

# THE MILITANT

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**INSIDE**  
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## Aid caravan deals blow to U.S. embargo of Cuba

### Hunger strikers demand release of school bus seized in Laredo, Texas

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

LAREDO, Texas—In a resounding blow to the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba, dozens of trucks, cars, vans, and buses successfully crossed the U.S.-Mexican border here July 29, loaded with 100 tons of humanitarian aid bound for Cuba.

"We've accomplished the breaking of the blockade," declared an exultant Rev. Lucius Walker, founder of Pastors for Peace, which

**Let bus go to Cuba!**  
See editorial page 22

organized the solidarity caravan known as the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment.

U.S. customs officials, faced with this defeat, attempted to establish that the trade ban against Cuba was still in effect by seizing a yellow school bus. The bus is to be donated to the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Havana, Cuba, to transport children.

"We carry heart medicines and computer keyboards across to Mexico and then we try to take a school bus and they [seize it]. We have put the government's Cuba policy to shame," said Alex Tehrani, 22, one of the 14 drivers on the caravan who refused to leave the impounded bus. The 14 immediately went on a hunger strike, demanding the release of the school bus.

The 300 drivers on the convoy traveled 12 different routes throughout the country, holding educational events in many of the 100 cities they crossed. They converged on Laredo July 26 and set up camp at the Christ Worship Center.

Tom Hansen, director of Pastors for Peace,

Continued on Page 4



Militant/Janet Post

Supporters of Friendshipment crossing border at Laredo, Texas, with 100 tons of aid for Cuba. "This is a complete victory," declared Tom Hansen of Pastors for Peace.

## Friendshipment drivers receive warm welcome in Havana

BY JOHN COX

HAVANA, Cuba—About 260 U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravan participants landed at José Martí Airport here August 1, chanting, "Cuba yes, blockade no." They were greeted by 200 Cubans who cheered and waved at them.

The group, which opposes the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba, announced that nearly 150 tons of humanitarian aid was on its way to this Caribbean nation aboard a

freighter they had loaded earlier at the Mexican port of Tampico. The aid was collected in cities throughout the United States, Mexico, and Canada.

Cuban president Fidel Castro personally greeted many of the activists as they disembarked from the airplane. He also met with leaders of the caravan and inquired about the 14 hunger strikers on a school bus detained by U.S. customs officials in Laredo, Texas. The bus was to be donated to a church in Havana.

"What they are trying to do to you," said Castro referring to the U.S. government, "is to seize that bus as if it were a military tank."

Several members of the group spoke at a news conference here. One of them, Gail Walker, read a statement from her father, Rev. Lucius Walker, who is a founder of the

Continued on Page 4

## Clinton states readiness to bomb Bosnia

BY GREG ROSENBERG

In a sharp escalation of moves toward military intervention in the former Yugoslavia, the Clinton administration declared it is preparing to send U.S. warplanes on bombing runs over Bosnia. Brushing aside continuing objections to this course by some governments in the European Community, the administration said it was prepared to carry out air strikes with or without the agreement of its NATO allies.

"The United States, at this point, is determined to act in a more vigorous fashion as it relates to Bosnia," said State Department spokesperson Michael McCurry. "We certainly believe it is possible we will act within the NATO framework," he said, but "we have made it clear we are determined to act."

On August 3 NATO allies agreed at a meeting in Brussels to take "stronger measures, including air strikes." Bombing missions will be carried out after receiving the consent of UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Washington insists no new UN resolutions are required for air strikes, but Boutros-Ghali said only he had the authority to request military action.

Clinton seized on the July 25 artillery barrage against French troops near Sarajevo by rightist Serb forces to press for bombing. The French forces, which are in Bosnia under the UN flag, were holed up in a

Continued on Page 21

## Int'l forum demands end of U.S. trade ban against Cuba

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

HAVANA, Cuba—"Latin America and the Caribbean today is a continent that is mortgaged and subjugated, under new forms of neocolonial exploitation, to the interests of international financial capital" and to an unpayable foreign debt, said Cuban leader José Ramón Balaguer.

Balaguer, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, was addressing the opening of a conference of political parties from Latin America and the Caribbean, which took place at the Convention Palace here July 21-24.

The delegates at the conference, representing the vast majority of parties in the workers movement of Latin America and the Caribbean, unanimously demanded that Washington lift its trade embargo against Cuba and called for actions around the continent in solidarity with Cuba.

"The persistence of the imperialist offensive against our peoples," requires new solutions said Balaguer, "without abandoning the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist character of the alternatives needed in each of our countries."

The gathering, hosted by the Cuban Communist Party, was the fourth such meeting of political organizations, known as the São Paulo Forum. The Forum was first convened in July 1990 in São Paulo, Brazil, at the initiative of the Workers Party (PT) of that country. The subsequent annual meetings took place in Mexico City

Continued on Page 3

## Activists mobilize to defend Denver clinics

BY BRIAN PUGH  
AND JEANNE BOWMAN ADAMS

DENVER—"We intend to keep all of the clinics in Denver open," said Nancy Kohsin-Kintigh from the Feminist Majority Foundation to the applause of 400 abortion rights activists at a July 31 clinic defense training session here. The Clinic Defense Project, a coalition of pro-choice groups, has already trained around 1,500 volunteers to mobilize against Operation Rescue's campaign to blockade abortion clinics August 9-15, the week Pope John Paul is scheduled to visit Denver.

Pro-choice activists successfully pushed back Operation Rescue's July 9-18 "Cities of Refuge" campaign, keeping clinics open in central Florida; Cleveland; Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas; Jackson, Mississippi; Minneapolis; Philadelphia; and San Jose, California.

High-spirited activists, mostly young women, packed the First Baptist Church in Denver for the training session, expressing their determination to defend the clinics. "I think it is vital for women to have the option for safe abortions," said a young volunteer. "Operation Rescue's tactics are violent and inappropriate. It's important



Militant/Jon Hillson

Pro-choice activists defended Robbinsdale clinic in Minneapolis July 15 against rightist group Operation Rescue.

that we protect this right."

Maria Stuemky was eager to share her reasons for clinic defense training. "I believe it is important to show the antichoice fanatics that we are not intimidated by their

threats. I am willing to fight for abortion rights for my two teenage daughters and for my future granddaughters as well."

Ben Makinen, a musician, added, "I am here simply because of my belief in women's and men's constitutional rights to make decisions concerning their own bodies."

In a telephone interview, Jessica Winston, who works with the Feminist Majority Foundation, said, "Every day we receive 30 to 40 phone calls on the hot line to help us with defense." Winston pointed out that the National Organization for Women, National Abortion Rights Action League, Planned Parenthood, and other groups are supporting the defense efforts. Training sessions have also taken place in other cities in Colorado such as Colorado Springs, Fort Collins, and Boulder. She said rightists were also organizing Denver and that Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, held a meeting of 100 people July 29 at Redeemer Church in Denver to rally abortion opponents.

Winston, who helped defeat Operation Rescue in Jackson, Mississippi, recalled that "people traveled from very far to defend the clinics. I met 25 people who were from Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida."





## IN BRIEF

### Clinton attacks immigrants

U.S. president Bill Clinton asked Congress July 27 for more money and new laws to tighten immigration regulations. Clinton is seeking on-the-spot hearings for immigrants seeking political asylum and an additional \$172.5 million to add up to 600 border cops and supply them with high-technology equipment. He also proposed giving immigration authorities expanded powers including wiretapping.

Immigrants denied asylum would face immediate deportation. Clinton's proposal limits court reviews of these decisions to the narrow task of determining whether the right person is being deported, not whether the case has merit or whether immigration officials are following regulations.

### L.A. cops get 2 1/2 years

Two Los Angeles policemen, convicted earlier in the beating of Rodney King, were sentenced August 4 to two and a half years in prison by a federal judge. They had faced a maximum possible ten years in jail. The judge, who expressed open sympathy for the cops, waived all fines and said he was being lenient because "the victim's wrongful conduct contributed significantly to provoking the offensive behavior." The cops could be eligible to get out after two years.

### Nicaragua fighting sparks debate

Some 150 former contras and veteran's of Nicaragua's army attempted to seize control of the city of Estelí, in northern Nicaragua, July 21. The soldiers were protesting the government's refusal to grant promised land and financial aid in exchange for disarming. Government troops led by former Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) commander Gen. Humberto Ortega waged a fierce counterattack. Two civilians, 2 government soldiers, and 41 rebels were reportedly killed and 98 wounded.

Rightist forces in the ruling National Opposition Union (UNO) party say the Sandinista People's Army did not respond strongly enough to months of conflicts, which have included land occupations in

northern regions.

The UNO Political Council is demanding intervention by United Nations troops. President Violeta Chamorro is opposed to this. FSLN leader Daniel Ortega denounced calls for UN intervention.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Senate cut off aid to Nicaragua.

### UNITA besieges Angolan city

The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) stepped up its offensive to seize the city of Cuito, 340 miles southeast of the country's capital, Luanda. Angolan government officials said the city was under extreme pressure but they were able to hold the line.

The United Nations estimates that more than 70,000 people have died since UNITA renewed its attacks in October 1992 after losing the elections.

### ANC condemns church massacre

Twelve worshipers were killed and more than 50 wounded in an attack July 25 on a

multiracial church congregation in Kenilworth, a predominately white suburb of Cape Town. The African National Congress (ANC) said the massacre would not derail multiparty talks on a draft of South Africa's first nonracial constitution.

Nelson Mandela told an audience of Afrikaans university students the attack was "a deed of indescribable barbarism which filled me with revulsion." The ANC mobilized its community organizations to work with the police to find the killers. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said that while the ANC's gesture was appreciated the police won't release its information to the ANC or allow them to interview key witnesses. Frank Retief, the church's bishop, welcomed the ANC's help and said he is willing to work with the organization.

### Israel court acquits Demjanjuk

The Israeli Supreme Court July 29 overturned the conviction and death sentence of John Demjanjuk, ruling there was "reasonable doubt" that he was the sadistic Nazi guard known as "Ivan the Terrible," who tortured Jews and other victims on their way to the gas chambers at the Treblinka death camp in Poland during World War II. Demjanjuk, a retired auto worker, has been fighting these charges for 16 years. The U.S. government revoked his citizenship in 1981, claiming he lied about his wartime activities on immigration papers. Demjanjuk was extradited to Israel in 1986 and sentenced to death by an Israeli court in 1988. On August 3, the 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Ohio ruled that Demjanjuk must be permitted to return to the United States while a court investigates the government's handling of his extradition to Israel.

As he was getting ready to leave for Ukraine following his acquittal, however, the Israeli courts ordered Demjanjuk to stay in prison until the government decides if new

war-crimes charges should be brought against him.

### Moscow voids old rubles

The Central Bank of Russia invalidated currency printed before 1993 and gave people two weeks to exchange up to 35,000 rubles (US\$35), equivalent to a typical monthly salary. The decree allowed money in excess of that to be placed in state-run savings accounts for six months. With inflation running at an annual rate of 750 percent, most or all of the value will be lost. Millions of Russians were stuck with no usable money to buy groceries and waited in long bank lines hoping to cash in before the bank ran out of legal tender.

Officials say the move, which devastated Russian workers and farmers, is intended to separate Russia's economy from the 10 former republics that still use the ruble. Russian officials blame those republics for fueling inflation.

The following day Russian president Boris Yeltsin eased the terms of the decree by raising the limit each citizen can exchange to 100,000 rubles and extending the deadline until the end of August.

### Hyundai workers continue strike

A contract was narrowly approved by 51 percent of the 30,000 workers at Hyundai Motor in South Korea July 23, but some 40,000 unionists at Hyundai's seven subsidiaries are continuing the 53-day strike after overwhelmingly rejecting the company's wage proposal. Workers are demanding wage increases, union shops, strike funds, and a 40-hour workweek.

The government invoked emergency powers July 26 to intervene in the dispute. Riot police have launched attacks on strikers and threatened to arrest union organizers.

### Khmer Rouge escalates violence

Khmer Rouge troops have stepped up a campaign of violence following United Nations-sponsored elections in Cambodia. UN officials say the attacks are a warning to the new coalition government, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, not to exclude the Khmer Rouge from the coalition. The two presidents, Prince Norodom Ranariddh and Hun Sen, have expressed willingness to include the Khmer Rouge in the new government if that organization, responsible for the deaths of 1 million Cambodians during its reign in the 1970s, ends its violent assaults.

### Indian gov't survives vote

The Congress Party led by Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao survived a parliamentary vote of no confidence July 28 by a 265-251 margin. The vote initiated by the Communist Party with the support of all the opposition parties charged Rao with corruption, promoting "anti-people" economic policies, and not arresting those responsible for the demolition of a 16th-century mosque last December. Rao was recently accused of accepting a \$371,000 political bribe.

—PAT SMITH



Nearly 43,000 miners went on strike August 2 in Romania's Jiu Valley, which produces more than 90 percent of the country's coal. The miners are demanding pay raises and protesting high taxes.

## THE MILITANT

*Follow the fight  
against U.S. embargo of Cuba*

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U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment's  
successful crossing of the  
border with aid for Cuba.  
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# Int'l forum blasts U.S. embargo on Cuba

Continued from front page  
and Managua, Nicaragua.

Some 400 delegates and observers took part in the Havana conference, which was substantially larger than the previous meetings. Representatives of 137 organizations from 30 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean participated this year, along with observers from 43 parties in Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, and North America. Last year, 61 organizations from 17 countries took part in the Managua meeting.

For the first time, a number of parties from the English-speaking Caribbean countries sent delegates. They included the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement of Grenada, the Dominica Labor Party, the February 18 Movement and the Movement for Social Transformation of Trinidad, and the Peoples' National Party of Jamaica. There was also increased participation from the French-speaking Caribbean islands.

The first São Paulo gathering had issued a strongly anti-imperialist declaration.

The resolutions adopted by the Mexico City and Managua meetings registered a notable retreat from the São Paulo declaration. They reflected the weight of procapitalist forces such as the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of Mexico, which orients to electoral contests in the hope of taking over the reins of capitalist government. They also reflected the rightward shift of organizations such as the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador and the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua.

The Havana meeting was marked by a similar debate between the anti-imperialist and prosocialist forces on one hand and those seeking accommodation with U.S. im-

perialism on the other.

In his opening remarks to the plenary session, PRD president Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas advocated reforming what he called "dependent capitalism" in Latin America, by relying on sections of the national bourgeoisie. He spoke of the need for economic growth through a drive for capitalist efficiency and productivity, which, he argued, does not contradict the fight for "social rights, political liberties, and protection of the environment."

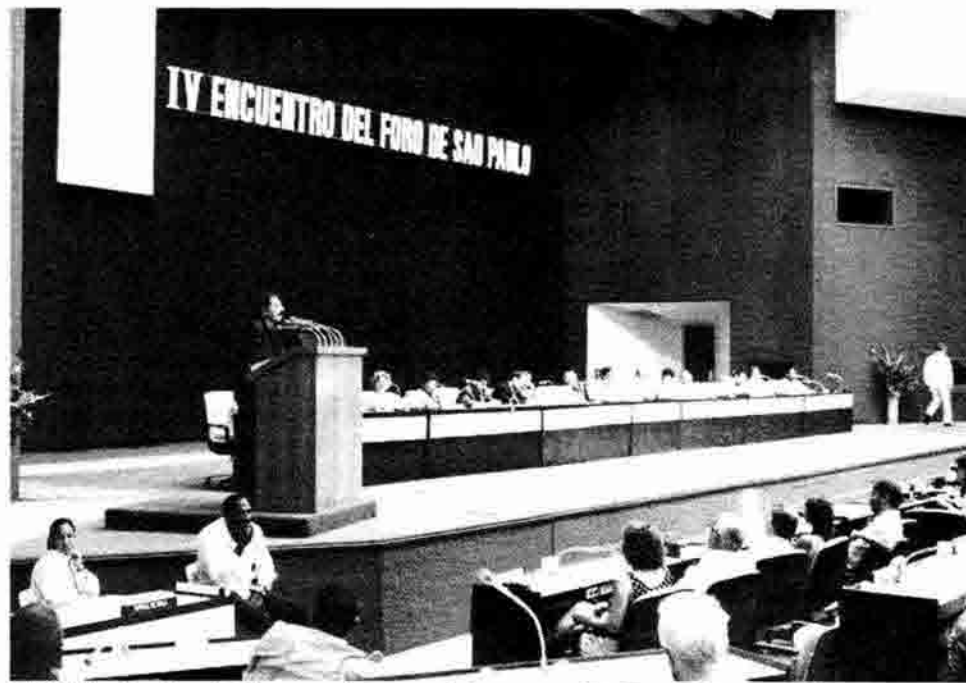
"There is talk about the beginning of a decade of hope for Latin America, because some indicators, like those related to inflation, the budget deficit and the capital income have improved," said José Arbesú, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, speaking for the Cuban delegation.

"But let us not be deceived," he continued. While Latin American countries have paid \$700 billion in interest payments on their foreign debt over the past 12 years, Arbesú said, that debt remains above \$450 billion.

"Critical poverty has extended to almost half of the Latin American population," he stated, "and unemployment has increased while real income has decreased. Over eight million children under the age of five are undernourished and close to 700,000 die every year before they reach that age."

"The insurmountable contradictions of capitalism and its policies — including neoliberalism and all of its variants," he said, "create an objective basis for the revolutionary alternative."

"For Cuban revolutionaries, the conviction that the socialist option is the only possible option for independence, sover-



FSLN leader Daniel Ortega addresses delegates at São Paulo Forum in Havana

eignty, and social justice, remains indestructible," he concluded. Delegates of several other parties, including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, Dominica Labor Party, and Movement of the Revolutionary Left of Chile (MIR), spoke along similar lines.

A debate broke out at the meeting over a point in the final declaration, stating that the U.S. government was now trying to improve "its negative and unsuccessful hemispheric relations," and that the policies of the Clinton administration were "ambiguous."

Marina Arismendi of the Communist Party of Uruguay, as well as many other

delegates, objected. "There are no ambiguities," she said. "The Clinton administration continues the aggressive U.S. imperialist policy toward Latin America," she argued, citing the U.S. embargo on Cuba, the continued presence of U.S. troops in Panama, and threats of military intervention in Haiti.

Adolfo Gilly of the PRD of Mexico and Shafik Handal of the FMLN defended the initial formulation. "We have worked with certain sectors in the U.S. administration and there is the possibility of further agreement on our positions," said Handal. "We can't break the lines of communication."

After much debate, Daniel Ortega of the FSLN and Balaguer proposed an amendment, which the delegates approved by acclamation. "The fourth Forum takes note that the current U.S. government continues the policies of previous administrations in hemispheric relations," the final declaration read.

## Growing opposition to U.S. embargo

Defense of Cuba's sovereignty and opposition to the U.S. embargo against the Caribbean island was a central theme of the conference. Speakers such as Cárdenas, Ortega, and PT presidential candidate Inacio (Lula) da Silva all sharply condemned the embargo.

David Abdulah from the Movement for Social Transformation of Trinidad said another blow was struck against the embargo when the Caribbean Broadcasting Association voted July 22 to admit Cuba to its ranks.

The final declaration adopted by the conference said that the meeting in Havana allowed delegates "to observe the difficult situation facing the fraternal people of Cuba and the grave effects of the blockade and the systematic policy of aggression carried out by the U.S. government. They also witnessed the firmness and determination of the Cuban people in the daily struggle to defend their social and economic achievements. When more than 180 million people in Latin America and the Caribbean live in poverty," the statement said, "these revolutionary gains are even more significant."

The Forum condemned "the immoral imperialist blockade and assumed the commitment to deepen political actions demanding its lifting, as well as the unconditional integration of Cuba into the continental community."

Delegates voted to organize a week of solidarity activities with Cuba in October to coincide with the United Nations debate on Washington's embargo.

## Cuban leaders at the Forum

Cuban president Fidel Castro, as well as other central leaders of the Cuban Communist Party and government attended most of the conference and took part in the discussion. Castro and Carlos Lage, vice-president of Cuba's council of state, spoke about the economic crisis Cuba has been going through since the collapse of trade with the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, aggravated by the U.S. embargo and two recent storms that caused severe damages in agriculture. They discussed some of the new measures the Cuban government has announced to deal with the difficulties, including the decriminalization of the use of U.S. dollars (see article on this page).

Ricardo Alarcón, president of Cuba's na-  
Continued on Page 22

## Castro outlines new economic measures

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

HAVANA, Cuba — President Fidel Castro outlined a series of new economic measures July 26 to help confront the country's sharp economic crisis.

The Cuban leader spoke before 2,000 people who packed the Heredia Theater in Santiago on the 40th anniversary of the assault on the Moncada garrison, which in 1953 launched the revolutionary struggle against the Batista dictatorship. Televised live, the speech was watched attentively by millions throughout the country.

Castro announced that the holding and use of U.S. dollars by Cubans will no longer be legally prohibited.

