings about a transformation in people's ideas of the roles these women play in life, and creates for them a new way of seeing themselves and thinking of themselves as women.

"By studying these women in their community and in their workplace," Marta Núñez told me, "my aim was also to prove how Cuba's socialist policy of development has sought to attain the development of the entire country, and not just certain urban centers. In this study, as in other ones, I also made suggestions on improving work conditions and work organization, and in attending to their needs as workers and as women."

"Although the usefulness of this type of investigation has not always been explicitly recognized, each time I visited the women's brigade (located in state farm no. 4 of UBP [Basic Production Unit] 21, part of the Assorted Crops Enterprise of Alquizar), I was able to see that more and more progress was being made. For example, after a magnificent comrade — who had previously been

part of the brigade — was put in charge, the dining room was fixed and improvements in food production were made. They rebuilt the bathrooms and refurbished the trailer, which for them is very important.

"There is now someone right there in the farm responsible for attention to workers' needs. Presumably this comrade will pay attention to them regularly; for example, in passing, he had just given them work gloves, which they had not had for some time.

"But shortages remain as a result of the special period," Dr. Núñez generalized. "They have serious problems with shoes and clothing (and when they do come they are not in their sizes, but in men's sizes); and with manufactured supplies in general.

They earn less

One time when we visited them, they had lost the morning because the tractor was broken. Because of this they lost pay; the tractor driver, however, did not. The work norms — both for men and women — are very difficult to meet. For example, when they harvest sweet potatoes, they have to haul the heaviest sacks back to camp; or when they gather tomatoes, they collect 7,000 for a daily wage of 4.96 pesos, stooping down time and time again. If they try to surpass the norm by one and a half or two times, one can make the calculations to see what a tremendous effort this involves.

In her study of working women, the sociologist always found that they earn less than men. "The difference," she explained,

"is caused by the fact that women occupy the lowest-paying jobs, and in general are excluded from working in so-called difficult jobs: as cane cutters, lifters, ditch diggers, oxen drivers, horse tamers, or tractor drivers." Why do they not hold these jobs? The head of personnel at the farm told Marta that it was because of "Cuba's culture." And the economic director of the enterprise, Miguel Roberto Santana, told me that this occurs there "because it is a farm devoted to garden vegetables, where there is no bonus paid according to yield, as with bananas for example. Last year they harvested 20,000 quintales of cabbage [1,000 tons], when the normal yield is 6,000. Had such a bonus system existed (which is being tried out in a few places), they would have earned two and a half times the wage they brought in.

"The production norms are usually a source of conflict and a disincentive," the sociologist told me. In her 60-plus-page study, she states: "Women and men workers compare their wages with those of the 'mobilized workers,' who earn 225 pesos no matter what they do. They also compare them with the heads of farms (265 pesos) and heads of the UBP (295 pesos)." For that reason they say that they are not giving incentives to workers in production.

"I like working in agriculture, because it is a real pleasure to see a seed taking root, or bringing in a harvest," Aleida García told me. She is a 34-year-old agricultural worker, who is already a grandmother. Manuela Ramírez nodded. She is originally from Baracoa and now lives in Guanímar; her daughter Marvelis studies art and possesses a piano (now very out of tune), the only one that anyone can ever remember in the village.

Strong and active women

Marta Núñez's study probes deeper and deeper into the views and feelings of this group, until she is able to dissect the smallest detail of their being and their thinking. She also looks at their conjunctural situation, which can sometimes be all-important. The trailer fits in this category, as well as how they refer to themselves.

During the months in which Marta worked with them, they called themselves the "beauties," and some of the men referred to them as "*las candiñas*," evoking the powerful madame of the brothel in the [Brazilian] soap opera *Dona Beija*.

"My conclusion," the investigator wrote, "was that the people have given them this name as a joke. But what has happened is they now use this term to refer to themselves. I asked why, and they told me, 'We call ourselves as a bunch so that they know who we are! Because we always go around together, because these were the only women who worked in that novel.'"

Regarding this question, the sociologist asked herself: "Are they issuing a challenge? Does this stem from a need to differentiate themselves and identify themselves with a strong individual? One can draw a number of conclusions not just to extract what they think about themselves, but also to show how we impose our forms of thinking on people different from ourselves. The truth is that in Guanímar, where 'the men rule,' the women I studied display a power as great as, or perhaps even greater, than the men. They identify themselves first as women workers of the trailer and second as 'the wife of so-and-so,' which is the usual thing. At home their husbands share the cooking; some of them do the washing; they help care for the children, and other things."

At work they are seen by their supervisors as strong and active, as Marta describes it:

Rafael Sánchez Tabares, the director of the Assorted Crops Enterprise of Alquizar, said the following about the young women of farm no. 4: "Often the great majority of the male workers talk about problems of production, or about their work needs, in the corridors — not in the assemblies, meetings, or morning huddles. But the women say these things right there, in front of everyone; whether or not the trailer is satisfactory, whether the norm is too high,

Workers respond to Books for Cuba Fund

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Dozens of supporters of the Cuban revolution from around the country have so far contributed more than \$3,000 to a new fund established to meet requests from Cuban libraries and schools for books published and distributed by Pathfinder Press.

The Books for Cuba Fund was launched in April in response to a growing number of these requests from Cuban educational institutions over the past year. New York-based Pathfinder publishes and distributes speeches and writings of revolutionary leaders like Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Ernesto Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Leon Trotsky, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and Farrell Dobbs.

In March Pathfinder representatives were invited to a student conference at the University of Matanzas. Students and professors at the conference expressed their eagerness to read the Pathfinder books displayed there.

Conference organizers requested a donation of selected Pathfinder titles, as well as a set of the English-language *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels, which have never been published in their entirety in Spanish. A book donation was made to the library at the university, which 5,000 students attend.

Students, teachers, and others showed similar enthusiasm for revolutionary books at an October 1992 library conference held at the Higher Technical Institute in Holguín, where participating Pathfinder representatives also made a book donation to the library.

As barriers separating revolutionary fighters in the world continue to crumble — under the impact of the depression engulfing the capitalist world and the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe — many working people and youth in Cuba are seeking previously unavailable books to help them confront the challenges facing the revolution today and to take advantage of the openings that shifts in world politics present.

Because of the lack of funds caused by the collapse of trade with the former Soviet bloc, Cubans are making extraordinary efforts to obtain needed books. For example, Cuban libraries are seeking exchanges of literature with institutions around the world.

Cuban students and professors in Matanzas were inspired when they found out the Pathfinder books were being donated not by an institution but through the contributions of working people from the United States and other countries.

The costs of the book donations to the

Matanzas and Holguín university libraries were \$1,600 and \$1,000, respectively. Contributions to the Pathfinder Books for Cuba Fund will make possible future donations of books requested by students and others.

The biggest part of the \$3,000 contributed so far was raised at Militant Labor Forums held in early April in New York City; Greensboro, North Carolina; and Des Moines, Iowa. At these well-attended public meetings Pathfinder president Mary-Alice Waters, who had recently participated in the Matanzas conference, spoke on "Cuba Today: Challenges Facing the Working Class." Since then a number of *Militant* readers have sent in checks to the fund.

The University of Matanzas will be the site of a seminar in early June on "The Thought of Ernesto Che Guevara and the Challenges of the End of the Century." A conference of U.S. and Cuba social scientists will take place at the Higher Technical Institute in Holguín in late June. Pathfinder representatives have been invited to attend both events and further requests for books may be expected.

Urgently needed contributions can be sent to: Books for Cuba Fund, c/o the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014. Checks should be made payable to the *Militant* and earmarked for the special fund.

whether the people in the camps are working poorly, whether or not they are bringing the harvest in on time. That is a very positive characteristic of the women."

Women who discuss and are energetic

Among the many other generalizations of Professor Núñez Sarmiento (hopefully her fascinating and rigorously scientific narrative will be turned into a book) is her observation of how the self-esteem of these women workers does not inhibit them in front of their supervisors. Marta writes: "There is no sense of dependence or submissiveness in face of those in charge. They demand to be led in a rational and fair manner, and that supervisors be named because of their knowledge, for their human qualities, and for the respect others have in them. They are not afraid of losing their job when they confront their superiors around some injustice."

The assessment of Ramón González Chávez, head of food self-sufficiency at the enterprise, illustrates these assertions: "If they have to dispute with the supervisor, they do so," he says. "On one occasion, the women's brigade was told to pass up the sweet potatoes. It was a field where we wanted to clear weeds to prepare for planting. The women disagreed with this decision, and it turned out they were right: the bulk of the sweet potato crop was lost and had to be fed to the pigs. Later we met with them and explained things in detail. . . . It was not easy to convince them."

"Another time," Chávez recalled, "there was sludge on the beach (as a result of a dike built to prevent salt water from getting on the lands and to help recover the groundwater, the water flooded the village; this is a big problem in Guanamar), and the women workers had to go eight or nine days without working. Some of them cooled their heels

at home, with water inside their houses. But during those days the male workers were sent out to clear with machetes, and the reincorporation of the women was delayed even further. They demanded to return so insistently and with such strong arguments that the situation had to be rectified."

"The women are not afraid of anything," Chávez stated loudly. "And in truth we have not created all the conditions necessary, because we spend most of our time thinking about questions of production. But we should adopt more reasonable production norms, and work harder on this. Marta's study has helped us and will continue helping us, because one can see how important this group of women is, and how they get results."

Joint owners of the trailer

The women of the trailer, in truth, are the vanguard of the vanguard in many senses. Their conduct and activity give us faith in the degree to which women in Cuba have changed in their own minds.

"For them the trailer has a very special meaning," Marta Núñez explains. "When I asked some of them what benefits the revolution had given them, they responded: the trailer. They feel it belongs to them and to the farm. It is something they use in common to satisfy very immediate needs: arriving to work on time, returning to their homes, going to the dining room, taking food to the animals, resting, getting out of the rain, having snacks, and above all, conversing. Decisions about it are made on a collective basis: who is going to ride inside (at this time the trailer does not leave anyone on the road), what time they go, what stops to make, what can be carried inside, and what is prohibited. The agreements are tacit, or else they discuss the rules aloud. The trailer enables them to go through experi-



Bohemia/Orlando Maquiera

Brigade members in the field. "Without us, there would not be enough to eat in Havana," one of the women explained.

ences as a group, and gives them cohesion. It is a type of joint ownership between them and the farm.

