

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Mandela: 1990 speech on fight for women's rights

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U.S. warships surround Haiti, enforce embargo

Clinton vows to forcibly return Haitians fleeing repression

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Six U.S. and two Canadian warships are now stationed directly off the Haitian coast.

Washington claims this display of military firepower is aimed at enforcing an economic embargo reimposed October 16 by the United Nations Security Council, at the urging of Washington. The action came after Haiti's military rulers refused to step down and turn political power back over to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide on October 30, as stipulated in an accord signed last July. Aristide was ousted in a bloody military coup in September 1991.

In addition to blocking the flow of oil and other items to Haiti, the U.S. warships continue to enforce the Clinton administration's policy of forcibly returning all Haitians who take to the high seas to flee the repression by the military.

Appearing on the NBC television program "Meet the Press" October 17, Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, made clear that the White House hadn't "ruled out anything" in Haiti, including military intervention. An additional contingent of 600 marines has been ordered to the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, to participate in a possible "evacuation" of U.S. citizens from Haiti.

The U.S. warships in the waters surrounding Haiti have orders to stop and board any vessel they deem might be violating the embargo of Haiti. Ships from a number of other countries including France, Argentina, and Chile are expected



Demonstrators in Miami protest military government in Haiti and demand return of Aristide. Five hundred people participated in this rally at the Federal building October 13.

to join the U.S. and Canadian armada.

Aristide supported the UN Security Council resolution to impose the naval blockade. However, the ousted Haitian president told CNN October 16 that he opposed sending foreign troops to Haiti.

In mid-October Haitian military ruler Raoul Cédras characterized the UN-brokered agreement as being "at a dead end." He de-

manded that the Haitian parliament be called into session to pass a new amnesty law, even though Aristide had already issued an amnesty decree for the military leaders. Cédras also demanded Pope John Paul II, not the UN, mediate the conflict. The Vatican was the only state entity to formally recognize the military government.

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Dozens who defied travel ban to Cuba protest harassment by U.S. officials

BY JANICE LYNN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Organizers and supporters of the October 10-17 Freedom to Travel Campaign denounced the harassment by U.S. Customs officials and the right-wing Cuban terrorist group Alpha 66 experienced by many of the 175 people returning from their trip to Cuba.

At an October 19 news conference here, Medea Benjamin, executive director of Global Exchange, a key organizer of the project said, "About 60 people had their passports confiscated. Gifts, such as dolls and T-shirts, diaries, videos and other items such as key chains and pins were also confiscated."

Benjamin said children were detained and interrogated without the presence of an adult.

Most of the participants who had their passports confiscated entered the United States through the Houston airport. Several of these "challengers" gave personal testimony of their harassment by the Customs cops at a press conference at the San Francisco airport the day before.

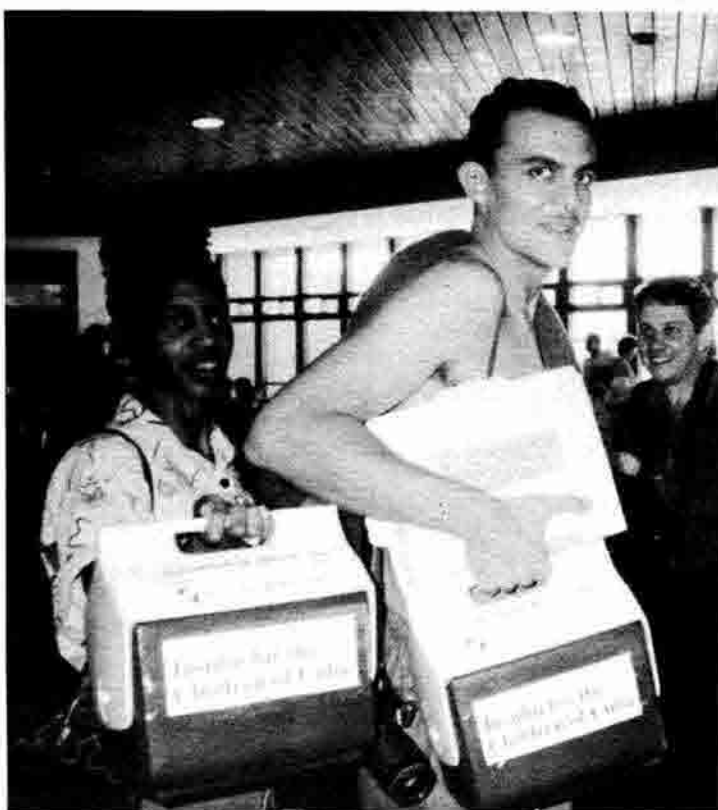
Esperanza Daumont, 15, and Ayanna Small, 18, said they were detained by federal agents, who did not identify themselves, for nearly an hour. Their belongings were then searched. The agents confiscated everything they had brought from Cuba, including educational materials which are exempt from any trade restrictions.

Regulations prohibit U.S. citizens from spending any money in Cuba with a few exceptions for academics, researchers, journalists, and Cuban-Americans visiting family members.

U.S. Customs officials indicated that prosecutions were likely. Participants face fines of up to \$250,000, a \$50,000 civil penalty, and 10 years in prison.

At the Washington, D.C., press conference, Benjamin announced a delegation would be seeking meetings with U.S. Justice Department officials to demand no prosecutions, the immediate return of passports and goods that were confiscated, and the lifting of all restrictions on the right of people to travel to Cuba. Also

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Participants in the "Freedom to Travel Campaign" deliver insulation to pediatric hospital in Havana.

Elections show turmoil in Canadian politics

BY JOHN STEELE

TORONTO — Canadian prime minister Kim Campbell and the ruling Progressive Conservative Party are headed for a decisive defeat in the October 25 federal election. Polls indicate that the Liberal Party, headed by Jean Chrétien, will win a plurality of the vote. The right-wing populist Reform Party led by Preston Manning, and the Quebec-based Bloc Québécois headed by Lucien Bouchard, a former member of the Conservative Party cabinet under Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, are also expected to increase their share of parliamentary seats.

The social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP), which is linked to the unions and supported by most of the labor officialdom outside of Quebec, might lose most of its 43 parliamentary seats. For decades the NDP has been the third party in parliament.

"These changes in capitalist politics are taking place in the context of an economic depression that is engulfing the world capitalist economy including Canada," said Michel Dugré at an election campaign rally in Toronto October 16. "They reflect the breakup and fragmentation of the three-party system of capitalist politics that has

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Coal miners' strike faces big challenges

BY GREG ROSENBERG

LOGAN, Illinois — Driving through the southern part of this state and neighboring Indiana, fields of corn and soybeans stretch as far as the eye can see. It's harvest time here. In small towns along this route, hundreds of signs are displayed on the roadside, in front yards, and store windows. "We support the UMWA," "Solidarity '93," and "One day longer than the BCOA," they read.

"More insulation is going in the picket shacks every day," said Randy Phelps, president of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1148 at Peabody Holding Co.'s Randolph prep plant and pit no. 6 in nearby Marissa. "Christmas lights are coming soon."

There are more than 4,000 coal miners on strike in UMWA districts 11 and 12, covering Indiana and Illinois. Many of these workers have been out for more than five months — longer than ever before. In union halls, food banks, and on the picket lines, miners here are discussing the challenges facing the strike by 18,000 UMWA members in seven states for a contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

Miner after miner explained the issue in this strike as "job security," and opposition to giving in to concession demands by the coal bosses. "It's not about money," said one picket outside Peabody's Squaw Creek mine near Boonville, Indiana. "It's stopping the double-breasting. Will we have a union or not?"

In 1988 the UMWA won agreement from the BCOA that any time a member company started up a new mine, three out of five jobs would go to laid-off union workers. Many operators violated the pact. In many cases, they opened nonunion mines under a new

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IN BRIEF

French workers strike

Unionists in France disrupted mail service, air travel, and public transportation with a series of strikes. The walkouts were called to protest job cuts at state-owned companies and the government's privatization plans. Air France was forced to cancel 500 flights October 20 when hundreds of strikers marched onto the runways at Orly Airport and paralyzed service out of Charles De Gaulle Airport in Paris. Operations were also disrupted in southern France. Service on the state-run railroad was sharply reduced in entire regions of the country.

NATO warplanes buzz Sarajevo

NATO warplanes flew low-level sorties over the mountains surrounding Sarajevo October 17 after rightist Serbian forces resumed heavy artillery bombardment of the city. U.S. and other aircraft, deployed from bases in Italy and aboard aircraft carriers in the Adriatic Sea, buzzed across the capital city throughout the day. The flights were accompanied by renewed U.S. threats of air strikes against the forces led by Radovan Karadzic. After a lull of several weeks, Karadzic's troops launched attacks on Sarajevo and its suburbs October 16. Treatment of the wounded was complicated by the lack of fuel for ambulances.

Bonn and Tehran discuss debt

Despite pressure from U.S. president Bill Clinton, negotiations are under way to reschedule about \$5 billion in short-term debt the Iranian government owes to German financial institutions. Bonn is also trying to persuade Paris and Rome to do the same. Washington has been trying to force its imperialist rivals in Europe to thwart attempts by Iranian companies to expand their markets in Central Asia by blocking loans to Tehran.

Moscow deports thousands

In the wake of the bloody conflict between rival gangs of the ruling bureaucracy in Russia, Moscow mayor Yuri Luzkov ordered the deportation of thousands of Azerbaijanis, Armenians, Chechens, Georgians, and immigrants from other former Soviet republics in the Transcaucasus and Central Asia. Taking advantage of the recent state of emergency imposed by Russian president Boris Yeltsin and enforced by thousands of extra troops,



A boy braves sniper fire in Mostar, Bosnia, in late September. After weeks of calm rightist Serbian forces resumed attacks on Sarajevo. NATO warplanes subsequently began low-level flights over the city.

the city government expelled nearly 10,000 undocumented workers, street vendors, and others. The human rights organization Helsinki Watch reported that authorities in Moscow are carrying out acts of brutality, beating detainees, and tearing up their identity papers. People who come from other former Soviet republics are required to carry the infamous Moscow *propiska*, or residence permit. In many cases, even immigrants with the document are being expelled.

Authorities say they are ridding the city of criminals. "Most of these Caucasus people are thieves and robbers," Andrei Shcharelev, a traffic police spokesman, told the *Moscow Times*. "They commit two-thirds of the crime in the city."

Students protest in Cambodia

About 1,000 Cambodian students demonstrated in Phnom Penh October 7 against compulsory French language classes. The students were angry that promised educational assistance for their schools from Paris was linked to their having to learn the language of their former colonial masters. Earlier this year, newly enthroned monarch

Norodom Sihanouk had pledged that Cambodia, a French colony until 1955, would become a member of the "French-speaking community of nations." Many younger Cambodians would rather learn English. It was the first mass demonstration in the capital since an anticorruption protest in 1991.

Meanwhile, authorities announced a ban on press criticism of the king. Sihanouk, who claims he supports freedom of the press, kept a blacklist of journalists who were banned from the country when he ruled Cambodia in the 1950s.

Indian troops attack mosque

One thousand heavily armed Indian troops surrounded about 100 Kashmir independence fighters in a mosque in Srinagar, the capital of the state of Jammu and Kashmir October 16. The area has been engulfed by a secessionist rebellion for more than three years. Soldiers from New Delhi have killed thousands of people and abused human rights trying to prevent Kashmir's break from India. One man was killed October 15 during a shoot-out near the mosque, but it is unclear who fired the fatal shot. A building in the mosque compound caught fire October 16. Indian troops most likely set the blaze.

Tokyo drills biggest since WW II

Officials in North Korea condemned Tokyo's military buildup as Japanese forces carried out their biggest maneuvers since the end of World War II. In military exercises involving all three branches of the Japanese armed forces, Tokyo deployed 90,000 troops, 120 warships, and 760 planes, as well as U.S. units, according to the *Tehran Times*. The North Korean daily *Rodong Sinmun* said Tokyo was "deploying a large number of [the] latest-type offensive weapons, including sophisticated missiles, and [is] hastening her nuclear armament."

"It is only too natural," the paper continued, "for the DPRK [North Korea] to in-

crease its self-reliant defense capabilities, including self-defensive missile exercises, under such conditions."

'Terrorist' trial opens in Canada

The trial of five men — Tyrone Cole, Glenn Ford, Caba Harris, Robert Wesley, and Khidr Ali — accused of planning to blow up an Indian theater and a Hindu temple near Toronto, opened in October in St. Catharines, Ontario. Defense lawyers argue that the defendants, all from the Caribbean, are victims of racist antiterrorist hysteria. No bombing took place and no explosives were found. Prosecutors base conspiracy charges on documents they say were found in the defendants' cars, including aerial photographs of the alleged bombing targets. They describe the five men, who are Black, as Muslim militants. In a massive show of force meant to prejudice jurors, sharpshooters and cops armed with submachine guns circle the courthouse area while the defendants, chained together, enter the building. Without any evidence, government officials and reports in the media are attempting to link this case with the trial of four men accused of bombing the World Trade Center in New York last February. The New York trial began October 4.

U. S. anti-immigrant violence

The home of a Sacramento, California, city council member who is Chinese-American was firebombed October 5. It was the fourth racist attack in that city in 10 weeks. Moments after the most recent bombing, which followed the torching of the offices of the Japanese American Citizen's League three days earlier, a group calling itself the Aryan Liberation Front took responsibility for the attacks. California governor Pete Wilson has spearheaded a drive against the rights of immigrants. Wilson's anti-immigrant campaign includes calls for refusing undocumented workers health care and education, denying their U.S.-born children citizenship, and creating a national identity card to keep tabs on immigrants.

Clinton prepares nuclear tests

President Bill Clinton ordered preparations for the detonation of atomic bombs at a test site in southwestern Nevada October 5. Clinton said he had "directed the Department of Energy to take such actions as are needed to put the U.S. in a position to be able to conduct nuclear tests next year." Last July the president was forced to back down from his push to resume atomic testing and extended by 15 months a moratorium imposed by congress on the explosions. At the same time, Clinton warned that Washington would resume tests if any other country detonated a nuclear device. Washington recently accused the Chinese government of testing a nuclear weapon October 5 in Xinjiang province. The governments of Russia, France, and Britain have said they may also detonate atomic bombs if Washington does.

— PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

Crisis in Haiti

Will U.S. troops end the bloodshed in Haiti? How can opening U.S. borders to Haitian immigrants strengthen the working class? 'The Militant' provides facts and analysis you can't find anywhere else, exposes Washington's responsibility for the violence, and covers actions in solidarity with workers in Haiti. Don't miss a single issue!



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Crisis in Haiti points to need for struggle by workers, farmers

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE—The Clinton administration's much-touted plan for "restoring democracy" and returning President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to Haiti has exploded in an outbreak of terror similar to the early days of the Duvalier dictatorship. This fiasco underscores the need for working people to look not to Washington and its allies among Haitian capitalists and army officers, but rather to fellow workers and peasants who overthrew the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986 and continue to resist the imposition of military rule.

The bloody coup that ousted Aristide in September 1991 caused big problems for the U.S. government and investors in Haiti. The military had already proved incapable of silencing Haitian workers and peasants and providing stable conditions for capitalist trade and production. Hundreds of thou-

caused "people in the military and others to have fear for their personal security. . . . We have to restore democracy in [a] way that convinces everybody that their human rights will be respected," he said.

The Governor's Island Accord

As the crisis dragged on, wealthy Haitians became more receptive to Washington's plans. They hoped the U.S. government would impose order and stability where the Haitian military could not, and expected to benefit from the end of economic sanctions and the resumption of foreign loans and aid.

Some, including prominent businessman Robert Malval, decided they would work with Aristide in a new, U.S.-backed government. "Aristide has matured," Malval told other businessmen in July, "and now has sufficient command of all the questions of political leadership so that we do not have to fear falling into chaos as some could have feared in 1991." In August, Aristide named Malval prime minister in his new government.

This U.S.-sponsored bloc between Aristide and some Haitian capitalists was strengthened in a July 22-23 conference in Miami. Participants included top U.S. government officials, U.S. businesspeople with factories in Haiti, and prominent Haitian business owners, including Clifford Brandt and others who had financed the 1991 coup. The meeting discussed plans for U.S. investment and foreign aid, as well as the possible privatization of the electric power company and other state-owned enterprises.

Aristide addressed the conference, literally embracing some of the businessmen gathered there, calling for "reconciliation among all," and stressing the need for a "free market system" in Haiti.

Washington also stepped up pressure on the Haitian military, working through the United Nations to impose an embargo on oil shipments to the Caribbean country June 23. This led to the UN-mediated negotiations between Aristide and army commander and coup leader Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras at the U.S. Coast Guard base at Governor's Island, which produced an agreement providing for Aristide's return October 30 and Cédras's resignation by October 15.

NEWS ANALYSIS

sands of Haitians in the Caribbean island and inside the United States have staged protest after protest in the last two years demanding the elected president's return. In addition, tens of thousands tried to flee the coup, highlighting the U.S. government's criminal policy of stopping refugees on the high seas and forcing them back to Haiti.

President Bush and later Clinton tried to return Aristide to create a credible government in Haiti, but on terms acceptable to the military, the Caribbean island's wealthy elite, and U.S. corporations operating there.

Attempts to broker such a deal fell through repeatedly, however. The coup initially had widespread support from Haitian businessmen, landlords, and merchants who feared Aristide's support among workers and peasants.

Clinton persistently pressured Aristide to make peace with these wealthy Haitians and proposed sending U.S. and other foreign troops to "train" the Haitian military and to enforce the status quo. Last February, for instance, Clinton charged Aristide had made, "inflammatory statements" that



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Rally against military regime in Port-au-Prince in 1987. Haitian toilers have mobilized over the years to oppose military rule and imperialist domination of their country.

Aristide initially insisted on returning to Haiti sooner and demanded the immediate resignation of Cédras and other army commanders. Top U.S. officials pressured him to back down. Secretary of State Warren Christopher publicly demanded Aristide trust Washington and the military, calling the terms "a reasonable solution and approach to the matter."

As part of the deal, Washington and other imperialist powers promised \$1 billion in economic aid to Haiti over the next five years. This quickly proved to be financial aid for the rich and a few dollars to try to buy support for the new government among the poor.

In August, the U.S. Agency for International Development announced plans for public works programs that would put 160,000 people to work — but only for two months. "It's a question of giving people a little hope," an agency official said cynically.

In September, a U.S. delegation to Haiti signed agreements for nearly \$15 million in "aid." Of this, \$10 million would go to paying Haiti's arrears to the International Monetary Fund and \$4 million was earmarked for "reforms of the judicial system." A paltry \$250,000 was allocated for a public works program in the impoverished Cite Soleil shantytown. This would supposedly employ 800 people for all of three months — at wages of less than \$5 a day!