In addition, Cubans living abroad will be allowed virtually unrestricted travel to the island. They will also be able to send an unlimited amount of dollars to relatives in Cuba.

These measures — which also include greater openings to foreign investments — are intended to bring in more hard currency, the Cuban president said. "Today everything [that Cuba imports] must be paid with hard currency," he noted.

The economic proposals will be discussed in the country's mass organizations and voted on in the National Assembly.

Castro described Cuba's stark economic situation, which, he said, was sparked by the collapse of trade with the former Soviet bloc — accounting for 85 percent of Cuba's imports — and aggravated by the 33-year-old U.S. embargo. Imports have dropped from \$8.1 billion in 1989 to an expected \$1.7 billion this year, he pointed out.

Sugar production was 7 million tons in 1992. Shortages of fertilizers, pesticides, and fuel, along with two devastating storms earlier this year, however, reduced this year's crop to 4.3 million tons, causing an income loss of \$450 million.

In response, large numbers of Cubans have mobilized as volunteer cane cutters to minimize the depletion of scarce petroleum resources. Hundreds of thousands of people continue to volunteer for intensive brigades in the fields to increase food production.

The Cuban president explained that prioritizing construction of hotels and other investments in tourist facilities, as one of the ways to obtain hard currency, has led to a 30 to 40 percent increase in tourism per year. Net revenue from tourism in 1993 is expected to reach \$500 million. "However," he said, "it is insignificant compared to what we have lost in exports."

The growth of tourism has also brought



Cuban president Fidel Castro announced that use of U.S. dollars will be legalized.

some noticeable social contradictions. Prostitution, virtually eliminated in the early years of the revolution, is now expanding rapidly around tourist hotels. The government had recently decided to allow tourism workers in Varadero and other areas to keep most of the dollars they get in tips and to exchange them for vouchers used in special stores to buy imported items. This has caused some social differentiation and attracted many, including highly skilled workers, away from their jobs to work in tourist facilities.

Castro noted that until recently Cubans who worked in other countries or obtained hard currency from relatives abroad or through other means would exchange it for Cuban pesos. But under current conditions "the peso loses a lot of its value and no one exchanges hard currency for pesos at the National Bank," he said. While the official exchange rate is 1 peso per U.S. dollar, the rate in an expanding black market is now 60 pesos to the dollar.

The new policy on use of dollars will legalize what has already been happening widely in Cuba. "We have penalized the possession of hard currency. It is a headache for the police but it circulates anyway," said Castro in a speech to the National Assembly June 29 when he first raised this proposal. "Let's stop making it a crime in which thousands and thousands participate."

The Cuban president indicated that decriminalizing the possession and use of dollars will channel more hard currency away from the black market and into the state economy, meaning the government will have more resources to meet fundamental needs such as importing oil.

Castro acknowledged that access to dollars for a section of the population will increase social inequalities. "Some of these measures are unpleasant and we do not like them," he said. "We have adapted to equality and with good reason," he added, "and when we see someone enjoying a privilege we suffer... There will be those who have privileges the rest do not have because they have a relative or a relationship and someone sends money to them." But these measures are necessary to raise foreign currency, Castro said.

## Debate over new measures

There has been widespread debate over the announced measures. "My first reaction when I heard of the proposal on the dollar," said sociology student Cynthia Barrera Valdés in an interview, "was that this is terrible. It will increase social differentiation and push people to look for dollars for themselves and their families as individuals." But, Barrera added, she had no alternative solution to get the much needed hard currency.

A painter said, "the measures will eliminate speculators and the black market and will ease the pressures on scarce goods in the short run. But eventually," he added, "we will have to take steps to push for more collective solutions."

Most Cubans this reporter spoke to welcomed the announcement of lifting restrictions on travel to the island for relatives who live abroad.

As soon as the news of the new measures hit Miami, many Cuban-Americans flocked to travel agencies to purchase tickets to Havana. On July 30, however, the U.S. state department suspended all ticket sales to Cuba under the new guidelines issued by the Cuban government. The *Miami Herald* reported that Clinton administration officials said the new guidelines would violate regulations of the U.S. embargo, which allow Cuban-Americans to spend only up to \$100 per day while in Cuba.

The U.S. transportation department had approved these ticket sales the day before.



# Hunger strikers demand release of bus

**Continued from front page**  
announced that the caravan would not apply for an export license because Washington had no right to stop the delivery of humanitarian aid to Cuba or anywhere else.

In the early morning of July 29, with several lawyers and prominent religious leaders posted as observers, 100 caravan participants approached the border, chanting "Cuba yes, blockade no." The demonstration was led by a group of teenagers carrying a banner in English and Spanish reading "Youth for Cuba."

The youth crossed first. "I'm here to challenge the blockade and support the caravan," stated 16-year-old Dan Shoup from Oakland, California. "I support the Cuban revolution."

Next, three more caravan members walked briskly to the border with boxes in their arms, paid the 25-cent toll, and crossed International Bridge Number 1. The embargo had been broken.

At this point vehicles of all types, with colored signs and painted slogans such as "End the Blockade of Cuba," massed in a large shopping mall parking lot nearby.

Bill Hill, a Vietnam veteran from Tucson, Arizona, drove a truck piled high with 103 boxes containing 35,000 bicycle tubes. "I don't believe our government is doing our fair share anywhere in the world," he said.

## Boxes pour across the border

To loud cheers, the convoy moved toward the border. U.S. customs officials told caravan leaders they were going to inspect for items that were not allowed to go to Cuba. Friendshipment drivers then backed up their vehicles and unloaded the many tons of prescription medicines, computers, and other materials.

For the next several hours, a moving chain of hundreds of people carried boxes from the mall parking lot, to the international bridge, to the Mexican side of the border in Nuevo Laredo.

As hundreds of boxes destined for Cuba poured over the U.S. border, customs officials tried to explain themselves. "The Pastors for Peace have told us of their intentions but we actually don't know what's in the



Militant/Mark Gilsdorf



Militant/Janet Post

Support is growing for hunger strikers in Laredo, Texas, who demand gov't release school bus (right corner) customs officials seized July 29. Protests like one in New York (left) are taking place around the country. Laredo caravan supporters paint banner in solidarity with hunger strikers (right).

boxes," stated customs spokesperson Scott Arnold, while caravan supporters streamed by carrying huge open boxes with prescription medicines visible.

Another border cop, Alberto Ramirez, said, "We were told to let them cross with whatever they were carrying."

Arnold said if they found out later that prohibited items had been taken to Cuba, the government would investigate and issue fines and penalties.

U.S. officials did seize three computers, two electric typewriters, and 20 boxes of medicines. But caravan organizers announced that hundreds of thousands of dollars in medical supplies and 100 computers, together with most of the 92 vehicles, had crossed into Mexico.

"This is a complete victory," Hansen exclaimed. "I hope what we're seeing is the beginning of the end of the blockade."

On the other side of the bridge, members of the Mexican group "Va por Cuba," which opposes the U.S. embargo of Cuba, greeted the caravan. Antonio Carmona Pérez from Tampico, Mexico, commented, "The U.S. government said the caravan would never pass but it did. I think it's great what the

U.S. groups are doing here, especially those from Miami." He added that "Cuba is defending its sovereignty at great cost and everyone should support that."

That afternoon, customs cops seized the little yellow school bus with the words "End the embargo against Cuba" painted on the side. They towed the bus into a holding area, deflated its tires, and removed the battery. The driver, Lucius Walker, along with 13 others, stayed on the bus.

At first the cops did not allow anyone on or off the bus, in spite of 100-degree weather. After government officials were flooded with protests, however, they allowed the 14 hunger strikers to see lawyers and a doctor and to receive water and a portable toilet.

One of the 14, Camilo García Benítez, a young Cuban from Vancouver Island, Canada, said, "Just because Cuba has decided to have socialism, it shouldn't have to suffer. I want to show that Cubans outside of Cuba oppose the embargo."

Another hunger striker is Chris Hoepfner, a member of the International Association of Machinists and Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle. "The bus doesn't

belong to us; it already belongs to the Cuban people," he stated. "We've accomplished a huge victory but the fight isn't over."

Also on the bus is Milton Reid, pastor of Gideon Riverside Fellowship of Norfolk, Virginia. "I feel great about being here," he said. "We're getting the word out about this awkward and inhumane policy."

Alfonso García, a worker at the nearby shopping mall, came over to offer solidarity. "I'm all for what they're doing, delivering aid. I don't know the situation in Cuba but I'm all for helping kids," he said. "I don't see why the government won't allow anyone to deliver aid to people who need it."

## Support grows for hunger strikers

Fifteen other caravan participants stayed in Laredo to build public support for the hunger strikers. The U.S. State Department has reportedly been flooded with messages demanding release of the bus, including 3,000 phone calls on July 30 alone.

As part of this emergency campaign, a national demonstration was called in Laredo August 7. Local demonstrations have been held in dozens of cities.

In San Francisco, the secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO Labor Council, Walter Johnson, told 150 demonstrators that the council had passed a resolution supporting the Friendshipment "and other efforts to end the U.S. ban on trade and travel to Cuba."

In Miami, members of the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community (ATC) gave eyewitness reports on the Laredo events at two ATC meetings of 100 people each. Ernie Mailhot, who had just returned from Laredo, was invited to give a report to the congregation of the Family Reunification Church. Its pastor, José Reyes, spoke on Spanish-language radio stations appealing for listeners to join the emergency campaign in defense of the Friendshipment.

Meanwhile, in Newark, New Jersey, Friendshipment supporter Eugene McElroy won a postponement to August 17 of his trial on trumped-up disorderly conduct charges. McElroy had helped 75 other activists load several tons of material aid for Cuba July 17 when they were attacked by a group of Cuban right-wing thugs. The police allowed the attack to happen and themselves beat McElroy.

Anti-embargo activists held a press conference and picket line in Newark July 29 to protest the police beating of McElroy, and received prominent press coverage. When Friendshipment activist Frank Scoffi announced that the caravan had just crossed the border and was headed to Cuba, the demonstrators erupted in cheers. "This is a victory," Scoffi declared. "We should celebrate."

*Friendshipment driver Joe Callahan from Minneapolis; Marilee Taylor and Rich Ariza from Newark; Jim Altenberg and Elizabeth Whittaker from San Francisco; and Francisco Picado from Miami contributed to this article.*

# Cubans welcome Friendshipment drivers

**Continued from front page**  
group Pastors for Peace, which initiated the caravan. He is one of the hunger strikers on the impounded bus.

Amparo Martínez, from Mexico, also spoke at the press conference. She was part of a contingent from the solidarity group "Va por Cuba." Members of that group collected 49 tons of material aid in Mexico and loaded it on the Cuban freighter *Pinar del Río* in Tampico together with the 100 tons collected by the U.S. caravan. The Mexican activists organized a welcome parade in Tampico for the U.S. participants. The dock workers' union there also lent its support.

In Havana, the Cuban Institute for Friendship with the Peoples (ICAP) hosted a reception for the caravan the day after its arrival. Ricardo Alarcón, president of Cuba's National Assembly, addressed the group.

The main contribution of the Friendshipment, Alarcón said, is not the material aid itself but "the moral message, the encouragement that helps us continue struggling and resisting, that lets us know we are not alone."

The Cuban leader pointed to the nation's efforts to defend the revolution and confront the current economic shortages resulting from the loss of Soviet-bloc trade combined with the U.S. embargo.

"What we are trying to save — together with the very survival of the Cuban homeland — is an ideal of how human life should be on the face of the earth," he said. "We are told that the most efficient engine running society is individual interest, the pursuit of material

satisfaction. We will continue to believe that a human community based on fraternity and the union of its members is superior to that."

"We are told that what we are trying to do is senseless," Alarcón continued. Speaking about the 300 caravan activists, he stressed, "That's why it is so important for us to see that there are people around the world who are willing to sacrifice for others, including from the very belly of the beast, as [Cuban independence fighter José] Martí would say, and even from the belly of the belly of the beast," referring to the contingent of 65 Cuban-Americans from Miami and other cities.

The National Assembly leader concluded by saying that the 14 hunger strikers in Laredo "continue affirming that above unjust laws there are much more important laws, that solidarity between men and women will always be a more powerful force."

After a question-and-answer session,



Cuban president Fidel Castro presents Tom Hansen, leader of Pastors for Peace, with the Medal of Solidarity in Havana.

Rev. Raúl Suárez, director of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center in Havana, spoke. The collected aid is to be delivered to the King Center.

Suárez read a statement from Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchú of Guatemala, who called for "the liberation of bus number 95," the school bus impounded in Laredo.

*John Cox is a Friendshipment driver from Pittsburgh.*



## Expanding the production of revolutionary literature

### Improved printshop extends reach of working-class movement

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

Pathfinder Press and its printing division have undertaken a major expansion of their printing facilities in lower Manhattan. The efforts of the writers, editors, printers, sales representatives, and others who produce and organize distribution of revolutionary books, pamphlets, and periodicals have just been given a big boost. Two new German-made Heidelberg presses have been installed and in October a remanufactured Goss offset web press will be delivered as well.

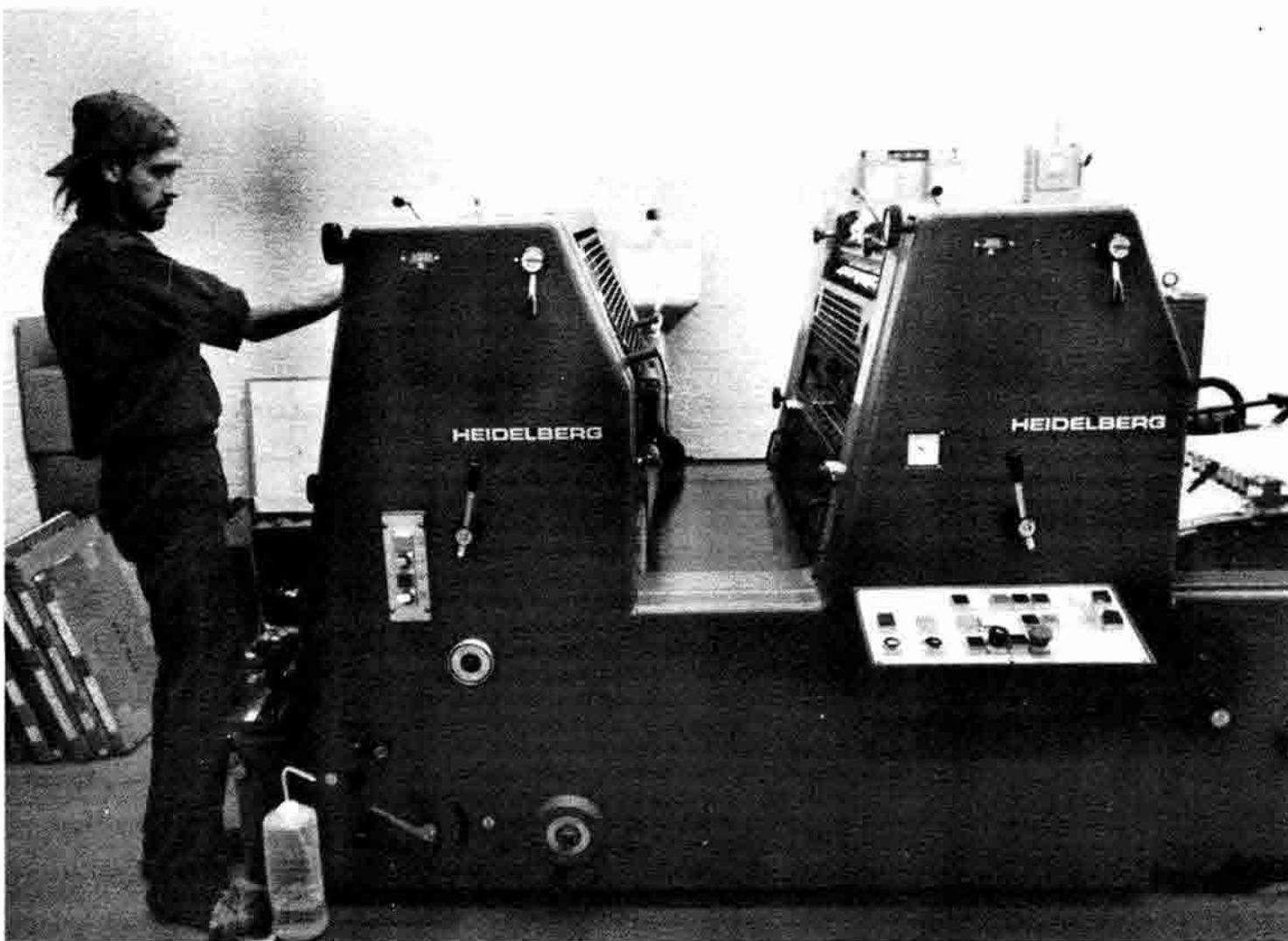
Since 1930 Pathfinder and its predecessors have published Marxist books and pamphlets to reach out and educate workers and youth. These publications help answer life-and-death questions for fighters around the world, arm them with the lessons of previous struggles, and provide a scientific understanding of society and politics.

This special supplement to the *Militant* is designed to explain — in words and lots of pictures — how this expansion will contribute new political weapons to the efforts of militant workers, revolutionary-minded youth, and people involved in struggles and social protest movements around the world.

The books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder present the living revolutionary continuity of the modern communist movement in the works of Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V. I. Lenin. This continuity was defended by Leon Trotsky against the Stalinist-led counterrevolution that began in the late 1920s. Pathfinder books also cover the roots of the oppression and exploitation of women and the fight for their emancipation; lessons drawn by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party on the revolutionary transformation of the labor movement and the construction of communist parties; the evolution of Malcolm X as a revolutionary internationalist and anticapitalist leader of the working class; and the speeches and writings of other revolutionary leaders such as Fidel Castro, Maurice Bishop, Ernesto Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Thomas Sankara, and Carlos Fonseca.

The extension of its printing operation is a major turning point for the publishing house and printer. It makes possible the continued progress of Pathfinder's publishing.

Continued on ISR 11



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

Kevin Dwire operating one of the new sheetfed presses.

## Pathfinder to undertake ambitious publishing program in year ahead

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

In a continuing expansion of its publishing program, Pathfinder has scheduled five new books for release later this year. In addition, a new issue of the Marxist journal *New Internationalist* will be published, as well as the first issue of a Swedish-language edition of that magazine, *Ny Internationalist*.

Together with the reprints of backlist titles that will be produced this year and next, this represents a substantial step forward for the New York-based publishing house.

*Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* will be released in September, just as campaigning picks up steam in the first free elections in South Africa's history.

In the speeches, interviews, and debates collected in *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, the presidential candidate of the African National Congress (ANC) explains the aims of the democratic revolution the organization is leading. Questions he takes up include:

- What will it take to drive through to completion the national, democratic revolu-

Continued on ISR 2



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

### inside

**2 BOOKS IN SPANISH, FRENCH**

**3 TEHRAN BOOK FAIR**

**6 65 YEARS OF THE MILITANT**

**8 MAKING A BOOK**

**10 SPECIAL SALE OF MARXIST CLASSICS**

**16 PROMOTION AND DISTRIBUTION**





Nelson Mandela addressing a rally in Port Elizabeth, South Africa, June 23, 1992. This is one of the pictures appearing in Pathfinder's forthcoming book, *Nelson Mandela Speaks*.



Che Guevara (right) in Cuba's Sierra Maestra mountains during revolutionary war against Batista dictatorship. In *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*, to be released by Pathfinder later this year, Guevara recounts his efforts in 1966-67 to forge a continent-wide revolutionary movement of workers and peasants. Long unavailable in English, the book contains several items never published in English.

## Pathfinder plans ambitious publishing program

Continued from ISR 1  
tion in South Africa?

- How will the demands of the Freedom Charter advanced by the ANC be implemented? At what pace? What is the impact of the deepening economic crisis on this?
- What is the difference between winning an election and exercising political power?

### 'To See the Dawn'

Another title to appear will be *To See the Dawn*, the documentary record of the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in Baku, Azerbaijan, in September 1920.

This gathering was an assembly without precedent. More than 2,000 delegates came from across Asia to meet in Baku — an oil town of world importance and the region's industrial and cultural center — for a week of debate to hammer out a common approach to guide their political work.

The delegates' goal was to step up efforts to defend the new workers' and peasants' republic in Russia. To accomplish this, they sought to extend the revolution to the rest of Asia, from Turkey to Iran, China, Korea, and Japan. At the same time, they sought to forge a fighting alliance with the working people of Europe and America.

*To See the Dawn* is the fifth installment in the Pathfinder series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*, edited by John Riddell. Ma'mud Shirvani, one of the authors of the introduction to the new volume and a recent visitor to central Asia, will be available to tour to promote the book.

*The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara* is planned for release later in the year, marking the 26th anniversary of Guevara's murder by CIA-directed troops in Bolivia.

*Peru's Shining Path: The Evolution of a Radically Reactionary Sect* will be the next title in Pathfinder's 1993 program. Based on a series of articles by Martin Koppel that appeared in the *Militant* earlier this year, this volume examines the origins and policies of this group, whose middle-class leadership has much in common with the murderous Pol

Pot regime in Cambodia.