"These women," the sociologist says in summing up, "have lived through a period of 30 years in which people of lower incomes experienced upward mobility like a rocket through the development policy of the revolution. They live with many securities which, although 'received' are already part of their needs. The fact of having basic demands met (through their own work or through the state) has instilled a sense of security that their mothers and fathers did not experience. They still are able to compare themselves with the previous genera-

tion, although their children lack the ability to do this.

"In professional terms, working with these women agricultural workers was a test for me as a sociologist, as a Cuban, and as a woman. My scientific awareness was deepened, and I could see the Guanamar that I love so much (a village that appears in historical accounts as early as 1506) and view the effects of the revolution: a village with advantages similar to provincial capitals, whose residents do not resemble the poor people I knew as a child, but who are citizens just like any other Cubans, with the frankness and characteristics of people who feel themselves to be completely free.

Friendshipment to Cuba will 'awaken people to immorality of U.S. embargo'

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — "Our objective is to create pressure within the United States for the recognition of the sovereignty of Cuba, normalization of the relations between the United States and Cuba, and for an end to Washington's embargo against that country," said Rev. Lucius Walker during a recent interview here.

Walker is the executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), and a leader of Pastors for Peace, an IFCO project, which is sponsoring the Second Friendshipment Caravan to Cuba in July. The caravan will once again challenge the U.S. embargo by taking material aid to Cuba.

The primary purpose of the caravan, Walker explained, "is not just to take the aid, as important as that is. In the process of taking the aid we awaken and educate people in the United States about the existence of the embargo, the illegitimacy,

the immorality of the embargo, and the role the U.S. government is playing in contributing to the suffering of the Cuban people."

Imposed by Washington over 33 years ago, "the embargo is the total economic and cultural blockade of Cuba by the United States," said Walker. "It prevents trade. It denies normal economic, cultural, and diplomatic relations between the two countries. It also imposes a hardship on Cuba in an extraterritorial manner because it not only prevents trade between U.S. corporations and Cuba, but it seeks to interfere in the trade relations that Cuba has enjoyed with foreign subsidiaries of U.S. corporations. The penalties for violating the embargo are high."

What people in the United States have been told about Cuba is a lie, said Walker. Through the experience of the First Friendshipment Caravan that took place last year, thousands of people throughout the United States got a chance to hear from those who know firsthand what life is like in the Caribbean island. "Our experience showed that if people in the United States know the truth about the history of the U.S. relationship to Cuba, if they know the truth about Cuba, they would join the effort to end the embargo."

Washington is opposed to this effort, said Walker. "One of the myths they propagate is that all Cubans in the United States are opposed to the government of Cuba and are in favor of the embargo. In this caravan we are going to demonstrate that is not so. We are going to have two routes that have a dominant presence on them of Cuban-Americans."

Cuban-Americans to join caravan

One of the routes will emanate from Miami and one from northern New Jersey, both are areas with large Cuban-American communities, Walker noted. These are being organized by Cuban American groups that "are not intimidated by the Cuban-

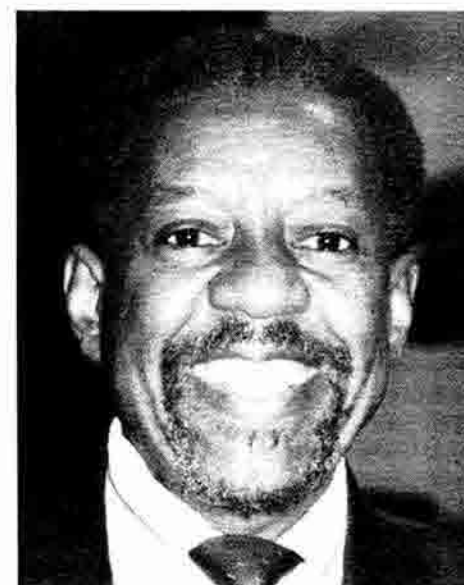
American National Foundation (CANF) and [its head] Jorge Mas Canosa in Miami, and they are going to provide vehicles and drivers" for those routes. The rightist CANF has led the campaign in the United States to tighten the embargo. "The Cuban-American Coalition in New Jersey will send a tractor trailer, a flatbed truck, a van, and three additional vehicles and at least 20 Cuban-Americans opposed to the embargo," said Walker.

The caravan takes place at a crucial time, he added. Recently the hardships forced on Cuba by the embargo have been aggravated by the sharp reduction in trade between Cuba and its main trading partners, the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, producing serious shortages.

"The needs in Cuba are acute and severe," said Walker. The economic situation worsened in March, when a "tremendous typhoon destroyed over 15,000 homes, destroyed much of the industrial infrastructure, damaged vital equipment that has not been repaired yet because of the lack of spare parts," as well as caused tremendous losses in agriculture.

The caravan will be leaving on July 16 from some 12 cities across the United States and make its way to Laredo, Texas, stopping along the way in dozens of towns and cities. Participants will speak at meetings and other events on the situation in Cuba and on the need to end the embargo. After crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, the caravan will unload its cargo at the port in Tampico, Mexico, onto a ship that will take the aid to Cuba. Those on the caravan will travel to Cuba to distribute the aid through a coalition of churches there, and then make their way back home by mid-August.

The material aid will include bulk rice and powdered milk, school supplies, medicines, bicycles, spare parts, sewing supplies, computers, seeds, and bedding, among other things. "We will also be taking certain material that will be used for the restoration of some of the art work damaged during the



Militant/Pat Smith

Pastors for Peace leader Lucius Walker

storm," said Walker. "In addition, we have been asked to take ballet shoes because, in the face of all the hardships and the shortages, Cuba continues to have a commitment to the cultural life of its people. And, of course, we will be taking bibles. Because of paper shortages they can't print bibles today in Cuba."

The efforts "ultimate purpose is to end the embargo," said Walker. "We know that if the embargo is lifted, the ingenuity, the creativity, the resourcefulness of the Cuban people and the Cuban government's commitment to the welfare of its people will result in the flowering of an age when people can have good health, no homelessness, and an official end to racism and sexism. The way a society ought to be. Cuba has demonstrated that is what its commitment is. We would like to free it [from the embargo] to be able to demonstrate for the world to see, and for people to enjoy, the commitment it has to quality of life."

Everybody can play a role in this project, said Walker. People can sign up to go as drivers, can lend their vehicles, can organize meetings in their communities to raise funds and material aid, host a fund raising party at their home, or publicize the effort in any way they can. For more information write or call IFCO at: 402 W. 145 St., New York, NY 10031. Tel. (212) 926-5757.

From Pathfinder

TO SPEAK THE TRUTH

Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End

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Are there too many people in the world?

Why working people should expose the myth of population explosion

BY SARA LOBMAN

A number of articles have recently appeared in the big-business press in the United States warning readers of an increasingly serious "population problem."

Liberal columnist Anthony Lewis, for example, thinks that dramatic population increases in the semicolonial world are the cause of many problems, from environmental disasters to war. "The population explosion in South Asia, Latin America, and Africa," he wrote in a *New York Times* column, "leads in all those areas to overgrazing, soil erosion and clearing of tropical rain forests."

Paul Harvey made a similar claim in the February 10 issue of the *Conservative Chronicle*. "Our involvement in Somalia," he said, "has been a continuing reminder of the desperate degree to which overpopulation can impoverish a nation."

Could this be true? Are too many babies being born? Are war in the former Yugoslavia, famine in Somalia, fighting in Angola, razing of rain forests in Brazil, oil spills and other ecological destruction all a result of too many people?

A closer look at Harvey's and Lewis's arguments will prove their assertions are false. An examination of the facts shows that the myth of overpopulation is just that — a myth. And a racist, anti-working-class myth at that.

The world's population stood at around 1 billion in the year 1800, Lewis reports. It had grown to 2 billion by 1920, 3 billion by 1960, and is more than 5 billion today. "Almost all the increase," Lewis warns, "is occurring in the poorest countries." This population growth is taking its toll "in nature and human psychology. . . . In the cities of China the crowds can be claustrophobic. In the mountains of India and Nepal people desperate for fuel have denuded forests, so topsoil is being washed into rivers and out to sea."

"Already 20 million Mexicans live in Mexico City," he continues. "Half the country's people live without sewers and a quarter without safe water. Can anyone be surprised that . . . many Mexicans are desperate to get into the United States?"

Harvey echoes this argument. There are "too many babies, worldwide," he says. "The underfed overflow is being turned away in England, France, Germany, and Scandinavia." The United States, he adds, accepts a "disproportionate number of immigrants."

Is Somalia really overpopulated?

But are India, Mexico, China, and Somalia really overpopulated? Compared to what? Is there really a relationship between population density and poverty?

Let's look at Belgium, for example, an imperialist country in Europe. No one would ever argue Belgium has too many people. But Belgium has an average of 842 inhabitants in every square mile of its territory. In contrast "overpopulated" Somalia has only 27! And this isn't an exception. China has 311 people per square mile; the United Kingdom 608, France clocks in with 268, but Mexico is considered crowded with 118. Even the relatively spacious United States has almost three times the population den-



Ernest Harsch

The 1983 revolution in Burkina Faso showed that working people can repair the damage done to the environment by capitalism. Burkinabé peasants, like those above, planted 10 million trees to stop the advance of the Sahel desert during the 1983-87 revolution.

sity of Somalia.

The population control advocates have turned things on their head. There is a reason for the immigration of working people from Latin America, Asia, and Africa to the United States and other imperialist countries: for the massive destruction of the ecology; for poverty and war. But this reason is called capitalism, not overpopulation.

It's the unequal relationship in the world between the imperialist countries such as the United States, Britain, Germany, France, and Japan on the one hand, and semicolonial countries — like Mexico, India, Somalia — on the other, that is the root cause of grinding poverty in much of the world.

Take the massive destruction of the rain forests in Brazil. These forests are the earth's single largest source of oxygen and an important source of pharmaceutical products. Two-thirds of the earth's surface water is in this forest, and one-third of the known species of plants and animals live there. Much of the forest has been burned or cut down by big ranchers to create grazing lands for cattle.

But the reason for this destruction is not that there are too many people in Brazil, which has an average of only 47 inhabitants per square mile. Rather, as Duncan Green points out in his book, *Fight for the Forest: Chico Mendes in His Own Words*,

it is the massive debt imposed on Brazil by the banks in the imperialist countries and the drive by Brazil's capitalist ranchers for a quick profit that's at the root of the forest's destruction. At the same time, it is the "overabundant" rubber and other workers along with native people in the Amazon who are leading the fight to protect the rain forest.