Despite Clinton's pressure, powerful figures among Haiti's military remain ada-

manly opposed to Aristide's return. Their wealth and power depends today, as under the Duvalier dictatorship, upon their control of the military and other state institutions.

"General Cédras; his chief of staff, Gen. Philippe Biamby; and the 36-year old police chief of Haiti's capital Port-au-Prince, Col. Joseph Michel François earn their livelihood from the lucrative transshipment of illicit drugs from South America to the United States as well as through control of state monopolies like the telephone company," reported the October 17 *New York Times*. "Colonel François, for example, has become the new czar of the elite's old monopolies: flour, sugar, rice, and cement."

These officers also had a power base inherited from the Duvalier dictatorship: the thousands of armed thugs who murdered and terrorized rich and poor alike during Duvalier's rise to power. Many were integrated into the armed forces after the dictatorship was overthrown, and today operate as paramilitary "attaches" blocking Aristide's return by force and violence.

The public assassination of wealthy Aristide supporters Antoine Izmerly and Guy Malary aim at demonstrating that the status quo will not change.

Protests continue in Haiti

Working people in Haiti and around the world need to look for a real alternative to the bloody U.S.-backed elite — or any faction of it — that now runs Haiti. We can take inspiration from and stand together with Haitian workers and peasants who continue to resist military rule and demand the return of Aristide without conditions.

In late June, a coalition of union federations and drivers associations called a general strike that shut down public transportation and closed shops in the capital and other cities. Many workers stayed home that day. Street demonstrations were held in Port-au-Prince, Gonaïves, Cap-Haïtien, Léogane, and other towns. In some places barricades were thrown up before the military dispersed the protesters. Leaflets urging Aristide's return have been widely distributed and posted on walls, sometimes clandestinely at night, other times during demonstrations or under cover of religious services and marches.

In late August, a series of small street protests were organized in Port-au-Prince, Cap-Haïtien, Petit-Goâve, Jacmel, and some other towns demanding Aristide's unconditional return. These actions protested the terms of the UN-brokered accord, including provisions allowing officers involved in the coup to keep their posts and the entry of foreign troops into Haiti.

Harvey McArthur is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 289 in Seattle.

Washington tightens naval blockade of Haiti

Continued from front page

Haiti's military rulers are also calling for the formation of a new government as an alternative to returning Aristide to power. A prominent spokesman for the military, Evans François, the brother of the current police chief, insisted October 17 that Cédras has to remain in power and that followers of the former Duvalier dictatorship must be incorporated into a new government.

According to the *Washington Post*, "François indicated the military wanted Duvalierists to have control of the ministries of interior, defense and social welfare."

Duvalierist groups, such as the misnamed Front for Haitian Advancement and Progress, once operated clandestinely but are now out in the open with the full support of the military. These organizations have issued threats against journalists and demanded that white foreigners leave the country. They have also continued to carry out a terror campaign against Haitian workers and peasants.

Clashes between supporters of Aristide and those backing the military government claimed at least 16 lives over the October 16-17 weekend. While rightist groups are given police escorts when they call a protest, supporters of Aristide are routinely beaten when they try to congregate.

As U.S. warships took up positions off Haiti's coast, many Haitians fled the capital city of Port-au-Prince for the countryside. At the same time, 45 U.S. and 6 Canadian military personnel, who had arrived the previous week, left the country.

A group of 230 human rights observers, who had been sent to Haiti last February by the United Nations and the Organization of American States, were evacuated to the neighboring Dominican Republic.

Many Haitians who had collaborated with the UN workers in documenting instances of military abuses now fear retribution from government and local police authorities.

After the October 14 slaying on the streets of Port-au-Prince of Guy Malary, the Justice Minister in Aristide's transitional government, most of the remaining cabinet members and other prominent Aristide supporters have gone into hiding.

Transitional prime minister Robert Malval, who was appointed to the post by Aristide six weeks ago, works out of his home, which resembles a heavily fortified bunker.

In an interview with a *New York Times* reporter, Malval commented on some of the recent actions by supporters of former dictator Duvalier. "Some guys carry the red-and-blue [Haitian] flag with one hand," he stated, "and wave to the Americans with the other hand, telling them, come in quickly — what are you waiting for?"

"They want to have an intervention because they think they can get away with playing a double card: they'll play the ultra-nationalists while at the same time they will benefit from American protection."

A growing number of local businessmen are now abandoning Haiti's military regime. According to Malval, some are even considering calling a national strike to demand the departure of Cédras.

Meanwhile, Senate minority leader Robert Dole had announced plans to present a bill requiring congressional authorization — or at least that Congress be informed — before troops could be sent to Haiti. The proposal would provide exceptions for "national security" considerations and, if it was needed, to evacuate U.S. citizens. Dole subsequently backed down, saying that his res-

olution would call for a nonbinding vote.

Clinton agreed to the compromise resolution after strongly opposing Dole's initial move, claiming it would limit the executive power of the president.

Arguing in defense of his proposal, Dole blasted Aristide for having "a lot of shortcomings." The Republican leader went on to assert, "I wouldn't risk any American lives to put Aristide back in power."

The *New York Post* took further Dole's misgivings about Aristide. In an editorial October 20 endorsing Dole's statements on Haiti, the *Post* editors wrote, "Haiti is a chronically unstable country; and the U.S. should certainly lend its good offices to lead the Haitian people toward stable and responsive government. But that aspiration and placing U.S. troops foursquare behind Aristide — a left-wing priest who has never impressed us as much of 'democrat' — are two vastly different propositions."

Clinton clearly hopes that Aristide, who now has the backing of many more Haitian businessmen, has a better chance of heading a stable regime.

CORRECTIONS

The story entitled "Labor and farmers share common enemy" in the October 4 issue of the *Militant* incorrectly reported that miner Ken Cochrum is on strike against a Kerr-McGee-owned mine. He is on strike at the Zeigler Coal Holding Co.'s Old Ben mine.

An article in the October 18 issue entitled "Freedom to Travel to Cuba trip gains support" should have stated that \$10,000 worth of insulin was collected by Dr.

Hesham Ragab to be delivered to a pediatric hospital in Havana.

The article titled, "Sinn Féin demands Irish self-determination," in the October 25 issue inaccurately described Sinn Féin as "the political wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA)." Sinn Féin is an independent political party functioning in both the north and south of Ireland that supports the armed campaign of the IRA.

Factory workers discuss 'free trade' pact

BY DOUG JENNESS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — The following exchange is based on discussions among factory workers at the IMI Cornelius plant where I work. The company, which manufactures beverage dispensing equipment, is organized by United Steelworkers of America Local 15199. The issues raised are typical of those being discussed by many workers today about the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Canada, Mexico, and the United States. The trade accord was agreed to last December by the three governments and is now pending before the U.S. Congress. The three participants in the discussion are identified by imaginary initials.

A. I'm really angry. My brother-in-law got laid off yesterday. The company said they were closing down his department and transferring all the operations to Mexico. Maybe if we can defeat NAFTA, it will help.

B. I've been reading that if NAFTA goes through, it will lead to more trade for Canada, the United States, and Mexico, and this will lead to more jobs in all three countries.

D. I don't think working people should promote NAFTA. Its goal is to help increase the profit levels of big business, especially U.S. corporations, and to try to keep German and Japanese competitors out of Mexico. Undoubtedly some jobs will be created for workers in Mexico. Possibly expanded trade will lead to some more jobs in certain industries in the United States. I don't know. But what's for sure is that NAFTA is not a cure-all for solving unemployment anywhere in North America.

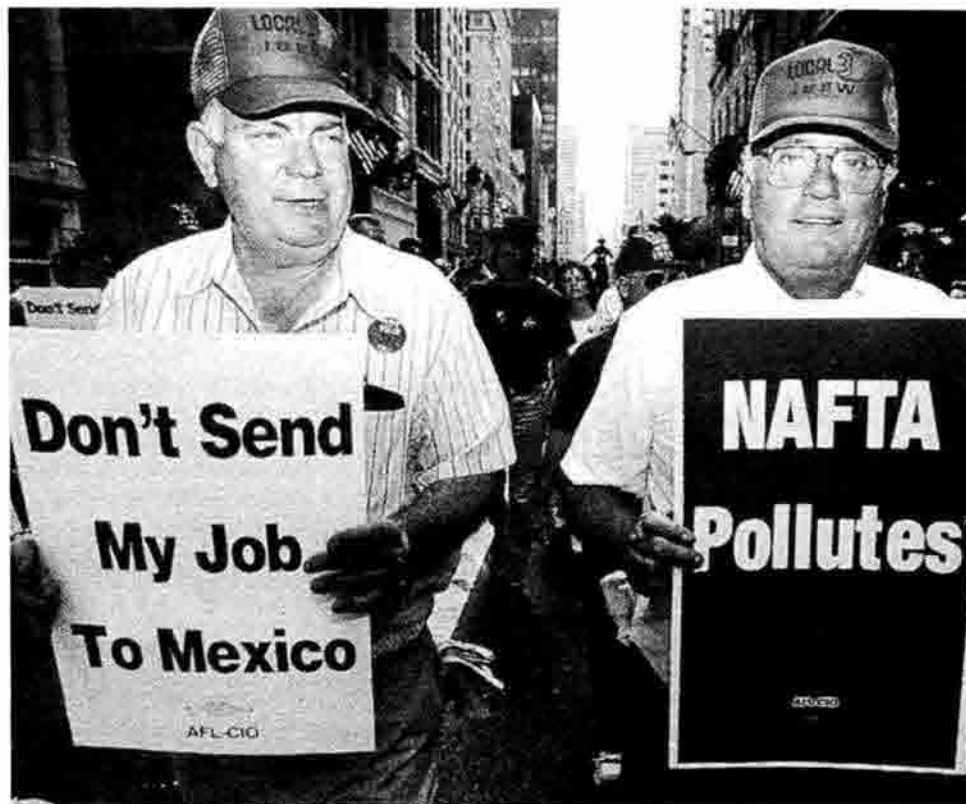
The best that you can say about it is that some Mexican goods will be cheaper in the United States and some U.S. goods will be less expensive in Mexico. Lifting trade barriers usually reduces costs of many goods and that is a good thing for workers.

Unlike its name suggests, NAFTA is far from being a "free trade" agreement. It's full of protectionist conditions, consistent with Washington's policy of maintaining 8,000 tariffs on different goods from around the world.

B. I'm confused. Are you for or against NAFTA?

D. I disagree with the notion that unless we stop NAFTA — which most labor officials and many politicians are promoting — we'll be overwhelmed by a massive loss of jobs. It's true some employers in the United States and Canada are closing down plants or part of their operations and transferring them to Mexico to take advantage of cheaper labor. And this will undoubtedly step up if NAFTA goes through, but it will keep on happening even if NAFTA is defeated.

A. That's what I'm worried about — letting any jobs go to Mexico like my brother-in-law's. Stopping NAFTA will slow that down.



Union members protest NAFTA at Labor Day rally. "If labor officialdom spent one-tenth the energy, time, and money on defending [striking] coal miners as they do trying to defeat NAFTA we'd have one hell of a solidarity movement," Jenness argues.

B. I'm still confused. You're saying defeating NAFTA is needed to save jobs; others say NAFTA will bring jobs. And "D" here says it doesn't make any difference. Most everyone is worried about losing their job, and it's not very easy these days to get another one, at least one that pays enough to raise a family. What can we do?

D. We have to look at why unemployment is so high and likely to get worse — not only in this country, but in Canada, Mexico, and the rest of the world. It's rooted in the big problems employers around the world are having in maintaining their profit rates. The large-scale economic expansion after World War II has been winding down and markets for many industrial and agricultural goods are declining or not increasing fast enough for the amount of commodities entering the market. This is the "glut" you hear about all the time, and it's driving the big corporations into fiercer competition with each other. They desperately have to cut costs in order to better compete for profits.

B. That's why they keep demanding we take wage cuts and increase the copayments on our health-care and pension plans.

D. Exactly. In the last 15 years they have stepped up their drive to squeeze more out of us through speed-up, forced overtime, and wage and benefit cuts. They are now also going after worker's compensation, Medicare, and Social Security, which are also part of our wage that we are entitled to.

A. That's why they want to go to Mexico,

Taiwan, and places like that — to get cheaper labor. That's why we need to defeat NAFTA.

D. One way capitalists try to cut costs is move their production to where there's cheaper labor. They have been doing that for many years. Textile and other industries, for example, have moved plants from northern states to southern states where there are fewer unions and wages are lower.

Restructuring of industry

But there's another thing the capitalists do — they introduce new machines, technology, and techniques and carry out mergers that make it possible to produce more goods and services with fewer workers. How many tens of thousands of miners, steelworkers, and autoworkers have been laid off as result of this process?

Every day the papers announce thousands more layoffs — IBM, Procter and Gamble, DuPont, Woolworth's, USWest, and the list goes on and on. Most of these jobs aren't transferred anywhere. They disappear into a black hole, and the workers are out on the street. When the economy is expanding, laid-off workers can more easily find work in growing industries. But today when the economy is stagnant and headed toward inevitable disaster, jobless workers end up for a long time on unemployment rolls, public relief, or in low-income temporary or part-time jobs.

B. What you're saying then is that whatever jobs are lost to Mexico is only a small part of a bigger problem of the employers' restructuring.

D. That's sort of right. There's definitely a big step-up in the restructuring of industry aimed at decreasing labor costs and improving competitiveness. This is leading to the loss of tens of thousands of jobs. I read an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* the other day that said that in the past year manufacturers in the United States slashed 275,000 workers from their payrolls and at the same time factory production increased 4.6 percent.

A few days later the Labor Department issued a report that the number of people who have been unemployed for six months or more is 84 percent higher today than when the current upturn in the business cycle began two years ago. And that's just for the workers they have records for. All this means that the next recession will hit us awfully hard with millions more on the streets.

I don't agree, however, that the jobs going to Mexico are "lost." Workers in Mexico will be able to get these jobs.

B. But they pay Mexican workers only a sliver of what they were paying workers here. And they force them to work in horribly unsafe conditions.

A. Not only that. Our government should be protecting jobs for American workers. It should ban companies from moving American jobs to Mexico and Mexicans coming across the border to steal American jobs.

D. I disagree. I don't think jobs can be labeled: "U.S. jobs only," "Canadian jobs

only," "Mexican jobs only," or even as some people do "Minnesota jobs only," or "Michigan jobs only," when companies decide to move jobs to "right-to-work" states like South Dakota and North Carolina. If we label jobs like this we're telling workers in Mexico or wherever, "These are our jobs, and you can't have them." Or as "B" suggests, "You can't have these jobs because they are too low-paying and you will be treated badly. Let us keep those jobs."

The only label we should fight to keep on jobs that are transferred is the union label. We should unite with workers in Mexico and Canada to help keep jobs that are transferred union-organized just like we should when companies move jobs to "right-to-work" states in the United States.

We have to recognize that we're all workers in countries where unemployment is high and going to get worse. We have a common plight against a common class of exploiters — often even the same employers. And we need to get together to fight for jobs.

The labor movement in all three countries should try to organize these workers into unions, no matter where the plants move to, and fight for better living, working, and environmental conditions.

B. Maybe we can unite around fighting against NAFTA. It won't solve the jobs problem, but it's a start, and it can help unite us to fight for a broader jobs program.

D. The problem is that the campaign against NAFTA, which unfortunately is the main effort of union officials today, miseducates about the source of joblessness and what is needed to fight it. It is a diversion from the really big challenges to the labor movement such as defending 18,000 union coal miners on strike. If the labor officialdom spent one-tenth the energy, time, and money on defending the coal miners as they do trying to defeat NAFTA we'd have one hell of a solidarity movement. The campaign against NAFTA also pits workers of one country against another as I've already explained. So there's no way that a fight against NAFTA can be a partial step toward what is needed. We have to break from this dead-end track and head in a different direction.

How can a fight for jobs be waged?

A. So what do you propose?

D. We can't stop the employers from restructuring their enterprises. And I'm dead opposed to getting down on our knees and offering to accept concession after concession to help them make more profits. Every inch we give up emboldens them to take more and pretty soon we'll end up in such bad straits that the jobs we're trying to save will be worthless for making a decent living. And there's no guarantee that we won't lose these jobs after all in spite of our concessions. We need to stop helping our bosses and start defending ourselves.

Workers have to join together in an international fight to protect ourselves from the unemployment that comes from their profit-motivated restructuring in the middle of a worldwide depression. I think we need a campaign to radically reduce the workweek with not one penny reduction in pay. If the workweek were shortened to 30 hours with 40 hours pay, that would immediately open up the possibility of jobs for millions of workers. It would strengthen us to fight speed-up on the job and to struggle for a public works program to give millions of workers productive jobs.

A. That sounds good but you know management at this plant would never accept it. They'd say they can't afford it and threaten to close the plant.

D. The fight for "30 for 40" has to be a political fight aimed at the federal government, not simply at individual employers, plant by plant, industry by industry. We need legislation establishing a maximum legal workweek of 30 hours and a working day of six hours. Any work beyond this would be completely voluntary. Minimum premium pay for overtime should be double the hourly wage rate.

A. That's utopian! We could never win that!

D. That's what many people said about the fight for the 10-hour day back in the 1840s and '50s. And that was won. That was also said about the eight-hour day for decades. And that was won too through an

Continued on Page 13

FROM PATHFINDER

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BY DOUG JENNESS

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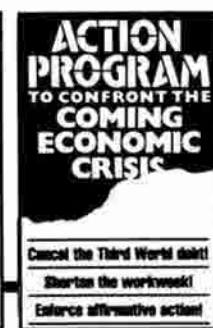
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Supporters of framed-up unionist keep up fight

Mark Curtis, a unionist and political activist, was the target of a police frame-up and beating in Des Moines, Iowa. He was convicted on false charges of sexual assault and burglary in September 1988 and is currently serving a 25-year sentence. Since his ar-

rest, thousands of workers, farmers, students, and fighters for democratic rights around the world have joined in calling for justice for Curtis.

DEFENDING MARK CURTIS AROUND THE WORLD

This column reports on the efforts around the world to win additional support for Curtis's fight against the police frame-up. We urge *Militant* readers to send in such reports every week.

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in Washington, D.C., held a public meeting October 17 featuring Maceo Dixon, a member of the International Asso-

ciation of Machinists from Boston, to discuss the next steps in the fight. Dixon has been active in answering pro-prosecution forces in that city who seek to undermine the support that the imprisoned unionist has won around the world.

"Keep working on a steady ba-

word about his federal appeal, and to wrap up fund-raising for the Mark Curtis Parole Now! campaign. A total of \$496 was raised in Washington, D.C. for Curtis's defense effort.