Pathfinder will also publish *Carlos Fonseca Speaks*, a selection of the central programmatic writings of the founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua. Seeking to emulate the example of the Cuban revolution, Fonseca brought Marxism to Central America in the early 1960s and built the movement that toppled the Somoza dictatorship in 1979.

Pathfinder will be releasing the second volume in the series of major speeches and writings by Malcolm X, presented in chronological order, as well. The first volume, *February 1965: The Final Speeches*, published at the end of 1992, quickly established the authority of the series, selling 19,000 copies in its first seven months.

### 'New International'

*New International*, a journal of Marxist politics and theory distributed around the world by Pathfinder, will bring out an issue later this year featuring a major article that will take up the evolution of world politics since Washington's assault on Iraq in 1991.

The new issue will include a document adopted by the Socialist Workers Party in 1988 that explains what the October 1987 stock market crash signaled about the world economic depression and social crisis that is unfolding today, and its consequences for the working class worldwide.

The volume will also include major portions of the SWP's political resolution of 1990, which explains how Washington lost the Cold War and how the collapse of the Stalinist apparatuses in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union further destabilized the world imperialist system.

Two books published earlier this year helped establish the reputation of Pathfinder as an innovative and serious voice in the publishing world.

*Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X Speaks), released in February to coincide with Black History Month, found a receptive audience as many bookstores across the United States and in other countries began adding Spanish-language titles to their stock.

The most extensive collection of Malcolm X's speeches published to date in Spanish, *Habla Malcolm X* has received favorable comment in the U.S. Spanish-language press and was cited twice in the weekly best-seller list prepared by New York's largest Spanish-language bookstore. More than 2,200 copies have been sold so far.

*The Truth about Yugoslavia*, published in May, is a timely account of the social and economic forces behind the breakup of Yugoslavia. The book is widely available through chain stores across the United States and in other countries. More than 7,000 copies have been sold so far.

Coauthor Argiris Malapanis, invited to take part in talk shows in Miami, Washington, and New York, has had the opportunity to explain to broad audiences the theme of the book: why the war in Yugoslavia is a product of the economic crisis and intensifying conflicts of the world capitalist system and why working people should oppose military intervention in the Balkans.

To keep pace with growing orders for its previously published titles, Pathfinder has also conducted a major expansion of its reprint program in 1993. Over the course of the year more than 30 titles are scheduled for reissue, many with substantial improvements. Many of the books will receive new covers, some will be completely reset in modern type, and others will have new introductions, indexes, and photo inserts.

Experience has shown that the work involved in upgrading the reprints brings big rewards. Titles such as *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* and James P. Cannon's classic *Notebook of an Agitator* can find many new readers when an attractive new cover and presentation makes it possible to place them in the mainstream of commercial book distribution.

## Expanding arsenal includes books in Spanish, French, Swedish, Farsi, and other languages

BY DUANE STILWELL

Producing books in Spanish, French, and other languages so that working people around the world can benefit from the rich experiences accumulated by the modern working-class movement is an integral part of Pathfinder's publishing program.

Pathfinder will add *En defensa del marxismo*, a new translation of *In Defense of Marxism: The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union* by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky, to its collection of Spanish-language titles. This volume will be an important complement to Path-

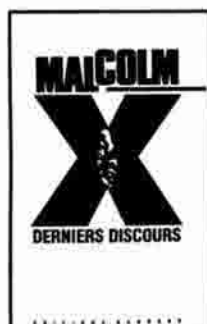
finder's *La revolución traicionada* (*The Revolution Betrayed*), published last year.

Pathfinder sells the language rights to many of its titles to publishers in other countries. A Farsi-language edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Socialism and Man in Cuba*, for example, was recently published in Iran.

*Malcolm X: derniers discours* (Malcolm X: The Last Speeches), published by Éditions Dagorno in France, is now being distributed by Pathfinder in the United States and Canada. Rights to publish Pathfinder titles have recently been sold to publishers in Italy, Belgium, Japan, and Korea.

Supporters of Pathfinder in Greece are now translating the new Pathfinder title *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention*.

Pathfinder also distributes *New International* — a magazine of Marxist politics and theory — in English, French, and Spanish. Besides two new issues in English slated for publication later in 1993, *New International* has announced that the first Swedish edition of the magazine will come out this year. A new issue in Spanish, containing the articles, "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," and "Their Trotsky and Ours," will appear early in 1994. In Canada Michel Prairie, editor of the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*, has announced that work is scheduled to begin soon on a fifth issue of that publication.



Left: Front cover of the French edition of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches*. Right: cover of the Italian edition of *Malcolm X's By Any Means Necessary*. To help make its titles available in other countries, Pathfinder sells language rights to other publishers for many of its books.



Cover of the forthcoming first issue of the Swedish edition of *New International*. The text has been translated, edited, and typeset by volunteers in Sweden, where it will also be printed. The aim is to have the issue ready in early September, in time for an international book fair in Gothenburg.



# Pathfinder sparks interest at Tehran fair

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Pathfinder recently participated in an 11-day book fair in Iran. "The fair was a major event in the national life of the country, with more than half a million people attending," said Marcella Fitzgerald, one of Pathfinder's representatives at the fair. "Workers, youth, women, soldiers, clergy, and people from the countryside came to look at books from around the world. The Pathfinder booth, which was the only one from the United States, was featured on national television."

In addition to Pathfinder's three representatives from the United States and Britain, a number of young Iranian students, hired to staff the booths of other publishers, came by on their breaks to help out in the display area. Many of these youth knew Pathfinder from the 1992 book fair.

After the book fair the Pathfinder team traveled to Baku, Azerbaijan. Academicians, librarians, and publishers there were highly interested in the plans for the forthcoming Pathfinder book *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East*.



MILITANT

**Pathfinder books are now carried in bookstores in Tehran and Tabriz and in at least two university libraries.**



MILITANT

**Pathfinder booth at Tehran book fair. Best-sellers there were *The Communist Manifesto* and *New International* no. 7 with the feature article "Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq." Everything on Marxist philosophy, including George Novack's *Origins of Materialism*, sold out. Twenty percent of all sales were titles on the fight for women's liberation.**



MILITANT/MARCELLA FITZGERALD

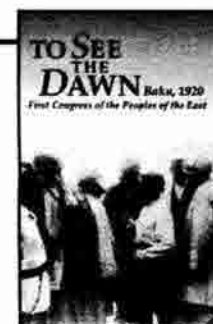
**There are new openings in Iran and the central Asian republics for Marxist ideas as a result of the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Above: Readers browse in library at University of Shiraz.**

## TO SEE THE DAWN

BAKU 1920 — FIRST CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST

*To See the Dawn* contains all congress debates and decisions, plus previously unpublished documents and photographs. A volume of the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*. Edited by John Riddell. \$19.95

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on ISR/15 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, add \$3.00 postage for first book and \$0.50 for each additional book.



Special offer to Pathfinder Readers Club members, \$15.00 (good until October 15, 1993).

## Special fund puts Marxist literature in hands of Cuban working people

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

"I want to let you know that I have been reading one of the books given by you to our library, *Socialism on Trial*." So wrote Roger René Fuentes, an industrial engineering student at the Higher Technical Institute of Holguín, Cuba, in a letter to Pathfinder Press. The book is James P. Cannon's testimony during the frame-up trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis International Brotherhood of Teamsters union and the Socialist Workers Party who were charged with sedition on the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II.

"I admire very much the bravery and intelligence shown by J. P. Cannon before the court. I think he is a worthy example of imitation by every revolutionary," Fuentes added.

The Cuban student was referring to the donation last October of more than 100 Pathfinder titles to the university's library.

How was this donation possible? Through the financial contributions of many working people and youth in the United States and elsewhere who, like Fuentes, understand the value of these books as political tools for fighters around the world.

To meet the demand for such literature, the *Militant*, in collaboration with Pathfinder Press, launched a Books for Cuba Fund earlier this year. So far \$3,700 has been raised.

Because of Cuba's acute shortages of resources it is difficult for Cuban libraries to acquire needed books. The fund helps fill some of these needs. Donations so far range

from a few dollars to several hundred.

Every dollar counts. The cost of the books donated to the Holguín library was \$1,000. A similar donation to the University of Matanzas library — including a full set of the Marx and Engels *Collected Works* — cost \$1,600.

Other requests can be expected. Teachers and students at the University of Bayamo,

in eastern Cuba, recently told visiting Pathfinder representatives they were interested in reading some of the books Pathfinder publishes.

In addition to Fuentes, several other Cubans have written letters to Pathfinder commenting on an array of titles they have studied, such as "The Opening Guns of World War III," an article in *New Interna-*

*tional* magazine; *The Revolution Betrayed*, by Russian communist leader Leon Trotsky; and *To Speak the Truth*, speeches by Cuban revolutionary leaders Ernesto Che Guevara and Fidel Castro.

Contributions to the Pathfinder Books for Cuba Fund can be made out to the *Militant* (earmarked for the fund) and sent to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.



MILITANT/GREG ROSENBERG



MILITANT/MARTÍN KOPPEL

**For working people and youth in Cuba who are fighting to deepen the proletarian course of the Cuban revolution in the midst of a devastating economic crisis, the books published and distributed by Pathfinder are invaluable. At left: A volunteer at El Paraíso agricultural camp reads *Habla Malcolm X*. At right: Pathfinder books on display at university in Holguín. A professor from Holguín wrote to thank Pathfinder for the donation of Malcolm X's speeches. "The book will circulate among my students and friends," he said.**



# Pathfinder bookstores: irreplaceable resource for fighting workers and youth

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Pathfinder bookstores play an irreplaceable role as a resource center for fighting workers and youth. Striking coal miners, young women and men defending abortion clinics, opponents of the U.S. embargo against Cuba, and others are discovering that the books and pamphlets they find on Pathfinder bookshelves help arm them politically for the struggles they are involved in and give them a broader understanding of world politics and history.

Pathfinder bookstores can also be centers of political activity and discussion. Several in the United States served as drop-off points for the material aid being delivered to Cuba by the U.S.-Cuba Friendship.

There have been bookstores specializing in titles published by Pathfinder or its predecessors for over five decades; they previously carried names ranging from Granma Bookstore to Socialist Books. In the mid-1980s, however, as political developments led to an expansion of Pathfinder's distribution around the world, all these bookstores decided to identify themselves uniformly with the name Pathfinder.

Supporters of Pathfinder have found many ways to expand the reach of the bookstores. This includes participating in local book fairs, such as the Atlanta International Book Festival, which was open to the public, and Chicago's Afro-American Book Bazaar, which attracted 500 librarians from around the city.

Special efforts have also been made to put Pathfinder books in the hands of fighting unionists. For example, Pathfinder supporters have joined other working people at rallies and other activities to support locked-out Timex workers in Dundee, Scotland. Debbie Delange from Manchester, England, reports that "a Pathfinder stall attracted great interest at two picket line demonstrations at the Timex lockout." Workers purchased 18 books on subjects ranging from the 1934



Supporters of Pathfinder in Los Angeles raised \$22,000 to rebuild their bookstore after it was burned to the ground during the antipolice riots last year. Contributions came in from working people who live in the area — including many Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants. The American Booksellers Association helped raise \$3,700.

Minneapolis Teamsters' strikes to the defense of framed-up political activist Mark Curtis.

By taking books out to factories, political events, and street corners, supporters of the Pathfinder bookstores in Manchester and London have increased sales by almost half compared to last year.

Max Monclair, who is part of a weekly three-person sales team at Mademoiselle, a large garment shop in Brooklyn, New York, reports that "almost every week at the plant gate we set up a table with papers and books, along with a big sign and promotional displays. One worker recently bought a copy in Spanish of *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today* and another purchased the issue of *Nueva Internacional* with the article on "The Opening Guns of World War III."



Two dozen people bought copies of *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention* at the Pathfinder table at a recent conference on "Peace, Power, and Politics" in Wellington, New Zealand. Twenty came to an open house at the bookstore afterward to check out the full stock of books and exchange ideas.

## Readers Club helps fighters build a Marxist library

BY DEAN ATHANS

The Pathfinder Readers Club offers an important opportunity to working people and youth who want to learn more about the lessons and history of the working-class movement. For \$10 a year, Readers Club members are entitled to a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder books and pamphlets and special offers of even greater discounts on selected titles.

Well over 900 people have joined the Readers Club since it was launched in December 1990. There are 104 members of the club in New York City, and club membership in London is well over 100.

More than half a dozen Pathfinder bookstores put out monthly newsletters to club members. These updates announce bookstore events and make appeals for volunteers to help keep the store open. They often promote special book offers for occasions such as Black History Month and Women's History Month, as a newsletter from the Boston Pathfinder bookstore did earlier this year.

Just days after the Toronto bookstore put out its first newsletter, a new Readers

Club member visited the store and purchased the series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time*.

Many Readers Club members find that coworkers are quite interested in Pathfinder books and glad to learn about discounts available to those who join the Readers Club. Thirty-two new members in the United States have signed up so far this year as a result of such discussions.

Miguel Zárate, who works at an auto assembly plant in Atlanta, reports that he and other Pathfinder distributors in the factory show other workers the publisher's catalog along with a photo album of pictures of the Pathfinder Mural, and then explain the discounts they could get as members of the club. When Pathfinder releases new titles, a number of workers join in time to get discounts on the books.

Pathfinder displays at book fairs have attracted new members to the Readers Club as well. At recent fair in Sydney, Australia, six people joined.

Readers Club members will want to watch out for special offers on new Pathfinder titles in the coming months.

### JOIN THE PATHFINDER READERS CLUB

☐ I want to join the Readers Club (\$10 enclosed)

☐ Send me \_\_\_ copies of the Pathfinder catalog (enclose \$.30 per copy, plus \$3.00 shipping)

Clip and send to a Pathfinder bookstore listed on ISR/15 or to Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY/STATE/ZIP \_\_\_\_\_



There are 35 Pathfinder bookstores in 7 countries. Bookstores in Morgantown, West Virginia (above), and Toronto (right).

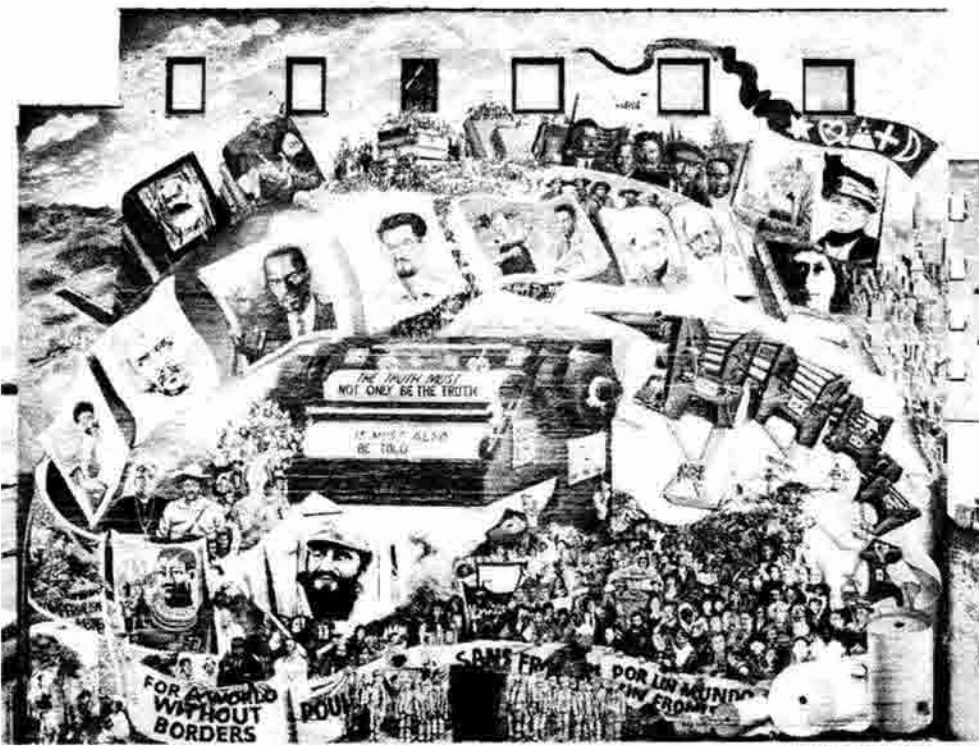


MILITANT/MONICA JONES



MILITANT





The six-story mural in New York's Greenwich Village includes portraits of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Malcolm X, Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and U.S. communist leaders James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs.



Eighty artists from 20 countries helped create Pathfinder Mural. At left: South African artist Dumile Feni. At right: Artists Sally Griffin, John Walsh, and Fatu Feu'u (seated) from New Zealand. Walsh is Maori; Feu'u is Samoan.

# Mural features working-class leaders

BY MERYL LYNN FARBER

On Nov. 19, 1989, the Pathfinder Mural was unveiled and dedicated to working people around the world.

The giant artwork, which is painted on the side of the building where Pathfinder books are produced, depicts a multitude of workers and peasants led by working-class leaders and fighters for social justice from around the world.

Leading artists traveled from Argentina, Cuba, El Salvador, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Nicaragua, the Philippines, other countries, and cities throughout the United States to work on the project.

The mural continues to attract widespread attention and interest. Art schools, high school classes, and youth groups have visited the mural and invited representatives of the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural to their classes.

The 1993 edition of Colliers Encyclopedia uses a photograph of the mural to illustrate its entry on the history of communism.

As early as May 1989, six months before the project was completed, rightist politician Patrick Buchanan attacked the mural and urged its destruction in his syndicated column. This affront was echoed the week the mural was finished in editorials in the *New York Post* and *New York Daily News*. A month later right-wing vandals shattered

glass bottles marked with swastikas and filled with white paint against the mural.

Supporters of artistic freedom and democratic rights quickly launched a public campaign to defend the mural. In addition, mural supporters maintain a 365-day-a-year watch over the artwork.

In July 1992, on the heels of a successful fund-raising campaign, the Pathfinder Mural bookstore was opened on a site adjacent to the mural.

The bookstore was dedicated to Dumile Feni, a South African sculptor living in exile, who died in New York in October 1991. Feni painted the mural portrait of Mandela as well as a scene of the 1976 Soweto uprising.

The next task facing supporters of the mural is a comprehensive restoration project slated for 1994. The effects of time, weather, and two vandal attacks have taken their toll on the mural. The Friends of the Pathfinder Mural are appealing to artists from around the world, including as many of the original artists as possible, to volunteer their time and skills to make this restoration effort a success.

The project will cost tens of thousands of dollars. Funds contributed to the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural can be earmarked for the restoration effort.

*Meryl Lynn Farber is the executive director of the Friends of the Pathfinder Mural.*



New York artist Carole Byard working on her portrait of Malcolm X.



In Iran, the Philippines, South Africa, and other countries, thousands have been introduced to Pathfinder through the mural. Above: Pathfinder representative Michel Dugré of Montreal displays poster of mural at 1992 book fair in Havana.

## VISIT THE MURAL BOOKSTORE in New York City

Adjacent to the Pathfinder Mural, the Mural Bookstore at 167 Charles Street offers a full selection of Pathfinder titles. Also available are posters, postcards, and photographs of the mural.

- poster of entire mural (16" x 20"), \$20
- posters of Malcolm X or Nelson Mandela portraits (18" x 23"), \$8
- Mandela or Malcolm X postcards, \$1
- photographs, \$2



Mural materials can also be ordered from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Add \$4.00 per order for shipping and handling, \$5.00 for international orders.





Front page of Feb. 24, 1939, *Socialist Appeal*, which took the place of the *Militant* from 1937 through early 1941. The newspaper helped build a massive demonstration called by the Socialist Workers Party at New York's Madison Square Garden in response to a fascist rally.

# THE MILITANT

## 65 years defending the interests of working people

BY NAOMI CRAINE

For the past 65 years the *Militant* has stood up to the words that today appear on its masthead — "A socialist newsweekly published in the interests of working people." Throughout its history the paper has provided a revolutionary working-class perspective and analysis of world politics and sought to involve workers, farmers, and young people in struggles to defend their interests.

The *Militant* was started by leaders of the U.S. Communist Party who were expelled

in 1928 for opposing the murderous, counterrevolutionary course of Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union. The first issue of the *Militant* rolled off the presses in November 1928 bearing the headline "For the Russian Opposition!"

The new paper explained to working-class fighters drawn to the example of the Russian revolution how that historic victory had been betrayed. The revolutionaries around the *Militant* formed the Communist League of America, a forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party, with the aim of building a movement that could take on the capitalist rulers and end for all time the wars and economic crises their system creates.

Before and during World War II the *Militant* spoke out sharply against the war, explaining that working people had no stake in supporting one or another of the capitalist powers in their competition. The paper also defended the Soviet Union from imperialist attack.

In 1943 the *Militant* came under direct government attack. Some issues were destroyed or delayed by the post office and the paper's second-class mailing rights were revoked.