Other ecological disasters — from the massive oil spill off the coast of Alaska in 1989 to the 1984 toxic gas leak from a Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India, that killed more than 3,500 people and injured 200,000 — are also a result of the capitalists' drive to maximize profits, regardless of the cost for either the workers or the environment.

Similarly, famine in Somalia comes from imperialist superexploitation of working people in the Horn of Africa, not overpopulation.

Myth of population explosion

This is not the first time that the cry of "overpopulation" has been heard as an explanation for the problems confronting working people around the world. A Pathfinder pamphlet by Joseph Hansen, *Too Many Babies? The Myth of the Population Explosion*, was first published in 1960 to respond to a flurry of articles and papers that appeared at that time warning of the threat of the "population bomb." "Bumper Baby Crop Held Threat to U.S.," read one newspaper headline. "Men multiply at a geometric rate while food production can only be increased at an arithmetic rate," a professor from the University of California warned. One member of Congress even suggested that extra people should be shipped off to outer space!

Hansen explains that the "too many babies, too little food" argument goes back to the theories raised by Reverend Thomas Malthus. Writing in 1798, Malthus set out to prove that the ideas of "liberty, fraternity, and equality emanating from the French revolution" were utopian. His population theory, which boiled down to the assertion that people multiplied faster than food and other natural resources, was greeted with enthusiasm by ruling circles in Britain. It let the rich and powerful off the hook for the condition of the working class. If population growth was the cause of poverty and hunger, then the poor had only themselves to blame.

"Malthus was simply a part of the reactionary propaganda fostered by the vested interests of the time as a check, not against population growth, but against the spread of the French revolution," Hansen explains. "The revival of the Malthusian view today is best appreciated against the background of the upheavals which began with the October 1917 revolution in Russia."

Too much food?

Hansen goes on to show how Malthus's predictions — and those of his 20th century cohorts — were proven wrong by the march of science and technology. It turns out they didn't take into account the tremendous boost agriculture would get from the industrial revolution and the use of manufactured plant nutrients, enzymes, pesticides, and hormones. In 1850, Hansen points out, it took four farmers to produce enough food for five people. By 1959, one farmer could produce enough food and fiber for 24 people — an almost 20 fold increase!

In fact, almost simultaneously with the 1960s articles that complained of too many people, all kinds of propaganda suddenly began to appear that said the real problem was too much food. Farmers could now produce more food than people could afford to buy, driving prices down. But instead of using this abundance to help stamp out world hunger, Hansen explains, the U.S. government began a program to buy off some of the "surplus" food and store it, and, in some cases, to actually pay farmers to stop growing food crops.

Marx and Engels v. Malthus

It should come as no surprise to Marxists that Malthus was shown to be wrong, Hansen says. Engels, who considered the Malthusian doctrine a "vile and infamous doctrine," refuted Malthus's population theory as early as 1844. "The implications of [his] line of thought," Engels said, "are that since it is precisely the poor who are surplus, nothing should be done for them except to make their dying of starvation as easy as possible, and to convince them that it cannot be helped and that there is no other salvation for their whole class than keeping propagation down to the absolute minimum."

"The Malthusians," Hansen notes, "isolate the poor from the population . . . and then seek to explain the poverty of this segment on the basis of its size. This is obvious nonsense. Engels, on the contrary, takes the rich and poor sectors of the population as they really are, a living, interrelated combination."

"A crazy position is at once apparent," Hansen continues. "In the midst of abundance, part of the population goes hungry. It is self-evident to Engels that this is due not to the quantity of the poor but to the quality of the economic system in which they live — it dooms people to starvation in the shadow of bursting granaries and warehouses."

Engels points out that this is completely unnecessary. "The productive power at mankind's disposal is immeasurable," he says. "Capital increases daily; labour power grows with the population; and day by day science increasingly makes the forces of nature more subject to man."

"In today's world," Hansen wrote, "hunger is completely abnormal."

Real cause of "overpopulation"

Marx and Engels explained that "overpopulation" under capitalism is relative, not to the food supply as Malthus argued, but relative to the number of workers the bosses need in their factories, mines, and mills at any given moment.

There are laws, Marx explained, that govern population under the different kinds of society through which humans have advanced during our history on this planet, from food-gathering tribes of the Stone Age to modern capitalism. In the first stages of capitalism, when there are almost limitless opportunities for the new system, the number of workers needed by the bosses grows rapidly, even with the introduction of new, and more efficient, technology.

But, as capitalism advances, this changes. As any packinghouse worker, coal miner, or steelworker knows, the bosses take the

Continued on Page 11

FOR FURTHER READING

TOO MANY BABIES?
The Myth of the Population Explosion
BY JOSEPH HANSEN



If in the midst of abundance part of the population goes hungry, Hansen explains, this is due not to the quantity of those without food but to the quality of the economic system under which they live — one that dooms them to starvation in the shadow of bursting granaries and warehouses. BOOKLET \$3.00

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German strikers set back austerity plan

Continued from front page

agreement also allows the companies to include a clause that would allow them to negotiate paying wages below those specified in the agreement, if they can prove they are in financial difficulty. This is less than the unconditional "opt-out" that the bosses had initially demanded.

Workers in the eastern state of Saxony approved the contract by a 77 percent margin and returned to work May 19. Metalworkers in other eastern German states are expected to do the same in the coming week. Nine thousand steelworkers still remain on strike.

"We have won," Uwe Neumärker, a worker from the GKN plant in Mosel explained. Other workers expressed concern with the two-year wait for parity. Only six workers entered the plant during the strike. Three of these registered as strikers the next day. Twenty-five workers joined the union during the strike.

In the Berlin-Brandenburg area, where negotiators didn't decide until May 19 to recommend the contract to the ranks, several hundred workers demonstrated outside of the negotiating sessions.

Reunification backfires on rulers

German capitalists had hoped that reunification would provide the German economy with the markets and the industrial capacity to reinforce its dominant position in Europe and to ride out the worldwide recession that was becoming visible. Instead, they have seen their economy sink into a severe recession. While the Treuhand — the government agency responsible for privatizing east German enterprises — has sold off approximately 90 percent of the 12,672 companies it controlled at its inception, it has not made much progress in privatizing basic industry. Only three of eastern Germany's 18 steel mills, for example, have been sold.

The Treuhand is scheduled to close at the end of next year, and it has become clear that it will not be able to accomplish its mission of selling these enterprises by then. Indeed, the government agency has already established five "mini-Treuhand" to sustain companies in several industries, including textile and engineering.

In many of the companies that have been sold, the new owners have found it difficult

to reorganize production along "normal" capitalist lines. At Kvaerner Warnow Werft shipyard in Rostock, which was sold last year, striking workers told the *Militant* that "things have changed little" since the sale. While the top managers have been replaced, the supervisors and foreman are the same.

The government has had to pour massive resources into sustaining the large numbers of unemployed workers. Millions of marks have also gone to keep hopelessly unprofitable enterprises running, rather than risk the social upheaval that would be sparked by shutting major factories.

"This is our mill," one Eko steelworker told the *Militant*, explaining that the mill and the city around it were built by workers in the 1950s and they would not accept having it closed down.

The Treuhand is also confronted with the reluctance of individual capitalists to buy east German enterprises. German steel, metal, and engineering factories in the east operate at about 30 percent of productivity levels in the west. This low productivity is due to a combination of factors, including antiquated equipment and the inability of the government in Bonn to attract investment in



Militant/Robert Dees

IG Metall strikers outside a GKN plant in Saxony, Germany. In response to strike and solidarity actions, employers agreed to grant pay raise of up to 26 percent this year.

eastern Germany.

The capacity of the employers in the privately owned workplaces to maintain low wages in the eastern part of the country is essential to their ability to make profits. In addition, the Treuhand can make little progress selling off the state-owned factories if they cannot deal substantial defeats to the industrial working class. "Wage costs are the Achilles' heel of the eastern German economy," declared a report issued in March by

the German Institute for Economic Forecasting and the Institute for World Economy. An editorial in the London *Financial Times* last year concluded, "The root of Germany's economic and social problems is the pace at which wages in the east and west are converging. . . . But east German productivity is only a third of west German levels."

Carl-Eric Isacson, Aggy Partasis, and Dag Tirsén contributed to this article.

Minnesota socialist candidates explain how capitalism causes unemployment

We are reproducing below excerpts from a statement by Greg Rosenberg and Kari Sachs, Socialist Workers candidates for mayor of Minneapolis and mayor of St. Paul, released under the title, "Why can't everybody have a job?" The statement was distributed at a union-sponsored rally in Northfield, Minnesota, May 8.

The Minnesota AFL-CIO called the rally after the Sheldahl Corporation announced it would transfer 100 manufacturing jobs from its factory in Northfield, which produces high-technology laminating material for printed circuit boards, to plants in Mexico. The company later announced it will instead move the jobs to South Dakota. About 500 workers, union officials, farmers, and others participated. "Stop NAFTA [North American Free Trade Agreement]," and "Protect

Minnesota jobs," were among the major slogans at the rally.

* * *

In the richest country in the world, there should not be any person who wants a job and cannot find one. But, as we all know, 8.9 million workers — 7 percent of the work force — are jobless, even during an upturn in the business cycle. If those who have given up looking for work are counted, the figure would be much larger. And those of us who are working know that we could be in the unemployment lines tomorrow. No job is secure in the depression-type conditions we face today. We are all "temporary" workers. This is not only a problem in the United States, but is also a worsening plague throughout the world.

Why can't everybody have a job? The answer is that the employers are cursed by overproduction of commodities and excess industrial capacity. Their output is greater than they can sell at a high enough profit to justify expanding their plants and equipment. In order to maintain their profit rates in a stagnant market, they are forced to find ways to become more competitive. They are making us pay the price through mounting work reorganization, forced overtime, speed-up, wage and benefit cuts, plant shutdowns, layoffs, and cutting corners on safety and the environment. They add new machinery that lowers their per unit costs at the price of intensifying the work burden and putting thousands of workers onto the streets.

The plight of workers is paralleled by that of debt-ridden working farmers. As the giant food processing and trading monopolies step up competition among themselves in a world market marked by a "food glut," they squeeze more out of farmers through exorbitant interest rates; high prices for machinery, seeds, and other inputs; and low prices for the products of their labor. Each year tens of thousands of farmers are plowed under in this country, and tens of millions more in countries throughout the world.