Over the past couple of months, supporters of the framed-up unionist have been steadily campaigning to win new support. They participated in the August 28 March for Peace, Jobs, and Justice; attended the late-August convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and set up individual meetings with coworkers and long-time supporters of the fight.

Defenders of Mark Curtis in Pittsburgh reported that eight members of the Aluminum, Brick, and Glass Workers International Union locked out by Pittsburgh Plate Glass attended a video showing of the "Frame-up of Mark Curtis," a film produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. The strikers hosted the meeting at their union hall in mid-September in Creighton, Pennsylvania. The workers have been fighting against a company-imposed contract since May.

Steve Hloznik, chairperson of the Political Action Committee, who has followed the case closely, attended the meeting. After the video showing, the unionists engaged in discussions on how to help Curtis's fight for justice.

In response to the Parole Now! campaign, which ended in mid-October, the unionists wrote a letter to the Iowa Parole Board in the name of their local urging Curtis's release. The chairperson and 11 members of the Political Action Committee signed the letter, which was delivered to the parole board together with hundreds received from supporters around the world.

Hloznik offered to help on similar events in the future.

New Zealand supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee report a great response to the just completed Parole Now! campaign.

Twenty letters from New Zealand included those from Shirley Smith, a lawyer from Wellington; John Minto, a prominent leader of the anti-apartheid movement; Maire Leadbeater, an Auckland Regional

Authority Councillor; Sue Bradford, coordinator of the Auckland Unemployed Workers Rights Center; and Ross Evans, assistant secretary of the Auckland-Tomoana Freezing Workers Union.

Arthur Allan Thomas, a farmer who spent 10 years in jail after being framed by police on murder charges, also wrote demanding parole for the Iowa unionist. Thomas was released from prison and awarded \$1 million compensation after an international defense campaign forced a public inquiry into his case. The inquiry concluded the police had planted evidence.

Readers who would like more information can write to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311, or call (515) 246-1695.

Greg McCartan in Washington, D.C.; Gerardo Sanchez and Edwin Fruit in Pittsburgh; and Tony Masters in New Zealand contributed to this column.

U.S. activists build construction brigade to Havana

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — Step up the pressure on the U.S. government.

Defy Washington's 33-year embargo of Cuba.

Keep the momentum going.

That's the message from Pastors for Peace and the theme of its plan to send simultaneous two-week delegations to Cuba November 19.

One will involve scores of volunteers in a housing construction brigade in Havana.

The second group will be composed of opponents of the U.S. trade embargo and travel ban who want to see Cuba for themselves.

Both of these contingents will "challenge the embargo and publicly defy U.S. laws limiting travel to Cuba," Pastors for Peace national co-coordinator Gerry Condon said in a recent interview in the group's Minneapolis-based national office.

Pastors for Peace sponsored successful humanitarian aid caravans to Cuba in 1992 and July-August of this year.

In early October, 175 U.S. citizens violated the travel ban, participating in the Freedom to Travel trip, initiated by the San Francisco-based Global Exchange.

The November delegations, Condon said, "builds on these successes."

The construction brigade will engage in partial and complete renovation of 25 houses in Marianao, a predominantly Afro-Cuban neighborhood in Havana, Cuba's capital city.

It is sponsored by the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial Center with the help of the neighborhood Committee for Defense of the Revolution, a civic, social, and popular defense organization.

"This is a pilot project," Condon explained, with representatives of other neighborhoods involved. Success in the initial undertaking will spur similar efforts else-

where in the city.

The Pastors for Peace leader recently visited the neighborhood and said the homes targeted for reconstruction are in dire condition.

"It was something of a shock to see the houses," he said. "Most are made of wood and are in bad shape. Some were damaged by Hurricane Andrew and never repaired."

These difficulties, common in Havana's poorest neighborhoods, are the sharpest reflection of Cuba's urban housing crisis.

"As a direct result of the U.S. blockade of the island and the collapse of trade relations with the nations of eastern Europe," a Pastors for Peace flyer promoting the brigade explains, "construction of housing in Cuba has come to a near stand-still in the past three years."

The construction brigade is an act of defiance of the embargo, Condon said.

Participants will book passage to Cuba from Cancun, Mexico, spend U.S. currency in Cuba, purchase and donate tools and construction materials there, as well as provide "value" to the Cuban economy in the form of voluntary labor — all in violation of U.S. law.

Individual penalties for such violations range up to \$250,000 in fines, \$50,000 in civil penalties, and 10 years in prison.

Construction brigade members will work "side by side with a neighborhood brigade," Condon said, "most of whom are women."

Marianao residents have also built a small brick factory to support the construction project.

The additional delegation has been launched by Pastors for Peace because of heightened interest in Cuba. "We're organizing it as a direct challenge to the travel ban," he explained, "and will publicize it this way."

"We welcome all kinds of people for the construction brigade," Condon noted,

U.S. government takes passports

Continued from front page

speaking at the news conference in support of this challenge to the travel restrictions to Cuba were attorneys Michael Krinsky and Kate Martin, and Wayne Smith, former head of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana.

Tom Hansen of Pastors for Peace, a participant in the travel challenge, said supporters of the right to travel to Cuba were being mobilized to make phone calls demanding the same as well as calling for the prosecution of the terrorists who have made death threats.

He said the Pastors for Peace office in Minneapolis had received four phoned-in death threats containing racist and vulgar language which have been recorded on tape.

A leaflet passed out to participants in Miami by Alpha 66 was made available to reporters.

"Visiting Cuba can be dangerous to your life," it warned. "We consider tourists traitors and they will be the target of our attacks."

"We will not be intimidated," Hansen declared. He announced plans for two more travel challenges to Cuba.

On November 19, a construction brigade organized by Pastors for Peace in coordination with dozens of other national groups will arrive in Cuba and help build houses.

Another travel challenge will take place during the Christmas holidays, organized by the Freedom to Travel Campaign.

Janice Lynn is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1759 in Virginia. Mary Lou Montauk, a participant on the Freedom to Travel trip to Cuba from San Francisco, also contributed to this article.

"there's a need for skilled workers, unskilled workers, and a support team."

The Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee is recruiting local participants in the delegations through speaking engagements, leafleting, and a concert tour by noted Cuban musician Lazaro Ros and the group Mezcla.

The organizing work around the upcoming delegations, the activist said, "has to be viewed as building for a third Friendship caravan, as outreach, fund-raising, and promotion for it."

That humanitarian aid/embargo protest will include hundreds of volunteers from the

United States and Canada in a caravan to Cuba, via Mexico.

The caravan is set to leave its northernmost departure points Feb. 25, 1994. "Everything we are doing points to that day," Condon said, "and bringing an end to the embargo sooner."

For further information write: Pastors for Peace, 331 17th Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. Tel.: (612) 378-0062 Fax: (612) 378-0134.

Jon Hillson is a member of the Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee and the United Transportation Union.

Sailboat owner wins victory in fight on trade ban with Cuba

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — In a blow to Washington's trade embargo against Cuba, U.S. Customs officials have dropped criminal charges and returned a yacht confiscated from Seattle-area peace activist William Eickhold.

Government officials had attempted to victimize Eickhold for traveling to Cuba, but backed down in face of media coverage and protests supporting him.

The activist owns a small business that builds yachts and organizes charter cruises in the Caribbean. In 1991 and early 1993 he visited Cuba, bringing a small amount of powdered milk and a few boat parts as a gesture of solidarity with the Cuban people. Upon his return to the United States in February, customs officials in Tampa seized his yacht and threatened him with criminal charges under the U.S. ban on trade with Cuba. The government attempted to impose a \$17,000 fine and confiscate Eickhold's boat, the *Hatuey*, worth \$250,000.

The activist responded by launching a political and legal campaign to fight the charges and get his boat back. He spoke out in radio and press interviews and at local Cuba solidarity actions, linking his fight to the Pastors for Peace Cuba Friendship caravan last July. The daily *Seattle Times* editorialized in support of Eickhold and Channel 5 TV sent a news team to accompany him on a trip to Cuba in June. Several prominent politicians, including U.S. senators Patty Murray and Slade Gordon, also contacted top customs officials on his behalf.

"This victory is the result of a massive effort by many people: activists, lawyers, and politicians," Eickhold said. "I think it has proven that grassroots activity does work."

He has just announced plans to sail for Cuba in late November with as much powdered milk, medicine, and other humanitar-



Militant/George Chalmers
Eickhold will renew trips to Cuba after Washington was forced to return his yacht, confiscated by Coast Guard last year.

ian aid as his boat can hold. "I'll tell the U.S. government before I go," the activist said. "Since they dropped the charges this time they must be saying that what I'm doing is OK. And if they say 'no,' I'll go straight to the news media."

Eickhold's attorneys are also preparing to sue customs for the extensive damage suffered by his boat while in government custody.

Harvey McArthur is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 289 in Seattle.

'Perspectiva Mundial' gives essential reports on S. Africa

BY SARA LOBMAN

Readers who have been following this column for the past several weeks have no doubt noted that our \$75,000 fund is being carried out in the name of both the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Like the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* is, according to its masthead, "a socialist magazine dedicated to defending the interests of working people."

The first issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* rolled off the presses in January 1977. One article in the new issue condemned the then-new policy of the South African government that denied citizenship to every Black South African assigned to the Transkei "homeland." Later issues covered the struggle of South African youth against the apartheid education system.

The Feb. 21, 1977, issue took up the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign in the United States—a rank-and-file movement that challenged the United Steelworkers of America officialdom. Other articles that first year covered developments in Puerto Rico, China, Peru, Panama, and many other places.

Perspectiva Mundial is an especially important tool for working people today. Under the impact of the world capitalist economic crisis more workers who live in the imperialist countries come from Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This has made the working class more international. It places working people in a stronger position to fight against the bosses' attacks. It also makes it even more important for workers, farmers, and youth to be able to read about and learn from the struggles of

our brothers and sisters around the world—regardless of what language anyone speaks.

Perspectiva Mundial subscribers hail from across Latin America—Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Cuba, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia, and more. These readers gain a more accurate understanding of the class struggle in the United States—from the coal miners strike to Clinton's attacks on health care and other social rights. There are also *Perspectiva Mundial* readers from Australia, North Korea, Haiti, and Sweden, among other countries. And hundreds live and work in the United States.

South African revolution

One of *Perspectiva Mundial*'s most important contributions is its regular coverage of the revolution unfolding in South Africa. The fight for a democratic, nonracial South Africa is a powerful example of the potential of the toilers to transform society. *Perspectiva Mundial* is literally the only place in the world where working people who speak Spanish can regularly read the speeches of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The upcoming November issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* will make available in Spanish for the first time a speech that Mandela gave at the University of Natal earlier this year. The current issue carries a speech the South African leader gave in November 1990 to a meeting on the fight for women's rights.

These speeches, along with many others that Mandela has given in the last three and a half years, have recently been published by Pathfinder Press in a book titled

Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. The work that *Perspectiva Mundial* will continue to put into translating and printing many of the speeches in this book will not only make this material available to its readers over the coming months, but will also help make possible a new Spanish-language volume of Mandela's speeches.

Keep those checks coming!

Beginning this week, we register the contributions we have received on the adjacent scoreboard. Donations toward the \$75,000 fund came in so far from supporters in Pittsburgh and Morgantown, West Virginia. A supporter in New York mailed in \$50 along with a change-of-address for his subscription. A reader from Kansas sent in a \$5 contribution. Altogether, we end this week with \$417. Modest, but definitely a beginning.

Perspectiva Mundial editor Martín Koppel will hit the speaking trail next week. Koppel has been invited to Los Angeles to participate in a conference on the Shining Path of Peru. On Saturday night, October 30, he will speak at a special Militant Labor Forum there. Koppel is the author of a forthcoming pamphlet, based on articles that first appeared in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, titled, *Peru's Shining Path: Anatomy of a Reactionary Sect*.

Contributions for the fund can be sent to: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Money received in the business office by 12:00 noon EDT each Tuesday will count towards that week's totals.

MILITANT

PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL

1993 FUND

GOAL \$75,000

	Goal	Paid	Percentage	
Pittsburgh	\$2,000	\$200	10	
Morgantown	\$1,250	\$50	4	67,500
Newark	\$4,000	\$110	3	
New York	\$4,000	\$50	1	
St. Louis	\$3,425	\$5	0	
Cleveland	\$2,750	\$2	0	60,000
Albany	\$200		0	
Atlanta	\$2,750		0	
Baltimore	\$2,000		0	
Birmingham	\$2,000		0	52,500
Boston	\$3,000		0	
Brooklyn	\$4,000		0	
Chicago	\$5,000		0	
Cincinnati	\$300		0	
Des Moines	\$2,000		0	45,000
Detroit	\$3,500		0	
Greensboro	\$2,000		0	
Houston	\$3,000		0	
Los Angeles	\$6,500		0	37,500
Miami	\$2,000		0	
New Haven	\$500		0	
Philadelphia	\$3,800		0	
Salt Lake City	\$2,500		0	30,000
San Francisco	\$6,500		0	
Seattle	\$2,500		0	
Twin Cities	\$4,500		0	
Wash., D.C.	\$2,400		0	22,500
Total	\$78,375	\$417	1	
Should be	\$75,000	\$8,333	11	15,000
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Elections reflect political shake-up in Canada

Continued from front page
existed here since the 1930s."

Dugré, a steelworker, is a Communist League election candidate in the Montreal constituency of Laurier-Ste-Marie.

Auto worker Susan Berman and machinist Antonio DiFelice, Communist League candidates in the Metro Toronto ridings of Etobicoke North and Trinity-Spadina, also addressed the meeting. Nationally, the Communist League is running six candidates—two each in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver.

The debate between the capitalist parties reveals an overall shift to the right by all of them, and their fundamental agreement on the need to make working people sacrifice to put the capitalist system back on its feet, explained Dugré.

"Within this framework there is a debate among capitalist politicians on how far and how fast to roll back the social wage we have won through government services such as Medicare, unemployment insurance, welfare, and public education," the socialist candidate stated.

"While working-class resistance to these attacks on our rights and living standards is at a low level," said Dugré, "the millionaire families that own and run Canada are wary of the fact that we have not been beaten. They are nervous about provoking the kind of opposition and protests that took place when they initiated the first unemployment insurance cuts and tried to slash the pensions of retired workers."

"Despite their efforts over the past decade and a half they have not been able to drive down our wages and living standards far enough in order to generate the kind of profit rates they need to compete against their rivals in Washington, Tokyo, Bonn, and other imperialist centers. This is the source of their crisis."

"The Reform Party is not an incipient fascist movement similar to the Patrick Buchanan movement in the United States,"

said Dugré. "The right-wing program the Reform Party puts forward is what any Liberal, Conservative, or New Democratic Party government has to try to carry out on behalf of the ruling rich under today's depression conditions."

"Workers have experienced this with the 'social contract' imposed on them by the Ontario NDP government—the biggest attack on social services and the right to collective bargaining in decades," he continued. "Cuts being carried out by the NDP governments in British Columbia and Saskatchewan have also added to the balance sheet workers are drawing about NDP governments."

Rise of Reform Party, Bloc Quebecois

According to Reform Party leader Manning, the economic crisis is the result of the federal government's \$35 billion (US\$27 billion) deficit, which he proposes to cut to zero in three years by slashing social services, including Medicare. The Conservatives promise to cut the deficit in five years. The Liberals and the NDP have a similar framework with a less clear timetable.

"There is also a strong scapegoating theme in the Reform Party propaganda," said Dugré, "which is aimed at dividing working people by blaming immigrants for unemployment and crime and attacking the gains made by Quebecois over decades in fighting against national oppression."

The Reform Party proposes to deport immigrants convicted of criminal offenses, and make parents responsible for criminal acts committed by children. Manning opposes affirmative action legislation for women, Blacks, native people, and others who suffer from decades of discrimination. He also rejects constitutional guarantees giving the Quebec government the right to enact laws to defend the national rights of Quebec's French-speaking majority.

"To one degree or another, the Conservative government is already carrying out the

Reform Party's program," said Dugré. "For example, Prime Minister Campbell has recently promoted the false idea that immigrants are a threat to Canadian citizens. She has merged the immigration department with the department responsible for national security."

"A significant number of working people are attracted to the Reform Party, including some who have previously supported the NDP," said Dugré. "This does not reflect a shift to the right by workers. Under the impact of the depression and in the absence of a leadership in the unions with a perspective and program to unite workers in Canada and internationally against the employers, however, divisions are deepening within the working class."

Manning speaks clearly about the crisis facing working people but scapegoats immigrants and "welfare cheats" for these social problems. "His demagogic attacks on government waste and corruption, find an echo among workers faced with deteriorating conditions and insecurity," Dugré stated.

"The support the Bloc Quebecois is receiving in Quebec is similar," said Dugré. "This party in no way advances the fight to unite working people inside and outside Quebec against the oppression of francophones."

"Bouchard's reactionary nationalist message is that federalism is the cause of the crisis," said Dugré. "As a representative of some of Quebec's leading capitalist families he says nothing about the fight to end the real national oppression of Quebecois working people and natives."

Nationalist appeals to workers

While the Bloc Quebecois appeals to working people to unite with the employers to defend the "interests of Quebec," the Conservatives, Liberals, Reform Party, and the NDP make equally reactionary nationalist appeals for workers to defend "Canadian jobs" and "make Canada more competitive"

as a way out of the crisis.

"None of these parties can counter the perspective of the Reform Party because they share the same reactionary and divisive Canadian nationalist framework," said Dugré.

"The NDP campaign is even more Canadian nationalist than the rest," he explained. "NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin and the union officials argue that growing unemployment, homelessness, and other social ills are caused by so-called free trade under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the United States, Canada, and Mexico."

"The Ontario NDP government has also opened space for the Reform Party's anti-Quebecois campaign by barring Quebec construction workers from working in Ontario in retaliation for measures taken by the Quebec government," said Dugré.

Susan Berman reported that at the big Chrysler assembly plant where she works there is little support or enthusiasm on the shop floor for the NDP campaign.

"We can only defend ourselves against the employers' offensive at home and the military aggression by Ottawa and Washington abroad if we see ourselves as a part of a working class in the world and stand shoulder to shoulder with fighters who are showing the way by resisting," stated Berman.

The socialist candidate pointed to the examples of striking gold miners in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, and coal miners in the United States; young people fighting to defend abortion clinics against rightists; participants in the struggle against the U.S. embargo of Cuba and in support of the democratic revolution in South Africa; and those taking to the streets to protest racist violence against immigrants.

John Steele is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 2113 at Ford Electronics.