Throughout the second world war, the *Militant* covered the week-to-week struggles of Blacks, in and out of the military, to oppose racism, segregation, and the hypocrisy of a war supposedly fought under the banner of freedom and democracy. The *Militant* championed these struggles — precursors to the massive civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s — and sought to win other workers to support the fight against racism.

As the fight against Jim Crow segregation and for Black rights was unfolding, the *Militant* mobilized support for it. The paper was the main publisher of Malcolm X's speeches during the last year and a half of his life, when all of the big-business media — and many who called themselves radicals, socialists, or communists — were slandering the revolutionary leader as "violent" and "racist."

Since the fall of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba in 1959, the *Militant* and its supporters have spoken out against Washington's attempts to crush the Cuban revolution, from demonstrating against the U.S.-led invasion at the Bay of Pigs in 1961 to building the Friendship solidarity caravan today. The paper has consistently given accurate and extensive coverage on political developments inside Cuba.

The *Militant* has also championed the women's liberation movement that drew inspiration from the civil rights struggle. The socialist paper is in the forefront of explaining the importance to all working people of the fight for abortion rights and affirmative action.

The *Militant* prints these kinds of articles because they contain the information and analysis working people needed in their struggles. And it continues to carry on that tradition today.

The *Militant* prints these kinds of articles because they contain the information and analysis working people needed in their struggles. And it continues to carry on that tradition today.



MILITANT/MICHAEL BAUMANN

When the Nicaraguan people overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in July 1979, *Militant* reporters were there within days, and the paper quickly established a full-time bureau in Managua, providing the facts about the workers' and peasants' struggles. Above: 1984 May Day demonstration in Chinandega, Nicaragua.

## 'Perspectiva Mundial' presents a socialist view in Spanish

*Perspectiva Mundial* has been providing Spanish-speaking workers with accurate news and a socialist viewpoint since 1977. The monthly magazine is a sister publication of the weekly *Militant*.

The magazine was launched because of big changes in the composition of the working class in the United States, which today has the fifth-largest Spanish-speaking population in the world. Since World War II, millions of working people have emigrated from Latin America to imperialist countries, where they have been drawn into the industrial work force, the unions, and major political and social struggles.

These struggles have included union-

organizing battles by farm workers in the Southwest, fights for affirmative action and bilingual education, and recent protests by meat-packing workers in the Midwest against harassment by the immigration police.

Like the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* has championed these fights as well as struggles of workers and farmers around the world. For example, it is virtually the only Spanish-language publication that has provided on-the-scene reports on the current strike by U.S. coal miners. And almost nowhere else in the world are the speeches of Africa National Congress president Nelson Mandela available in Spanish.

— N.C.



MILITANT/MARGARITA KURTZ

Left: September 1990 rally in Seattle opposing U.S. military intervention in the Middle East. The *Militant* has a long history of opposing imperialist wars.



April 1993 miners' rally in preparation for contract fight against coal bosses. The *Militant* and its supporters have always played an active role in publicizing and building support for labor struggles.

MILITANT/STU SINGER

### MILITANT & PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL

1992 BOUND VOLUMES ON SALE

*Militant* bound volumes contain all 47 issues for the year plus an index. Special price through the end of September — \$50 (after October 1 — \$75).

You can also order and prepay your 1993 *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* bound volumes at the same low price until October 1.

Bound volumes for 1990, 1991, and some earlier years are available as well.

Orders must be prepaid and sent to Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014

*Perspectiva Mundial* bound volumes contain all 11 issues with the yearly index. Special price through the end of September — \$25 (after October 1 — \$40).





MILITANT/GREG ROSENBERG



MILITANT/BRIAN WILLIAMS

Delegates at December 1992 Asian Student Association conference in New Delhi check out the *Militant*. Working-class fighters and youth subscribe to the socialist paper and to *Perspectiva Mundial* to follow struggles they are involved in and to learn about the world. A recent circulation drive won some 3,000 readers to the *Militant*. New readers signed up to gain a better understanding of the war in the former Yugoslavia, the Cuban revolution, and struggles against attacks on working people's wages, working conditions, and social benefits. "It's the only paper that lets us know what's actually going on in South Africa," commented an oil worker from Houston.

"Read your paper in the library," a reader in Buffalo, New York, wrote to the *Militant*. Supporters of the socialist press have long placed an emphasis on getting the *Militant* into libraries and newsstands to make it more visible and accessible. Above: There was great interest in table set up by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at the American Library Association's national conference in June.

## 'Militant is a window to the world'

BY NAOMI CRAINE

"The *Militant* is like a window to the world," commented a reader in Greece who signed up for a subscription. From students in the Balkans to coal miners in the United States, the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* are valuable tools for workers, farmers, and youth the world over who want to understand the world and fight to change it.

The socialist periodicals are distributed by readers who support the ideas contained in them and who want to see them get into the hands of other fighting workers and young people. These supporters ensure that the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are circulated among activists involved in the U.S.-Cuba Friendship solidarity caravan; striking unionists on picket lines from Scotland to the coalfields of the United States; young people defending abortion clinics from rightist attacks; demonstrators against racism and anti-immigrant attacks in Berlin, London, Montreal, and elsewhere; and many others.

Supporters also work to take advantage of openings to expand the visibility and

public presence of the *Militant*.

*Militant* readers are currently on a campaign to sell subscriptions to libraries in their areas.

The *Militant* is available at a number of newsstands and bookstores in New York and other cities. Promoters of the socialist press are looking for ways to expand this means of distribution.

Supporters of these publications are able to learn from some of the advances Pathfinder Press has made in sales to bookstore chains and agencies over the past few years. In the next couple of months, *Perspectiva Mundial* will begin to be placed in commercial bookstores through a distribution agency. Similar openings may be possible with the *Militant*.

Just as important as winning new readers is expanding the long-term subscription base of the socialist publications. The information and analysis found in the pages of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are indispensable to working-class fighters around the world. A drive is on right now to get 300 renewals to the *Militant* and 50 to *Perspectiva Mundial*. All readers are welcome to join in making it a success.



MILITANT/JOJO PETERSON

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are distributed by readers and others who want the ideas in the socialist periodicals to be read by others at plant gates, on the job, at the street corner, or on campus. Above a volunteer is selling *Militant* at picket line supporting Haitian hunger strikers jailed at Krome detention center near Miami.



Left: New York City demonstration against racism in 1942. The *Militant's* circulation exploded during World War II. During a two-month sales campaign in 1941, some 900 people subscribed. In 1944, *Militant* supporters sold 7,600 subscriptions in a three-month campaign. The following year, 23,000 subscriptions were won in the same length of time.

## SUBSCRIBE

**THE MILITANT**  
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY

A SOCIALIST MONTHLY MAGAZINE IN SPANISH  
**Perspectiva Mundial**

### 12 weeks of the *Militant* for \$10

International Rates: Canada, Can\$12; Britain, £6; France, FF80; Iceland, Kr1300; Sweden, KR75; Belgium, 375 BF; Australia and the Pacific, \$A10; New Zealand, NZ\$15.

### 4 months of *Perspectiva Mundial* for \$6

International rates: Canada, Can\$9; Britain, £4; France, FF40; Iceland, KR1200 (for six months); Sweden, KR40; Australia and the Pacific, A\$8; New Zealand, NZ\$8.

Individuals who want to help circulate the *Militant* can order a bundle of papers for \$1.05 each. *Perspectiva Mundial* bundles are available for \$1.75 a copy.

**To order a subscription or bundle:** contact the *Militant* Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.





# From politics to print: making a Pathfinder book

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

A great deal of work goes into publishing each and every Pathfinder book. Many Pathfinder books and pamphlets have their origins in the important political struggles unfolding today. This is certainly the case with the soon-to-be-published book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Non-racial South Africa*.

In early 1993, Pathfinder representative Steve Clark traveled to South Africa, obtaining manuscripts of speeches by African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela as well as photographs. He and other Pathfinder supporters attended the International Solidarity Conference organized by the ANC in Johannesburg. Clark also traveled to Natal province where Mandela made a special appeal for an end to the violence in that region.

Speeches from the conference and Natal trip are included in the book. The speech presented by Mandela to the NAACP convention during his United States visit in June is also included, providing readers with some of the most up-to-date material about the ANC's current election campaign.

The publication in August of *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920—First Congress of the Peoples of the East* is the product of a truly international collaborative effort.

This is the first Pathfinder book to benefit from the opening of the secret archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which were pried open as a result of the successful struggle by working people in Russia against the ruling Stalinist apparatus. Some materials from these archives will appear in print for the first time in the new book.

A May 1993 trip to Baku by Pathfinder supporters led to a collaborative relationship with scholars in Azerbaijan who had themselves prepared a manuscript for a two-volume book on the Baku congress.

An archive containing photographs taken by a delegate to the Second Congress of the Communist International who was present at the Baku conference was secured from a library in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland.

Correspondence with a leading professor in Turkey familiar with working-class history around the time of the Congress helped to more effectively present the workers' and peasants' struggles occurring then.

Translations from Russian and Turkish of vital documents contained in this book were done by a team of Pathfinder volunteers in the United States and Britain.

Different aspects of the production of a Pathfinder book are captured on these pages.



Argiris Malapanis conducting an interview at an antiwar protest in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in July 1992. Pathfinder's *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention* began with this trip to the Balkans by a team of Militant reporters. They conducted interviews and did on-the-scene reporting—including trips to Sarajevo and Kosovo—to find out the facts about the current conflict, its roots, and the debate around imperialist intervention.

MILITANT/LASSE JOHANSSON



MILITANT/HILDA CUZCO



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

Left: Toni Gorton, Michael Baumann, and Mike Taber planning prepublication promotional work for *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. Serious promotion for a book must begin well before it goes into production. Right: Bob Schwarz editing a BBC interview with Malcolm X for Pathfinder's series of speeches and writings of the revolutionary leader. From editorial production to printing and binding, close attention is paid to all aspects of production to ensure that Pathfinder books meet the highest quality standards.

## Designers make books accessible to all



MILITANT/HILDA CUZCO

MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

Left: Eric Simpson of Pathfinder's design department. Graphics software allows designers to work on-screen with a full range of typefaces, colors, photographs, and graphics. Right: Toni Gorton working on the photos for *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. The 62 photographs that will appear in the book were provided by the African National Congress, the United Nations, activists in Britain, and "Frontline," a public television show produced in Boston.

BY HILDA CUZCO

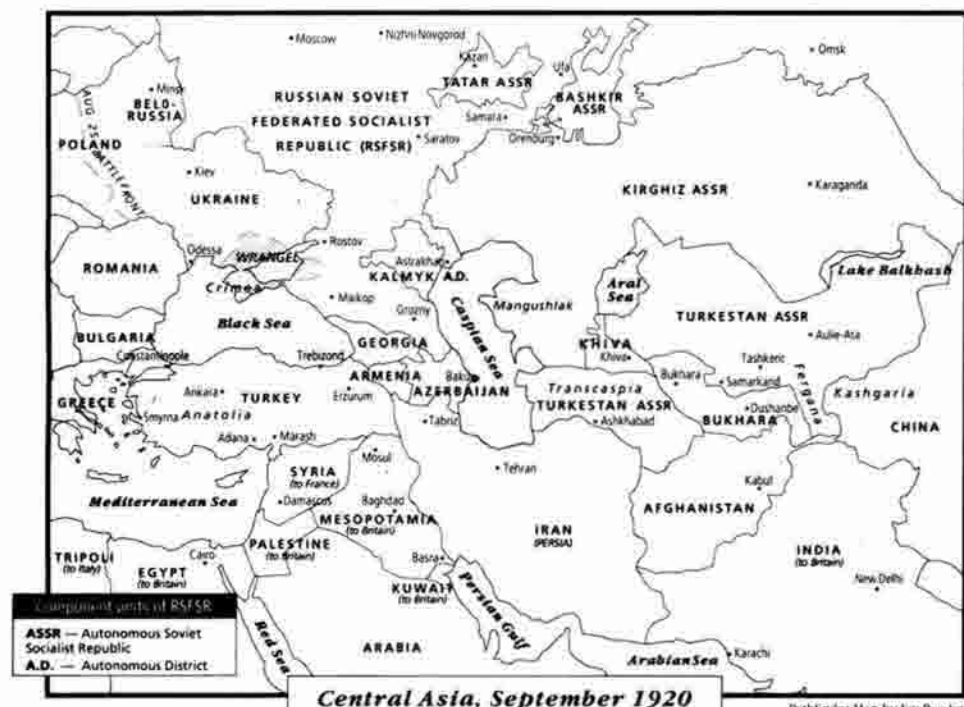
The task of Pathfinder's two-person design department is to take the contents of each book, after it has been meticulously edited and copyedited, and present it to the world in the most attractive and accessible format. "The covers to Pathfinder books are designed to encourage new readers to delve into the content of each book," Eric Simpson, one of Pathfinder's two designers, explained. Wider margins and adequate space between words and lines make the books easier to read and study.

The acquisition of a full-time design department is relatively new for Pathfinder. Until a few years ago, a member of the editorial staff set aside small amounts of time to perform this work.

Weeks are spent on each book. Not only do the designers create the attractive multicolor cover, they also choose the typeface

and fonts (lettering style) to establish the layout of the entire book; design chapter openers, title pages, and the table of contents; and work with the composition room in producing maps. They also arrange the advertisements for other Pathfinder titles that appear in each newly printed book and collaborate with the editors on picture research.

Some Pathfinder books that cover a common topic, such as the roots of women's oppression, are designed with a single theme to help promote them as a package. This is the case with the books *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*; *Problems of Women's Liberation*; *Sexism and Science*; *Woman's Evolution*; and the forthcoming edition of *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*. The covers for all of these titles use the same typeface and have illustrations inspired by Greek and Egyptian artwork.



Central Asia, September 1920

Pathfinder Map by Jay Resvler

New computer software in Pathfinder's composition room has vastly expanded mapmaking capability. To create the above map for *To See the Dawn*, workers consulted more than a dozen different maps.





MILITANT PHOTOS BY ERIC SIMPSON

Dozens of workers have a hand in producing each book once it enters the printshop. Top left: Susie Winsten formats book pages in the composition room, producing typeset galleys that are then shot onto film. Top center: Dave Ferguson strips film into flats; Bottom center: Stephen Bloodworth makes a plate for the press; Bottom left: Jacquie Henderson and Pete Brandli cut the bound books on the three-knife trimmer; Far right: the bindery crew boxes up the finished product.

## State-of-the-art presses fuel printshop expansion



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

**BY TAMAR ROSENFELD  
AND PAT SMITH**

On July 12 two brand-new, state-of-the-art Heidelberg sheetfed presses were delivered to the printshop that produces Pathfinder books.

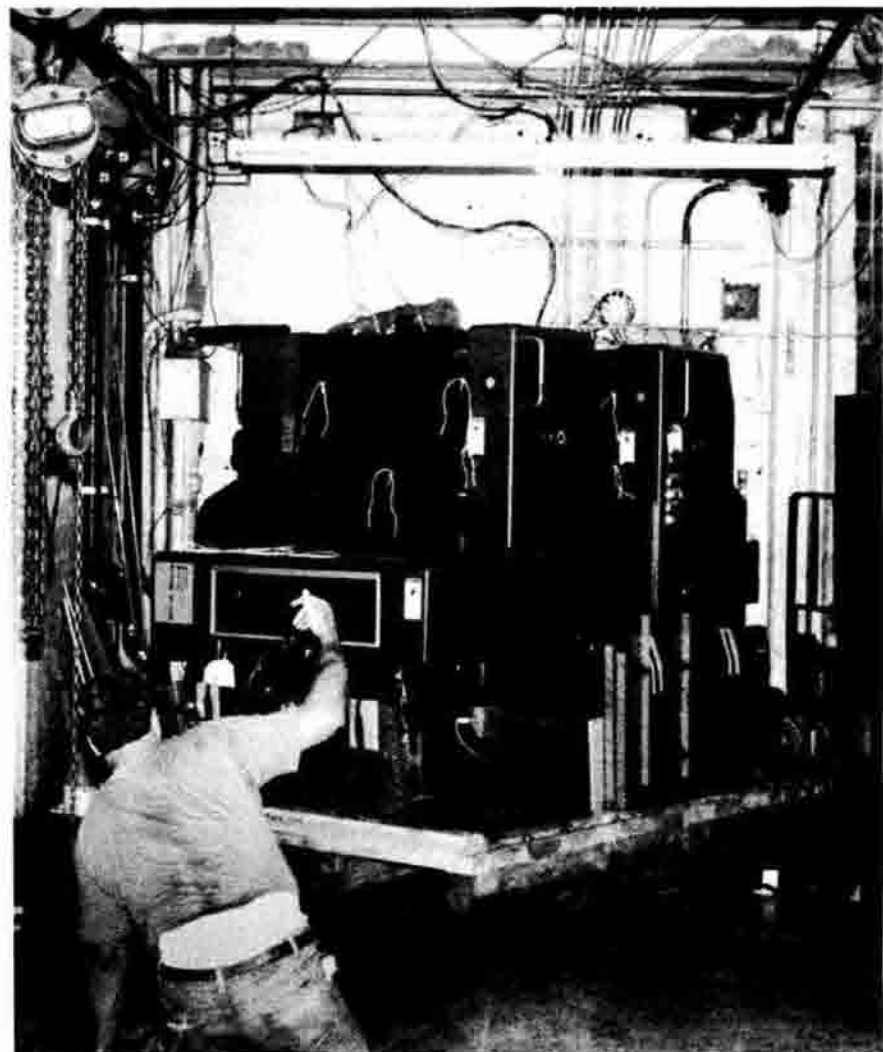
These new presses mark a big step forward in the production of Pathfinder literature. "They will increase quality while reducing costs and labor time," said Chris Horner, Pathfinder's customer service representative. The new presses can print up to four times as fast as the Harris sheetfed presses they replace.

These machines can print two colors in a single pass. Printing presses can reproduce every color of the rainbow using only four colors of ink — yellow, magenta, cyan, and black. When these colors are run in the right intensity and are aligned exactly, even color photographs can be reproduced with a high degree of accuracy.

The new presses mean that all of Pathfinder's book covers can now be produced in two passes, rather than the four required by the old equipment.

"The new presses won't just be used to print the covers of new books," press operator Kevin Dwire explained. "One of the presses is ideal for printing the pages of shorter books like *The Truth about Yugoslavia*." This is because it can print on both sides of a sheet at the same time. Longer books and larger runs will still be done on the big web press. Dwire noted with satisfaction that one of the new presses even has a self-cleaning mechanism. This not only saves labor time; it ensures more consistent high-quality work.

The Heidelberg presses are also easier to operate than the Harris presses. With relatively little training, any worker or young fighter who volunteers for a few-year stint in the printshop can learn to operate them.



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

Above: One of the new Heidelberg presses is brought into the recently built sheetfed press room. Left: For 22 years, tremendous skill, ingenuity, and dedication went into producing book covers on the old Harris presses. A company in Shanghai, China, bought them. The money will help finance the new equipment.



# Sale of Marxist classics gets good response

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

Pathfinder's special sale of titles by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels has been on for more than a month and continues until the end of August. It offers a whopping 33 percent discount to members of the Pathfinder Readers Club. Those who take advantage of the sale and order \$100 or more worth of books receive a free one-year extension of their Readers Club membership. Since the sale began in mid-July, more than 500 volumes have been sold.

These books are an excellent starting point for workers and revolutionary youth to begin a Marxist education. The topics they cover range from the origins of capitalist relations of property ownership to a discussion of strategy for the trade unions; from the 1848 revolutions in France, Germany, and Poland to the fight for women's equality; from conditions of the peasantry in Russia, France, India, and Ireland to the struggle for an alliance of workers and farmers in the United States.

Most of these books were originally produced in the former Soviet Union. But the privileged bureaucrats in Russia and the other former Soviet republics — now that they have given up any pretense of communism — no longer have the slightest interest in keeping in print or circulating the works of Marx and Engels. They have also stopped publishing the works of V. I. Lenin, a central leader of the revolutionary party that led workers and peasants of Russia to power in the October 1917 revolution.

Over the last year Pathfinder has searched around the globe for the remaining supplies of the basic works of Marx and Engels — from "going out of business" sales to forgotten warehouses — so that they can be sold to people who want to read them. A team of Pathfinder supporters went to Moscow last year to salvage thousands of vol-

umes of books by Marx and Engels that had been sold to a paper-recycling mill.

This is a step toward the task Pathfinder faces in the future when, in addition to the communist books the publisher and its fore-runners have produced since 1928, there will be an increasing need to print, in new editions, the works of the founders of the socialist movement.

That is Pathfinder's responsibility in the long term. Meanwhile, the task is to assemble, promote, and distribute the books and pamphlets that are available now. In this way Pathfinder, with its present resources, can help assure that the political legacy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin remains accessible to fighters today.

Many of the books in the special sale had previously been set aside for the international leadership school organized by the Socialist Workers Party. They are no longer needed for the school because the articles they contain are now available in the 43 volumes of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*.