What can we do in the face of this worsening depression and social crisis? Working people don't have the power to make the capitalist economic system work more fairly or equitably. We can't repair or reform it. Instead we must defend ourselves against the ravages that this system brings. We must join together in an international struggle to protect ourselves from growing unemployment. The labor movement must mount a campaign for:

- A 30-hour workweek, with not one cent reduction in pay. This would immediately open up the possibility of jobs for millions more workers. This fight would unite workers at home and abroad who are out of work, involuntarily part-time workers, young workers, and those forced to work overtime.

- A massive public works program to put hundreds of thousands to work building housing, schools, medical facilities, and repairing bridges, tunnels, and highways.

- Affirmative action quotas in hiring and upgrading of workers who are Black, Latino, or women to combat the inequalities the bosses use to divide and weaken our class.

- Cancel the foreign debt of oppressed semicolonial countries and eliminate all measures that maintain unequal trade relations with these countries. The labor movement should fight to organize workers on both sides of the border in unions and fight for better living, working, and environmental conditions.

- Moratorium on farm foreclosures. Low-interest loans and guaranteed living income to working farmers.

The struggles for these and other similar immediate needs will give us confidence in our collective strength and a clearer view of the much bigger battles that will confront us with the onset of the economic catastrophe that capitalism is bringing.

This course runs in the opposite direction of helping the bosses in Minnesota or the United States to become more competitive and profitable. Many politicians of both big-business parties urge us to support some form of protection of "U.S." industry and "U.S." jobs. They appeal to us to join forces with employers and their government to impose tariffs, quotas, or other aggressive measures against imports of goods produced in other countries. They urge us to give backhanded support to such measures by targeting "free trade" blocs like the North American Free Trade Agreement. However, no amount of their demagoguery about "exporting" jobs to Mexico and other semicolonial countries where "slave labor" is used, or to "right-to-work" states such as South Dakota, should blind us to the fact that they want us to hitch our fate to their profit goals.

As intensified trade competition mounts between big-business rivals of different countries, workers and farmers have no interest in supporting the North American Free Trade Agreement or protectionist policies of the bosses and their bipartisan government. This rivalry is driving big-business interests toward increased conflict, including war, as in the former Yugoslavia today.

This orientation of relying on "our" own bosses is designed to prevent us from seeing that we have no common interests with them and to see the common interests we do share with other workers, regardless of where they live and what language they speak.

Greg Rosenberg and Kari Sachs are members of UAW Local 879 and work at the Ford plant in St. Paul, Minnesota.

The myth of overpopulation

Continued from Page 10

wealth that the workers create and use it to buy faster and better machines. As a result, some workers find themselves out of a job. "The working population," Marx says, produces "the means by which it is itself made relatively superfluous; and it does this to an extent which is always increasing. This is a law of population peculiar to the capitalist mode of production."

This, of course, isn't very good for the worker who suddenly finds him- or herself thrown out in the street. Hansen points out. But it turns out to be quite useful for the capitalist, who counts on a large reserve army of "surplus" workers during periods of expansion. "Anyone who recalls the sudden shift in the United States from the widespread unemployment of the thirties to the scramble for workers that occurred as the war industries moved into full production" in preparation for World War II will appreciate this, Hansen points out. The reserve army also increases the competition among working people for jobs, making it harder for them to stand together against the bosses' attacks.

The real source of that "overpopulation," which gave the Reverend Malthus his chronic anxiety, Hansen concludes, was actually "one of the phenomena of capitalism. He simply made the error of believing it to be a natural phenomenon true of all times and all places."

Burkinabè people's revolution

There are, however, examples of another way to organize society, and a different way to view humanity, than Harvey, Lewis, and their political ancestors would have us believe. One of the most inspiring is the 1983 revolution made by the people of Burkina Faso.

Upper Volta, as the West African country was called at the time, was one of the poorest countries in the world. A French colony until 1960, it had the highest infant mortality rate in the world. Ninety-two percent of the population was illiterate, and, to make things even more difficult, some sixty different ethnic, tribal, and language groups existed. The continual advance of the Sahara Desert — a result of adapting agriculture and trade to the capitalist market — had produced more than a decade of drought and famine.

The people of Burkina Faso, "have watched their mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters die, decimated by hunger, famine, disease, and ignorance," explained Thomas Sankara, former president of the National Council of the Revolution in a 1986 speech. Nevertheless, he said, "I assert that Africa remains an underpopulated continent."

The new revolutionary government began to lead the toilers to transform their lives. Committees to Defend the Revolution were established to mobilize the power of the working people. Priority was given to education and health care. And a massive campaign was launched to push back the march of the desert. In the course of this campaign, workers and peasants planted more than 10 million trees.

The Burkinabè revolution was overthrown in 1987. The example it set, however, remains a powerful answer to the basic lie of Malthus and his modern-day followers. The toilers of the world — far from destroying the earth with our numbers — hold the key to ending poverty and hunger once and for all.

A future article will take up the reactionary content of current "population control" programs from the United States to China.

Rivalry grows over Yugoslavia

Continued from front page

gious indifference, if not bigotry." After London and Paris rejected Washington's military plan, the U.S. rulers initially considered taking unilateral U.S. military action. But then the White House stalled. "We are not prepared to break up the U.S.-European alliance in the post-Cold War period over the issue," an unnamed official told the *Washington Post* May 17.

On tour in California the same day, Clinton himself refused to answer reporters' questions about Bosnia. Also on the same day, top officials at the White House reportedly discussed other possibilities for a much more limited use of U.S. military power in the former Yugoslavia. These included using air power to back the effort by French and British forces in Bosnia to enforce "safe areas" around a few cities where Muslims are in the majority; sending several hundred U.S. forces as "peacekeepers" to Macedonia; and supplying a small number of "human rights monitors" in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

UN meeting abruptly canceled

As Washington's initiative fizzled, divisions with its imperialist rivals in Europe sharpened further. With the support of London and Paris, Moscow initiated a United Nations Security Council meeting of foreign ministers to adopt a resolution calling for step-by-step implementation of the Vance-Owen plan.

Washington has stated it will not participate in any military moves on the ground before the three contesting forces in Bosnia all sign the plan. Radovan Karadzic's Serbian Democratic Party forces have so far refused to sign, underscoring this stance with a May 8-9 referendum in the areas of Bosnia they control. Serbs in Bosnia who participated in the vote reportedly rejected the Vance-Owen plan by an overwhelming margin.

After Moscow called the Security Council special meeting for May 21, Washington abruptly announced that it would not participate, which led to the meeting being hurriedly canceled. With this move, "European diplomats described the diplomatic situation as chaotic," reported the *New York Times*.

Washington's inability to force the governments of Britain and France to follow its lead on this issue has led to "a crisis that many NATO leaders fear could lead to permanent damage to the alliance's credibility, and to United States interests in Europe," wrote Craig Whitney in a *New York Times* news analysis article. Whitney quoted a U.S. official at NATO headquarters in Brussels as stating, "We're in the woods. I hope we get out soon."

Former U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger argued against U.S. military involvement, in a May 17 *Washington Post* column. The United States should "avoid sending ground troops to Bosnia for any purpose including peace-keeping," he warned. Kissinger feared a situation "like the Marines in Beirut or the British in Northern Ireland."

'Rally round the president'

Kissinger, however, called for a further tightening of the sanctions against Serbia, and made clear his view that, despite his opposition, if Washington did decide to take military action, "those of us with reservations should rally behind [the president]."

In a *Washington Post* column the next day, Richard Cohen blasted Clinton's stalling. "In foreign affairs... speed and decisiveness really do matter," he stressed. Complaining of Secretary of State Warren Christopher's trip to Europe seeking support from Washington's rivals there, Cohen wrote, "Christopher was going from one European capital to another, being rebuffed like some door-to-door salesman.... His trip ended with a near-unprecedented repudiation of American leadership and new doubts about the future of NATO."

While Washington's next moves remain unclear, U.S. military forces based in Germany continue to train for possible bombing and ground intervention operations in the Balkans.

In Bosnia itself, leaders of the Serb nationalist forces reaffirmed their goal of driving tens of thousands more Muslims from the territories they have seized. Karadzic remarked May 18, "In most cases the [non-Serb] populations have already moved because of fear.... Moving the rest will be easy compared to moving the initial bunch."

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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

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

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Struggle in the Coalfields: Support the Miners' Strike. Speakers: Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Transportation Union Local 1730, others. Sat., June 5, 7 p.m., 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

MISSOURI

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Revolutionary Cuba Today: Why Washington's 'Cold War' Against Cuba Doesn't End. Sat., May 29, 7:30 p.m., 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

South Africa: White Regimes' Final Hour. An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Party, attended International Solidarity Conference in Johannesburg. South Africa. Sat., June 5, 7:30 p.m., 1622 S. Broadway. Donation: \$3. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Clinton's Holocaust in Waco, Texas. Sat., May 29, 7:30 p.m., 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

BRITAIN

London

How Can "Ethnic Cleansing" be Stopped? A

panel discussion. Sat., May 29, 6 p.m., 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Iran and the Asian Republics of the Former Soviet Union — Their Place in World Politics Today. Speaker: Ma'mud Shirvani, recently visited the region, Sun., June 6, 2 p.m., 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-928-7993.

Manchester

Abortion Rights and the Fight For Working Class Unity. Speaker: Debbie DeLonge, member, Rail, Maritime and Transport Union. Sat., May 29, 6 p.m., First floor, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £1. Tel: 061-839 1766.

CANADA

Vancouver

Canadian Troops: Are They Really Peacekeepers? Sat., May 29, 7:30 p.m., 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24th Ave.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

Tens of thousands protest in Canada

Continued from front page

freeze for all government, education, and health workers. Quebec public sector unions have announced major protest rallies for Quebec City and Montreal on May 29.

Autoworkers from the recently closed General Motors van plant in Toronto took part, as did workers from a McDonnell-Douglas aircraft plant in Toronto hit hard by massive layoffs.

With Canada's official unemployment rate at 11.6 percent and the official number of unemployed at 1.6 million people, many on the march felt the action was "long overdue."

To open the rally, CLC President Robert White slammed the federal Conservative government for its refusal to fight unemployment. "We want our political leaders fighting for jobs and not just fighting the deficit," he said. On a similar theme, Fernand Daoust, president of the Quebec Federation of Labour, charged that "the people who hold power here in the name of the Conservative Party have an obsession — the deficit. Our obsession is the creation of jobs."

Under the guise of fighting the deficit and government debt, federal and provincial governments have slashed funding for social services. Suzanne Doerge attended the rally with her husband and 10-month-old twins. "I'm worried my children won't be able to benefit from our social programs because the social programs won't exist," she said.