Big push needed to complete sales drive in full and on time

BY NAOMI CRAINE

"You have an excellent paper and I enjoy reading it every week," wrote a high school student from Wellington, Ohio, on the renewal form for his *Militant* subscription.

He is one of more than 2,000 students, unionists, political activists, and others around the world who have signed up to receive the *Militant* or its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* over the last seven weeks.

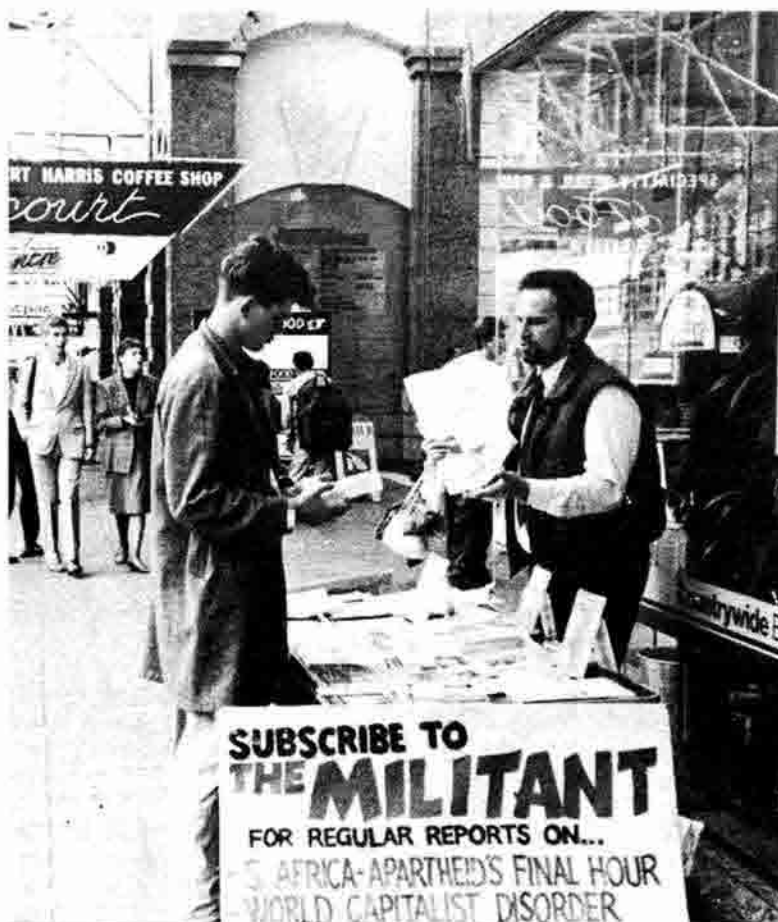
We need a real push by all supporters of the socialist press, however, to complete the goals of the international circulation campaign by November 6.

Around the world, readers are gearing up for a second "target week" October 23-30. The eight-day effort is aimed at getting back on schedule for the last week of the sales effort.

Militant supporters in several cities have faxed notes to the business office outlining their plans for the target week. Marty Boyers from Greensboro, North Carolina, wrote, "We are prioritizing a team to Fayetteville, North Carolina, the home base of the 82nd Airborne Division, some of which is being sent to Haiti."

Readers in Greensboro and several other areas, including Chicago, Atlanta, and Birmingham, Alabama, plan to send sales and reporting teams to the coalfields to talk to striking members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and their supporters. An October 15-18 reporting trip through southern Illinois and Indiana by supporters from St. Louis, Brooklyn, and Morgantown, West Virginia, signed up three UMWA members for *Militant* subscriptions. One striking miner bought a copy of *New Internationalist* no. 7, on the "Opening Guns of World War III—Washington's assault on Iraq."

Militant supporters in Philadel-



Sales table in Auckland, New Zealand. Supporters in New Zealand just raised their *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* goals.

phia have been on a roll. They have raised their goals again on all three publications. Their plans for the target week include numerous sales opportunities at campuses, picket lines, and political events in the city and in the region. They are shooting to sell 100 single copies of the *Militant* in addition to subscriptions and *New Internationalists*.

Distributors in Auckland, New Zealand, have been getting good results by following up on people who express interest in the paper but aren't ready to subscribe immediately. One potential reader "would

not give us an answer until he discussed it at a meeting of the 20 young people who live in his house," said Janet Roth. "The meeting voted to subscribe to the *Militant*."

The target week will be important for catching up on *New Internationalist* sales as well as subscriptions. Supporters in Miami have been getting an excellent response to the English-, Spanish-, and French-language editions of the magazine. Discussions "are heating up in the Haitian communities," noted Clem Gilson. "This is a good time to go around with socialist ideas."

Montreal workers discuss embargo, AIDS with visiting Cuban unionists

BY GRANT HARGRAVE

MONTREAL — Albis Nubia Favier Ramirez and Manuel Montero Bistilleiro, two members of the national committee of the Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC), recently had the opportunity to meet and exchange experiences with workers and union officials while visiting Montreal. The Cuban trade unionists had attended the successful International Trade Union Conference in Solidarity with Cuba October 1-3 in Toronto.

On October 6 CTC leaders met with officials of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), one of the three major union federations in Quebec.

That evening the Cubans met with 12 workers from Stylecraft Industries who are members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW).

The Cuban visitors described the difficult economic situation on the island and the impact of Washington's 33-year-long economic embargo of their country. They also spoke of the response of the Cuban people and their government to the crisis, including the organization of volunteer agricultural brigades to fight for self-sufficiency in food as well as development of export industries and tourism to earn hard currency. They emphasized the importance of the growing solidarity with Cuba that can be seen especially through the U.S.-

Cuba Friendship caravan and similar attempts to break through the embargo and travel restrictions put in place by the U.S. government.

"Can the embargo be defeated?" and "Can the aid provided by the solidarity groups respond to Cuba's needs in the short term?" were the first questions asked. The Cuban unionists emphasized that all aid is deeply appreciated and is used to fulfill the most pressing needs. But, they said, these solidarity efforts cannot solve the shortages that exist because of the loss of trade with the former Soviet Union and the effects of the embargo. The real importance of such actions is the political support that it provides Cuba in the fight against the embargo, they said. The Cuban activists encouraged all those present to do what they can to build future solidarity actions.

A worker wanted to know if "the plans to develop tourism have raised fears of the scourges of drug use and AIDS in Cuba." Montero said that the type of tourist attracted to Cuba are not generally those that use drugs. He went on to say that the most important problem associated with the increased tourist trade was that of social divisions created by the fact that Cubans working in the tourist industry have access to foreign currency and thus a higher standard of living than others. This problem is the center of continuing debate within Cu-

ban society, he said.

Favier described the measures taken in the country to control AIDS, and stated that the controls are in place to prevent the spread of the HIV virus that causes AIDS. All people with the disease are treated. But "the most important measure is an extensive education campaign directed towards the most sexually active layer of the population, Cuban youth," she stated.

The CAW members, in turn, described their successful year-and-a-half-long struggle to gain union recognition. The work force at Stylecraft is made up in its majority of immigrants, speaking several languages other than the English and French spoken at work. The struggle to overcome these divisions included a successful fight to win back the jobs of 15 workers fired during the organizing campaign and a two and a half week strike this spring that won a first contract.

The next morning the Cubans were able to tour the Tuyaux Wolverine copper pipe factory, where the workers are organized by the United Steelworkers of America.

Several workers at both plants are now interested in getting involved in the campaign to break the embargo and to send material aid to Cuba.

Grant Hargrave is a member of the CAW at Stylecraft Industries.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 58% 1,740

SHOULD BE: 70% 2,100

END OF WEEK SEVEN

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
Philadelphia*	81	105	77%	17	32	14	25
Cleveland	57	75	76%	12	5	0	25
Houston*	52	70	74%	7	15	8	15
Pittsburgh*	63	85	74%	9	10	7	20
Salt Lake City	63	85	74%	4	15	8	35
Los Angeles	137	190	72%	53	95	34	95
Cincinnati*	10	14	71%		2	1	3
Miami*	84	120	70%	28	50	48	60
San Francisco	83	120	69%	19	35	0	70
St. Louis	51	75	68%	1	8		30
Boston	71	115	62%	20	30	33	45
Chicago	79	130	61%	17	30	14	35
Greensboro, NC	44	75	59%	3	10	7	20
Morgantown, WV	38	65	58%	2	3	1	15
Seattle*	43	75	57%	4	15	5	25
Detroit	47	85	55%	3	10	10	30
Twin Cities, MN	60	110	55%	2	18	8	30
Portland	7	15	47%	2	2	5	10
Des Moines, IA	40	90	44%	16	40	8	40
Newark, NJ	55	130	42%	12	40	15	70
Baltimore	29	70	41%	6	10	10	20
Atlanta	32	80	40%	6	10	5	20
Birmingham, AL	30	75	40%	0	10	4	20
Denver	4	10	40%	0	2	0	5
New Haven, CT	6	15	40%	1	3	1	10
Washington DC	30	75	40%	9	15	10	20
Brooklyn	44	130	34%	12	40	7	50
New York	41	135	30%	7	45	11	55
U.S. Total	1,381	2,419	57%	272	600	274	898
AUSTRALIA							
	15	35	43%	4	10	7	20
BELGIUM							
	0	5	0%	0	4	0	10
BRITAIN							
Manchester*	38	50	76%	0	1	10	20
London	41	65	63%	2	5	19	25
Sheffield	15	35	43%	0	3	0	15
Britain Total	94	150	63%	2	9	29	60
CANADA							
Vancouver	55	70	79%	4	10	15	30
Toronto	39	85	46%	5	15	17	45
Montreal	25	70	36%	6	12	15	40
Canada Total	119	225	53%	15	37	47	115
FRANCE*							
	5	10	50%	1	3	11	15
GERMANY							
	3	0	0	0	—	0	—
GREECE							
	8	9	89%	1	1	5	5
ICELAND							
	4	10	40%	0	1	0	3
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland*	58	70	83%	6	9	8	15
Christchurch	27	35	77%		1	2	5
New Zealand Total	85	105	81%	6	10	10	20
PUERTO RICO*							
	0	2	0%	5	7	8	12
SWEDEN							
	26	60	43%	20	20	34	50
TOTAL							
	1,740	3,030	58%	326	702	425	1,203
SHOULD BE							
	2,100	3,000	70%	490	700	840	1,200

IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
ACTWU	24	32	75%	3	12	7	16
OCAW	41	75	55%	0	—	2	20
UTU	47	86	55%	2	2	1	27
USWA	43	85	51%	1	3	1	25
IAM	43	90	48%	4	—	7	20
UMWA	27	60	45%	0	2	1	10
UAW*	63	150	42%	9	10	1	25
UFCW	21	55	38%	18	38	1	22
ILGWU	6	20	30%	12	25	6	15
U.S. Total	315	653	48%	49	92	27	180
AUSTRALIA							
AMEU	2	3	67%	0	—	0	1
FPU	2	3	67%	0	—	1	1
NUW	2	2	0%	0	—	0	1
Australia Total	4	8	50%	0	—	1	3
BRITAIN							
RMT*	16	21	76%	0	—	1	6
TGWU	5	7	71%	0	—	0	3
AEEU	1	3	33%	0	—	0	6
Britain Total	22	31	71%	0	—	1	15
CANADA							
IAM	7	11	64%	0	—	1	2
CAW	8	15	53%	0	1	1	4
ACTWU	1	2	50%	0	—	0	1
USWA	1	13	8%	0	2	1	2
Canada Total	17	41	41%	0	3	3	9
NEW ZEALAND							
MWU	1	2	50%	0	—	0	—
EU	3	7	43%	0	—	0	2
UFBGWU	3	8	38%	0	—	2	1
New Zealand Total	7	17	41%	0	—	2	3
SWEDEN							
Food workers	1	3	33%	0	—	4	5
Metal workers	1	5	20%	0	—	1	2
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	—	0	2
Sweden Total	2	10	20%	0	—	5	9
<i>* raised goal</i>							

* raised goal

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

Nelson Mandela wins Nobel Peace Prize

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

"I dedicate this award to all the courageous people of my country, black and white, who have suffered and endured so much and pledge that in whatever time remains to me I will spare no effort to bring peace, freedom, and justice for all to South Africa," stated Nelson Mandela October 15. The African National Congress (ANC) president had just been notified he had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize along with South African president F. W. de Klerk.

When asked at a news conference at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg what de Klerk had done to deserve the prize, Mandela responded, "Just ask the Nobel Peace Prize Committee."

Pointing to the significance of the first-ever democratic, nonracial election scheduled for April 27, Mandela said, "When those elections take place, we will stop worrying what Mr. de Klerk has done or does not do because the democratic forces will be in power. I feel we should not allow anything to detract us from that major task."

The day after the award was announced, 35,000 people crowded into a stadium in Umtata, the capital of the Transkei homeland, for a funeral service for five youths, aged 12 to 19, who were killed when South African soldiers stormed their house October 8.

The government described the raid as a successful strike against the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), which is affiliated with the Pan-Africanist Congress. The youths were alone in the house at the time of the attack.

"The South African Defense Force has no right to kill people. This is an act of thuggery in the extreme," stated Mandela, who pointed out that incidents like this would continue while an "illegitimate and corrupt" government such as the current one was still in place.

Mandela reaffirmed that these killings

would not succeed in diverting the ongoing negotiations process.

The South African government announced October 13 it was delaying what is expected to be the final session of the white minority parliament by two weeks until November 22. The legislature will be convened at that time to ratify the interim constitution currently under discussion at the multiparty talks.

The ANC said it had no objections to the postponement so long as it did not delay preparations for elections and allowed continued progress in negotiations.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) is currently discussing plans for a series of mass actions leading up to a possible one-day general strike November 15. The labor union is demanding that the government's civil service apparatus be fully restructured after the April election based on a program of affirmative action and reconstruction and development. COSATU, which has 1.2 million members, is also demanding that a section be removed from the proposed interim bill of rights that enables employers to lock out striking workers.

The South African trade union group together with the ANC are also planning a series of protest actions in opposition to the government's decision September 15 to begin implementing a 4.7 percent gasoline price increase.

"De Klerk took this action because he wanted to prove he is not a lame-duck president," stated newly elected COSATU general-secretary Sam Shilowa. "We are going to use nonviolent means to force him to come to his senses."

As a result of mass protests this year, the de Klerk government has already been forced to relax sales tax rules, break its own 5 percent pay rise ceiling for teachers, and scrap examination fees for final-year students.

In another development, National Party leader de Klerk floated the idea October 11 of holding a referendum on the country's future. "The whole process of negotiation is under enormous pressure. . . . It would be no exaggeration to speak of a crisis in the future," he said.

De Klerk's latest proposal came in response to the formation several days earlier of a new organization of right-wing forces calling itself the Freedom Alliance. The groups includes the proapartheid Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront, as well as the Inkatha Freedom Party led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi and leaders of the governments from the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana homelands.

This new organization has demanded that negotiations be halted and that a "summit meeting" be convened to include themselves, the ANC, and South African government representatives.

"I wouldn't spend a sleepless night on the so-called Freedom Alliance," said Mandela, adding that they were blocking progress at the talks because they knew "that democratic elections will wipe them out of the political field."

The ANC leader also said that de Klerk's proposal for a referendum was unnecessary so close to next April's election. "Our position as the African National Congress on the matter is very clear—we are having an election only six months away and we are determined to keep to that time frame,"



ANC president Nelson Mandela celebrating after announcement of Nobel Peace Prize. "I dedicate this award to all the courageous people of my country, black and white," he said.

Mandela explained.

Finally, a judge in mid-October found Janusz Walus and Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis guilty for the murder of ANC leader Chris Hani last April. The two men were sentenced to death. A third defendant, Gaye Derby-Lewis, was acquitted.

ANC president tours Britain

BY CELIA PUGH

LONDON — African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela completed a successful tour of Britain and Ireland October 12.

A packed schedule of events in the four-day visit included talks with the prime ministers and other government officials of the two countries, speeches to a conference of local government workers, and a concert of Black artists, as well as appearances at receptions, rallies, and news conferences.

In Scotland, Mandela received the freedom of Glasgow award, 12 years after this city first bestowed it when he was still in South Africa's Robben Island Prison. The ANC leader also received similar awards from eight other British cities and towns at a ceremony held at Glasgow's town hall.

At a rain soaked rally of more than 2,000 people, Mandela said that the upcoming April 1994 election would be a choice between the ANC's vision of a new, democratic South Africa and those still clinging to the old apartheid order.

"There are various forces within South Africa which refuse to accept the inevitability of a democratic future for our country," he told the rally organized by the Scottish AntiApartheid Movement.

"We in the ANC . . . need the resources to contest the elections on an equitable basis," Mandela continued. "Without such support the elections cannot be deemed to be genuinely free and fair."

After a brief stop in Dublin, Ireland, Mandela arrived in Birmingham, England. He told some 1,000 people attending a reception at the Birmingham Conference Center that one reason sanctions were lifted was because of the "perilous state" of the economy. He described the results of the deep recession, with production well below capacity in both agriculture and industry and unemployment at 50 percent. "As long as the economy is plunging, any political settlement is unstable," he explained.

Mandela also lashed out at the South African government for its role in instigating violent attacks. "The present regime is conniving at this violence because they hope that this violence will keep away a large proportion of black voters," he said.

"The primary responsibility is for us to see that the level of violence is brought down and even ended," continued Mandela.

"That you can't expect under the present government which has no legitimacy, no credibility, and which is absolutely corrupt. The pattern of violence will only be addressed effectively when a popular government . . . has been installed."

The ANC leader also made an appeal for election observers to be sent to South Africa from the United Nations, European Community, countries affiliated with the British Commonwealth, and the Organization of African Unity. "We believe that the largest number of international observers will ensure that the campaign for elections and the elections themselves will be fair and free," he told a news conference.

In London, Mandela addressed a special conference on the South African economy hosted by the Confederation of British Industry. Among the other speakers were top level company executives, government trade ministers, and Jay Naidoo, former general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Pointing to the upcoming "historic" election scheduled for next April, Mandela said, "We would like to say very clearly that we have reached this stage of the transition to democracy in South Africa because millions of people in South Africa and throughout the world joined hands in one of the most bitter struggles against racist oppression, exploitation, and injustice."

Mandela invited the businesspeople present at the gathering "to come and invest in South Africa and by so doing join us in the new struggle for economic and social development."

All investment would be subject to the laws of the country, Mandela explained. That "will ensure that we all work together to transform South Africa to be what we have always wanted it to be: a nonracial, nonsexist, and democratic country in which people are judged by their capabilities and not their color, sex, or creed."