A few books are still needed for the school and to fill gaps in the Pathfinder Press research library. They are *Writings on the Paris Commune* by Marx and Engels, edited by Hal Draper (Monthly Review Press); *On Revolution, On History and People, On Freedom of the Press and Censorship, On America and the Civil War* (above four in cloth only), and *On the First International* (cloth or paper), all by Marx, all edited by Saul K. Padover (McGraw-Hill); *Marx, Engels, Marxism* by Lenin, cloth (Progress); *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of their Contemporaries* (Progress); *Frederick Engels: A Biography* by Gustav Mayer (either the 1969 Howard Fertig edition or the 1936 Alfred Knopf edition); and *Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism* by Marx, Engels, and Lenin (Progress or International). Readers who can help are asked to send a list of the books they can locate or donate.



MILITANT/DOUG HORD



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

Above: Moscow warehouse where books by Marx, Engels, and Lenin were being pulped. Below: Volunteers repackage thousands of these volumes for distribution to fighting workers and youth around the world.

## Political tools for working-class fighters

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For a \$10 annual fee you can take advantage of special offers like these and get a 15 percent discount on all other Pathfinder titles

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Marx explains that capitalism is a specific stage in the development of class society; how large-scale modern industry draws men, women, and children into the factories and into the industrial reserve army that competes for jobs; and how at the same time this produces the insoluble contradictions that make possible the transformation of society into one ruled for the first time in history by the majority, the producers. Vol. 1, 1,141 pp., \$13.95 (special offer \$9.35)

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# Expanding production of revolutionary literature

**Continued from front page of ISR**  
ing program, which in recent years was jeopardized by aging equipment that led to higher costs and declining quality and productivity.

The expansion will mean that Pathfinder — along with the socialist newsweekly the *Militant* and its sister Spanish-language publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazines *New International*, *Nueva Internacional* (in Spanish), and *Nouvelle Internationale* (in French) — will be able to more rapidly produce new and improved political weapons for today's fighters. At the same time, the new printing equipment will enhance the quality — and thus the political attraction — of all of these publications.

## Physical plant expansion

Financial contributions by hundreds of supporters from several countries laid the groundwork for this expansion. Contributions to the Capital Expansion Fund have come from workers in many industries and industrial unions, as well as others who recognize the value of Pathfinder publications.

The addition of the new printing presses stands on the shoulders of a 1991-92 reconstruction project. More than 100 construction volunteers from several countries completely remodeled the editorial offices of Pathfinder, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as a reference library for the use of the editorial staffs. A new, modern factory building was added to facilitate expanded production. Without this effort, it would have made little sense to purchase new presses, since they would have had no solid foundation — literally or figuratively.

Just one year ago, a large portion of the printshop consisted of a run-down warehouse with inadequate heat and electrical power, poor lighting, and a sloping floor a foot and a half higher at one end than the other. Valuable production space was being wasted on storage that could be organized better in other ways. These conditions had worsened in recent years, as the growing interest in books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder sharply increased the need to print and reprint them.

Today, this once-underutilized storage area is a bustling bindery. Renovated from top to bottom, the new factory has a level concrete floor, lighting that meets modern printing standards, four skylights, a new electrical grid, and air conditioning.

To carry out the renovation, more than \$1.6 million was raised from hundreds of supporters. This spring and summer a new pressroom was built for the two Heidel-

bergs; an expanded office and customer service area is now under construction.

To expedite bringing the two new sheet-fed presses on line and rebuilding the web press, the printshop for the first time in its history is negotiating a \$700,000 loan. Having the new presses up and running opens new political possibilities for the shop, as well as expanded prospects for commercial work.

## New challenge and opportunity

This big victory for the shop is at the same time a big responsibility. It is what bankers call a "leveraged" expansion, one that adds regular payments on principal and interest (with the presses themselves as the collateral) to the ongoing costs of materials, overhead, and labor that go into managing the shop. That fact places a challenge on many shoulders — from the editors and the office and production workers in the publishing house and printshop, to Pathfinder bookstores and sales representatives across the United States and the world.

Above all, it puts a premium on effectively organizing and planning the work of the whole printing and publishing operation. And it gives special importance to each new financial contribution to the Capital Expansion Fund this summer and fall.

## Efforts by Marx and Engels

The expansion is being carried out with the knowledge that publishing houses and printshops have come and gone in the history of the workers' movement. In fact, having a reliable vehicle for publishing material has been a constant preoccupation since the founding of the modern communist movement almost 150 years ago.

From the time of Marx and Engels up through today, revolutionary workers' leaders have given central priority to the publication, promotion, distribution, and financing of newspapers, pamphlets, and books.

From the beginning of their political activity in the 1840s, Marx and Engels fought to obtain a printshop to produce newspapers and pamphlets. They solicited contributions from workers and other members and supporters of the Communist League in which they played central roles.

"We still lack a printing press, but as soon as we have money we intend to purchase one," said a Communist League circular in 1847. "Then our printing establishment will be in a position, not only to run off our newspaper, but likewise to print the pamphlets necessary for the defense of the proletariat."

During the revolution of 1848 in Ger-

many, Marx and Engels helped found the daily newspaper *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* — the New Rhineland Gazette. Marx used his father's inheritance to pay for a "high-speed" printing machine. When the revolution ebbed, Marx was forced to liquidate the newspaper, selling the printing press to pay off the paper's debts.

Throughout their lives, Marx and Engels were at the mercy of commercial printers, booksellers, and publishers alike. In a letter to Marx in 1852, Engels wrote of the hassles involved in getting one of Marx's pamphlets printed and distributed. "At the moment I am myself in a fix," Engels wrote. "Unless the thing is printed on the Continent for the account of, or at least in partnership with, a bookseller, it will not get round at all. On reaching Prussia, etc., etc., it will be confiscated, and we shall be cheated by the booksellers."

"If we have it printed on credit, the printer

will ... end up withholding copies until he has been paid. And whatever we do, we must begin by finding out what prospects there are of its being distributed."

Lenin's Bolshevik party produced newspapers and other materials under the harsh conditions of the tsarist regime. In 1907 they established a printshop in Moscow disguised as a fruit shop. The presses were in the basement.

"The thud of the American printing press could be heard below," one of the workers later recalled. "As soon as someone entered the shop the owner or salesman informed those below that there was a customer in the shop. We decided to fix a bell which would give the signal whether to stop or continue with the work." The printed matter was taken from the shop in wicker baskets.

Lenin paid careful attention to this arena

**Continued on next page**



MILITANT

**Top: Socialist Workers Party leader Farrell Dobbs examining copy of *Militant* as it comes off press in New York City in October 1945. Dobbs was a central leader of the Teamsters battles in Minneapolis in 1930s. Right: Front page of Aug. 1, 1934, *Minneapolis Tribune* during Teamsters strike for right to form union. Bottom: Pioneer Press literature table at March 1946 United Auto Workers convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. Pioneer's sales expanded dramatically during post-World War II labor upsurge.**



Artist's rendition of Marx and Engels examining freshly printed copy of *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which they produced.



Russian communist leader Leon Trotsky examines galleys for print.







Left: Fidel Castro (right) after 1955 release from prison. Cuban revolutionaries smuggled his *History Will Absolve Me* out of jail and organized big effort to finance, print, and distribute it. Above: SWP members Howard Mayhew (left) and Bob Chester running New York printshop in mid-1960s. Right: Current shop production manager Holly Harkness inspecting copies of reprinted book *Mother Jones Speaks*.



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

Continued from previous page of political work. In 1900 he arranged for Leonid Krasin, an electrical engineer, to take a job constructing an electrogenerating station in the oil refineries in the southern region of the tsarist empire. Within one year Krasin had set up an underground printshop in Baku that printed Bolshevik material in Russian, German, Georgian, and Armenian. "Here the technical know-how and financial aid of Krasin in matters of typesetting, paper, matrices, and inks combined with his revolutionary enthusiasm to produce a remarkable press," said one account of this period.

#### Cuban revolution

In the early 1950s Cuban revolutionaries went to extraordinary efforts to finance, print, and distribute *History Will Absolve Me*. The booklet contained Fidel Castro's 1953 courtroom speech in his own defense against charges arising from the attack he led on the Moncada garrison on July 26 of that year.

Castro and other Cuban revolutionary leaders prepared the manuscript from their prison cells. The speech, which presented the most important ideas of the revolution, was written in lemon juice (a hot iron would bring out the letters) and smuggled out of prison. Money to pay for the printing was raised through raffles, with the prize being the overthrow of the hated U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista. "Centavo by centavo and peso by peso, hundreds of pesos were collected to print the pamphlet," wrote Cuban

historian Mario Menéndez in his book *The Fertile Prison: Fidel Castro in Batista's Jails*.

#### Origins of publishing house

Pathfinder Press traces its origins to the efforts of supporters of the *Militant* newspaper, which was launched in 1928. Items that often first appeared in its pages were subsequently reprinted in small pamphlets or books. Many were written by Trotsky, one of the main leaders of the Russian revolution and Bolshevik party.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Trotsky led the fight in the Soviet Communist Party and in the Communist International to defend and put into practice the internationalist program charted while Lenin was alive. By the latter 1920s, a petty-bourgeois social layer in the Soviet Union, led by Joseph Stalin, reversed the Marxist direction of the revolution. Leaders and parties in the Communist International, set up in Lenin's time to generalize the lessons of the Russian revolution and create an international leadership of the world's toilers, were bullied or enticed into subordinating revolutionary struggle to the diplomacy of Stalin's regime. Those who adhered to a Marxist course were expelled, as was Trotsky in 1927, and many were later imprisoned and murdered.

Trotsky's *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* was among the first books published by supporters of the *Militant*, going to press in 1932. James P. Cannon, a founding leader

of the Communist Party in the United States who was expelled in 1928, explained in the *Militant* the importance of the publishing program. "There are people around the fringes," Cannon wrote, "who looked down upon this 'publishing business' and ridiculed our concentration on it."

To defend his position, Cannon pointed out that Marx and Engels "were not above the simple task of assembling the technical means to publish their doctrines when that task stood first on the order of the day."

#### 'Militant' printshop

The *Militant* Press was the first printshop established by Cannon and the small team of revolutionists around him. It was outfitted with a battered old Linotype machine, resembling a pipe organ, and a flatbed Whitlock press.

"You go through a dark alley on the first floor," a 1934 article from the *Militant* explained, "and at the back a door opens into the printshop. . . . You can't see the printshop for the clutter of things. The one peaceful spot is on top of the stove, and the coffee pot has a monopoly on that."

"Tables, shelves, piles of paper, buckets of lead, fonts of type, a Linotype machine moving its one long arm up and down, rattling out labor news and editorials for the *Militant*. . . ."

In *The History of American Trotskyism*, Cannon described how the *Militant* got out each week: "About half of the New York branch used to work in the printshop at one time or another — painters, bricklayers, garment workers, bookkeepers — all of them served a term as amateur typesetters."

Each week the paper scraped by. Bills were always past due, with creditors pressing to clear up their accounts.

#### Revolutionary publishing house

The early efforts of Pioneer Publishers — Pathfinder's predecessor — included such pamphlets as *The Turn in the Communist International* and *The German Situation* (1930), *Communism and Syndicalism* (1931), and *The Revolution in Spain* (1931) — all written by Trotsky and translated by members of the Communist League of America, the forerunner of the SWP. Pioneer's mission was to help meet the growing need for Marxist literature by making important works of Marxism — both classic and modern — available in English.

Though some letters and articles by Lenin were suppressed by the Stalinists' publishing apparatus in the Soviet Union and other countries, the basic works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin were in print and available. The leaders of Pioneer knew, however, that in time it would become necessary to publish "new editions of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin which have been mutilated in translation or distorted by unscrupulous" editors, as a Pioneer statement explained.

To help finance the publishing program, Pioneer sold \$5 certificates that entitled sponsors to a 25 percent discount on all its publications. It also launched a "sponsor program," which Cannon described in a letter to A. A. "Shorty" Buehler, a Communist League member in Kansas City, Missouri. "We are preparing to bring out a pamphlet *Communism and Syndicalism* by Trotsky for which I am writing the introduction," Cannon said. "This will be a very timely publication and should have a big influence on the syndicalist workers. We have to print it under the 'sponsor program.' That is, a number of comrades contribute to the cost of printing and their names are printed on the flyleaf of the pamphlet." That pamphlet can be read today in Pathfinder's book *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay*.

The *Militant* Press and Pioneer Publishers produced quality work, from the translations and annotation to the attractive, well-designed covers and typefaces.

Pioneer was able to carry out some noteworthy, though limited, promotional work in this period. At the time of the Moscow trials in 1936–1938, for example — when Trotsky (from exile) and other leaders of the Russian revolution were framed up on accusations of plotting to assassinate Stalin and collaborating with imperialist secret police agencies — Pioneer reported in a press release a "notable increase" in the sales of two of Trotsky's works, *The Third International After Lenin* and *The Stalin School of Falsification*.

During the early 1930s the movement maintained a printshop in New York. In 1936 the *Militant* temporarily stopped publication, when its supporters entered the Socialist Party to link up with workers and youth moving toward revolutionary politics. The movement's first printshop closed its doors.

After the Socialist Workers Party was founded in 1938, Eden Press was set up by volunteers and supporters of the *Militant*. Located in a loft in lower Manhattan, the shop consisted of one large letterpress flatbed, several Linotypes, and some primitive binding equipment.

"The shop was originally set up with the idea that sufficient commercial business could be obtained to make up for any slack in print jobs from the party," explained SWP leader Farrell Dobbs at the time. Lacking regular business accounts to compensate for growing deficits, however, the printshop hit rock bottom in 1940 and was sold for \$400.

#### War years

From 1940 until 1955 the *Militant*, Pioneer publications, the *Fourth International* magazine, and other materials were printed by commercial shops.

Big challenges faced the movement during the second imperialist world war of 1939–45. As part of the vanguard of the labor movement in the upper Midwest, cadres of the SWP prepared for the blows that

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7

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would come down on militants who opposed President Franklin Roosevelt's drive to drag workers and farmers into the war. The Roosevelt administration sought to drive the party into illegality, and, if possible, crush it. Eighteen leaders of the SWP and Minneapolis Teamsters union — including Cannon and Dobbs — were put on trial and railroaded to federal prison for "conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the U.S. government." The party weathered wartime isolation, intensifying government persecution, and attacks on democratic rights, including attempts to withdraw the *Militant's* mailing rights.

During the early 1940s, Pioneer was confined to mostly putting out pamphlets. It carried out this task with confidence, publishing what became known as the "trial pamphlets" — Cannon's *Socialism on Trial*, *Truth About the Minneapolis Trial*, and *In Defense of Socialism*. In addition, Pioneer produced several pamphlets opposing the expansionist war aims and racist and anti-democratic policies of Washington and the other imperialist powers.

Pioneer eked out its existence during this period. Lacking access to working capital, its list of out-of-print books continued to grow. By hook or crook, a handful of essential Marxist books were published: *In Defense of Marxism*, *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*, and *The History of American Trotskyism*. Sympathetic commercial printers loaned their Linotype machines to typeset a couple of these works. In 1943 *Maritime: A Historical Sketch and a Worker's Program* was published from funds raised by the party's maritime trade union fraction.

#### 'The Jewish Question'

The publishing of *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation* by Abram Leon in 1950, was accomplished by special fundraising efforts. Contributions came in from Jewish workers and others interested in discussing how to fight anti-Semitism and prevent a repeat of the Nazi genocide, while opposing Zionism and the dispossession of the Palestinian people from their homeland. Leon's materialist approach to the historical origins and evolution of Jew-hatred, and the particularly virulent form it takes during the epoch of imperialist decline, was welcomed in the United States.

Today the book remains one of Pathfinder's core titles.

The labor upsurge that began in the United States in 1943 fueled an expansion of the movement. Recruitment of workers picked up, and the party rebuilt sizable fractions in several industrial unions. Sales and subscriptions to the *Militant* swelled. The paper attained its highest circulation, coming out sometimes twice a week.

One of the highlights of that period was the promotional successes of the publishing house. The *New York Times Book Review* section began to list Pioneer publications. Black newspapers such as the *Pittsburgh Courier* and the *Philadelphia Tribune* listed Pioneer books and pamphlets and gave some of them favorable reviews.

A new Pioneer catalog heightened interest from commercial book dealers, public and university libraries, and individuals. In Los Angeles a successful campaign was launched to place *The History of American Trotskyism* in commercial bookstores. Two of Pioneer's larger sellers in 1946 were titles by Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* and *The First Five Years of the Communist International*.

#### Worldwide distribution

During the war years and after, Pioneer paid close attention to its distribution overseas. Pioneer's biggest audience outside the United States was in the working-class movement in Britain, but it also had outlets in Canada, Italy, Mexico, Ireland, Egypt, Cuba, New Zealand, and elsewhere.

Bookstores in Calcutta and Bombay in India distributed considerable quantities of Pioneer literature. Revolutionists in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) printed and distributed Marxist literature, including several of Trotsky's works; until the early 1960s, their publishing program (Lanka Samasamaja Publications) helped fill growing gaps in Pioneer's backlist.

With the beginning of the Cold War in the late 1940s, the postwar labor upsurge in the

United States came to an end. This was coupled with a prolonged capitalist economic expansion that had a conservatizing effect on the labor movement. The labor officialdom helped the bosses and government housebreak the unions, often directly spearheading antidemocratic witch-hunts in the union movement.

#### Cold War years

The Socialist Workers Party refused to buckle to the rising reaction in the United States. It continued to run socialist election campaigns whenever possible, keep public headquarters, and distribute revolutionary literature wherever it could. The party responded to every political opening, such as the rise of civil rights struggles in the South in the mid-1950s.

But the witch-hunt took its toll, nonetheless. Many members of the party's largest union fractions were blacklisted and ousted from their jobs.

The movement was also hit hard by a big rise in the cost of living, combined with shrinking income as the party lost members. Printing bills for the *Militant* doubled, forcing the paper to cut back its size. All projected titles by Pioneer Publishers were suspended for a brief period — even five-cent pamphlets.

Active workers used considerable ingenuity to keep books and pamphlets available, however. For example, John Keeley, the party's literature director in New York, developed a knack for finding out-of-print volumes Pioneer needed to fill orders, many of which were sent overseas.

Pioneer arranged for some of its titles to be

printed by supporters in Britain in a small printshop in South London. This is where *The Case of the Legless Veteran* by James Kutcher was printed. (Kutcher, who had lost both legs in World War II, was fired from his federal job following the war because the government claimed he belonged to a "subversive" organization; he later won reinstatement, after a widely supported civil liberties fight.) But constant delays in producing and shipping the book made it terribly difficult to mount any kind of sales campaign.

With the rise of the civil rights movement and the Soviet government's political revelations of Stalin's crimes in 1956, political opportunities opened up again for revolutionary literature. There was a modest increase in Pioneer sales, particularly on some campuses.

#### New openings

Seeing potential for growth not too far down the road, Pioneer launched a fund in 1955 to start a small printshop. Altogether it cost \$2,000, and a space was rented in downtown Manhattan. The shop was organized around a small, second-hand Davidson press, slightly larger than a mimeograph, which was donated by an SWP member on the West Coast. About \$1,000 was invested in a cumbersome varitype machine that was nearly impossible to operate and the source of much distress. The rest of the equipment was homemade — from the camera and dark room to the light tables and plate frame.

The shop had only one or two full-timers. By 1959 the operation had taken a turn for the worse, having to move into a basement beneath a laundry.

Although the shop didn't have much glamour, it played an essential role at the beginning of the 1960s in printing materials for the Young Socialist Alliance, a newly formed revolutionary socialist youth organization active in desegregation protests and defense of the Cuban revolution. The shop printed thousands of pamphlets for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and produced several Pioneer pamphlets with speeches by Cuban leader Fidel Castro as well. *The Truth About Cuba* by SWP leader Joseph Hansen was the best-selling Pioneer pamphlet in 1960. Pioneer's business office began receiving more and more requests for materials on the Cuban revolution and the civil rights movement.