Opposition to a wide range of government policies was reflected in the placards carried by protesters. On Ottawa's plan to spend \$5 billion on new military helicopters: "No to Helicopters. Yes to helping single mothers." One farmer carried a placard saying, "This starving farmer can't feed you." On the recent cuts to unemployment insurance: "Cut MP [member of Par-

liament] pensions, not UI."

NAFTA debated

Many at the demonstration saw the free-trade agreement with the United States and the pending North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as the main obstacle to advancing workers' interests. Rally organizers pointed to free trade as the primary reason for the economic crisis in Canada.

Others had a different point of view. "Our problems all started when we left the United Auto Workers," said one former GM van plant worker who is now a member of the Canadian Autoworkers (CAW) union, which split from the international union several years ago. Stu Seagram from the CAW in St. Catharines felt that "there has to be more to it than free trade. It doesn't explain the misery in Africa or Latin America. Europe is a mess too."

CLC organizers explained that this was the first effort in a major campaign to defeat the Conservative Party in federal elections this fall. Yet there was little mention of the New Democratic Party, which, although linked to the unions, has helped push through the cutbacks. The Ontario NDP government, for example, has announced plans to lay off thousands of government workers and slash \$2 billion in wages from Ontario government, education, and health workers. "We're here



Protest in Ottawa May 15 against government cuts

protesting the Tories but I hope [Ontario NDP premier] Bob Rae is watching us," said Gail Irwin of Toronto.

In addition to the massive action in Ottawa, simultaneous actions took place in Vancouver, Edmonton, and Yellowknife.

Gary Watson is a member of CAW Local 1285 at Chrysler Bramalea.

CALENDAR

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Barbeque to Benefit the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. Sat., May 29, 2-7 p.m., 3808 W. Wrightwood. (2600 N.) Donation: \$5. Sponsor: Chicago Supporters of Mark Curtis. Tel: (312) 829-6815

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Hardly worth mentioning — Last year, the chief honchos at the



Harry Ring

top 800 U.S. corporations enjoyed a median income (half above, half below) of \$1.2 million, a raise of \$195,000 over the previous year. The *Los Angeles Times* described the increase as "up slightly."

Talk about heart — Despite the insults they've suffered, drug com-

panies are giving free medicine to the needy. Participating companies do have various minimal ground rules. Like, a doctor must fill out your application and financial statement. But the paperwork isn't undue, since it's two patients at a time per doctor. Oh, and the freebies will be given only if the doc is also providing free care.

Out by sundown? — "Employees shouldn't be allowed to live in Aspen if they can't afford it. 'Bucks' is what decides who lives here. I love employees, but if I spend \$4 million for a home, I don't want the housing authority shoving them down my throat." — A wealthy resident of Colorado's posh ski-town.

Little guys with big bucks — In one exclusive Aspen neighborhood, Cher, Jill St. John, and other residents protested plans to build a new home that might block their view. When officials iced the deal, one neighbor exulted, "I feel like it was a case where the little guys won."

Guess who he works for — In North Carolina, home of R.J. Reynolds tobacco, a judge gagged Anthony Colucci, a scientist who worked for the company but became a whistle-blower. The gag order bars Colucci from talking to lawyers who represent sick smokers, or working for firms that have "represented individuals against tobacco companies or who claim an

alleged tobacco-related injury."

No marked-down mops? — We're late on this, but a Los Angeles area shop was offering a "Mother's Day Special" on vacuum cleaners.

Shop early for Mother's Day — If Mom already has a good vacuum cleaner, place your order now for Bernard Figueroa's special-order pumps. They feature pencil-thin 22-karat gold-dipped heels and come with a hand-made shoe bag as well as a box. \$1,400.

Conversation piece — For Father's Day, skip the necktie and give Dad a sterling silver condom case. \$395.

Skeptical? — One sensed a quietly sardonic note in how the Spanish daily, *El País*, reported the new U.S. environment plan which assigns companies pollution quotas, with the right to sell unused portions. The article was headlined, "Chicago stock market sells first 150,000 'pollution permits.'" It said a U.S. official explained that "they have decided to apply free-market laws to pollution."

You can't lose — For serious sports fans, a hand-held information receiver. Provides up-to-date info on players, teams, games in progress, and even weather conditions. Just \$500 plus \$60-a-month subscription fee.

Burkina Faso revolution was 'new breeze' in fight against exploitation throughout Africa

The following review of the French edition of *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, published by Pathfinder, appeared in the fall 1992 issue of *Bulletin of Francophone Africa*.

David Gakunzi, *Thomas Sankara: oser inventer l'avenir*, Paris, Pathfinder et L'Harmattan, 1991, ISBN 2-738-40761-7, 290 pp.

BY ALINE COOK

On August 4, 1983, a coup d'état in Upper Volta brought to power a young officer of the nation's army: Thomas Sankara. He made clear he was guided by Che Guevara, Castro, Samora Machel, and Nelson Mandela. He denounced neocolonialism and traditional feudalism, talked at length of revolution, and aligned himself against South

African apartheid. He was called a Marxist. His friends were those of the progressive non-aligned camp. He created disquiet. People admired him, and pointed to him as an example.

What followed was a number of measures, some of which were surprising. Upper Volta changed its name to become Burkina Faso, the "land of upright men." Corruption was combated. The pay of top officials was cut substantially — including that of the president. Men were encouraged to go to the market and do the shopping, in order to better understand the problems of their wives. A new breeze was blowing in this corner of the Sahel. Thomas Sankara, untiring, was everywhere.

In the Third World, Burkina Faso took on a prestige far beyond its economic ranking. Would Sankara's ardor enable him to make the desert bloom again, combat disease, sweep aside apathy, and change people's way of thinking? His dream was to follow the example of Khadafi in Libya, even without oil: to enable the people to benefit from economic progress, however limited it might be (speech of March 26, 1983, p. 34).

Thomas Sankara was assassinated on October 15, 1987. Was Africa now freed of a dangerous dictator? Or did Burkina, on the contrary, lose its only chance of experiencing the development it deserved? How can these questions be answered unless we first learn to know better and to understand this head of state — so different from the others — Thomas Sankara?

Thanks to *Oser inventer l'avenir* the reader can hear the words of Thomas Sankara and follow his brief career as president, at home and abroad. He gave his speeches with all the skill of a people's orator. He knew how to bring enthusiasm to his audience with simple ideas, creating a dialogue between himself and the crowd, and arousing them to the limit against the enemies of the people. He did not hesitate to express his ideas, even the most explosive, before international bodies. At press conferences he replied to journalists firmly and with sureness of touch. But whenever you feel able to pigeonhole him in this or that category, his interviews enable him to reveal a personality much more complex than you would conclude from seeing him only as a public figure.

David Gakunzi does not conceal his ardent admiration for Sankara. *Oser inventer l'avenir* does not claim to present a critical study of the Sankara years, for example, by presenting the reality of Burkina Faso from 1983 to 1987 in order to show to what degree the presidential speeches were carried out in action. Sankara alone speaks, and the reader can grant him confidence — or go elsewhere to seek more facts.

David Gakunzi's main achievement is to have enabled even the nonspecialist reader to follow his hero with ease. He gives the reader a clear summary of Sankara's ideas in the preface to the French edition. (An English edition also exists.) There is a map of Burkina Faso and a chronology of Sankara's life. Each speech is placed in its historical and political context. Notes facilitate a better understanding of some of the allusions in the speeches. A glossary of persons and organizations rounds out the book.

And how, in the future, can we learn about Burkina Faso or think about the problems facing the poor countries of Africa without first listening to the words of one of the most outstanding actors on the African political stage during the 1980s?



Thomas Sankara with Cuban president Fidel Castro in 1984

Militant

IN REVIEW

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
May 31, 1968 Price: 10c

Before [French president Charles] de Gaulle spoke today, it had been indicated by circles close to the Elysee Palace that the general had deliberately deferred his appearance as long as possible despite the enormous pressure on him to do something about what is already being described in the press as a "social revolution."

The general left several items out of his calculations. First of all, instead of subsiding, the strike wave deepened and spread. Some 10,000,000 workers out of a labor force of just under 15,000,000 are now on strike, more than 2,000 factories being occupied.

Next, the general's delay gave time to the revolutionary opposition — the insurgent students and workers — to organize a new demonstration in Paris the day he chose to speak. As the general's taped seven-minute speech was broadcast, the radio reported that workers and students had assembled at six different areas to converge in a new massive rally in Paris around the slogan, "De Gaulle resign!"

The de Gaulle regime is racked with a deep internal crisis. This is shown by the search for scapegoats on whom to blame the colossal events. The head of the minister of information was slated to roll, according to [a reporter] because he was responsible for issuing the statement — ascribed to de Gaulle: "La reforme, oui, la chienlit, non." ("Chienlit" is a foul barracks word for someone who soils his bed; in this context it could mean "dirty mess.")

This was picked up by the workers. They responded with placards: "Le chienlit, c'est lui." (He's the chienlit.)

The search for scapegoats ranged farther than that. The attractive revolutionary-

minded Daniel Cohn-Bendit was especially singled out, the Communist Party calling him "the German," and the fascists, "the German Jew." This reached ridiculous proportions when the French government, apparently on direct orders from de Gaulle himself, barred him from re-entering the country May 24 after he went to Brussels and then Amsterdam to speak at student gatherings. The entire border guard was alerted to watch out for the red-headed student. And he was arrested when, at the head of 1,000 students, he sought to return to France.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE DOLLARS
May 29, 1943

In dissolving the Communist International, the treacherous Stalin clique has provided official recognition of the fact that the Comintern has long been dead as a revolutionary international. Its place has been taken by Trotsky's Fourth International, which lives and fights and which nobody can dissolve.

The Soviet bureaucracy consolidated its power under the banner of Stalin's reactionary and Utopian theory of building "socialism in one country" as against the Lenin-Trotsky program of international revolution. Events since then have fully demonstrated that "socialism in one country" means in reality socialism in no country. Instead of fighting for the extension of the October revolution to other countries, the Communist parties were deformed into puppets of Stalin's reactionary foreign policy.

The Soviet bureaucracy held a final Congress (1935) to record the conversion of the Comintern to chauvinist support of any capitalist government allied with Stalin. Having thus sold the services of the Comintern to his capitalist "allies," Stalin could scarcely be expected to show any more compunction in similarly selling them its formal dissolution.