Towards this end, Mandela pointed to the need for affirmative action for the oppressed Black majority. "Our people have been excluded from the mainstream of the economy for many years by the apartheid system," he stated. "They were not allowed to run businesses for many decades. The time has now come for them to occupy their rightful place in all aspects of our society, including the business sector."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY MIKE TABER

The announcement that Nelson Mandela was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize boosted advance sales of *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. The day the award was announced, one bookstore chain raised its order, from 150 to 300 copies. *Nelson Mandela Speaks* will be released November 1.

To take advantage of the widespread interest in South African events, Pathfinder is encouraging bookstores to mount special displays featuring *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. These can include other books by Nelson Mandela and related titles, such as *The Coming Revolution in South Africa* by Jack Barnes.

One indication of the excitement the book has generated comes from Sheffield, England. Anne Howie reports that at a reception for Mandela in Birmingham, people stood in line to receive promotional flyers on *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. Many of the 500 people attending the reception took extra copies of the flyer to distribute among their friends.

Nelson Mandela Speaks will be available to Pathfinder Readers Club members at the special discount price of \$13.95 (regular price \$18.95). Membership in the Pathfinder Readers Club, for a \$10 annual fee, enables individuals to take advantage of special offers like this one, and get a 15 percent discount on all other Pathfinder titles. The special offer for *Nelson Mandela Speaks* runs through December 31 at Pathfinder bookstores or by mail from Pathfinder.

The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, based in Pakistan, wrote recently to obtain copies of fourteen Pathfinder titles for the organization's library. These include *Women, Leadership, and the Proletarian Norms of the Communist Movement*; *To See the Dawn*; *Understanding History*; *What Is American Fascism?*; and *Feminism and the Marxist Movement*.

A reader from Kissimmee, Florida, sent off a note to Pathfinder after reading *February 1965: The Final Speeches* by Malcolm X. He writes: "It didn't really strike me until I had almost finished the above title, the aptness of the publisher's name — 'Pathfinder.' Through your works I have some direction and I thank you for showing me where to tread."

A prisoner in Indiana recently wrote to Pathfinder, "There is no mass movement at this institution, therefore, educational, vocational, and religious programs are nonexistent. The brothers here keep our sanity by studying history, politics, economics, African culture, and religion. I'm writing you to request information about the books you publish."

In the first six weeks since opening September 4 at its new location, the Pathfinder bookstore in Montreal has recorded sales of \$4,126 (Canadian). A public meeting to celebrate the publication of *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East*, helped to sell 12 copies at the new bookstore. Other events in Montreal where books were sold included demonstrations against racist attacks and on the fight for democracy in Haiti; a conference in solidarity with Cuba; and a meeting on women and the Middle East. Nine people have signed up for membership in the Pathfinder Readers Club. The bookstore also sold a set of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*.

Only a few days remain to take advantage of the special Pathfinder Readers Club offer for works by Marx and Engels, advertised on page 11. The sale ends November 1. The titles can be purchased at Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12, or by mail from Pathfinder.

'Women's movement must play central role in affairs of ANC and the country'

Mandela addresses conference on fight for women's rights in South Africa

Printed below is a speech by African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela delivered in November 1990 at the opening of the ANC's Constitutional Committee Workshop on Gender, entitled "Today and Tomorrow Towards the Women's Rights Charter."

The speech and photographs are included in the new Pathfinder book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*, which is scheduled to be released November 1. Subheadings are by the *Militant*. Copyright © by Pathfinder, reprinted by permission.

Comrade chair; distinguished guests; delegates and friends:

For me it is a privilege to be accorded this opportunity of opening the Workshop on Gender Issues. I am humbled and honored by this gesture on the part of the ANC's Women's League and the Constitutional Committee.

Many a time we have stated that the balance of forces has changed in favor of the progressive forces. The regime has finally realized that it can no longer continue to impose its rule on the majority of our people without their consent. This realization has been brought about by the heroic struggle that has been waged by our people over many decades. Therefore, as we begin to devise a new constitution for our country, it is fitting and proper for us to pay tribute to all those patriots whose contribution has made this possible.

Throughout the history of our struggle, women have played a prominent role. To mention but a few: our stalwarts such as Charlotte Maxeke, Dora Tamana, Ruth First, Annie Silinga, Mary Moodley, Lilian Ngoyi, Kate Molale, and Florence Mophosho. Their fighting spirit lives on in the contribution of such eminent women as Mrs. M. Zihlangu, Frances Baard, Helen Joseph, Ray Simons, Dorothy Nyembe, Gertrude Shope, and many others.

'Time to address inequalities that exist'

We salute the mothers of the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose children have fallen in battle both inside and outside South Africa. We pay tribute to the mothers of all those who died in the course of struggle for freedom and against the apartheid system. We commend also those white mothers who stood by their sons for refusing to be conscripted into the apartheid army. We salute the wives and mothers whose husbands and sons still remain in prison despite the solemn undertakings of the apartheid regime. We salute those brave daughters of this country who are presently in prison for their commitment to a just, nonracial, and democratic South Africa. Special mention should be made here of those on death row. To them we vow: we shall not rest until all political prisoners have been released. We call upon the government to release all these people unconditionally—today and not tomorrow!

The South African society is profoundly patriarchal. While ultimate responsibility falls squarely on the shoulders of the ruling circles of this country, we men, both black and white, including many in the ANC, should accept our share of responsibility for the sexist stereotyping of women in our society and in our homes. This degradation of women finds reflection in every sphere of life.

Women in South Africa constitute the majority population; yet, in general, their status is one of powerlessness. They are underrepresented in all sectors of our society, except its lower reaches. This, unfortunately also applies to the leadership of the ANC and all democratic organizations of this country.



Inset: ANC DIP/Nigel Dennis

Farm workers in cornfield in Transvaal, South Africa. Inset: Mandela addressing women's congress June 1992 in Durban. "Throughout the history of our struggle, women have played a prominent role," said Mandela.

Can we seriously claim to be democrats when in our practices we continue to treat women as underlings? Is it not time that we began seriously to address the inequalities that exist between men and women?

I am pleased to say that, though we still need to do a great deal, the African National Congress is in the process of addressing this issue. The timing of this workshop is a conscious effort on the part of the ANC to give prominence to the gender question. The past and present constitutions of South Africa have been based on discrimination, thereby denying the majority of our people their fundamental rights, which should be basic in modern democracies.

For decades institutionalized racism has been applied by the apartheid state to effect the most brutal forms of social engineering known to humanity. Need I remind anyone at this workshop that millions of black women remain illiterate in the age of advanced education and technology? That black women, in thousands, occupy the lowest ranks in employment? That black women are underpaid and are most brutally exploited as farm laborers and domestic workers? For generations, black women have been the most oppressed group in our society.

The majority of the African people are to be found in settlements of the homeless. I have found that the majority of the households in these settlements are made up of female-headed families. As single parents, these women have the added burden of bringing up children in conditions of extreme deprivation and squalor.

Constitution should guarantee equality

This workshop is charged with the task of addressing gender inequalities in the context of the actual situation of women under apartheid and developing the best possible mechanism for redressing the problems women presently experience. We must begin to discuss these issues in greater detail. I am aware that these debates commenced two years ago, after the ANC issued its constitutional guidelines. The working document on a bill of rights, released for discussion recently by the ANC's Constitutional Committee, should be tested against the actual demands the women of this country are making. This workshop is the first that has been organized since its publication.

The ANC, as well as other progressive organizations, should ensure that the women's movement in our country is not only strong but also united so that it can play a central role

in the affairs of the organization and the country. From our experiences in the ANC, and lessons learnt from other parts of the world, we have come to realize that it is not just the provisions contained in the constitution that bring about true equality between men and women in a society. It is rather a preparedness to struggle on the part of the women's movement and all democrats.

The constitution should guarantee the equality between men and women and should seek to create conditions which entrench and establish these rights. We must explore whether the principles we wish to see enshrined in the constitution would not be enriched by a charter of women's rights, focus-

ing on all the concrete areas where the law and public policy can play a role in affecting women's lives. We in the ANC, as democrats, should not be found wanting in promoting true equality in our lives, daily practices, as well as in the home.

I am informed that women from the various regions are represented at this workshop. I have been advised that progressive scholars are to participate at this workshop and that representatives of the workers are also present. I am therefore convinced that the deliberations and findings of this workshop are bound to impact profoundly on the process of constitution making.

Without prejudicing the discussions that will take place in this workshop, I would like to put forward, for your consideration, the following proposals:

1. That the constitution for a new South Africa should unequivocally state that South Africa should not only be unitary, nonracial, and democratic, but should also be a nonsexist state.

2. That all laws which place women in a disadvantageous position be abolished and be declared unconstitutional.

3. That constitutionally entrenched criteria and mechanisms be established to break through the layers of prejudice and historical inequalities experienced by women.

4. That the laws and the constitution of a democratic South Africa should enable women to articulate their demands, their priorities, and expectations.

5. That the constitution should ensure a strong female presence in all decision-making processes of the new South Africa.

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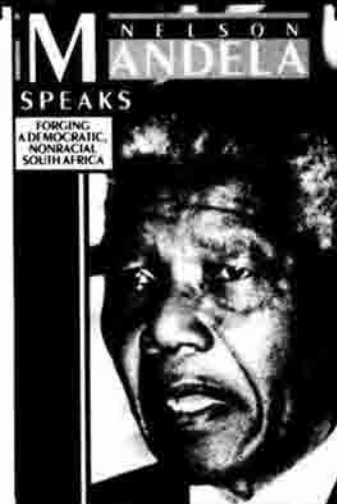
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Coal miners' strike faces big challenges

Continued from front page
company name. This practice is known as double-breasting.

Like the wealthy owners of other industries, the coal bosses have driven hard to squeeze more out of fewer miners, resulting in big increases in productivity and profits.

"I'm tired of taking this crap," said UMWA Local 1189 member George Boyer, on picket duty outside Peabody's Squaw Creek facility near Boonville. "I just want a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. But they won't leave it like that. They push until they can't push any further, and then they push another two inches."

Miners are determined

Many miners express determination to go "one day longer" than the coal bosses. "Morale is damn good," said striker Shannon Stewart, a member of Local 2250 at Zeigler Coal Holding Co.'s Old Ben no. 25 mine. Stewart has spent more than 30 years in the mines. His local struck May 10. "If the company thinks we're about to give in they're dead wrong," he said.

On-and-off negotiations between union officials and the BCOA resumed October 13 in Washington, D.C. Federal mediator William Usery, a Clinton administration appointee, is presiding over the talks, which are reportedly deadlocked over BCOA's refusal to prohibit "double-breasting" and employer demands for health-care concessions.

Do coal miners see any progress in the negotiations? "I see a lot of activity on the companies' part. I see them taking locals, districts, and the entire union to court. I see them doing everything possible to antagonize and heighten tensions," said striker Dave Hadley, spokesman for UMWA Local 1189. "This speaks much louder than any message they send from Washington, D.C."

A lack of information on the picket lines adds to miners' concerns. The way things are going is "not good," said striker Bill Tribbie. "It's going to be a long winter. We're rank-and-file people — we don't get all the information" on negotiations, except that "they've got a mediator running between rooms. I hear talk of concessions. I don't want any. It sounds like a trade-off."

"It's time for plan B," said Dave Fulkerson, on duty at Squaw Creek picket shack. Trucks loaded with rocks drive by here daily. Miners speculate the company is building a new haul road for the strip mine. "It seems like something ought to change," he said. "We just sit here day in, day out watching them drive through. We need more information."

"It's time to shut them all down," said another picket. Fulkerson agreed. "It's going to have to be 100 percent, everybody in the union," he said.

Operators escalate provocations

Throughout coal country, the operators are escalating the use of violence and provocations against the strikers. They have received cooperation from local judges, who have slapped the union with a levy of injunctions restricting the rights of pickets. In several locals, strikers say that federal marshals and agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms have been

called into the area.

At Zeigler's Old Ben no. 25 mine here, at least two miners have been injured by coal trucks or guard vehicles running over pickets. In mid-October, during a "drive-around" the mine by UMWA members and supporters, a supervisor fired shots at strikers' vehicles. No one was injured.

The entrance to the Lynnville mine resembles that of an armed camp. Forty feet from the UMWA picket shack, Peabody has constructed a 20-foot tower staffed 24 hours a day by a Vance Security Co. guard outfitted in a trademark black jumpsuit. The inside of the tower is concealed, except for a video camera focused on the picket shack. Another Vance guard with a camera is stationed 20 feet down the road. Giant floodlights shine on the pickets. Strikers are prohibited by a court injunction from keeping their own video camera on the site.

A judge has ordered strikers to abide by a "buffer zone" when picketing. Miners are only allowed to picket vehicles once they enter the zone, and must walk at a "normal pace." They cannot picket single file, or return to the other side of the street until the vehicle leaves the area.

Some mines are running coal

The UMWA leadership calls this a selective strike. Many mines have been shut down while miners are working in others. The strike has been gradually expanded, the last contingent of which joined September 15.

While a majority of struck mines are shut down solid, crews of supervisors are cutting coal at some facilities.

At the Lynnville mine, picket captain Steve Skelton estimated that on average, 80 vehicles cross picket lines during each day shift. Skelton voiced a suspicion held by many miners in this area, saying that "a majority are company people [supervisors], but they've also hired scabs."

Striker George Waters, serving up chili for the picket crew and visiting strike supporters, looked up with a hard stare as a truck stopped for a picket, then drove across the line. "That's my livelihood," he said. "But it's more. We're fighting for all the kids. If we lose, it'll take us back to the 1800s."

Strikers express frustration with the situation. To see the vehicles roll by "makes you



Militant/Greg Rosenberg
Members of UMWA Local 9926 outside Peabody Coal Co.'s Lynnville mine in Indiana. At right in background is Vance Security guard in tower filming pickets' every move.

feel angry and helpless," said Stewart.

"We have to do something about people crossing picket lines," said Randy Kirkpatrick, a belt shoveler with 19 years experience. "I think we'll have to pull the whole union out, even though we need money for the strike fund."

"In my opinion, as a rank-and-file miner, we're all sitting around and waiting for someone to bring the union together," said Ken Cochrum, another member of Local 2250. "Let's face it," he continued, "We went from 46 percent of the labor force being UMWA to 12-13 percent today. Union members all over have to take sides between big business or the working class."

Solidarity needed

Miners in the southern Indiana and Illinois coalfields point to the broad support they've received among workers, farmers, and local merchants in these communities. There are continuing donations of food, firewood to heat picket shanty stoves, and financial support. Employees of one local restaurant bring lunch out to strikers at Old Ben no. 25 every Wednesday.

UMWA members say more solidarity from the labor movement is needed. "Before this whole thing's over," said striker Bill Tribbie, "we need help. One outfit can't carry the load. Other unions need to get more vocal."

One Old Ben no. 25 striker pointed out that union rail workers drive trains to the

edge of company property, where supervisors pick them up and take the cars to be loaded. "We need the support from other unions, like rail workers. If they couldn't get the coal to market they couldn't sell it."

Tours by miners to different areas of the country have won important support and introduced thousands of working people to the strike. Hadley, who attended a conference in Alabama of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, an organization composed mostly of Black farmers, said that farmers and miners "spoke with the same concerns."

"Sometimes here in southern Illinois, with a news blackout on the strike, you think you're alone," said Cochrum. "When I went on tour up in Minnesota, I was expecting to tell people things — but I also ended up learning things."

The tours have also won financial support for the strike.

In Marissa, striker Betty Kane from UMWA Local 1820 prepared a meal in the strike kitchen. "We serve around 120-150 miners and their families every day. We know by now that some people need it," she said.

"We appreciate any support our union brothers and sisters can give us," said Skelton, a member of UMWA Local 9926. "What we've got here will be them some day. We don't expect to lose — but it may be a long time before we go back to work."

Camp Union Valley opens in Pennsylvania

BY STEVE CRAINE
AND JOHN COX

WEST FINLEY, Pennsylvania — Striking miners and their supporters celebrated the opening of Camp Union Valley here October 16 with a rally and march to the nearby non-union Bailey/Enlow Fork mine complex. The large majority of the 400 or so participants were United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) members and their families from Ohio and western Pennsylvania.

The union has explained that the purpose of the camp is to give striking miners a place to come for information, rest, and relaxation in anticipation of a protracted struggle.

Many miners see the facility as another Camp Solidarity, which came to symbolize the outpouring of support for the victorious strike against Pittston Coal in 1989-90. Located in the southwest corner of Pennsylvania, the camp is about an hour's drive from several mines that are being struck in three different states.

"There are only two kinds of people: those who make their living by what they do and those who make their living by what they own," said Dan Kane, a member of the UMWA International Executive Board from District 2, at the rally. Kane introduced three representatives of the mine workers' union from Germany.

A delegation of 80 striking teachers from a coal-mining community in eastern Ohio caravanned to the camp. The teachers have received support from UMWA locals in their area.

Following the rally, participants marched about three miles up the road for a demonstration in front of Consol Energy Inc.'s Bailey mine. The operation is a prime example of the tactics of the coal bosses that are at the heart of the UMWA's contract battle. When Consol opened this mine, which shares the same seam as the UMWA-organized Dilworth and Shoemaker mines, it set up two new companies, Consol Pennsylvania and the Enlow Fork Mining Co. to operate the complex. Using the false claim that these are independent from the parent company, Consol has evaded provisions of the 1988 UMWA contract that call for three out of five new hires to be laid-off union members.

District 4 official Tony Brunsak, speaking to the rally, referred to the union's three attempts to organize the mine. "We got a

total of 12 [union] cards out of 400. That should tell you something. Those guys have always been scabs, and they always will be scabs. They should be treated like scabs."

After their hour-long hike, the strikers and supporters rallied on the road in front of the mine and in the shadow of the preparation plant and four huge coal silos of the complex. After about 20 minutes, the union bus began shuttling people back to Camp Union Valley.

The picketers angrily noted Consol's black-uniformed security guards who were videotaping the event. Some unionists stood in front of the gate as coal trucks attempted to leave. One trucker misjudged his turn and hit a guardpost, destroying the rear tire of his vehicle. The truck remained stuck in the entranceway as miners stood in front of it and argued with state police.

Miners reporting for work on the afternoon shift were held up for a half hour or more by the demonstrators. At least two miners turned their cars around and drove off. Some UMWA members attempted to talk with the Bailey miners as they sat in their cars.

A striker from Consol's McElroy mine said he has three friends who work at Bailey and all of them are for the union. An activist in the Dilworth Ladies' Auxiliary recalled that "a couple of Bailey miners stopped at the camp at night to give us union cards." She said they had been afraid to visit the union camp in daylight because the company might find out.

Steve Craine is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6191 in Pittsburgh. Bernie Senter from Morgantown, West Virginia, also contributed to this article.