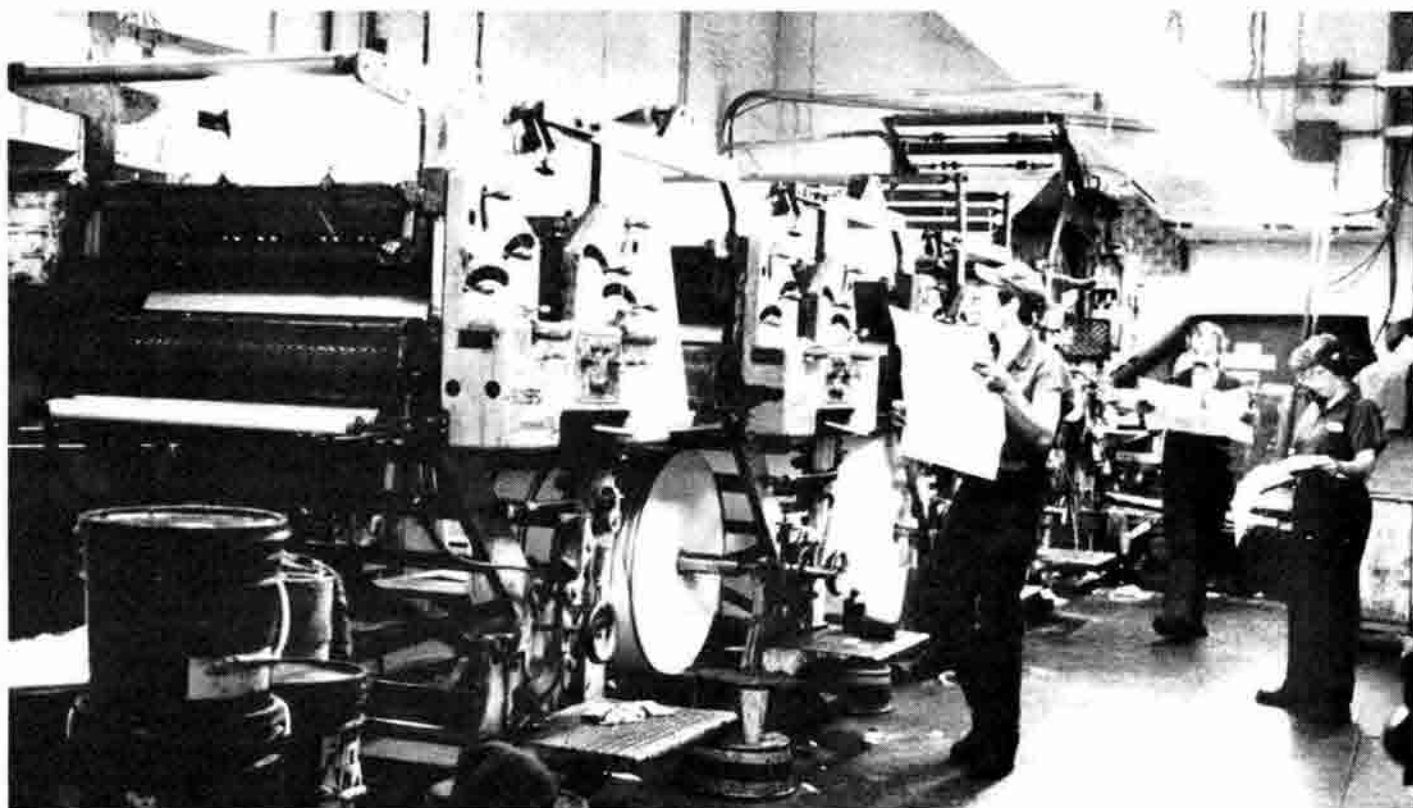
Pioneer's 1961 financial statement reported that "sales and income continue to reflect awakening political interest in national and international events. While most of this increased income can be attributed directly to sales of our own pamphlets on the Cuban revolution, . . . our sales of basic Marxist literature to universities, libraries, book dealers and individuals has also taken a significant leap."

Young people also began to be won to opposing Washington's dirty war in Vietnam in the mid-1960s. Demand grew for Marxist books and pamphlets among this politically awakening generation. But gathering a revolutionary library was still a real chore. Young socialists either had to borrow Marxist classics from older fighters or scrounge up one or two used copies from those willing to part with them.

The shortage of books was so acute that

Continued on next page

## The web press: heart of the printshop



MILITANT/ERIC SIMPSON

From left: Web operators Jason Redrup, Larry Lukecart, and Pattie Sánchez inspect work off the web press.

#### BY LARRY LUKECART

At the center of the printshop is the Goss community web press. The weekly *Militant* is printed on this piece of equipment, as are Pathfinder books.

Acquiring this press in 1970 transformed the printing capabilities of the shop.

Having the web allowed the *Militant* to respond more rapidly to developments in world politics.

Web offset presses like the Goss allow a roll of paper, called a web, to run through a press and be printed on both sides simultaneously. Thin sheets of metal, called plates, are exposed to light and processed into image areas that attract ink and non-image areas that attract water and repel ink. The ink is then transferred to rubber blankets that in turn print on the paper.

The web press can produce 18,000–20,000 newspapers an hour. It can print, fold, and stack a 32-page, single-color paper

all in the same process. Or a 24-page newspaper can be run that includes as many as eight pages of color. This is a gigantic step forward from the days when the *Militant* was printed on an old Chief sheetfed press, on which only four pages on one flat sheet could be produced at a time.

The new press meant that the workers in the shop could more quickly and efficiently produce the *Militant* and Pathfinder books that a new generation of young fighters needed. The first issue of the *Militant* rolled off the web press in April 1971.

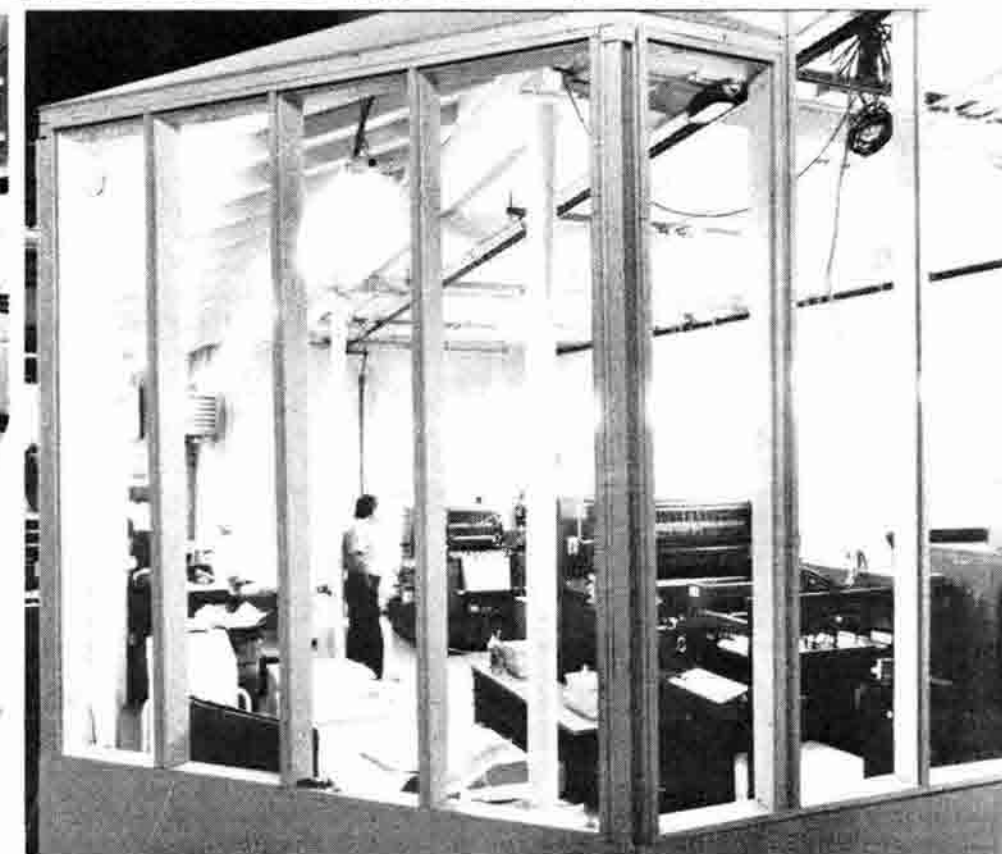
Printing a Pathfinder book on the web is not as easy. The press is not really built to print books. To adapt it for this purpose, an additional cylinder was added to the folder, allowing the press to print two 32- or 40-page book signatures at the same time. This double-parallel cylinder is not a standard feature of newspaper presses. With it, however, the press has the capacity to print many more varied products, including

stitched pamphlets and books

The web press has enabled the shop to take on a full variety of commercial printing jobs, including quality photographs, full-page screens, and two- or three-color booklets.

The printshop is now at a turning point. Wear and tear has taken its toll on the 23-year-old press. Within the next few months a more modern rebuilt web press will be installed. This will amount to a virtually new press with several added features that will help to further improve the quality of the material printed. The new printing units will have new bearings, gears, sleeves and bushings, remachined press cylinders, and new metal ink and water rollers. The press will have a new folder and the ability to pump ink to all the web units. This will help to simplify the training of new operators and lead to higher quality and more rapid and efficient production, as well as better utilization of shop personnel.





Continued from previous page  
a few SWP branches — Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis — took matters into their own hands and set up their own small printshops.

Chicago, for example, took advantage of the printing experience of Howard Mayhew, who owned a small printshop. In no time, under Mayhew's direction, the entire branch was printing two pages at a time, collating signatures, gluing by hand — in a bathtub — and trimming 1,000 copies of *The Revolution Betrayed* and *In Defense of Marxism*. A Pioneer circular noted in a business mailing: "Special: *In Defense of Marxism*, by Leon Trotsky (This publication was realized by the special efforts of the Chicago branch and its youth.)" Earlier, the Detroit local reprinted Trotsky's *Death Agony of Capitalism: The Transitional Program* and a few pamphlets.

As the youth radicalization grew, it became obvious that a centralized national printshop was again needed. The shop expansion was carefully planned. Estimates were drawn up of the costs and labor needs. A thorough discussion was held on the pros and cons of the project.

The errors of past experiences — as one leader put it at the time, "our sad history with semibusiness undertakings" — still weighed heavily on many minds.

Guided by the fund-raising efforts of veteran socialist leader George Novack, a special \$50,000 "Printing Press Fund" was launched in 1964. For the first time, a full-time printshop staff was assembled.

**New pressroom with sheetfed presses (above). Clockwise from bottom left: Debbie Lazar at binder; Maggie Trowe and Ben Fiering seeking new work for printshop; construction of new shop office; Tamar Rosenfeld, customer service representative, planning job; Jeff Jones operating newly acquired paper baler.**

Howard Mayhew sold his house and little printing business in Chicago, packed up his printing equipment, and moved to New York. He and Robert Chester, another party member and experienced printer, set up a shop with upgraded offset presses, "ATF" computerized typesetters, and binding equipment. This marked a qualitative leap forward.

The expansion coincided with major shifts in printing technology — offset printing and computerized typesetting — that lowered equipment costs while raising productivity.

For the next several years the printshop continued to expand, picking up used equipment here and there. It also began to use its excess capacity to print some commercial work. This was important because it helped maintain the equipment and raise printing skills.

On May 10, 1968, the first *Militant* rolled off the shop's Chief 22 press — a historic occasion, since it was the first issue printed by the movement itself in decades.

It was historic in another way, too. It occurred simultaneously with the great worker and student strikes — the May/June events — in France, as well as the acceleration of anti-Vietnam War protests in the United States and around the world.

#### Radicalization fuels further expansion

Another expansion was launched in 1970 to keep up with the expanded opportunities and the growing need for Marxist literature. This time \$150,000 was raised. It was used to finance the purchase of a four-unit Goss Community web press, a new Harris sheetfed press, new typesetting equipment, and bindery equipment. As the demand for literature continued to grow, the shop moved into its present location in Greenwich Village.

The shop was now able to produce the *Militant* and Pathfinder books. (The name Pioneer Publishers was dropped in the 1960s and, after a few years publishing under the imprint Merit Publishers, Pathfinder Press was established.)

One of the fruits of the expansion was cutting loose from the profiteering commercial shops that had done the movement's work for decades. This translated into a tremendous savings in the *Militant* and Pathfinder's printing budgets.

But there were challenges in doing its own printing, too. For example, shop personnel had to figure out how to print books on a press designed for newspapers. Pathfinder, while now able to produce its covers in the shop, initially still had to send out the inside pages to commercial printers. This obstacle, and others like it, were overcome by the resourcefulness and determination of the workers in the shop.

The new plant had a lot of catching up to do. Pathfinder had to reprint as rapidly as possible the long list of books that were out of print. In addition, to keep pace with the radicalization, Pathfinder was putting out new books and pamphlets. The shop printed the 14-volume series of Trotsky's writings; it issued books and pamphlets on the Black liberation struggle, including works by Malcolm X and W. E. B. Du Bois; it printed several titles on women's liberation, including going back to press six times between 1969 and 1971 to print Evelyn Reed's *Problems of Women's Liberation*.

Later, in the 1970s, the shop turned its excess capacity to its advantage by beginning to compete for jobs in the commercial printing market. As an independent operation, the shop must generate enough revenue to pay for the expenses of running a small business.

#### Growing responsibilities

The latest shop expansion, reported at the opening of this article, comes at a crucial time in the history of the international workers' movement. The biggest shifts since World War I and the Bolshevik-led Russian revolution are taking place in world politics. Never before have the world's toilers been so tied together. The openings to get around communist literature are expanding the world over.

The new printshop is a victory that can be celebrated by every fighter in the world. It took years of hard political work — of fund-raising, planning, and organizing. It included false starts and setbacks.

Despite its limited size and resources, Pathfinder will continue to publish and distribute works that are a part of the living fight to resolve the crisis of leadership of the working class on a world scale. No other publisher will take on this growing opportunity and obligation.

With the new printing equipment in place, Pathfinder is now in a qualitatively stronger position to fulfill this responsibility.

A few years back, Pathfinder noted that it was just beginning to gain a historical perspective on its present possibilities and obligations with regard to promoting its books. At the same time, it recognized and acted on the fact that despite its limited size and resources, only Pathfinder will publish and distribute works that are a part of the living fight to resolve the crisis of leadership of the working class on a world scale.

Today this is more true. And with the new printing equipment, Pathfinder will be in a qualitatively stronger position to fulfill its responsibilities.

As throughout the history of the printing and publishing efforts of the modern workers' movement, the efforts of working people — from their volunteer labor to much-needed financial contributions — will make it possible to meet these challenges, and for new ones to be taken on and conquered as political opportunities expand.

Frank Forrestal is the managing director of Pathfinder Press.

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MILITANT

MILITANT/CATHARINA TIRSEN

MILITANT/LISA AHLBERG

MILITANT

MILITANT/JOHN MUNORU

During the past year Pathfinder has participated in a number of book fairs throughout the world. Clockwise from top left: Pathfinder booth at Tokyo International Book Fair, November 1992; Gothenberg Book Fair in Sweden last September; Pathfinder Press sales director Rich Stuart (right) staffing booth at American Booksellers Association conference in Miami in June; Caribbean People's International Book Fair in Port of Spain, Trinidad, last November; and visitors to Pathfinder display at Australia Book Fair in June. Pathfinder will attend book fairs in Frankfurt, Germany, in October; Montreal in November; Havana in February; and many other gatherings of book buyers throughout the United States.

## Pathfinder expands its reach

Continued from ISR 16

book outlets, including campus stores and libraries, chain stores, public libraries, record stores, and others.

Two national record chains, Tower Records and Musicland, have added book sections to their stores. Tower Records recently ordered 140 Pathfinder books for distribution to its outlets.

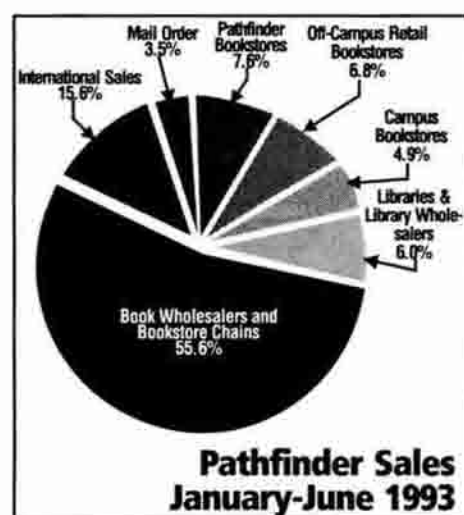
### Library wants every title

The work of Pathfinder sales representatives has greatly expanded knowledge about all the titles published by Pathfinder, stated Boston representative Lisa Ahlberg. "In one visit I met with a librarian for the Boston Public Library system. After we went through the catalog, he said 'It looks like we should have every title.'"

In addition to visiting bookstores and libraries, Pathfinder sales representatives also contact wholesalers. In July, New York sales representative Eva Braiman visited Lectorum Books, a New York wholesaler of Spanish-language books. After an initial meeting with the buyer, several follow-up phone calls, and a wrap-up meeting, Lectorum ordered 65 copies of three titles, *Habla Malcolm X* (Malcolm X Speaks), *Nelson Mandela: Intensifiquemos la lucha* (Intensify the struggle), and "Che Guevara, Cuba y el camino al socialismo" (Che Guevara, Cuba, and the road to socialism) in *Nueva Internacional* no. 2.

In May of this year, San Francisco sales representative Toba Singer reactivated a long-dormant account with L&S Books, a book wholesale company for the San Francisco Bay Area. L&S announced to its customers that it now carries Pathfinder books and reports that sales are going well.

Working together with store managers on ways to promote Pathfinder books is another activity of the sales representatives. In Boston Pathfinder repre-



sentatives worked with staffers at the big Waterstone's bookstore in helping to make a special window display for Black History Month. The display used the poster of the Pathfinder Mural as the centerpiece, surrounded by Black history books, Pathfinder titles among them.

Atlanta representative Ellen Haywood reports that area bookstores greatly appreciated getting advance notice from Pathfinder representatives about the recent visit of Nelson Mandela to Atlanta. This gave the bookstores time to order Pathfinder's *The Struggle Is My Life* by Mandela so it would be in their stores during his visit.

On the suggestion of New York representatives Eva Braiman and Stephen Bloodworth, the owner of the Book Forum in New York ordered four copies of *The Balkan Wars* by Leon Trotsky to display alongside the ten copies of *The Truth about Yugoslavia*. The owner has since told Braiman that the books are selling well.

Rich Stuart is the sales director for Pathfinder Press.

## IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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San Francisco: 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

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### MEXICO

Mexico City: Apdo. Postal 5-777, C.P. 06502 Mexico D.F.

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Christchurch: 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

### SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Erksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.



# Sales opportunities increase

## Local representatives work hard to promote Pathfinder titles

BY RICH STUART

An international team of sales representatives is gearing up to get Pathfinder books into hundreds of commercial bookstores and libraries around the world. This will enable many more working people and youth to get and read these valuable titles.

Pathfinder publishes books that draw together the lessons and history of more than 150 years of working-class struggle. These books include the writings and speeches of revolutionary leaders such as Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V. I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and others.

As a result of the intensive work that Pathfinder sales representatives have done, more people can purchase Pathfinder books from a bookstore at the local mall or even from a music store than ever before. And more bookstores can order Pathfinder books directly from the large wholesalers that provide them with most of their other titles.

In fact, sales to bookstore chains and wholesalers account for almost 56 percent of Pathfinder's total sales in 1993. This is up from only 12 percent in 1988.

In 1992 Pathfinder began training individuals in the skills of representing the publishing house.

Armed with sample copies of Pathfinder books and, most importantly, copies of the 1993 catalog, these sales representatives volunteer their free time and energy to help expand the circulation of Pathfinder books. They are working people who often do this before or after putting in shifts at steel mills, rail yards, oil refineries, garment shops, and other workplaces.

To help coordinate the international sales effort, a monthly newsletter is produced by the Pathfinder staff in New York and distributed to sales representatives around the world.

The international sales team is just beginning to get enough experience under its belt to see that with consistent work a professional sales force can produce a significant increase in Pathfinder book sales. This means that thousands more working people and youth will read the ideas of Pathfinder authors in books and pamphlets such as *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Che Guevara

and Fidel Castro, and *Woman's Evolution* by Evelyn Reed.

Opportunities for Pathfinder book sales have increased in recent years as the worldwide capitalist economic and social crisis intensifies. The thirst for the political analysis and historical lessons provided in Pathfinder's titles will continue to grow.

Pathfinder had record sales in 1992. While the bulk of this was to stores in the United States, Pathfinder books are also now distributed in South Africa, Japan, Iran, Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Iceland, and Sweden, and are available in bookstores in many other countries.

Increasing book sales also generates much-needed revenue to continue Pathfinder's book publishing program. For example, Paris representative Valerie Salfati and London Pathfinder representative Marcella Fitzgerald recently took an order for 304 books worth \$3,000 from the Gibert Jeune bookstore in Paris.

### Great response from bookstores

Most bookstore managers and librarians will not order Pathfinder books without a visit from a sales representative. It takes a discussion with a Pathfinder representative to convince buyers that the importance and timeliness of the books means they will sell.

Toronto sales representative Janet Fisher visited the Byron Prince bookseller in Hamilton, Ontario, in July for the first time. "The store owner was absolutely delighted to see a Pathfinder representative and very glad to get a Pathfinder catalog," Fisher said. The book buyer for the five Edward's bookstores in Toronto told Fisher, "You're very bold to come to stores like this with the kind of titles you have!" He ordered 50 books, including *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* and *Woman's Evolution*.

A W. H. Smith's store in Toronto, one of 197 such stores throughout Canada, ordered all of Pathfinder's titles on women's rights. "They were very excited about seeing what they called 'the other side,'" said Fisher.