FROM *Pathfinder*

Thomas Sankara Speaks

THE BURKINA FASO REVOLUTION, 1983-87
\$17.95

Oser inventer l'avenir

LA RÉVOLUTION BURKINABÉ, 1983-1987
Thomas Sankara
\$35.00

Speeches and writings by the assassinated president of Burkina Faso tell the story of the revolution that unfolded in this West African country as peasants and workers began confronting hunger, illiteracy, and other conditions perpetuated by capitalism.

Available in English and French from bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. To cover postage and handling, please add \$3.00 for the first book and \$0.50 for each additional title.



Defend immigrant workers

On March 31 the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raided the Allen Co. chicken-processing plant on Maryland's Eastern Shore. Fifty-two workers were arrested. Two weeks later the INS, along with U.S. border patrol cops and the Minnesota state police, swept through several communities and packinghouses in the southwestern part of that state, arresting at least 55 workers; 40 were later deported. Then on May 4, an INS raid at the Heartland Foods turkey-processing plant led to 60 arrests, triggering a day-long work-stoppage by hundreds of outraged workers.

The stepped-up attacks against immigrant workers in the United States are not unique. In France, Parliament just passed a new law that will make it more difficult for children, born in France of immigrant parents, to gain citizenship. Attacks against immigrant workers in Germany and other imperialist countries have also risen in the last two years.

Working people around the world must condemn these attacks. If the companies, working hand-in-glove with Washington and other governments, are allowed to get away with them, the ability of all workers to stand together against the bosses' offensive to drive down wages and weaken our unions will be crippled.

The employers and the government use raids like the ones in Minnesota and Maryland not to drive workers from other countries out of the factories, but to intimidate and terrorize them away from joining unions or fighting for their rights on the job. "Our contract expires next year," said José Maldonado, union steward at the Monfort Pork plant in Worthington, Minnesota. "The bosses know if

we're divided they can smash us. The union has to be against the exploitation of everybody."

The capitalist rulers seek to utilize divisions among the working class, whether by language, nationality, sex, or age, to weaken our ability to stand together to defend our rights. They want us to blame each other for the economic and social crisis. They try to convince workers born in the United States that working people born in other countries are our enemy.

But this is a lie. The real cause of the crisis is the capitalist economic system. Working people, regardless of what country we come from and what country we live in, need to view ourselves as fellow fighters. We share the same interests in fighting against the impact on our class of the crisis of the capitalist system.

The Monfort Pork plant is the largest unionized packinghouse in Minnesota. Half of the workers are Latino; 20 percent are Asian; 10 percent are Black; and 10 percent are white. The fact is that when workers and farmers cross and recross borders in search of jobs and decent living conditions for their families, they break down barriers that have kept us divided and strengthen our ability to fight.

The hundreds of workers who protested the immigration raid at Heartland Foods, refusing to enter the plant throughout the day, showed the way for all workers. Working people must oppose every attempt to victimize any layer of our class. This is a life and death question for the labor movement. Working people should demand: Drop the charges against those arrested! End the deportations! For a world without borders!

No to U.S. intervention in Haiti

The Clinton administration is pushing ahead on its plans to organize a military intervention in Haiti. The 500-member police force that Washington hopes to assemble under the banner of the United Nations is not intended to end repression and restore democratic rights in Haiti. Its real aim will be to ensure stability in that Caribbean country under a government favorable to the interests of U.S. big business. Working people should oppose these moves.

The hypocrisy of Washington's claims of concern for the Haitian people is demonstrated by its callous treatment of refugees fleeing the reign of terror of Haiti's military dictators. The U.S. military has been carrying out piracy on the open sea for a year now — intercepting refugees in their boats, forcibly returning them to the island where many face reprisals or death, and destroying their vessels. Those who succeed in making the dangerous journey to Florida are imprisoned. And more than 150 Haitians whom the U.S. government admits qualify for political asylum are still held captive at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba.

At the same time as U.S. ships are blockading Haiti to prevent people from leaving, Washington has sought to undermine the economic embargo against Haiti. Last year, for example, U.S. companies with factories in Haiti were exempted from the sanctions. The call for an embargo came out of the struggle by Haitian working people to demand

the restoration of the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Washington has a long history of military intervention in Haiti — never with the interests of Haitian working people at heart. This included occupying the island from 1915 to 1934 and backing the brutal dictatorship of the Duvalier family there for decades.

The workers and farmers of Haiti also have a long history — of struggle against imperialist domination and the effects of underdevelopment. Through mass mobilizations they overthrew the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986, and gained space to carry out political activity.

Since the 1991 coup, there have been numerous demonstrations, both in Haiti and in the United States, opposing the illegitimate regime and the criminal policies of the U.S. government. The refugees held captive at Guantánamo have joined the struggle and are currently carrying out their second hunger strike.

Workers and farmers around the world need to support this struggle by the working people of Haiti, which the rulers of the United States hope to cut off through military intervention. The labor movement should wholeheartedly join our Haitian brothers and sisters in their just struggle to return Aristide to power and be able to determine their own destiny. The best solidarity working people can offer is by demanding: Open the U.S. borders to all refugees! No to military intervention in Haiti!

German strike: gain for labor

Steelworkers in eastern Germany, backed up by fellow unionists in the west, have dealt a blow to the government's and employers' plans to permanently hold down wages and other conditions in the east to a level substantially below those in the rest of Germany. The bosses agreed to pay raises of up to 26 percent this year, while deferring the date for full parity from 1994 to July 1996.

When the East German regime crumbled in 1990, West Germany's rulers promised that wages and living standards in the east would rapidly rise to match those in the west. They boasted that "unification" would be a massive economic boon, speeding the path to a united Europe, dominated by German capitalism. In this framework employers signed contracts guaranteeing wage raises in a series of steps towards full parity, including a 26 percent increase for metalworkers and 21 percent for steelworkers this year.

But the metal and engineering employers announced May 9 that they were dumping the timetable altogether. This would have meant postponing parity to the never-never.

Germany's capitalist rulers were driven to abrogate the contracts because they can only make profits in the east by greatly increasing the rate of exploitation of workers there. Without such levels of exploitation, they cannot begin to

reestablish capitalism.

There are high stakes in this battle for the German capitalists and their government. With Germany's economy in recession, and as Bonn chokes on the subsidies it continues to pay out in its attempt to maintain social peace in the east, the employers need to establish a new direction, maintaining and deepening divisions between workers in the east and west. Their failure to do so, in the context of the continuing world economic depression, means that the German rulers will be forced to launch sharper assaults in the period ahead.

The employers would not have backed off without the overwhelming participation of Germany's metalworkers in the rallies and strikes, which were continuing to mount. Through mobilizations in both east and west, in which workers throughout Germany participated, the unionists cemented ties that are essential to the victory they have won, and that will be crucial to defending themselves in the coming battles.

Germany's capitalist class would rather put off wage parity forever, and will attempt to do exactly that. But the fact that the German metalworkers come out of this struggle with greater confidence in their ability to organize and resist, puts them in better shape for the next rounds in the class struggle.

Would Shining Path takeover be a gain?

A reader in Beacon, New York, and another in Auckland, New Zealand, raise questions regarding the nature of the Shining Path organization in Peru, also known as Sendero Luminoso. To address them it's useful to answer two commonly asked questions: Is Shining Path a Stalinist group leading a national liberation struggle? Would a takeover by that guerrilla organization lead to the overturn of capitalism in that country and an advance, even if very limited, for workers and farmers?

Stalinism arose in the late 1920s and 1930s when a privileged middle-class layer in the Soviet Union usurped political power from workers and farmers, who in 1917 had overthrown capitalist rule and begun a socialist revolution in that country. Stalinism is simply a political rationalization for maintaining the power and privileges of a ruling bureaucratic caste — whether in Moscow, Beijing, or elsewhere — at the expense of working people.

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

Later, in Yugoslavia, China, Vietnam, and other countries, working people in their millions carried out deep-going social revolutions. They overturned capitalist political rule, formed workers' and farmers' governments, and established workers' states. The resulting social conquests included mass literacy campaigns, land reform, national sovereignty, and the nationalization of industry for the benefit of working people.

Workers and farmers made these advances despite the counterrevolutionary role played by the Stalinist forces in the leadership of these movements. Revolutionists fully supported the victory of liberation movements like the Partisans in Yugoslavia and the National Liberation Front in Vietnam.

The Stalinist leadership of the new governments in these countries resulted in severely deformed workers' states. As the ruling bureaucratic castes progressively strangled the revolutionary impetus by workers and farmers, the workers' states degenerated further.

It's true that Stalinism has everything to do with the rise of Shining Path in Peru. The dominance of that counterrevolutionary current for more than half a century weakened the international labor movement and allowed reactionary groups like Sendero Luminoso to develop.

Shining Path does have Stalinist origins and influence. Because of their similar middle-class leadership and outlook — distinguished by their hostility to the interests of working people — Stalinist parties and Shining Path have many common features. In fact, Sendero's crimes against the working class are not qualitatively worse than those committed by Joseph Stalin's regime in the Soviet Union.

But putting the Stalinist label on Shining Path does not explain fully its character. Over the last century there have emerged a range of different petty-bourgeois political movements, each with its own particular preconceived ideas and "solutions" that it tries to ram down the throats of working people. All of them — Bakunin's anarchism, Stalinism, Sendero Luminoso, and others — have similarities but they must also be understood based on their specific features, origin, and development.

Fascism too is a form of petty-bourgeois politics. In fact, "Stalinism and fascism," Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky noted in his book, *The Revolution Betrayed*, "are symmetrical phenomena. In many of their features they show a deadly similarity." But unlike Stalinism or the Shining Path phenomenon, mass fascist movements are directly backed and financed by big business as a method to maintain capitalist rule in certain periods of extreme social crisis.

Shining Path can be judged by its record. It is not in the leadership of the working-class movement or of a national liberation struggle. It seeks to crush the working class in the course of its fight to take power. A takeover by Sendero Luminoso would not represent even a slight advance for working people, and revolutionists do not advocate its victory.

There is an example of a group similar to Sendero Luminoso that did take power: the Khmer Rouge regime under Pol Pot, which ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979. Like Shining Path, the Khmer Rouge was — and still is — a peasant-based army headed by a group of middle-class professionals who were trained in the school of Stalinism.

The Pol Pot regime did not lead to a workers' and farmers' government. It smashed the working class, dispersing the urban population into the countryside. It slaughtered more than 1 million people, massacred national minorities, expropriated poor peasants, and imposed a reign of terror reminiscent of Mikhail Bakunin's totalitarian dictates — from the forced communal eating to the rule of the secretive Khmer Rouge apparatus, known only as the Organization.