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Workers at Chrysler approve concessions

BY JIM GARRISON

FENTON, Missouri — Members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 110 here voted October 14 to approve a national contract with Chrysler Corp. by a margin of three votes. More than 2,300 votes were cast. With 5,200 members, Local 110 is one of the largest union locals at Chrysler. In some other plants, the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the contract.

UAW officials in Detroit reported that the proposed contract was accepted by 74 percent of the members who voted nationally. Officials provided members with a 24-page contract summary that claimed the concession agreement provided job and income security, while fully protecting health benefits. The UAW represents 60,000 workers at Chrysler.

"I'm not happy with it, but I'm glad we're not out on the street," Harold Lane, a first-shift assembly line worker here, said. "It seemed to me that we were in a strong position to get back some of the things we've given up over the past 10 years but that didn't happen. The union says there's no alternative to this contract so we don't seem to have much choice."

Media reports that Chrysler, which faced bankruptcy more than a decade ago, had finished its most profitable third quarter ever did not sit well with some workers. "We got 3 percent raises when the company was broke," Frank Long, an assembler with 26 years seniority, said. The new three-year contract provides for a 3 percent raise for the first year and 3 percent lump-sum payments in the final two years.

Some workers expressed relief that attacks on medical benefits were not as severe as initially threatened by the company. The contract contains a back-door copayment for health-care benefits. Twenty-two cents were cut from a cost-of-living raise and applied to insurance costs.

LaMorn Grimes, who has 28 years seniority, thought the contract offer did not register much of an advance or retreat. "It's about the same," Grimes said. "I don't think we're sharing in the profits in the way [UAW president Owen] Bieber said we would. I really resent the company's threat of taking away health-care benefits. It's a fear tactic on their part. We concentrate so much on saving the health care that we're not supposed to notice the other things they do take away."

Many workers at the plant like Donna Pritchett saw the wider two-tier wage scale as a major problem. New hires would begin at 70 percent of full pay and take three years to reach 100 percent under the agreement. "If the company does something like this now," Pritchett said, "imagine what they'll do when the economy turns down again."

UAW negotiations with General Motors Corp. (GM) continue. GM is demanding greater concessions from the union, including cuts on future pension costs, layoff ben-

efits, and wages in parts operations.

Local union presidents representing workers at five GM axle and forge plants are asking UAW international officials not to agree to any contract that does not guarantee them the same wage and benefits as other GM workers for at least three years. The axle and forge plants are being sold.

Jim Garrison is a member of UAW Local 110. Peter Thierjung, a member of UAW Local 538 in Cleveland, contributed to this article.



Auto worker on Detroit assembly line. Brutal speedup is feature of bosses' profit drive.

Socialist auto workers meet in Detroit

BY CINDY JAQUITH

DETROIT — The intensifying problems faced by auto workers are the result of the capitalist economic depression and the bosses' efforts to make workers pay the price for it. That was one of the main points in a report James Harris gave to a meeting of socialist auto workers here October 9-10.

The gathering brought together members of the Socialist Workers Party who work in auto assembly, parts, aerospace, and other plants in the United States organized by the United Auto Workers (UAW), as well as a member of the Communist League of Canada who belongs to the Canadian Auto Workers.

Harris, an SWP national committee member who belongs to the UAW in Detroit, said the attacks by auto companies against workers in the United States go hand in hand with Washington's aggression in Somalia. Participants in the meeting resolved to use the *Militant*, the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, and Pathfinder books to tell the truth about the U.S. war in the Horn of Africa.

"The auto industry faces a crisis of overproduction and excess industrial capacity," said Harris. "The auto giants produce more than they can profitably sell. This crisis is worldwide. Japan is in the midst of a recession. Most of Japan's 11 auto producers are not making a profit while their overall car production is down. In western Europe car sales fell 16 percent this year and are expected to continue to decline."

In the United States the Big 3 owners face the same type of conditions as a result of increased competition. "In 1960 car manufacturers in this country made some 52 percent of all automobiles worldwide. Now the share produced in the U.S. and Canada combined has fallen to 26 percent."

It is in this context that the Ford and Chrysler concession contracts were negotiated. "The worst thing about the contract," said Harris, "is not any of its particular features but that the union officialdom has framed it in the context that the fate of workers is tied completely to the competitiveness and profitability of the companies they work for. This is a dead end strategy for auto workers and all other working people."

"With no fight being organized many auto

workers saw little alternative but to vote for the agreement," said Harris.

The concessions approved at Ford, and later at Chrysler, can further erode unity in the work force by deepening the two-tier wage system, Harris said. It underscored the UAW officialdom's refusal to mobilize the ranks to fight in defense of their interests. In fact the only "fight" the UAW misleaders advocate is one to defeat the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The UAW's anti-NAFTA campaign seeks to blame Mexican workers, not the corporate bosses, for the loss of jobs. It portrays Mexicans not as fellow fighters but as helpless victims.

But many workers, including among those who voted for the contract, were open to discussing a different perspective on how to fight for jobs and resist company take-back demands.

Several socialists at the meeting reported high sales of the *Militant* to auto workers during contract ratification vote meetings.

Des Moines socialists traveled to the Ford plant in Kansas City, Missouri, and sold 19 copies of the paper to workers there. In Detroit, socialists sold 30 papers at three contract ratification meetings in one day. The also reported brisk sales at a rally in Lansing, Michigan, against NAFTA, addressed by rightist demagogue Ross Perot. The UAW organized large numbers of workers to attend the rally.

Joel Britton, national trade union director

of the SWP, gave a report to the meeting on the big challenges facing 18,000 members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) as their strike enters its sixth month with no sign of the coal bosses giving in. He pointed to the need to make this a fight of the UMWA as a whole and the urgency of solidarity from other unions.

Workers who join in solidarity activities with striking miners, in defense of abortion clinics, or the fight to lift the U.S. embargo on Cuba will welcome the full range of revolutionary books published by Pathfinder, noted Peter Thierjung, a member of UAW Local 538 in Cleveland, in his report on tasks before socialist UAW members.

Participants in the meeting were able to get a glimpse of the powerful impact of Pathfinder around the world at a public forum held during the two-day gathering, featuring a presentation by Ma'mud Shirvani, coauthor of the introduction to Pathfinder's new book *To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East*. Shirvani showed slides of Pathfinder's participation in the sixth international Tehran Book Fair, attended by half a million people. At the forum participants pledged more than \$9,000 toward the *Militant's* 65th anniversary fund of \$75,000.

Cindy Jaquith works at Fitzsimons Manufacturing in Detroit and is a member of UAW Local 155.

Employees of Greif Co. win contract

BY WENDY LYONS

PHILADELPHIA — Clothing workers at Greif Company beat back the bosses' threat to shut down two plants unless sweeping concessions were accepted. The company dropped out of the Clothing Manufacturers Association shortly before the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union's (ACTWU) wool contract expired September 30, threatening to close the Verona, Virginia, and Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, plants if workers didn't accept a wage freeze, medical copayments, and loss of holiday and vacation time.

When the company at its Allentown, Pennsylvania, plant refused entry to the union business agent, 200 workers walked off the job, surrounded and escorted him into the plant, chanting, "We're all in, or we're all out!" Once inside, the unionists refused to work and the company called off work for the rest of the day.

Greif workers came out in sizable numbers to set up informational picket lines at department stores, urging people to boycott Greif products, in response to a nationwide

call by ACTWU. Union officials began asking ACTWU members around the country to join informational picket lines. More and more did so as the word spread. The Greif Co. finally signed an agreement similar to the wool contract that was negotiated by ACTWU officials. It lasts for 18 months, retains medical coverage for working ACTWU members, and includes a 30-cent-per-hour wage increase over the life of the contract.

Sandra Herman from Allentown said she felt a gain from the struggle over the contract was a sense of unity among Greif workers. She described how they defeated management's attempts to divide more recently hired Syrian workers from U.S.-born workers. Herman and Debra Yerger were suspended for several days for singing "We are the union" in the cafeteria.

"We need to stay strong," Herman said. "We should have union meetings more often and start handling the problems we face from inside the shop more."

Wendy Lyons is a member of ACTWU Local 352 in Philadelphia.

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Cuban foreign minister speaks in Harlem, N.Y.

BY SILVIA MACHADO

NEW YORK — Cuban foreign minister Roberto Robaina joined some 250 marchers down the streets of Harlem here October 9. The crowd chanted "¡Cuba Sí, Bloqueo No!" expressing its opposition to Washington's 33-year embargo against that Caribbean country. Robaina was accompanied by Alfonso Fraga, the head of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.

Participants assembled across the street from Harlem's Hotel Theresa where Cuban president Fidel Castro had stayed in 1960 when, like Robaina today, he headed his country's delegation to the UN General Assembly. A rally was held at the gathering point before the march and was followed by an inside event where the Cuban foreign minister spoke.

Speakers recalled Castro's visit and his meeting with U.S. revolutionary leader Malcolm X.

Among the speakers and members of endorsing organizations were: Viola Plummer of the December 12 Movement, Elombe Brath of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, and Lucius Walker of Pastors for Peace.

Esmeralda Brown of the Hands Off Cuba Coalition urged participants to attend an October 14 picket at the United Nations to protest Washington's economic embargo against Cuba. Some 150 people participated in that action under pouring rain.

The endorsers of the Harlem event also included Casa de las Américas, Venceremos Brigade, the Haitian organization M.O.K.A., Harlem Fightback, Black Panther Newspaper, All African People's Revolutionary Party, and Socialist Workers Party.

— CALENDAR —

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Defending Choice: A Conference for Activism. Speakers and Workshops. Fri.-Sun., Nov. 5-7. Education Building, University of Alabama at Birmingham. Sponsored by Birmingham Clinic Defense, Alabamians for Choice, Alabama NOW. Registration: \$15. For more information, call (205) 930-9663.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Campaign Rally: The Socialist Alternative to War, Racism, and Economic Depression. Speakers: Bob Braxton, SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta; Edward Hill, SWP candidate for Atlanta Board of Education; Dorothy Kolis, SWP candidate for Atlanta City Council President; Marla Puziss, SWP candidate for Atlanta City Council; others. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. Social to follow. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 624-9335.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

"Illinois is a War Zone" Labor Rally. Sat., Oct. 30, 11 a.m.-1 p.m. Chicago Temple, 77 W. Washington. Sponsored by the Chicago-area Staley Workers Solidarity Committee. For more information call (312) 549-3147.

Decatur

"Illinois is a War Zone": All-Union Solidarity Rally. Sat., Nov. 6, Noon-4 p.m. AIW Local 837 union hall and ballfield. 2882 North Dinneen. For more information, call (217) 876-7006.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Socialist Workers Election Campaign Rally. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen). Donation: \$5. For more information call (718) 399-7257.

Manhattan

Celebrate the New York City Socialist Campaign on Election Night! Tues., Nov. 2. Open House 7-10 p.m. 214 Avenue A (between 13th and 14th). For more information, call (212) 388-9475.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Socialist Campaign Day. Sun., Oct. 31, 4 p.m. — class: entitled "Elections and Social Change: A Marxist Approach." 6 p.m. — dinner. 7 p.m. forum featuring: John Cox, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Pittsburgh; Lisa Stolarski, Edinboro Young Socialist Organization; others. 4905 Penn Ave. Sponsored by Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. Donation: \$5. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Peru's "Shining Path": Is It Revolutionary or Reactionary? Speaker: Martín Koppel, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Translation to Spanish.

FLORIDA

Miami

Hear the Socialist Workers Candidates. Speakers: Laura Garza, candidate for mayor of Miami; Seth Galinsky and Maggie McCraw, candidates for Miami City Commission. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Clinton's Health Care Plan: No Solution for Working People. Speakers: Steve Strauss, M.D., assistant professor in neurology at University of Maryland; Brad Downs, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 2905 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (410) 235-0013.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Speakout on the Crisis in Haiti and U.S. Military Intervention. Speakers: Ben Dupuy, former editor *Haiti Progrès*; Brian Williams, staff writer for the *Militant*. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen). Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

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No Warships to Haiti! Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m.

2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

TEXAS

Houston

U.S. Military Interventions: Peace-keeping or Imperialism? Speaker: Jerry Freiwirth, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Houston and member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway no. 250. Donation: \$4. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

Trade Unions and Imperialist War:

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Video Showing — Haiti: Killing the Dream. Speaker: Harvey McArthur, has reported on Haiti for *Militant*. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

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U.S., UN, and New Zealand Troops Out of Somalia! Speaker: representative, Communist League election campaign. Sat., Oct. 30, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: 365-6055.

Rangers exit Somalia; new U.S. troops arrive

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As U.S. troops and new military equipment continue to pour into Mogadishu, the senior U.S. military commander in Somalia, Army Maj. Gen. Thomas Montgomery, proclaimed a more narrow role for U.S. forces in the area. He said the soldiers will mainly stay in their compounds while focusing on "training" UN forces and coming to their assistance when called on to provide reinforcements.

The White House also announced October 19 the immediate withdrawal of 750 Army Rangers who had been sent to Somalia in late August with the express purpose of capturing Somali Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid.

At the same time, U.S. president Bill Clinton said many of the 3,600 marines dispatched to the waters off Somalia would come ashore to augment the U.S. Army force already in the country. There are currently 6,300 U.S. soldiers in Somalia. An additional 12,300 troops are stationed offshore.

These latest moves represent a shift from earlier plans, which called for deploying U.S. forces with heavy armor to retake control of the streets of Mogadishu.

However, U.S. warplanes from the aircraft carrier *Abraham Lincoln* — one of nine warships located off the coast of Somalia — continue to streak high over the capital many times each day. At least two army attack helicopters patrol the skies over Mogadishu day and night.

In a goodwill gesture, forces loyal to Aidid dismantled many of the roadblocks they had erected along main thoroughfares in the capital. This development is expected to make it easier for UN forces to expand their military presence throughout the city.

Aidid's forces also unconditionally released October 14 the two prisoners they had captured — U.S. helicopter pilot Michael Durant and Pvt. Umar Shantali of Nigeria. UN troops, however, continue to hold scores of Somali prisoners.

In a further sign of the U.S. government's change of stance, Peter Tarnoff, undersecretary of state for political affairs, declared October 19 that Washington will no longer participate in efforts to capture Aidid.

The political solution the U.S. government is seeking to impose on the country "must involve the leaders of the Aidid faction, and probably General Aidid himself," explained Tarnoff.

"Aideed, once routinely referred to as a 'thug' by officials such as UN Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright, was described by

[White House press secretary Dee Dee] Myers as 'a clan leader with a substantial constituency in Somalia,'" reports the *Washington Post*.

More than 1,000 Somalis rallied in Mogadishu October 17 in opposition to a projected visit by UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali to the city. The Clinton administration has strongly urged Boutros-Ghali to cancel his appearance in Mogadishu. During the UN secretary-general's last visit to the city in January, Somali protesters prevented him from leaving the UN compound. He had to be rescued by U.S. soldiers.

While building up U.S. troop strength in Mogadishu, Clinton has promised that his forces will be withdrawn by March 31. At the same time the White House is seeking reinforcements from other countries to augment the current 29,000-strong UN occupation force in Somalia.

A number of the leading capitalist powers in Europe, however, including France, Belgium, and Sweden, have announced plans to withdraw by mid-January. The government of Germany, which has stationed 1,700 troops in the central Somali town of Belet Huen, announced it will probably pull out by April.

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"I'll have the bleached chicken." — Tapping public concern about food contamination, ads



Harry Ring

are touting the antigerm qualities of disinfectants. Like the claim that a bleach solution can help avoid food poisoning. The slogan: "Start your next meal with Clorox Bleach."

Now will you practice! — University of California researchers say that listening to 10 minutes of Mo-

zart boosted college students' IQs as much as nine points for 15 minutes. They speculate that performing music can make the gain more permanent, especially among children. Checking this out, they have 75 three-year-olds taking lessons. A researcher conceded the study could be exploited by hucksters.

P.S. — We were listening so intently to the classical station that we forgot to mention — that music/IQ study is being funded in part by the Natl. Assn. of Music Merchants and by Yamaha Co., which provided keyboards for the project.

That was part of the war effort — John McDonnell, chairman of

McDonnell Douglas, vowed a vigorous probe of charges that the company improperly billed taxpayers for millions of dollars' worth of promotion schemes and advertising. We trust that will include the \$1.6 million tab submitted for production and mailing of 100,000 copies of a quarterly video starring Chairman McDonnell.

Also part of war effort — McDonnell Douglas billed the Pentagon for the cost of sending 30 staff people to the notorious 1991 Navy Tailhook convention, including golf, tennis, and X-rated videos. (Keen-eyed federal auditors figured out they were X-rated because the hotel charges \$2 extra for them.)

Welfare will get you Beli — Some doctors assert that poor and uninsured patients sue for malpractice more often. But a study found that upper-income folks are 80-90 percent more likely to sue. Also, they found, lawyers avoid low-income clients because awards, from whence comes their cut, are usually based on the claimant's future earning power.

Part of the Clinton plan? — As a savings, some companies are reported switching from rent-a-cop services to dog-leasing outfits. One kennel operator observes that not only are the rates lower, but there's no health insurance premium. "If a dog gets shot or sick,"

he says, "we replace it."

Besides being expensive — Drug-induced illnesses are reportedly the leading cause of preventable disease among older folks. Estimated annually: 61,000 suffer drug-induced tremors; 32,000 suffer hip fractures from drug-induced falls; 163,000 experience drug-induced memory loss; 659,000 are hospitalized for adverse drug reactions.

Great E-Mail Society — It only recently occurred to us. Where there's easy, cheap access to a machine, "Great Society" clippings can be faxed to the Los Angeles Pathfinder bookstore (213) 380-1268.

Iowa farmers face severe financial conditions

BY BILL KALMAN

DES MOINES, Iowa — Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa, recently surveyed more than 1,100 farm families in the state and identified close to a quarter as being in severe financial condition. Another 20 percent are "at risk" should income this year drop below 1992 levels.

One of the first "luxuries" to go is health insurance. Currently around 25 percent of Midwest farmers have little or no health insurance. According to the Iowa State University Extension Service, the average farm family of four pays close to \$4,500 a year for health care.

The July floods, combined with excessive rainfall, lack of sunshine, and a projected early frost, mean that Iowa farmers face the lowest crop yields in 30 years. Iowa's corn harvest will fall 36 percent short of last year's harvest, while the soybean crop is projected to be off 23 percent. Oats, alfalfa, and wheat crops were hit even harder.