Learning the ropes as a sales representative means learning the structure of the book industry, including its sometimes complex sales and distribution arrangements and unique terminology. Sales representatives are taught how to sell the full range of Pathfinder books to the different types of

Continued on ISR 15



MILITANT/BRIAN WILLIAMS

Sales representative Ellen Haywood introducing a librarian to Pathfinder books at the publisher's booth at the June 26-29 American Library Association conference in New Orleans. One thousand Pathfinder catalogs were distributed to some of the more than 12,000 librarians attending the conference. Follow-up visits to libraries have led to increased orders for Pathfinder books.



MILITANT



MILITANT

Pathfinder titles are available in a growing number of bookstores around the world. Left: Window display at Foyles bookstore in London during the opening of the Malcolm X film in that city. Foyles is one of London's biggest and best-known bookstores. Right: Pathfinder books available for sale at the Gibert Jeune bookstore in Paris. Pathfinder representatives Valerie Salfati and Marcella Fitzgerald recently filled an order for 304 books for this store.



COURTNEY KOLAR

Héctor Marroquín, one of Pathfinder's sales representatives in Chicago, meeting with a buyer from a Barnes & Noble "superstore," a new kind of bookstore that has recently exploded onto the book-trade scene. Many of these stores carry up to 100,000 titles including a wide range of Pathfinder books. Pathfinder now has some 43 volunteer sales representatives in 19 U.S. cities and in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Greece, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden.

## HELP DISTRIBUTE THE PATHFINDER CATALOG

The Pathfinder catalog is the only place students, workers, and activists can read descriptions of every Pathfinder book.

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**Did anyone tell the patients?**  
— A *New York Times* article sa-



Harry Ring

luted Jeffrey Sachs, a U.S. economic adviser to the Russian government who is partial to the "shock therapy" approach to achieving free-market blessings. Asserts the *Times*: "This uncompromising free-market economist was instrumental in curing Bolivia and Poland. . . ."

**Worse is better** — An investor service sees a decrease in home mortgage foreclosures in California over the next five years. An analyst explains: "The recession has probably hit California worse than all the other states, so it has the most room for improvement."

**And the end is not yet** — Contrary to the widely promoted notion that U.S. workers are taking home a bundle, a British study found that when you factor in fringes and taxes paid by employers, U.S. workers get paid less than workers in Japan and most of western Europe. The only industrialized countries with lower total wages, the study found, were Britain, Spain,

Greece and Portugal.

**A day in court** — In Santa Barbara, California, Irene Dorado, who is disabled, drove her van equipped with a wheelchair lift into a state court parking lot. The only "handicapped" spot was blocked. Late for court and in a panic, she took a "reserved" spot. On returning, she found a tire had been deflated and a tow truck about to haul the van away. (Continues.)

**Only judges can** — Returning from lunch in his Porsche, Judge James Slater found "his" Santa Barbara court parking spot occupied by Dorado's van. He deflated a front tire, brushing aside warn-

ings that it was obviously a disabled person's van. ("His response: 'My heart bleeds.'") Despite ensuing public noise, the D.A. refused to prosecute him. The judge's final comment: "I didn't know disabled people could park wherever they want."

**Figures don't lie?** — A laboratory check of name-brand frankfurters found 20 percent were contaminated by bacteria that can cause serious illness if the hot dog is undercooked. Mogen David franks were in the contaminated group, but the company pointed out that the tested product was well past its expiration date. The Mogen David sample did have a "sell by" date

of 11/18. But no year.

**Bring your credit card and food thermometer** — It's not in the Guinness freak book, but Atlanta's international airport may have the country's most expensive hot dog — \$4.20.

**They also peddle "family values"** — The state of New York is suing Wal-Mart for violating a state law barring companies from firing people for activities that are legal and outside the work place. Under a store policy barring married employees from dating coworkers who are not their spouse, Wal-Mart fired Laurel Allen and Samuel Johnson. Allen is married but separated.

## Israeli bombing of Lebanon is worst in decade

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In its most massive military assault in a decade, Israel conducted a seven-day bombardment of southern Lebanon at the end of July, resulting in the devastation of the lives of hundreds of thousands of Lebanese workers and peasants.

Israeli warplanes, gunboats, and heavy artillery fired thousands of bombs, rockets and shells on 70 villages. According to United Nations and Lebanese government officials, an estimated 500,000 of southern Lebanon's 800,000 inhabitants were forced to flee their homes. The fighting left more than 130 people dead and 500 people wounded, many of them civilians.

"We are firing into the villages in order to cause damage to property," stated Israeli general Yehosh Dorfman, commander of the Artillery Corps, at the height of the onslaught. "The aim is to create a situation in which the residents will leave the villages and go north. The aim is to damage the infrastructure, to destroy the villages."

According to Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri, 10,000 houses were destroyed and another 20,000 structures damaged.

Israeli government officials claimed this action was in retaliation for the killing of seven of its soldiers in an Israeli-occupied section of Lebanon in early July. They also accused Party of God forces, also known as Hezbollah, for rocket attacks along the Israeli-Lebanese border. Israeli troops invaded Lebanon in 1982 and continue to occupy a six-mile-deep area near the bor-



Men running to a shelter during heavy Israeli bombardment in Qana, Lebanon.

der that they proclaim their "security zone."

In a July 27 speech to parliament, Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin stated that his plan was to flood Beirut with refugees to pressure the Lebanese government to end Hezbollah's shelling of Israeli border areas.

The assault has led to open disagreements within Rabin's coalition government. Cabinet ministers from the Meretz party issued

a statement condemning the attacks as "a moral and political mistake, which should be stopped immediately."

"I told the Prime Minister not to fire on the villagers," said Rafael Eytan, head of the Tsomet party and the army chief of staff during the 1982 war in Lebanon. "Now the whole world will be against us because of these refugees."

The attacks spurred demonstrations in the streets of Beirut as well. "For the first time

in a long time," reports the *Financial Times*, thousands marched July 28 through the city chanting "Death to Israel and America" and "No to peace with Israel." In some towns in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip strikes were held to protest the bombardment.

As Israeli bombs rained down on the Lebanese people, U.S. president Bill Clinton praised the Syrian government, which has 35,000 troops in Lebanon, for showing "commendable restraint" and blamed Hezbollah for obstructing the Middle East peace talks. These talks remain stalled despite a number of negotiating sessions over the past 21 months.

U.S. State Department officials also successfully pressured the Lebanese government to withdraw its request for a United Nations Security Council discussion on the Israeli attacks.

On July 30 Hezbollah representatives offered to halt rocket attacks if Israel ended its artillery and air assault on southern Lebanon. Israeli officials promptly rejected the offer. The following day, however, Tel Aviv agreed to a cease-fire at the urging of U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher, who had plans to visit the area with hopes of reviving the peace talks.

Under the agreement, Israeli troops will remain in their "security zone" on Lebanese territory. Also remaining in place are Israel's 175-millimeter guns, which had fired tens of thousands of shells into Lebanon.

As thousands of Lebanese began returning to their villages, many found their homes had been reduced to rubble and their possessions destroyed. "Animals are treated better than this," stated Miriam Kirkah, an elderly woman who lives in Jarjuh, a village 40 miles south of Beirut.

The July 31 *Washington Post* described the angry reaction of another refugee, Ali Ibrahim Taleb, a university student who now feels a strong need to respond to the Israeli regime's bombing attack. "We will go back as fighters to our village. God willing," he said. "There is no other choice."

## European monetary system in shambles

BY GREG ROSENBERG

A new currency crisis has dealt a body blow to hopes for a monetary union among capitalist powers in Europe. Triggered by the German central bank's decision not to lower a key interest rate, the latest round of monetary gyrations shattered the exchange rate mechanism and set off alarm in European capitals over the bleak prospects for a Europe.

The German bank left its discount rate unchanged at 6.75 percent July 29. For more than a week economists had expected the rate would be lowered, facilitating easier borrowing from across Europe. Instead, the bank's board dropped the secondary Lombard rate by half a percentage point.

The announcement set off a rapid fall in the value of the French franc, Belgian franc, Danish krone, and Spanish peseta. Massive intervention from central banks did not prevent the French currency from dropping to the floor of the Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM).

"It's war," said a senior official of the European Commission, in response to the decision. "It's high noon for the ERM," said the chief economist for the Tokai Bank. "I wouldn't give two beans for the survival of the ERM now."

On August 2 an emergency meeting of European finance ministers and central bank officials decided to junk existing ERM levels and allow their currencies to fluctuate by 15 percent above or below nominal rates — a far wider margin than has been allowed during 14 years of attempts to forge closer economic links.

The ERM is designed to provide currencies with stable values and semifixed ex-

change rates. It's pegged to the value of the German mark. As the recession throughout Europe has continued to worsen, under the impact of the world depression and intensifying competition, the stability of currency values has gone out the window.

Germany, the strongest industrial and trading power in Europe, is in the throes of its worst recession since World War II. Inflation is over 4 percent, and unemployment

is nearing 10 percent. The economic crisis in Germany has been fueled by the high costs of reunification. As a result, German capitalists have kept interest rates high to siphon funds from other countries to finance this expense.

*Die Welt am Sonntag*, a German newspaper commented that "Paris is a mistress which Bonn can no longer afford to keep."

## Clinton prepares air assaults in Bosnia

Continued from front page

stadium and suffered only slight injuries. Ten French military vehicles were set ablaze and destroyed. Following the attack, French military commanders made it clear they favored a retaliatory strike.

"From a military perspective," a NATO spokesperson said, "we are ready to go the minute the request comes through." U.S. officials said bombing raids against rightist Serb forces could go into motion within days of the announcement.

The imperialist powers are moving bombing spotters, radar equipment, laser designators, and communications equipment into Bosnia to establish a "command and control" center for air strikes.

Washington has stationed A-10 attack planes, F-16 C/D aircraft, Marine FA-18 planes, and EC-130 planes at Aviano, Italy, to prepare for bombing raids. More FA-18 and A-6 warplanes are on the carrier *Theodore Roosevelt* in the Adriatic Sea.

The French government has sent attack

planes to Italy and deployed six fighter-bombers to another carrier in the Adriatic. Britain has moved Jaguar planes into Italy and maintains its own aircraft carrier nearby. The Netherlands has put F-16 planes with bombing capabilities in Italy.

Rightist Serb forces have surrounded the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo, and much of the city has been reduced to ruins in the wake of artillery bombardments.

Any serious military intervention in Bosnia will require massive use of the U.S. military machine. However, Washington, Paris, London, and Bonn continue to bicker over what specific steps to take.

Paris proposed that French general Jean Cot, who commands troops under the UN flag in the Balkans, be put in charge of bombing raids over Bosnia. U.S. officials have balked at this idea. "There is some question about who will do what," a French official said. "We don't want a situation where just anyone can go off and bomb Serbia."

A new round of talks, led by David Owen, the European Community representative, and Thorvald Stoltenberg for the United Nations, proposes carving Bosnia into three ethnically divided republics to be based on Serb, Croat, and Muslim communities. Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serb rightist forces in Bosnia, called it "fair and generous." The Bosnian government, however, is split over the accord, with some officials calling it a "death sentence" for the republic.

The *Financial Times* reported July 29 that tens of thousands of farmers in northern Serbia, near Belgrade, protested for three days against low grain prices, blocking roads in the biggest farm protest since 1987. Serbian police broke up the demonstration.

A series of actions by auto, metal, and construction workers in Serbia has also protested declining living standards and inflation, now at 20 percent per day. These conditions are exacerbated by the U.S.-led embargo against Serbia and Montenegro.



# Let the school bus go to Cuba!

The victory of the Friendship solidarity caravan, which brought 100 tons of aid to Cuba despite threats from U.S. officials, has dealt a big blow to Washington's trade embargo against that Caribbean nation. All those who oppose the U.S. government's immoral policy can now build on the momentum of this success and draw fresh new forces into the antiembargo fight.

The aid convoy, which involved 300 volunteer drivers from all walks of life, reached out broadly for support, taking the moral high ground to expose Washington's despicable attempt to strangle the Cuban people. As a result, it was warmly welcomed by workers, farmers, students, and many others in every one of the 120 U.S. cities it visited.

This action comes at a time when Washington's cold war stance against Cuba is more isolated in the world and less credible than ever among working people in the United States. The open debate in U.S. ruling circles on lifting the embargo — including editorials in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, and other papers calling for a gradual lifting of the trade ban — reflects the U.S. government's failure to starve the Cuban people into submission. Meetings of Latin American and Caribbean governments recently added their voices to the international condemnation of the embargo. This growing foreign policy crisis is what forced U.S. officials to let the Cuba-bound caravan cross the border at Laredo, Texas, in

open defiance of the embargo.

U.S. Customs officials' seizure of a little yellow school bus — intended as a donation to a church in Havana — has only put the government in a more embarrassing position, provoking dozens of demonstrations around the country and a flood of indignant phone calls and letters to the White House demanding its release. The stand of the 14 hunger strikers on the impounded bus has received publicity in several cities.

Now is the time to strike further blows against the embargo as the cracks in the wall widen. The August 7 national demonstration in Laredo, demanding that the school bus be allowed to go to Cuba, is a good example to follow.

With the return of the 300 caravan drivers from Cuba, opponents of the embargo everywhere should plan big welcome-back celebrations to draw more people into the fight. Friendship supporters can get the "caravanistas," as they are known, to speak before churches, union meetings, high schools, colleges, and other public events. Among those most receptive will be fighters, like the youthful defenders of abortion clinics and striking coal miners. Many who have heard about the Friendship caravan on the news, including coworkers and classmates, can be asked to help organize and publicize these activities in coming weeks.

Let's intensify the fight to end Washington's criminal and inhuman embargo against the people of Cuba!

# Oppose attempt to frame miners

Working people around the world have a big stake in opposing the frame-up moves being directed against striking members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) in West Virginia.

In time-honored tradition, the coal bosses and their servants in the government, daily newspapers, and police have joined together to accuse the miners of guilt in the July 22 killing of mine employee Eddie York, though they have no evidence. Even Utah senator Orrin Hatch got into the act, saying that York's death was an example of how "violence is often threatened and executed as a negotiating tool by some unions."

On the contrary. It's the coal companies and their hired goons who are responsible for violence in the coalfields.

York, an employee of a subcontractor, was shot from a wooded area on company property as he was leaving Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in West Virginia. The only people in the area were company security guards. "It's very conceivable," said UMWA International Executive Board member Howard Green, "that York's death resulted from either a misdirected shot or a deliberate shot from security guards."

The miners have fought a determined and disciplined

battle for a contract. Until now the bosses have been unable to pin any accusation of violence on the UMWA.

For many decades the employers and their government have used charges of violence directed against striking workers to try to defeat them.

In 1987 four Kentucky miners were convicted on sweeping federal charges in connection with the shooting death of a scab coal hauler. Donnie Thomsbury, David Thomsbury, James Darryl Smith, and Arnold Heightland were given jail sentences ranging from 35 to 45 years. Their frame-up, orchestrated by the FBI, grew out of the bitter 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey Coal.

The attempt to blame the UMWA for the shooting is an escalation of the bosses' war on the miners and a dagger aimed at the strike. Frame-ups and violence-baiting against working-class fighters will become more common in the future as the bosses and their government launch further assaults on labor at home and unleash wars abroad.

Now more than ever the entire labor movement and fighting youth need to tell the truth about the miners' battle and expand solidarity activities throughout the United States and internationally. They should defend the UMWA against the bosses' frame-up campaign.

# No right to judge Demjanjuk

John Demjanjuk, who had been accused of being "Ivan the Terrible," a Nazi torturer and gas chamber operator at a Polish concentration camp where 850,000 Jews were slaughtered, was recently found not guilty by the Israeli Supreme Court.

But Demjanjuk should not have been put on trial in Israel in the first place. Washington should never have extradited him there. He should be freed and allowed to return to the United States or a third country.

Stripped of his U.S. citizenship in 1981, Demjanjuk was deported to Israel in 1986 and sentenced to death by hanging in 1988. Nonetheless, files recovered from the former Soviet Union suggest that "Ivan the Terrible," who committed these crimes five decades ago, was a different man, Ivan Marchenko, last seen in 1943. The Israeli Supreme Court was forced to reverse his conviction, saying there was "reasonable doubt" that Demjanjuk was the individual in question.

Right-wing Israeli parties and some "Nazi hunters" are now arguing that even if Demjanjuk was exonerated of this charge, he should be tried for some other World War II crime because "to let Demjanjuk walk free in the state of Israel is unthinkable," as Efraim Zuroff of the Simon Wiesenthal Center put it.

These cynical arguments highlight the whole reason behind this "war crimes" trial. The Israeli state — established through the barbaric expulsion and persecution of the Palestinian people — tries to present itself as a champion of human rights and justice, as well as the protector of the interests of world Jewry. But the capitalist rulers of Israel don't and can't speak for the overwhelming majority of Jews in Israel, let alone the world. They have set up a death trap for working people, Jewish and Arab alike, on Palestinian soil, disqualifying them as upholders of justice for Jews and others murdered during the Holocaust.

War crimes trials like the one conducted against

Demjanjuk serve to obscure the roots of World War II and fascism. Following the second world war, Washington and its imperialist allies — with the blood of millions on their hands — set up the Nuremberg trials with the purpose of placing the entire blame for the slaughter on the defeated Axis powers. They sought to deflect attention from the criminals at the top by going after the underlings.

Fascism is not the result of some sadistic individuals. It is a form of rule that the wealthy capitalist families resort to in periods of social crisis when they must crush the labor movement in order to preserve their power.

World War II was a fight between competing imperialist powers over division and control of the world.

The Israeli rulers have no legal or moral standing to conduct such war crimes trials. Their latest collective punishment against the people of southern Lebanon, which drove half a million from their homes, only underscores this reality.

Washington, a major perpetrator of World War II and butcher of millions of working people in Korea, Vietnam, and Iraq, has no more moral authority than Tel Aviv. This is important to keep in mind as the U.S. government, to further its war aims in the former Yugoslavia, Iraq, and Somalia, suggests "war crimes" trials against leaders in those countries. The *New York Times*, in fact, warned in an editorial that Washington's complicity in the Demjanjuk fiasco could prove damaging. The White House's "own credibility in future war crimes is at stake. Attorney General Reno needs to cooperate fully in cleaning up this case," the paper advised. This is the same Janet Reno who, along with boss Bill Clinton, ordered the holocaust in Waco, Texas.

For working people it is imperative to recognize that the main war criminals are the capitalist rulers themselves. This understanding is necessary in the fight to rid the world of their system and the wars and other crimes they breed.

# Int'l forum in Havana

Continued from Page 3

tional assembly, and Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina gave presentations to the delegates on the country's recent elections and the government's foreign policy and answered questions.

Castro gave the closing speech at the conference where he called for "the defeat of neoliberalism" in Latin America. "There will be no human progress," said Castro "if we don't go beyond the frontiers of capitalism, although this might be the task of future moments but not future generations. I see many young people among the participants," he said, "and I think many will have the opportunity to build socialism in their countries."

Castro also denounced U.S. attacks against Iraq and Somalia. "The spectacle of Somalia is depressing," he said. "They went to bring food at the point of bayonets and they ended up distributing bullets, gunfire, and bombs with sophisticated helicopters."

## Explosive situations in Latin America

At the plenary session and in conference workshops, many delegates mentioned some of the recent mass protests by workers and farmers throughout in Latin America against austerity policies of capitalist regimes. Venezuelan Communist Party leader Ricardo Gutiérrez described the huge celebrations in the streets of his country's capital after President Carlos Andrés Pérez was impeached on charges of corruption. Venezuela has been rocked by months of strikes and demonstrations against the austerity measures imposed by the social-democratic government.

On July 27, a few days after the Havana conference, 1.3 million state employees in Venezuela staged a stoppage in solidarity with striking court employees. The same day striking construction laborers led a march of 10,000 workers through Montevideo, Uruguay's capital, demanding higher wages. And in Argentina, thousands of farmers were showered with confetti by public employees as they tied up the streets of downtown Buenos Aires with hundreds of tractors in a protest against government economic measures.

The final declaration noted that after years of retreat by the labor and other social movements, "the fourth meeting [of the Forum] took place at a time when popular struggles are on the rise."

Many delegates, however, presented an electoral perspective as the way forward for working people in the region. Marco Aurelio Garcia of the Brazilian PT said that "upcoming elections in Brazil, Uruguay, Mexico and other countries present the left with an opportunity to offer an alternative and win governmental power." Garcia also advocated increased involvement of the left in growing social struggles.

## Stronger final declaration

Because the meeting took place in Havana, with the presence and participation in the discussion of the central leadership of the Cuban Communist Party, the final resolution adopted by the delegates took a stronger anti-imperialist position on several points than the declarations of Managua and Mexico City.