In Peru, as in Cambodia and elsewhere, revolutionary change can only happen when the working class, in an alliance with small farmers, is able to put its stamp on events and advance society. — MARTÍN KOPPEL

Correction

In a statement by the SWP National Committee titled "Tell the truth about Clinton's holocaust in Waco, Texas," printed in the May 3 issue, the *Militant* introduced an error in copy editing. Donna Shalala was incorrectly identified as the current head of the Children's Defense Fund. Shalala is the former chair of the board of directors of the Fund.

Union officials agree to concessions at Northwest

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

We invite you to contribute short items as a way for other fighting workers around the world to learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

The International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters announced May 3 that they had

Shop-Rite supermarkets.

As of May 16, 58 stores were on strike. The companies responded with lockouts at 72 other stores. Management and replacement workers are trying to keep the stores open.

Strikers and their supporters maintained loud and visible picket lines at the driveways and store entrances.

A Newark superior court judge issued a restraining order May 7 limiting the union to four pickets per store entrance.

At a North Bergen, New Jersey, Shop-Rite store, pickets spoke and held signs in Spanish for the many Latinos that approached. Parking lots stayed nearly empty.

an hour and topping out at \$6, less than half of what current clerks make now.

Striking printers rally in Georgia, Nebraska

More than 1,500 people rallied in Lincoln, Nebraska, May 2 and hundreds marched in Atlanta May 10 to support strikers from the Graphic Communications International Union (GCIU) against American Signature Graphics. American Signature is one of the largest printers of catalogs and magazines in the United States.

About 300 workers went on strike in Atlanta April 29, joining 700 in Lincoln who went out April 27.

The dispute started after the plant's former owner, Foote & Davies, was bought by Heller Financial Inc. In November 1992, the new

to join in a common struggle against the company.

Mushroom workers fight to organize union

About 140 mushroom workers, mostly immigrants from Mexico, went on strike April 1 against Kaolin Co., one of the largest mushroom growing and packing companies in the United States. Kaolin is located in Kennett Square, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia. There are 2,500 mushroom workers in the Kennett Square area.

The strikers have faced court injunctions, police arrests, and real economic pressure while standing up to the company's refusal to recognize the union. Cuts in pay, benefits, and attempted speed-up led to the strike.

Kaolin has hired labor contrac-

\$25,000 for their fight during a speaking tour.

The 240 members of Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW) Local 4 are fighting for safety and seniority rights and against other concessions being demanded by owners of Royal Oak. They are also seeking to preserve their union since the mine is now being operated by replacement workers.

The miners face an attempt to frame up their union and its members following an explosion at the mine on September 18, 1992, which killed nine replacement workers.

Harry Seeton, president of CASAW Local 4 explained that the Giant Mines Employees' Association, a scab outfit, was denied certification at the mine on May 5 by the Canada Labor Relations board. "We are happy that this decision goes against the scab association," he stated. "We are now calling on the mediators to reconvene a meeting between the union and the company."

On March 11, seven Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) cars descended on CASAW-member Tim Bettger's home. Four RCMP officers entered the garage where Bettger was working with guns drawn and an attack dog. Between 10 and 20 cops searched the entire house and garage from 9:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. The garage was left in shambles. They found nothing incriminating.

The RCMP is harassing miners based on two so-called profiles, describing the alleged "killer" in the September explosion. The profiles are so vague that they fit almost any union miner in the Yellowknife area. So far no charges have been filed.

International solidarity is growing. Support statements have been received from Arthur Scargill, President of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) in Britain, and from the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) in France.

To mark the first anniversary of the struggle against Royal Oak, CASAW is organizing a march, rally, and open house on May 22 at the union hall in Yellowknife. Messages of support can be sent to CASAW Local 4, Box 1628, Yellowknife, NWT, X1A 2P2. Tel: 403-873-4528 or fax 403-873-5174.

The following people contributed to this column: Kip Hedges, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1833 in Minneapolis; Phil Duzinski in Newark, New Jersey; Horace Kerr in Denver, Colorado; Mike Galati, a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa; Bob Braxton, a member of United Auto Workers Local 882 in Atlanta; Roy Inglee in Newark, Delaware; Deborah Liatos in Philadelphia; and Ned Dmytryshyn, a member of Teamsters Local 213 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

ON THE PICKET LINE

reached an agreement with Northwest Airlines. The accord includes major concessions in wages, working conditions, and benefits. The IAM represents some 26,000 mechanics, ramp workers, cleaners, and ticket agents at the airline, while the Teamsters represent more than 7,000 flight attendants.

The agreement includes \$480 million in concessions over the next three years. This would average \$4,000 to \$5,000 per worker per year for the IAM members. In return, the company will give the unions 3 members on a 15-member board of directors and 30 percent stock ownership in the company.

While some IAM members say this agreement is the only way to save their jobs, others at Northwest's Minneapolis hub are wearing buttons that say, "Full Pay Till The Last Day." According to a mechanic this means, "We would rather see this company go under than give money to line the pockets of Alfred Checchi." Checchi is one of Northwest's co-owners.

A former Eastern Airlines employee who was on strike against that company for nearly two years said, "They gave us stock and board members and then tried to rape us. Concessions don't save jobs. That's my message."

Union officials said that they would have a printed copy of the agreement for the membership to look at by May 17. They would then visit workstations throughout the system for the next month in order to convince workers to approve the concession contract.

Grocery workers strike in New Jersey

Proposed cuts in health-care benefits for cashiers, stock clerks, and maintenance workers in northern New Jersey and New York supermarkets forced United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1262 to call a selective strike May 7. The strike is targeting several of the larger

One regular customer at the Union City Shop-Rite joined the picket line there. The owners want to "eliminate benefits and create wages and working conditions like those in Third-World countries," she said. Many of the strikers are in their late teens and early twenties.

The company's proposal will mean higher insurance copayments. A large number of the part-time workers would now have to pay \$80 per month for health insurance for each family member.

UFCW Local 1262 includes 26,000 workers at 312 supermarkets operated by the chains in both New Jersey and New York.

Denver supermarket workers approve strike

On May 10 more than 3,800 members of UFCW Local 7 in Denver voted by an 86 percent margin to go on strike against the King Soopers supermarket chain. The union has 9,000 members in Colorado.

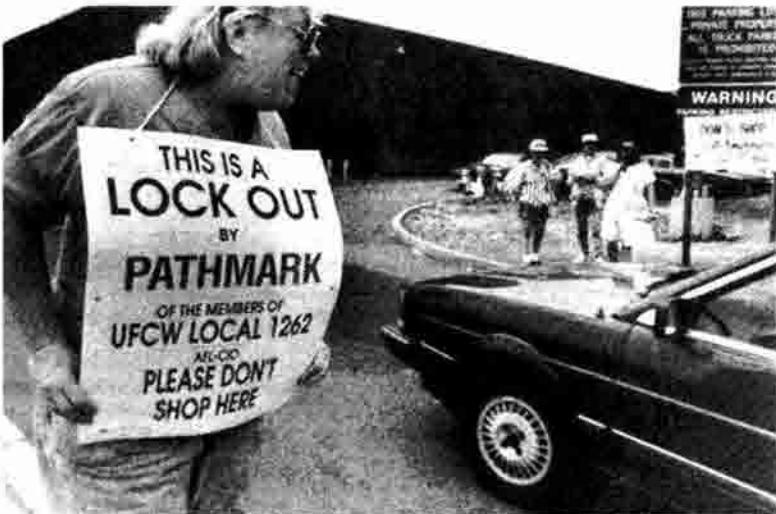
"[Local 7 president Ernie] Duran said he immediately would seek strike sanction from the union's parent in Washington.

"... This vote should send a strong message to the international, and one to the company, to get back to the bargaining table. Unless they do that, there will be a strike in Denver, Colorado," said Duran.

"The majority of the workers want to go out on the street. The International should honor their democratic right to do that."

Negotiations between the union and the company broke down April 22 after the company presented its "final offer."

The company is demanding the ability to lease out operations, including entire departments; a proposed new job classification of workers called all-purpose clerk, who would do work now done by meat cutters for \$3 less an hour; and a proposal to bring in "service counter clerks" who would do deli and restaurant work, starting at \$5



UFCW picket outside a New Jersey supermarket

owners fired all Foote & Davies employees and "suspended" the old contract. The company refused to rehire 46 workers in Atlanta. Those who were called back lost company retirement and seniority rights, had their wages cut an average of \$3 an hour, and were forced to pay additional insurance costs and to work mandatory overtime.

One of the major themes promoted by union officials at the Atlanta rally was attacking Japan. Fuji Bank of Japan owns Heller. The Atlanta Labor Council contingent joined the picket line chanting, "Fuji, Fuji don't you know. This is not Tokyo."

A leaflet distributed by the GCIU in Atlanta said in part, "American Signature is now controlled by the Japanese. They don't need an atom bomb to return their vengeance on America."

"They have the greed of those willing to take food from their fellow Americans including widows and orphans."

"Did the American fighting man place honor so high for this?"

"Think it over friends."

Some union supporters at the rally argued that this "Japan bashing" divides workers and will ultimately hurt their fight. Instead, strikers should be reaching out to their Japanese brothers and sisters

to bring in mostly Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrant workers as replacements.

More than 500 people marched through Kennett Square April 24 in support of the mushroom workers. The strikers had decided just before that demonstration to join the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU), which has helped organize financial aid to the strikers.

Forty of the original strikers have returned to work while 80 to 100 remain on the picket lines. Strike organizer Ventura Gutiérrez told the media that the 40 who went back will organize inside for union elections. The strikers' position is that only those who worked at Kaolin before the strike should be eligible to vote.

Twenty-eight of the strikers have been fired by the company. Many of them are participating in a 120-mile march to Harrisburg, the state capital. The demonstration is intended to help publicize the strike and to press for the state to pass bills that offer more protection to agricultural workers.

Yellowknife miners tour British Columbia

Yellowknife gold miners, who were locked out at Royal Oak mines a year ago, raised more than

LETTERS

Fascism and anarchism

I found the articles in the recent issues of the *Militant* (Vol. 57 Nos. 12 and 14) on the situation in Peru and the nature of the Shining Path organisation very interesting and informative. There is a Stalinist sect in this country that has been promoting the campaign in support of the imprisoned Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán. My impression is that the defeat of the Nicaraguan revolution is a major factor enabling this current to win a hearing worldwide.