In fact, the only way out for many farmers is to destroy thousands of acres of crops to qualify for the government's "zero-92" program, under which 92 percent of farm-program payments are paid by the government if no crops are planted or if an existing crop is intentionally destroyed. First written into law as part of the 1985 farm bill, this provision was touted as a safety net for farmers who might face extreme conditions. In the first year of the program, 20,000 acres of Iowa corn were enrolled in the program. Last year 34,000 acres were affected. And this year a staggering 437,000 acres of corn are enrolled.

In addition, the shortages of feed corn and hay, as well as its poor quality — lack-

ing in protein and nutrition after being stunted and corroded by molds and fungus — will increase the costs of raising livestock.

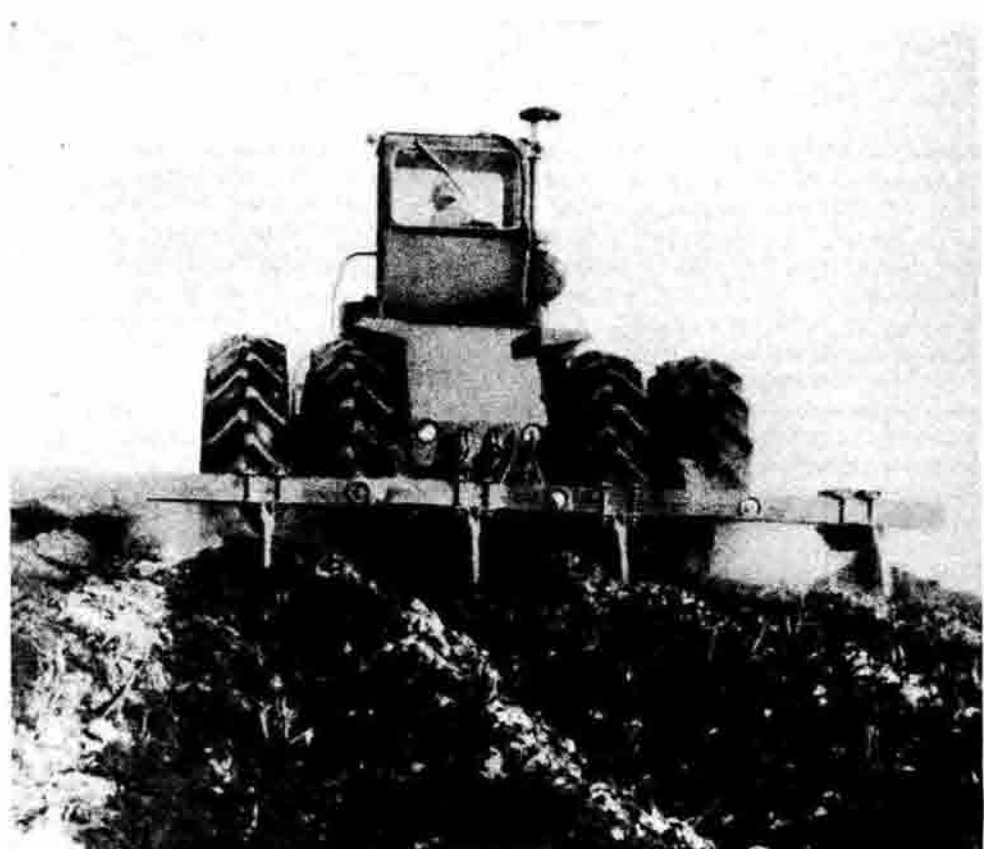
Curtailment programs like the zero-92 program are aimed primarily at helping the big capitalist farmers. They also reinforce the false notion that farmers would rather get paid for not growing than for actually raising a crop, and that too many farm products are grown.

The *Des Moines Register's* "Farm and Country" section prominently featured the stories of several farmers who entered the zero-92 program only as a last resort. Al Swanson of Royal, Iowa, plowed under his 132 acres of stunted corn, saying, "It's just like killing your kids." Robert Clark, who has farmed in nearby Clay County since 1938, cut down his 150 acres of corn. "I'm ashamed I signed up," he told the *Register*. Neighboring farmers have plowed under each others crops hoping to make the task a little easier to do.

Zero-92 is also difficult to figure out. "It's pretty complicated, really," crop specialist Paul Kassel explained. "It depends on what your corn base is, your established yield, and what your corn will yield."

Bill Northey sweated over a computer for eight hours before deciding if he should enter the program. "I should have signed up in August," he said. "There's been a lot of confusion about how zero-92 works."

All of the farmers interviewed emphatically indicated that they would rather be harvesting their crop right now than applying for government programs that really don't address the underlying problems.



Farmer plowing under crop damaged by summer floods. Curtailment programs are aimed primarily at helping big capitalist farmers and reinforce false notion that farmers would rather get paid for not growing than for raising a crop.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
November 1, 1968 Price 10c

Don Munson, writing an article from Los Angeles in the *London Daily Mail*, reports that a spokesman for Cuban Power, a counterrevolutionary Cuban exile group, boasted that the organization would continue its terrorist bombing attacks in the U.S. "When we see targets or opportunities we will continue to hit them," the counterrevolutionary spokesman said.

Munson's article also says, "Pedro Arno, 45, a veteran of the Bay of Pigs invasion and a California exile leader, said the arrest last week in Miami of Dr. Orlando Bosch and eight other Cubans accused of sabotage attacks would not weaken" the group's terrorist activities aimed at Cuba.

Meanwhile, nine members of the reactionary terrorist organization have been arrested in New York in connection with a series of bombings of offices of nations who trade with Cuba. They are also charged with plotting the assassination of Dr. Ricardo Alarcón Quesada, the Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, and other Cuban officials.

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October 30, 1943

With thousands of rank and file coal miners again on strike against the wage-freezing policies of the Roosevelt war government, the War Labor Board on Oct. 26 rejected the

second agreement negotiated between the Illinois Coal Operators Association and the United Mine Workers Union. As the miners battle to defend their standard of living, demands are growing for a general strike among the 1,450,000 railroad workers who are now preparing to take a strike vote in order to enforce their demands for wage increases which Roosevelt has so long denied them.

Coal Administrator Harold L. Ickes returned the remaining 1700 mines to the owners on October 13. Immediately 22,000 coal miners in Alabama walked out of the pits. Within one day, additional thousands of miners were on strike in Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, West Virginia and Pennsylvania.

The miners are devising many new ingenious methods of struggle in order to avoid outright violation of the Smith-Connally "slave labor" Act. According to reports from the striking areas, the miners have not called any local union "strike" meetings but have reached "silent understandings" among themselves to stay out of the mines. Obviously, the miners are simply acting as individuals, singly seeking redress for their grievances.

Concurrently with the coal strikes, a tense labor situation is developing among 1,450,000 railroad workers. The importance of the crisis of railway labor can be better understood when it is recalled that the railroad workers are accounted as one of the most conservative sections of the trade union movement. Today, however, the rank and file of the rail unions are fighting mad. They are thoroughly and completely aroused. They are demanding action and are proceeding to build some red hot fires underneath the ample posteriors of their "labor executives."

Factory workers discuss NAFTA

Continued from Page 4

international fight by the labor movement, although it's being seriously eroded today. It's far less utopian to believe that we can win 30 for 40 than the notion that defeating NAFTA will solve the jobs problem — even a little bit.

B. You make a good point about spreading the work. Everyone knows that the same day the next layoffs are announced in this plant mandatory overtime will be posted for the rest of us.

D. I think this is the only way we can unite workers — those who are out of work, workers pushed into part-time jobs, young workers who have never had a steady job, workers forced to work overtime, and immigrant workers. Everyone who's looking for a job is competing with other workers, but unions were built by overcoming individual competition and taking the first steps toward collective action and thinking. We should see immigrant workers as fellow fighters, not as competitors.

And we should join with workers in Mexico and other countries in Latin America who demand that the massive debt imposed on their countries by the U.S. bankers be canceled. A fight around this demand would strike a blow for unity. Defending affirmative action would also unite workers by cutting across divisions by sex and skin color.

A. I'm still not convinced about NAFTA. If it goes through, the big corporations are go-

ing to have a free hand to destroy the environment in Mexico because the laws are more lax there. And there will be pressure to lift environmental safeguards and health and safety laws in the United States to lure companies into not running away to Mexico.

D. As competition heats up among employers in this country and elsewhere, one way they try to curb costs is by running roughshod over the environment and safety. They increasingly violate existing laws often paying minimum fines or paying legal staffs to find loopholes. And they keep pressing to get rid of restrictions and prevent new ones.

This will continue to deepen whether or not NAFTA is adopted. NAFTA's defeat would not be an effective deterrent to this process, especially considering the miseducation spread by those promoting the campaign against it.

The only effective counterweight to the worsening spoliation of the environment and flouting of safety is the organized strength of the labor movement. What's needed is to bring union power to bear in this fight. Moreover, a united struggle for a shorter workweek can only help the fight for a clean environment and safe workplace.

B. This has been interesting. I've been convinced by a lot of what you've said.

A. I'm still not convinced but you raised some things I want to think about more.

Did Buchanan turn antiwar?

Feeling pressure from many sides to end or scale back its occupation of Somalia, the White House has declared that its troops will be withdrawn within six months. At the same time, Clinton is increasing the number of soldiers on the ground in Mogadishu. Many working people are opposed to the U.S. military operation there. Republican Senate leader Robert Dole and Democratic senator Robert Byrd, as well as a number of prominent rightist politicians have called for bringing the troops home. But there are very distinct reasons for this opposition among different social classes.

Right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan, the editors of the *New York Post*, and former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick, among others, try to play on working people's distrust of Washington's foreign policy and reluctance to be dragged into another bloody war of occupation — the so-called Vietnam syndrome — to win backing for their reactionary programs. Their "Bring 'em home" and "Get the hell out" slogans are aimed at trying to turn working people's healthy aversion to imperialist war into a "to hell with the rest of the world—put America first" attitude. Buchanan and his ilk give credence to the lie that this was a humanitarian operation to begin with, then say it's not worth American lives to "help" the Somali people.

Their opposition, however, is no more humanitarian or antiwar than the invasion and occupation of Somalia by U.S. and UN forces was in the first place.

Instead, the framework of the debate over Somalia among bourgeois politicians is how to best defend the interests of the capitalist class and perpetuate imperialist exploitation around the world.

Former president George Bush launched the invasion of Somalia last December with the aim of asserting Washington's "right to intervene" militarily around the world and to establish a stable government it can control at a strategically located spot. Bill Clinton has continued Bush's policy for the very same reasons. The layer among the

capitalist class that has opposed this course argues simply that, in this case, the possible gains are not worth the risk of being bogged down in a quagmire there.

Working people must reject the complete contempt that Buchanan and Dole—as well as Clinton—show for the Somali people. Buchanan asks, "What are American troops doing in a tribal war in Africa?" Instead, he suggests, soldiers should be redeployed to prevent undocumented workers from crossing the Mexican border into the United States. Referring to the shooting death of a tourist in Washington, D.C., in June, he said, "Why not deal with the murderous warlords of our own capital, before taking them on in Mogadishu?"

Buchanan argues that the bosses need to put things in order at home first, to be better able to defend "vital U.S. interests" abroad in the future. Foreign policy after all is simply an extension of domestic policy. By order, Buchanan means stepping up attacks on immigrant workers, putting young people deemed rebellious in boot camps, and assaulting hard-won democratic rights.

But the Somali people are not "uncivilized," "tribal Africans," or "barbarians," as Buchanan and his ilk attempt to portray them. Most Somalis are impoverished subsistence farmers, shepherds, craftspeople, or workers.

Working people in the United States and around the world need to stand in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Somalia. For years Washington armed and financed the Siad Barre dictatorship in the Horn of Africa and backed economic policies that left the country underdeveloped and dependent. The labor movement should support the struggles of the Somali workers and farmers against imperialist exploitation and domination, which is at the root of the current crisis.

By seeing the toilers in Somalia as fellow fighters, working people around the world can call for an end to the imperialist war there without falling into Buchanan's chauvinist trap of "America first."

Oppose Yellowknife frame-up

All supporters of democratic rights should demand that the charges against striking gold miners Roger Wallace-Warren, Allan Shearing, and Tim Bettger in Yellowknife, North West Territories, Canada, be immediately dropped. Warren is charged with nine counts of murder in the September 1992 explosion that killed nine replacement workers at Royal Oak's struck Giant Mine. Shearing and Bettger have been charged with setting explosives in other strike-related incidents.

The arrest of these miners is a government- and cop-organized frame-up. Its aim is to break the strike that members of the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers (CASAW) have been waging since May 1992 and undermine the support they have received from working people across North America.

"Union members were deeply shocked by the news that a union member has been charged in connection with the tragic explosion," stated a press release by CASAW. The union is demanding that the presumption of innocence be upheld.

For more than a year the Royal Oak Company, the Royal

Canadian Mounted Police, capitalist politicians, and the big-business media have been on a concerted campaign to blame the strikers for the death of the nine replacement workers. Yet, they've never presented a shred of evidence implicating any union member in the deaths. In fact, it has never been proven that the deaths were the result of a bomb, as has been claimed. The fact that Royal Oak is notorious for its unsafe use of explosives and its total disregard for the safety of miners has been completely ignored.

It is impossible for Warren, Shearing, and Bettger to receive a fair trial. They have been all but convicted already in the capitalist media with complete disregard for the fundamental democratic principle that those accused must be considered innocent until proven guilty.

The Communist League candidates in Canada's October 25 federal elections are campaigning to demand that all charges be dropped against the three CASAW members, to get out the truth about this antilabor frame-up, and to help build solidarity with the striking miners.

All defenders of trade union and democratic rights should do the same.

End Cuba travel ban

In a deadly threat to democratic rights, the U.S. government has confiscated the passports and personal belongings of dozens of people returning from Cuba.

Most working people consider the freedom to visit the country of their choice a fundamental right. Yet for years, with only a few exceptions, Washington has maintained tight restrictions on those wanting to travel to Cuba. This policy is part and parcel of the U.S. government's attempts to strangle the Cuban revolution. The aim of the White House is to prevent the truth about Cuba from reaching the United States.

The participants in October's "Freedom to Travel Campaign," who visited Cuba in direct defiance of the travel ban, deserve the immediate support of all working people and democratic-minded individuals. Sixty-five people had their passports confiscated by U.S. Customs officials on their return to the United States. These activists now face the threat of prosecutions, penalties of \$250,000, and up to ten years in jail.

Meanwhile, the government backed down from prosecuting activist William Eickhold in Seattle for the "crime" of transporting powdered milk and a few spare boat parts to Cuba in defiance of the trade embargo. Eickhold has announced plans to sail again for Cuba in November.

Pastors for Peace is planning to send two delegations to Cuba November 19. Both will challenge the embargo and travel ban. One group will participate in voluntary housing construction in Havana.

These actions build on the successful defiance of the embargo by the U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan in July-August of this year. Pastors for Peace is already preparing another caravan for next February.

All who take part in these activities are landing important blows against the travel ban and trade embargo. As a result, they face harassment from various government agencies and terrorist outfits such as Alpha 66, who have issued death threats against those traveling to Cuba.

Every worker, farmer, student, and all supporters of the right to travel free of government interference can participate in this fight.

Join Pastors for Peace delegations to Cuba. Demand the U.S. government return the passports and personal items it confiscated from the "Freedom to Travel" activists. Invite those who visited the Caribbean island to your house, school, workplace, church, or community center to show a video and speak about their experiences. Demand an end to all travel restrictions on U.S. citizens who want to see Cuba for themselves. Drop the embargo now!

Was PLO-Israeli accord victory for Palestinians?

Reader Albert Fried-Cassorla raises some valid criticisms in his letter commenting on the September 27 *Militant* editorial on the Israeli-PLO accord.

That editorial stated, "The victory signaled by the signing of the accord between the Israeli government and the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is a product of the courageous and irrepressible *intifada*."

The accord, however, is not a victory in the fight that the Palestinian people have been waging for 50 years — for a democratic, secular Palestine. To call it such implies the agreement was wrested from the Israeli government in struggle. This is simply not accurate.

The *intifada*, the rebellion by Palestinians against Israeli occupation has largely been exhausted in the years since the 1990-91 U.S.-led war against Iraq.

This is a point that was brought home many times to Alan Harris and myself during a recent reporting trip for the *Militant* to the West Bank, Gaza, and Israel. Networks

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

of organizations, which sprung up in the occupied territories after 1987 and encompassed broad layers of youth and other Palestinians, have collapsed, many people explained. One example are the Shabibeh, or Youth Committees for Social Action, which are virtually nonexistent today. Since mid-1991, a rising number of killings of Palestinians accused of collaborating with the occupying authorities, as well as Israeli soldiers and some civilians, have increasingly replaced the mass-action movement against Israeli military rule that marked the first four years of the *intifada*.

The accord is the product of several factors. First, is the failure of the Israeli government to suppress the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination. Despite decades of brutal policies — which include mass expulsions, slaughters, arrests and torture of thousands, confiscation of land, and the building of settlements to attempt to change the demography of the occupied areas — Tel Aviv has proved incapable of crushing Palestinian resistance.

But, the accord is as much a product of the increasingly bourgeois character of the PLO leadership.

A political toll has been taken over the past 15 years by the continued dispersion of the Palestinian people. A PLO apparatus has been built up throughout countries in the Middle East and North Africa hosted and financed largely by the capitalist regimes in the Arab countries.

The blows dealt to the PLO forces in Lebanon in the past decade by the Israeli regime, the Syrian regime, and various Lebanese bourgeois political forces have had an additional disorienting and demoralizing impact on layers of the leadership, turning their eyes further away from the ranks of the Palestinian masses inside and outside Israel.

Since the overthrow of the shah of Iran in 1979, no other revolutionary developments took place in the region. In addition, the downfall of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions in the 1980s put more pressure on the PLO leadership to move away from a revolutionary perspective.

The failure of the PLO leadership to chart a revolutionary course was revealed during the Persian Gulf War. After his attempted land grab of Kuwait, Iraqi president Saddam Hussein cynically called for "linking" a partial withdrawal of his troops from the Gulf emirate with Palestinian demands for national rights. PLO chairman Yasir Arafat's endorsement of this demagogic, after-the-fact, linkage did great harm to the Palestinian fight for self-determination.

The *intifada*, while drawing a new generation of Palestinian youth into the struggle, has not forged a new leadership strong enough to replace the PLO apparatus.

In the absence of a revolutionary perspective, the blows the PLO suffered during the past decade and the massive loss of funds from most bourgeois Arab regimes in the region as well as from the former Soviet Union contributed to the PLO's decision to make this deal with the Israeli government.

In addition, the Israeli military authorities have been unable to administer the Gaza Strip. As Haidar Abdel Shafi, head of the Red Crescent in Gaza, succinctly put it, "In a way, Israel is trying to pass its headache over to the PLO."