The Havana declaration strongly condemned the U.S. military presence in Panama and the "illegal occupation of the Guantánamo base in Cuba." It called for ending "the colonial status of Puerto Rico, French Guiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and other colonial territories." The resolution extended support to "the struggle of the people of Haiti aimed at restoring democracy" and warned against use of the recent agreement between deposed president Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the Haitian military as a pretext for U.S. military intervention. It also denounced "recent aggression against Iraq, the military occupation of Somalia under humanitarian pretexts, the imperialist nuclear threat to Korea, and the sanctions against Libya."

On the other hand the statement did not clearly identify U.S. imperialism and capitalism as the source of the social and economic problems confronting Latin America, as the declaration of the first São Paulo forum did, but rather pointed to the "neoliberal policies" of current governments as the problem. It called for "development models combining the existence of the market with the regulatory function of the state."

Despite disagreements over the political content of the final resolution, many delegates felt that the stronger stance in defense of Cuba's sovereignty and the broader participation of forces throughout Latin America and the Caribbean represented a step forward.

The conference expanded the Working Group, which was elected to organize the meeting next year to include the Dominica Labor Party, the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, and the Revolutionary Democratic Party of Panama. The Working Group includes in addition the PT, the Broad Front of Uruguay, the FMLN, the FSLN, the Communist Party of Cuba, the National Revolutionary Union of Guatemala, PRD of Mexico, the Lavalas organization of Haiti, Movement for a Free Bolivia, and one representative each to be chosen among the parties from Colombia and Peru. No agreement was reached on the site of the next conference.

The delegates also resolved to hold a seminar on the Caribbean next year, as well as a meeting in Brussels in early 1994 to discuss relations between Europe and Latin America. They voted to encourage participation in an international conference commemorating the centennial of José Martí's death to be held in Santiago de Cuba in May 1995.



# LTV steelworkers plan fight against concessions

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column for other fighting workers around the world to read about and 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.

Members of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1011 are preparing for a possible strike against LTV Steel Corp.'s Indiana Harbor Works in East Chicago, Indiana. The company is attempting to impose sweeping

dust-filled environment.

Management's strategy has been one of "sheer harassment," Bell added. Workers in several departments have been disciplined for drinking water, going to the bathroom, or talking to each other. Meanwhile, LTV has largely bypassed the union-management "implementation committees" set up under the contract. "Our good faith efforts are being laughed at," Local 1011 president John Sako charged.

## Bethlehem shipyard strike settled

Six hundred shipyard workers at Beth Ship, organized by International Association of Machinists Local S-33 in Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point yard in Maryland, voted July 30 to return to work after a two-week strike. The work-

fied earlier this year. This six-year pact includes a 50-cent raise with another raise tied to profitability. It also includes relaxed work rules, which may result in job combinations and reduced safety for workers, and increased health costs. At press time, no further details were available on the tentative pact.

## Steelworkers strike on Iron Range

More than 3,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America struck mining companies owned or managed by Cleveland-Cliffs Inc. August 1. Some 1,350 miners on Minnesota's Iron Range and 1,800 workers in Michigan's Upper Peninsula struck following the expiration of a three-year contract. They are on strike for the first time in 17 years.

## Bakery workers win strike victory in Philadelphia

Members of the Bakery, Confectionery, and Tobacco Workers Union Local 6 at the Continental Bakery in Philadelphia ratified a new contract August 3 after a 12-day strike.

"We won a tremendous victory," BCT representative Tom Logan said in an interview.

Company demands to end full medical coverage of workers and their families was the key issue in the strike. "We were able to maintain our health and welfare with no contribution from the membership," Logan explained.

"We succeeded because we stood our ground," he said. "Once you bite into discussing changes you'll wind up making some. We refused to even discuss cuts in health benefits."

The new contract also provides a 60-cents-an-hour increase over three years.

The union describes the contract as a pattern settlement effecting all Continental plants and some other bakeries under BCT jurisdiction in New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio.

## Canadian miners resist takeback demands

Picket lines are up 24 hours a day on the road leading to the Westmin Resources mine near Campbell River, British Columbia.

In April the workers rejected an offer by the company to implement major pay cuts, reduce safety procedures, and undermine seniority. Ninety-eight percent of the members of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 3019 rejected these and other concessions. The company then locked them out.

The workers mine copper, gold, silver, zinc, and lead. The mine owners want the unionists to take a pay cut of \$3.62 an hour for laborers and \$1.17 an hour for miners.

On the picket line, a miner who blasts vertical tunnels said he thought the worst proposal was to eliminate a mandatory full investigation of "near misses." "If the company got its way on this," he said, "there would be far more deaths."

Since the mine opened in 1964, 25 workers have died on the job, on the road to the mine, or from work-related injuries or illnesses.

## British mushroom workers fight company lockout

Eighty-nine mushroom pickers in Yorkshire, England, organized a rally July 24 outside the gates of Middlebrook Farm and led a demonstration of 2,000 in the town of Selby to protest unjust firings.

The mushroom pickers, all women, are members of the Transport and General Workers Union. They were fired last November when they decided to vote on a series of strikes in response to management's insistence on reducing pay and recruiting temporary workers. "We were sacked unjustly," said Jane Abbott. "If we had accepted the cut they would have come back for more but we didn't even ballot. Now if they close the farm it will be a victory."

On July 24, the streets of Selby were lined with people, some shout-

ing "I support you" and "I'm with the Middlebrook women." Some shops had signs saying, "We're not selling Middlebrook mushrooms."

Workers said they learned a lot from the Timex strikers when they had started visiting each other's picket lines recently.

## Thailand garment workers win strike battle

The 3,340 workers at the Thai Durable Textile Co., near Bangkok, went on strike in early July to protest the layoff of 376 workers after the company increased automation in the plant. The workers are organized by the Textile, Garment and Leather Workers Federation.

Following a two-week blockade of the plant by strikers, backed up by hundreds of supporters from several unions, the government ordered Thai Durable and six other textile companies to reinstate nearly 2,000 laid-off workers while negotiations continue on compensation and the number of workers to be laid off.

During the strike a five-day rally took place outside the Government House. At its peak, 10,000 protesters supporting the blockade attended the rally. The strike won support from unions across the country. Fears of massive job losses are widespread, especially among Thailand's 1 million garment and textile workers.

The following people contributed to this week's column: Johanna Ryan, member of USWA Local 1011 in East Chicago; Yvonne Hayes, member of USWA Local 7886 in Frederick, Maryland; Pete Seidman, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-743 in New Castle, Delaware; Colleen Lewis, member of CAW Local 3020 in Vancouver; Ann Fiander, member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union in Manchester, England; and Bob Miller, member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Tuscaloosa, Alabama.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

work rule changes.

At a packed July 1 union meeting, 300 LTV workers voted unanimously to seek strike authorization from the international union officials. Since then, workers have held two emergency union meetings of similar size, reflecting their growing anger and determination to defend their working conditions.

"I've devoted 25 years of my life here, and I'll be damned if I'll see this go down the tubes and have them start treating people like this is 1937," Mike Broderick, a veteran bridge shop worker, told the July 15 meeting.

LTV, which emerged from seven years of Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection June 28, has moved unilaterally to eliminate all lunch breaks and paid wash-up time, telling workers they would have to eat at their machines during "natural breaks" in the work flow. At the hot strip mill, according to maintenance worker Marshall Bell, the company has torn down shanties that were the only places workers had to eat or take breaks in the hot,

ers walked out after the expiration of their contract when the company announced it would revoke a 45-cent an hour profit-sharing bonus that was tied to construction of a tunnel now nearing completion.

The new three-year contract, ratified by a vote of 352-226, rolls in the 45 cents, provides a signing bonus of \$450, and includes a profit-sharing bonus of up to 25 cents an hour or 50 cents an hour in 1995. The contract also provides for establishment of a labor-management cooperation team.

Both National Steel and Bethlehem Steel announced tentative agreements with the USWA, subject to membership vote. Some 17,000 workers at Bethlehem nationwide would be covered by the agreement, which was reached only hours after the July 31 strike deadline. Some 6,300 workers at National would be under the agreement. Both are patterned on a contract with Inland Steel rati-

## LETTERS

### U.S. war against Iraq

The June 29 statement "United States hands off Iraq" was right on the money. But one formulation bears rethinking.

Did the United States "break its teeth" in the war against Iraq? Only if one supposes that the entire undertaking hinged on a wholesale invasion and replacement of the regime.

But was direct takeover of Iraq the essential goal of Desert Storm? Actually the Hussein regime is fundamentally subservient to U.S. imperialism. As the *Militant* puts it, "Washington... needs oppressive regimes like Baghdad."

Indeed Hussein, in one of the more criminal acts of the last half of this century, carried out a long, tremendously destructive war against the Iranian revolution with the support of Washington.

In the war against Iraq the United States disciplined its creature while acting with the realization that its real enemies lie with its imperialist rivals and with the oppressed people of the world. Thus the assault simultaneously hurt the Iraqi toilers while not touching the regime. Thus also the sanctions, which damage only the Iraqi people, not the dictatorship.

Yet this massive military action did not halt the decline of the empire. Washington did not emerge into a world shifted decisively in its favor: interimperialist rivalries accelerate, world depression drags on, and key points in the world revolution (Cuba and South Africa) continue to strengthen.

All this is muddled by insisting that the United States emerged from the war toothless. (The last time this actually happened was in Vietnam: defeated by a decade of intransigent struggle by the Vietnamese and the mobilization of international solidarity, Washington limped out with virtually no usable army. Its teeth were broken.)

But Desert Storm was no Vietnam, to say the least.

By recognizing that "iron-fisted Hussein plays a role useful [to the United States]," the *Militant* corrects any misapprehension that the Hussein regime posed some deadly threat to Washington and that its continued existence leaves the United States defanged. The imprecise "broke their teeth" formulation clouds this and should, for clarity's sake, be dropped.

Steve Eckardt  
Chicago, Illinois

### 'Multiculturalism'

I've just renewed my subscription after a hiatus of three months, so I missed the original article on "multiculturalism" written by Argritis Malapanis and Derek Bracey. But I want to get my two cents in anyway, particularly now having seen the response to the article from three *Militant* readers who work in the public schools and Malapanis's reply to them in the July 26 issue of the *Militant*.

I don't disagree with Malapanis that the content of what poses as a "multicultural" curriculum in the public schools needs to be gone

over with a fine-toothed comb. The classism in most of it is patently obvious. Certainly a lot of what calls itself "Afrocentrism" is unscientific, as Malapanis points out. But Argritis never bothers to explain concretely just why it's unscientific.

Speaking scientifically, I would never argue with the strategic importance of the independent working-class struggle for socialist power. Speaking concretely, I think there are certain steps along the way of building that power and consciousness. That's why I work in the public schools. Argritis Malapanis says this effort to build tolerance by teaching it in public schools cannot transform racial relations as a whole, and he is absolutely right. But that's not the point. The point is to build as broad an understanding of cultural diversity as possible under capitalism, so that as the revolution gains momentum and moves toward victory, the working class has an even broader base of ideas to begin building socialism with on every level, culturally as well as scientifically and politically. Besides, the experience of Cuba has taught us that decisive or not, the independent victory of the working class is not enough to eliminate racism.

Michael Hureaux  
Seattle, Washington

### Solidarity with Angola

The Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) has



observed with great concern the escalation of the irrational war imposed upon the Republic of Angola by Jonas Savimbi and his warmongering UNITA supporters with the support of foreign allies, which has turned into a real genocide and a major destruction as compared to that of the sixteen-year war in that sister nation in Southern Africa.

The barbarous murder of defenseless citizens, the victims of which amount to nearly 30,000; the displacement of more than 2 million people from their lands, i.e., one-fifth of the country's population, forced into inhuman living conditions; the destruction of cities and municipalities occupied by UNITA forces, as well as of hospitals,

schools, houses and roads, all prove the irrational and criminal nature of this war and lead the country to a situation of vast damage.

Angola needs peace and the end of both the genocide and aggression she is now victim of. Therefore, we all your attention and request your cooperation and contribution for peace and stability in that country. OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat  
Havana, Cuba

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.



## Miners win solidarity, expand strike

BY MARY ZINS

PERCY, Illinois — Dan Spinnie, a striking coal miner who just returned from a speaking tour in the West, said the news media was surprised to see the overwhelming solidarity he got from other workers.

"What in the world could flight attendants and coal miners have in common?" a reporter asked him after he addressed a meeting of Alaska Airlines flight attendants fighting for a contract.

"I told him we're all working people," Spinnie said.

On July 27 another 1,000 miners joined the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) strike for a contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Miners walked off the job at four Peabody Holding Co. facilities and five Consol Energy Inc. mines in West Virginia, Ohio, and Kentucky.

This was the eighth expansion of the national coal strike, which began May 10. There are now 17,000 UMWA members on the picket lines in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia.

UMWA secretary-treasurer Jerry Jones said the union is receiving support from workers internationally. "We're working especially closely with unions in Germany and England," he said. Some of the owners of BCOA companies are based in these countries.

"Support from the AFL-CIO has helped a lot," Jones added. "Even in areas where there are no coal miners, like California and Kansas City, unionists have helped to organize informational pickets and solidarity activities to support our fight."

Jerry Kellerman of UMWA Local 1392 joined Spinnie, of UMWA Local 2161, on an 11-day speaking tour in the West. They addressed union meetings, labor councils, and rallies from San Diego to Vancouver, British Columbia.

Kellerman said there is a real lack of information on the miners' fight. He said most of the media is probusiness and doesn't report workers' struggles. "The response from working people was overwhelming" when the miners explained the issues in the strike, Kellerman added. "Workers were especially interested to learn how the fight was progressing and how we were advancing solidarity and community support."

Spinnie said they asked for three things: messages of support, financial contributions, and solidarity. "We invited everyone



Militant/Scott Breen

UMWA member Jerry Kellerman is interviewed by radio station during Seattle tour

to come to the strike areas and visit our picket lines. It's an open house," he said.

"We spoke to a lot of different labor organizations," Kellerman explained. "We met people from different lifestyles and different backgrounds. But everyone understood that our fight is their fight, and, however this battle turns out, it will affect them."

The strike is now in its fourth month and is having a financial impact on the coal companies. The parent company of Peabody Holding Co., London-based Hanson PLC,

admitted the strike has caused "noticeable" financial damage. PLC Hanson is now forced to take a \$44 million charge against earnings for the quarter ending June 30.

In an attempt to undermine the impact of the strike, several BCOA companies have moved supervisory personnel to struck operations to continue production of coal. They are now mining coal at Consol's Arkwright and Arch Minerals' Ruffner mines in West Virginia; Peabody's Lynnville and Camp 11 mines in Indiana and Kentucky;

Arch Minerals' Captain and Conant mines; and Zeigler's No. 26 mine in Illinois.

West Virginia state police arrested 64 miners in Boone County July 27 when more than 100 workers gathered to block the entrance to Eastern Associated Coal Corp.'s Colony Bay mine. The workers were protesting the decision to use management personnel to mine coal.

At Peabody's Federal No. 2 mine, 500 miners mobilized July 30 and blocked the road to the mine entrance for 20 hours. The picket grew rapidly from 40 as word got out that Peabody was attempting to deliver supplies.

"We're getting tremendous support from the communities," said Rich Shawgo, UMWA Local 1392 vice-president. He added that in the midst of the strike, miners from southern Illinois have spent hundreds of hours helping with sandbagging along the Mississippi river from East St. Louis to Randolph County. A truckload of food donated by striking miners from the Captain mine recently went to aid flood victims.

To request UMWA strikers to speak before other unions, to organize a delegation to visit the strike areas, or to join other solidarity activities, contact the UMWA Region 3 office at (618) 942-6112 or Project Solidarity at (800) 334-UMWA.

Mary Zins is a laid-off miner and member of United Transportation Union Local 1405. Jeanne Fitzmaurice, a laid-off miner, and Bernie Senter, a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-957, in West Virginia contributed to this article.

## UN hearings discuss status of Puerto Rico

BY JULIETTE MONTAUK

UNITED NATIONS — Representatives from dozens of organizations testified at a July 15 hearing sponsored by the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization to discuss the status of Puerto Rico, a U.S. colony.

The most hotly debated question during the testimony was the plebiscite on Puerto Rico's status, which will be held on the island November 14.

Since 1972 the UN committee has repeatedly adopted resolutions supporting the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination and independence from the United States. This year, as in 1992, no

resolution on Puerto Rico was introduced for debate but the committee heard testimony from groups representing the three main political currents.

A significant but minority current supports independence. The New Progressive Party (PNP), which won the gubernatorial elections last November, advocates making Puerto Rico the 51st state. The Popular Democratic Party favors the island's current status as a "commonwealth."

Puerto Rican secretary of state and PNP leader Baltasar Corrado defended the plebiscite called by pro-statehood governor Pedro Rosselló as a chance for the people of the island "to air their opinion about the

status of Puerto Rico." He criticized the colonial status of the island and argued that statehood would be the solution.

Corrado was sharply questioned by the Cuban representative on the decolonization committee about whether Washington could be expected to respect any expression of self-determination by Puerto Rico's people.

Calling it "a sham," Carlos Gallisá, general secretary of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), said the plebiscite "does not meet any of the international norms defining the right to self-determination." The referendum is merely consultative, he noted, and allows U.S. citizens who reside in Puerto Rico to vote while excluding the 2 million Puerto Ricans living in the United States. The PSP has called for abstention in the plebiscite.

On the other hand, Fernando Martín, a central leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, expressed support for holding the plebiscite, arguing that it would pressure Washington to consider Puerto Rican independence more favorably.

Veteran pro-independence leader Juan Marí Bras explained that for two decades the U.S. government has consistently refused to cooperate with the UN committee with regard to Puerto Rico.

Mary Nell Bockman, a garment worker who is the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of New York City, presented a statement to the UN committee in support of the independence fight. She noted that Washington refuses to end its colonial domination of Puerto Rico for the same reason it has been bombing Iraq and Somalia — to save its declining world order amid a growing depression. "From Yugoslavia to Iraq," Bockman underlined, "the U.S. government has failed to achieve its foreign policy objectives and turns to military options out of weakness."

Ana López, of the National Committee for Freedom for the Puerto Rican Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, condemned the U.S. government for holding more than 20 Puerto Rican independence fighters in jail.

Several speakers pointed to the continuing U.S. naval occupation of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques as another example of colonial rule.

## Coal bosses lead witch-hunt against union

BY BERNIE SENTER

YOLYN, West Virginia — Coal operators and the government are orchestrating a witch-hunt against the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) following the July 22 shooting death of Eddie York at the Arch of West Virginia Ruffner mine. The ongoing slander and accusations of murder and violence are attempts to drive back the UMWA as solidarity grows internationally for the striking miners.

York was shot in the back of the head as he left the surface mine. Gunfire came from a wooded area on company property about 500 feet from a UMWA picket site. York was an employee of Deskins Contracting, which was cleaning out a sediment pond at the mine. Arch Mineral Corp. has been operating the mine with management personnel since being struck in May.

Howard Green, UMWA International Executive Board member in southern West Virginia, said, "I felt it very possible from our observations that Mr. York was killed by Arch's security people. This is based on police information on where the shots came from and where York was when he was hit. The only people in the area then were security guards."

"It's very conceivable," Green continued,

"that York's death resulted from either a misdirected shot or a deliberate shot by security guards."

Arch mineral's spokesman Blair Gardner stated in a news release that "this ends the pretense of a peaceful UMWA strike. The circumstances of this tragedy point to a conspiracy to commit murder conceived in a UMWA picket shack."

The news media was quick to hold the UMWA responsible for the killing. A July 26 editorial in the *Dominion Post* stated, "It's reasonable to assume that somebody at a picket site organized and staged an attack and a sniper killed Ed York."

U. S. senator Orrin Hatch of Utah singled out the UMWA during a Senate floor speech recently on strike violence. He said York's death was an example of how "violence is often threatened and executed as a negotiating tool by some unions."

"They've already convicted us," Gordon Hale, strike captain for UMWA Local 5958 at Ruffner, told the July 23 *Charleston Gazette*. "This is America and we're supposed to be innocent until proven guilty."

No arrests had been made as of August 3 but state police say their prime suspect is a member of the UMWA. They have called for a federal investigation of the incident.

Picketing miners at the Ruffner mine point to a systematic pattern of violence by the coal operators and their security guards.

On a number of occasions security guards fired weapons in the air at the same picket site where York was killed.

A few weeks ago, security guards used tear gas to drive pickets from the Ruffner picket shack at 4:00 a.m. The guards entered the shack and destroyed radios, scanners, and other equipment.

Security guards attacked pickets with tear gas and automatic weapons June 20 at Arch Mineral's nearby Wylo mine. Several neighbors were taken to the hospital for treatment for tear gas inhalation. Bullet holes were found in nearby homes, a picket's car, and the shack.

Speaking about York's murder, a striker at the picket shack said, "We're peaceful men. All we want to do is mine coal. We have no cause to do anything like that." He expressed the sentiment of other miners when he said, "I feel real sorry for the York family and what they're going through."

By placing the blame on the union for the killing, the coal operators are attempting to gain ground lost to the union and striking miners in recent months.