However, there was one aspect of the articles which puzzled me: the comparison that was drawn with Bakunism. As I understand

it, Marx's fight with Bakunin was a fight against a current *within the working class movement*, albeit in those countries where the working class itself was weakest. This fact determined Marx's line of attack. Shining Path, on the other hand, is an organisation altogether outside the working-class movement, as one of the articles explained.

The article describes Shining Path as a radically reactionary, anti-working class, chauvinist organisation which seeks to neutralise or crush the working class and carries out terror attacks to that end. But isn't the term for such an organisation "fascist"? Wouldn't a better historical analogy be Trotsky's

fight against the various fascist currents in Europe, many of whom used "socialist" phrases? I wondered why the *Militant* stopped short of using the designation "fascist" to describe Shining Path.

James Robb
Auckland, New Zealand

Stalinism and anarchism

On reading Martín Koppel's article entitled "A forerunner of Peru's Shining Path" (April 19 *Militant*), I was struck by the similarities between Stalinism and Bakunism. The emphasis on an elite governing group; the reliance on the petty bourgeoisie and similar privileged groups rather than

the workers and peasants; the barracks-room totalitarianism and enforced conformity in everything; the reliance on violence rather than mass action and debate and persuasion; the replacement of science by pseudoscientific doctrines based on the ideological theories of the leaders (like Lysenkoism) — are all eerily similar.

Has anyone ever done a study comparing the economic, cultural and historical roots of Stalinism with Bakunism? I'm not suggesting that Stalin was an anarchist, but he may have been influenced by the same factors as Bakunin. It's odd that Trotsky never thought of that in his book *The Revolution Betrayed*.

We need much more analysis of the phenomenon of Stalinism, both to avoid it ever happening again, and to answer the arguments of those who say that Stalinism is the natural outcome when a country goes socialist or communist.

A prisoner
Beacon, N.Y.

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.

Cuban pastors begin U.S. tour

BY ERIC WILLIAMS
AND JIM KENDRICK

MIAMI — Ten Cuban religious leaders arrived at Miami International Airport May 13 to begin a 12-day tour calling for an end to the U.S. embargo of Cuba.

At an airport news conference, Raúl Suárez Ramos told the media the Cubans "came to the United States to proclaim the message of reconciliation. . . . The people are suffering from hunger. There is not enough fuel for the buses that take people to work. We are here to achieve reconciliation and to work to end the blockade that the United States has against Cuba."

Suárez also expressed his desire that U.S. churches work to get the U.S. and Cuban governments to dialogue.

The delegation plans to tour 40 U.S. cities May 13-25. The Cubans are meeting with government, religious, and community leaders. Their visit is sponsored jointly by the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), Pastors for Peace, and the National Council of Churches.

According to an IFCO news release, "This is the first time in the past three decades that such a large and distinguished delegation of Cuban religious leaders has visited the U.S."

The Miami press conference that launched the tour included Suárez, who is the director of the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center in Havana and a member of the Cuban National Assembly; Methodist Bishop Joel Ajo Fernández; Episcopal Bishop Emilio Hernández; and Rev. Nierva Côt Aguilar.

Rev. José Reyes, who preaches in Miami's Haitian community, announced a public meeting in that city for the delegation on May 24. The meeting will be held at 8:00 p.m. at the Jerusalem Seventh Day Adventist Church, 4201 NE 2nd Avenue in Miami. Lucius Walker, executive director of IFCO, will participate in the panel of speakers.

In New York City, 75 people gathered at Casa de las Americas May 14 to hear from the Cuban ministers. Hernández told the meeting that the Cubans pastors' presence in the United States represented a victory for all.

Ajo spoke as well, saying that the delegation was there to bring a message from the Cuban church and people to U.S. churches and people, including Cuban-Americans. "We are in a special moment to struggle together to forever eliminate the blockade," he said.

Ajo reviewed the challenges currently facing the Cuban people in the midst of the most serious economic crisis since the triumph of the Cuban revolution in 1959. He noted that the fuel crisis has reduced contact between Cubans on the island, making visits to family members difficult. Ajo pointed out that the U.S.-government policy of refusing visas to Cubans wishing to visit or emigrate to the United States, while welcoming those who manage to survive crossing the dangerous Straits of Florida, is an inhuman and unjust policy.

One of the goals of the Cuban pastors' tour, which includes four women, is to promote participation in the next material aid Friendshipment caravan to Cuba, scheduled for July. The religious leaders have formally requested a meeting with President Bill Clinton, without response. Other public officials have agreed to meet with them, including members of Congress.

Ajo concluded by telling the New York meeting, "You are part of the Cuban people. Someday we will be free to do as we wish and not as someone else demands." This will permit Cuba to "allow the revolution to complete the work it began" in 1959.

Six of the 10 Cuban pastors also participated in a news conference held at the offices of the Council of Churches in Manhattan May 17.

Rev. Suárez explained to the media there that the embargo has brought great suffering to ordinary people in Cuba. He said he be-

lieves Cuba needs the possibility for trade with the United States, not just aid.

When asked whether illnesses have flourished due to the lack of nutrition, Suárez stressed that Cuba does not have the diseases of other Third World countries. An epidemic of optic neuritis, an eye disease that causes blindness, has recently spread in the island, he said.

The Cuban government has made international appeals for scientific and material aid to combat the disease. It has started a program of distributing vitamins A and B free of charge throughout the population. Lack of those vitamins is one of the possible causes for the disease.

Further information about the national tour of the 10 Cuban religious leaders can be obtained by calling: (612) 378-0062 (Minneapolis), (212) 926-5757 (New York), or (305) 558-1667 (Miami).

Marty Anderson in New York and Militant staff writer Pat Smith contributed to this article.



Methodist Bishop Joel Ajo Fernández speaking at Miami airport news conference May 13. The Cuban religious leaders, on a 12-day tour, are campaigning against the U.S. embargo.

Militant/Tony Savino

'Anticrime' campaign by New Zealand police undermines democratic rights

BY FELICITY COGGAN
AND MICHAEL TUCKER

WELLINGTON, New Zealand — New measures being adopted by the police in New Zealand challenge the presumption of innocence and other democratic rights, and increasingly place the police above the law.

The measures, part of a five-year plan to "reduce crime," will take effect nationwide July 1. Announcing the plan February 16, Police Commissioner John Jamieson said that police would make themselves more visible on the streets and that more volunteers would work for the police.

The proposed measures include:

- Circulation of neighborhood bulletins containing personal details and photographs of people that the police accuse of being "active criminals" in the community.
- Introduction of a 24-hour toll-free phone line to allow people to inform on "suspected criminals" anonymously.
- Stepping up random stopping of cars and raids on bars and clubs.
- Organizing local businesspeople into nighttime street patrols to collaborate with the police.
- Distributing posters to store owners with names and photographs of alleged "shoplifters" and issuing blanket trespass notices barring those convicted of crimes from entering businesses.

The new measures have already begun to be implemented by local police in parts of the country during the past year. In some cases they have gained media attention and sparked widespread debate.

Identity bulletins

Since March 1992, for example, police in the city of Gisborne have regularly published a six-page bulletin titled *Eastland Crimewatch*, which contains personal information, including photos, of alleged "persistent offenders." The bulletin is distributed through shops, factories, and neighborhood groups. Similar bulletins have been published in a number of other centers.

Civil liberties representatives and others have criticized the bulletins, which basically do away with the right to the presumption of innocence.

Even Minister of Justice Doug Graham felt compelled to criticize the police bulletins. He was reported as describing them in March as "prosecutions by public odium against people the police did not have enough evidence to prosecute through the courts."

Responding to speculation that Graham's stand might lead to a government ban on the bulletins, Gisborne district police commander Superintendent Rana Waitai declared that the police would continue to publish *Eastland Crimewatch* regardless, even underground.

Minister of Police John Banks has backed the cops regarding the bulletins. Last year, Banks called for a "war on criminals."

Community newspapers, which are distributed free to households, have been approached by the police nationally to reprint the identity bulletins. To date, most have refused, citing concerns with respect to democratic rights and libel. In Christchurch last year, police were forced to apologize to a family after a photograph of their house and an article labeling them as criminals was published in a community newspaper at the request of the police.

Trespass notices

The distribution of posters to stores of alleged "hardcore shoplifters" has also sparked criticism and debate. The police claim that those identified by the posters are all actively involved in stealing from shops. However, two of the 50 people identified by posters distributed to stores in Wellington in February publicly challenged this claim. Both had minor past convictions while unemployed, one for attempting to shoplift a dozen eggs.

In the Northland town of Kaitia, police issued trespass notices against 11 alleged "shoplifters" in March, banning them from entering any of the town's 125 stores for a period of two years. The police, who plan to extend the scheme to include those convicted of other charges, say they are acting on behalf of the storeowners.

Leaders of the Maori Council in Northland have condemned the scheme as "mob rule." The Law Society has questioned the authority of the police to issue the notices.

The increasing trend for the police to

take judicial powers into their own hands and out of the courts was also highlighted by the cops' actions in the town of Kaiapoi, near Christchurch, which were revealed in April. Police had "persuaded" two people, one of them a 14-year-old, to leave the town, claiming they were "troublemakers," and were in the process of removing another three.

"Crime Patrols"

Nighttime "crime patrols" are already being organized by the police in a number of towns and cities. Volunteers are organized through the local business owners.

Cruising in cars, the patrols have direct contact with local police watch-houses. According to a police representative, the patrols "give us a lot of intelligence about what is going on."

Police harassment of working people on the streets is also being stepped up.

Amidst a flurry of propaganda on the need to crack down harder on drunk drivers, the government put legislation into effect April 1 that gives police the power to stop motorists at random and subject them to compulsory testing for alcohol. "It's anytime, anyplace, anybody," declared a police spokesperson after police in Auckland were criticized for a morning checkpoint stopping workers driving to work.

Police roadblocks have become a part of life in working-class communities during the past decade. For example, in the predominantly working-class city of Porirua, near Wellington, police stopped at checkpoints the equivalent of 75 percent of the city's population in 1990 during blitzes against drinking drivers.

New Zealand traffic police merged with the regular police force in April 1992, giving traffic cops full police powers, and effectively doubling police numbers overnight.

Police patrols through bars and clubs are also a regular feature of life in working-class communities. Such raids can include the strip-searching of patrons on the pretext of looking for drugs.

In the city of Hastings in February, police began regular armed patrols through the streets by members of the armed offenders

Continued on Page 4