"I would be very glad if the Israeli army withdrew even one meter from our land," Marwan al-Ghoul, a Palestinian journalist in Gaza told me. But, he added, correctly, "that is not the case, not yet anyway."

Despite the setbacks of the past decade, however, thousands of Palestinian fighters who gained experience in mass struggle during the *intifada*, have not been cowed or crushed. Many are trying to take advantage of whatever openings the recognition of the PLO has provided to organize actions demanding the release of political prisoners and press other demands. "We are not tired of struggling," Mohammed Barakat, a hotel worker in East Jerusalem told me. "It's like if you are running long distance. If you reach the end of the marathon and you see you have to go another 25 miles, you have to take a breather."

Progress in the Palestinian struggle for self-determination will depend both on the ability of these fighters to forge a new leadership and revolutionary developments in other parts of the world, which will have a decisive impact on this process.

— ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Minneapolis rally solidarizes with labor battles

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

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

Two hundred people rallied at the Communication Workers of

are working low-paying jobs or are unemployed.

More than \$3,000 was collected for the striking unionists. □

Burlington Northern rail workers strike in West

Officials of the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMW) organized protest picket lines and a strike action on the Burlington Northern Railroad (BNRR) over the last few months.

The strike occurred on the BNRR line between Denver and the Gulf of Mexico on October 3. The strike lasted for 19 hours over the compa-

ON THE PICKET LINE

America 7200 hall in Minneapolis October 9 in solidarity with striking coal miners and workers locked out by A. E. Staley Mfg. in Decatur, Illinois. A number of workers who recently struck Port Cargill Co. also attended the meeting.

Speaking on behalf of the Staley workers, Allied Industrial Workers Local 837 president Dave Watts urged everyone to attend a November 6 rally in Decatur. "The only way labor is going to survive is together. Complacency results in us losing the struggle," he stated.

National Farmers Organization, representative Jim Sarff, from Eagle Bend, Minnesota, said, "I'm a ninth-generation farmer and I had to buy the family farm back from the bank."

Tom Monnens, a steward for Grain Millers Local 1, spoke about the strike by 75 workers against Port Cargill in Savage, Minnesota, which began September 10. Cargill has offered workers in its grain division a 20-cent raise for the first year of the contract and a lump-sum payment for each of the next two years. The strikers are demanding hourly increases rather than lump sums. Cargill is trying to abolish seniority, contract work out, and assign jobs outside of classifications.

Cecil Roberts, international vice-president of the United Mine Workers of America, pointed out that coal miners have doubled their productivity in the last 10 years and now 100,000 former coal miners

ny's refusal to pay a contract agreement of an additional \$1.37 for meal and lodging allowance. The BNRR got a return to work injunction from a U.S. federal court.

In August, the BMW held a number of informational picket lines on the BNRR, CSX, and Norfolk Southern railroads, which received some regional news coverage in Missouri and Wyoming.

Union officials said rail employers are refusing to take seniority into account in making job assignments and promotion. According to BMW president Mac Fleming, members of the union are being forced to work hundreds of miles from home when they can hold a job assignment much closer. Some of these work locations stretch from Texas to the state of Washington and from Missouri to Minnesota.

All rail unionists honored the recent strike, according to a BMW official in Denver. The official also said more such actions are planned in an ongoing campaign to prepare the BMW ranks for the end of the present contract in November 1994. □

Bus drivers strike against concessions in Sweden

Four hundred fifty bus drivers and mechanics in the greater Stockholm area went on strike October 16. They are employed by Swebus, a state-owned national bus network.

The workers were previously employed by Storstockholms Lo-



More than 600 people marched through streets of Campbell River, British Columbia, September 25 to support 364 Canadian miners who have been locked out by Westmin Resources for five months.

kaltrafik (SL), a company owned by the city of Stockholm. Earlier this year 20 percent of the bus routes were put up for sale.

Striking driver Berit Weimer said the sale has meant an enormous attack on working conditions. Her monthly income fell by \$300; she lost eight vacation days; her retirement age went up from 63 to 65; her workweek went from 38 to 40 hours; and each shift can now last up to 11 hours.

When Swebus took over the routes they fired all the workers. Those who were rehired had to show their medical and driving records and go through drug tests. Those who refused were not hired. The work force was cut by 70 people. Many drivers have been put on temporary lists where they are called to work on very short notice.

Another 20 percent of the SL routes in greater Stockholm are now up for sale. One driver who still works for SL said, "We have every reason to support the Swebus workers. If they break them, we're next. If they win, so do we." □

Canada police frame up striking gold miner

On October 16, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) ar-

rested and charged Roger Wallace-Warren with nine counts of first-degree murder for the deaths of nine replacement workers at Royal Oak's Giant Mine in Yellowknife, North West Territories. Further arrests may follow. Since May 23, 1992, members of the Canadian Association of Smelter and Allied Workers union (CASAW) Local 4 have been waging a determined struggle against concessions, replacement workers, and cop violence at Royal Oak Mines. Warren is a member of CASAW Local 4.

The key issue in the strike is company attempts to cut back on safety.

Just two weeks before Warren's arrest, the strikers voted 94 percent in favor of a federal mediator's proposal that would give union members seniority over the scabs and leave several other issues, including wages, holidays, and safety inspections, open to further negotiations.

On Sept. 18, 1992, an explosion at the mine killed nine replacement workers. Since that time the company, the RCMP, and the big-business media have been waging a vicious frame-up campaign to blame striking union members for this tragedy without a shred of evidence. The charges represent a sharp escalation of the frame-up campaign against the striking unionists.

With the frame-up campaign being conducted for over one year, a serious question is posed on whether the accused unionist will get a fair trial. It is important for unionists in Canada and internationally to continue to build solidarity with the CASAW strikers and demand that the charges against Warren be dropped.

Recently, the United Mine Workers of America, representing 18,000 striking coal miners in 7 states in the United States, sent a solidarity message to the Yellowknife miners.

Messages of support can be sent to CASAW Local 4, P.O. Box 1628, Yellowknife, NWT X1A2P2 Tel. 403-873-4528 □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Louise Halverson in Minneapolis; Joe Swanson, member of United Transportation Union (UTU) Local 1730 in San Francisco; Birgitta Isacson, member of the Metal Workers Union, and Anita Ostling, member of the Transportation Workers union, in Stockholm; and Ned Dmytryshyn, member of Teamsters Local 213 and Joe Young, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 3495 in Vancouver.

LETTERS

Palestinians lost land

The *Militant's* editorial in the September 27 issue lacks a historical perspective on the situation of the Palestinians and the Israelis. True enough, the recent accord represents some major gains by the Palestinians.

But let us not forget that taking even a 60-year history into account, the record for the Palestinians would be: had land; had a country; lost land; millions pauperized; gained back a small portion of land. Albert Fried-Cassorla
Melrose Park, Pennsylvania

Homeless

A clipping from a recent issue of the *Seattle Post Intelligencer* highlights some of the recent attacks on the homeless that have been promulgated by the city government as a means of revitalizing the "Downtown Retail Core." In addition to denying the homeless people (and others) the right to public restrooms, City Attorney Mark Sidran has pushed for criminalization of the acts of urinating or defecating in public, as well as sitting on the sidewalk in certain portions of Seattle.

The "logic" behind these proposals is that the closing of retail stores such as I. Magnin and Frederick and Nelson (two large retail outlets that have ceased operations in downtown Seattle recently) is due

to the presence of panhandlers and homeless people. Apparently the high rates of unemployment and underemployment have little to do with one's ability to pay \$700 for an Armani suit in the eyes of our enlightened city's "leaders."

Of course, the city council's moves to criminalize homelessness is merely a small part of the increasing assault on the rights of all poor and working people. As the economic climate worsens, I think we can expect even more attacks such as these.

T.R.
Seattle, Washington

Victims or victimizers?

Your *Militant* editorial on crime in the Oct. 11, 1993, issue, while making a few good points, misses some very important concerns. To call the victimization of thousands of working people across this country a "so called crime wave" which "is basically media hype" is an insult to all of us working people who have ever lost their paycheck, their car, or been raped or beaten or had loved ones killed by people who have turned from being victims to victimizers.

While we need to reject fascist solutions and "law and order" baloney, working people do and will in the future reject solutions to the crime problem that basically say you can't do anything until some better day

when there is a great revolutionary movement. And your editorial, in my opinion, does just that.

Where is your revolutionary leadership in the day to day struggle of real live working people? People who not only are victims of abuse on the job but also victims of crime and abuse from capitalist victims who have become victimizers of working people.

Give us some nuts and bolts ideas on this question. How do we defend ourselves today so that we'll be alive and healthy enough to fight for a socialist tomorrow?

Phil Amador
Cincinnati, Ohio

Gang warfare in Russia

Working people trying to figure out the drama in Moscow last week were no doubt left confused if depending on the claptrap offered as news by CNN and local news analysts. The refrain "democracy in Russia" was repeated ad nauseum like a mantra. And this same chorus later congratulated Yeltsin for his brutal censorship along with banning opposition parties. I read that over the past eight years since Gorbachev initiated reforms, there has been an alarming amount of capital leaving the country for exotic places like Singapore and Hong Kong. On one talk show, a Russian journalist remarked that the sales of

Mercedes-Benz cars in Russia last year exceeded sales in Europe! So it seems the rising Russian bourgeoisie has little interest in rebuilding the infrastructure of their homeland.

The *Militant* helped clear the thick fog created by the news pundits by calling this piece of tragic theater what it was: gang warfare.

Workers World newspaper seems to have gotten carried away by the excitement. They described the battle as class warfare and resistance waged against the "fascist dictator" Yeltsin. One thing they said seems to have a ring of truth. It appears that Yeltsin has accepted his role as the head of a neocolonial country. In exchange for some crumbs from the table of the world capitalist powers, he won't take a step without approval from his masters in Washington.

Craig McKissic
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Free speech and Cuba

A call to defend free speech drew 30 people to a September 23 meeting on the Rutgers University campus in New Brunswick, New Jersey. Participants were protesting two recent attacks on opponents of the U.S. embargo against Cuba. On July 17 rightist thugs attacked individuals loading material aid bound for Cuba. On September 12 a Socialist Workers Party campaign table was attacked.

The program featured four activ-

ists from the second U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan, which succeeded in breaking the U.S. government's 33-year embargo against Cuba by collecting and transporting 100 tons of humanitarian aid for the island this past August.

Two speakers were Eugene McElroy, a longtime activist in the Irish freedom struggle and other social movements, and attorney Jeff Fogel. Both were attacked by police and rightist thugs July 17 after helping to load several Friendship trucks in Elizabeth, New Jersey. They are now facing disorderly conduct charges. Sandy Shivak, another Friendship activist, is charged with assault.

The real cause of these frenzied attacks, McElroy said, is the changes among Cuban-Americans. "For years the right-wingers have had a monopoly on the discourse on Cuba, and enforced it beyond their community. That's coming to an end."

Steve Marshall
Newark, New Jersey

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.

London cops attack antiracist march

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

LONDON — Tens of thousands of people converged here October 16 to protest racism and the growth of racist attacks.

According to the police, 500 buses brought demonstrators from all parts of Britain. There were two coaches from Northern Ireland, and people came to the march from Holland, France, and Germany.

Most estimates put the size of the demonstration at 25-30,000. Marchers were predominantly young, many participating in their first political protest. "I just couldn't stay at home today," said Dave Part, a student from Portsmouth. "We've got to do something about racism."

In the weeks leading up to the demonstration, the issue of racism has come to the center of politics in Britain. Quddus Ali, a teenager of Bangladeshi descent, was assaulted in September in the most horrific recent case of a rising number of racist attacks. He remains unconscious in a hospital on a life-support machine.

Ruling-class politicians have been attempting to scapegoat immigrants among others for the deepening economic and social crisis here. The government, supported in Parliament by the Labour Party, enacted a law to limit the right to asylum in Britain and has deported a record number of immigrants in the past year. Both the Conservative and Labour parties have initiated campaigns against "crime" that have definite racist undertones. Government minister Peter Lilley made a major speech against "foreigners" at the Tory conference. Winston Churchill, a Conservative Party member of Parliament from Manchester, has made a series of speeches attacking immigration.

On October 5, Bernie Grant, a Labour MP (member of Parliament) of Afro-Caribbean descent, won major press coverage for his proposal that Black people in Britain should

be given the chance to "return home" to their countries of origin with state funding.

The British National Party (BNP), an openly racist party, won its first local council seat in an election campaign September 18 under the slogan of "rights for whites."

The October 16 protest was organized by the Anti-Nazi League, Youth Against Racism in Europe, and the Indian Workers Association under the slogan of "Close down the BNP." The organizers had proposed to route the march to the headquarters of the BNP in Welling, southeast London. The police denied permission to march there, saying they feared possible violence.

Cops run riot

More than 3,000 cops were mobilized for the demonstration. When the front of the march reached a road junction near the BNP headquarters, protesters found rows of cops in riot gear barring their way. Some protesters attempted to breach the police lines and proceed toward the BNP offices. The cops took advantage of this to close off all exits at the junction and run riot.

The chief marshal for the march, Julie Waterson, was among dozens of protesters who were injured in the ensuing violence; she needed stitches to the head after being struck with a police truncheon. Waterson said she had been negotiating with police to bring matters under control when they charged and she was hit.

Many march participants were shocked by the violence meted out by the cops. Mary Bath, a school teacher from London, said she didn't agree with the organizers continuing to insist that the march take a route that had been banned by the police "but the police tactics were to completely discredit the demonstration and bang as many heads as possible. It was lucky that no one was killed."

According to the London Ambulance Ser-



Tens of thousands demonstrated against racism and anti-immigrant violence in London October 16. Police (above) attacked the march, injuring dozens of protesters and arresting 31.

vice, 74 people were taken to the hospital in the course of the violence. Twelve of these were cops. Police said they have arrested 31 people, and may detain others.

Many participants said they didn't agree with the stated goal of the demonstration. Mickey, a student from Manchester, said "the real threat in Britain is [government minister] Lilley. He's spreading right-wing ideas. He's in a suit and he's more of a threat than the BNP."

Linda James, a student from Cardiff, said,

"the problem with this type of action is it centers the fight on small groups like the BNP. We need united action."

Another protest, called by the Anti-Racist Alliance with the formal backing of the Labour Party executive, the Trades Union Congress general council, and a number of national trade unions marched at the same time that day to the prime minister's residence at Downing Street to demand that the BNP be banned. It attracted about 3,000 people.

Youths acquitted on most counts in Denny trial

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — The prosecution suffered a sharp setback when jurors balked at accepting charges that would have meant life terms for Damian Williams and Henry Watson, charged in the beating of truck driver Reginald Denny.

Two dozen neighbors of Watson welcomed him home with cheers. Watson was freed October 20 after the jury in Los Angeles acquitted the two youths, who are Black, of the most serious charges.

The prosecution had been unable to prove their guilt beyond a reasonable doubt during the trial.

The beating of Denny and other motorists occurred at a busy intersection in the Black community during the first hours of the antipolice riot that erupted in May 1992, when the first trial of the cops who brutalized Black construction worker Rodney King ended with not-guilty verdicts.

The jury in the Denny case found Williams not guilty of the two charges punishable with life in prison — aggravated mayhem and premeditated attempted murder against Denny. Instead the jury found Williams guilty of simple mayhem, which could mean a sentence of two-to-eight years. Williams will be sentenced in December.

Defense lawyers will move October 25 that the \$580,000 bail set for Williams be reduced and he be freed pending an appeal. District Attorney Gil Garcetti said he will oppose the motion.

Williams was also found not guilty of charges of assault with a deadly weapon against six other people. In four of the cases he was found guilty of simple assault, misdemeanors carrying minimum terms of six months. The youth was also acquitted of the two robbery charges.

Watson was found not guilty in the charge of attempted murder of Denny, but was convicted instead of simple assault. The jury



Georgiana Williams speaking to reporters after her son, Damian Williams, was acquitted of attempted murder.

deadlocked on the charge that Watson used a deadly weapon against Denny. On October 20 the judge dismissed that charge and released Watson on his own recognizance.

He was found not guilty of the charge of assault with a deadly weapon against another person and not guilty of robbery against two others.

Responding to the verdicts in the case, Edi Faal, Williams's attorney, assessed the outcome as exposing the "lack of credibility" of the prosecution's case. He said that

the charges that did result in convictions would be appealed.

Don Jackson, spokesman for the Williams family, said they were pleased by the initial outcome, but remained angry at the unfair, discriminatory trial. He scorned presiding judge John Ouderkirk for his biased conduct in the case.

Throughout the trial, rulings by Ouderkirk strongly indicated he was determined to abet prosecutor's efforts to put the defendants away for life. Perhaps his most contested decision was discharging a Black woman from the jury for impeding the deliberations. When the judge finally opened the record on this decision it clearly suggested that the juror's offense consisted of insisting that the jury give adequate consideration to the evidence and the law and proceed in a deliberate way. After her dismissal, the woman also charged the defendants were not getting a

fair trial.

The prosecution's determination to victimize Williams and Watson was evident in the inflated charges piled up against them.

In widely publicized pretrial assertions, the prosecution claimed that they had an open-and-shut case against the two men in the Denny beating. But, in court, the evidence was flimsy.

Of the numerous witnesses who took the stand, there was only one who said he could identify Williams as the perpetrator.

He was the only witness testifying to the prosecution's contention that Williams sought to commit "premeditated" murder. The witness said that earlier on the day of the riot Williams had told him, "Today I'm going to hit and kill people." It was established that the witness did not mention this alleged threat until a meeting with police and prosecutors 14 months later.

As finally constituted, the jury consisted of 10 women and 2 men. These included four jurors who are Black, four Latinos, two Asians and two Anglos.

To some measure the jury's verdicts reflect the widespread sentiment that while the beating of Denny and the others was totally unjustified, the attempts to get life sentences against Williams and Watson represented a racist double standard of justice, especially compared to the treatment given Stacey Koon and Lawrence Powell, the two cops convicted in the Rodney King beating. They are now serving 30-month sentences in "Club Fed," a minimum security federal prison.

The verdicts in the Denny case were bitterly denounced by former police chief Daryl Gates, who had come to symbolize the reactionary, racist character of the Los Angeles Police Department. Gates headed the LAPD during the 1992 riots.

On his talk show, he sputtered with anger at the outcome.

District Attorney Garcetti expressed a similar sentiment at a press conference October 20 at the steps of city hall. He stated he received a lot of phone calls from Los Angeles residents who expressed "anger, frustration, and fear," at the verdict.

On a similar note, Mayor Richard Riordan said, "We realize many people in our city are angry at the verdict." Riordan, however, asked people "to put their anger aside," and accept the verdict.