

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Activists protest harassment
of Cuba trip participants

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Striking miners, coal bosses break off talks

BY KATHY RETTIG

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — Talks between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), with 18,000 members on strike, and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) broke down October 22. According to the October 27 *Charleston Gazette*, federal mediator William Utery issued a statement that said, "Although much progress has been made in ending this longstanding dispute, a final resolution was not possible at this time."

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UMWA officials say they will adhere to an earlier decision not to discuss the status of negotiations with the press.

The coal operators have not budged from demanding concessions on medical care, reorganization of job classifications, and other takebacks. At the heart of the strike is the union's fight to prevent the coal bosses from opening new mines nonunion and refusing to hire UMWA members, thus eroding the union's presence throughout the coal fields. At a number of struck mines, the owners have begun production with supervisory personnel.

Several days prior to the briefing of union officials on the collapse of talks, International Executive Board member Howard Green told a rally of 200 miners in Hazard, Kentucky, that the UMWA had "a tough fight with the BCOA ahead." Green said, "This may be a lot longer strike than a lot of folks visualized when it started."

Big political shake-up in Canada elections

BY MICHEL PRAIRIE

MONTREAL — Canada's October 25 parliamentary elections registered the biggest political shake-up in the country since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Prime Minister Kim Campbell's ruling Progressive Conservative Party was practically shut out of parliament, winning only two seats, a plunge from its former 155 seats. It was the most massive electoral defeat of a bourgeois political party in Canada's history.

The most important fact in the elections was the rise of the right-wing populist Reform Party, which won 52 seats, up from one, and a similar surge of the Bloc Quebecois (BQ), which won 54 seats. The Bloc advocates secession of Quebec from Canada in a nationalist drive to wrest more power from Ottawa for Quebec's capitalist class. BQ could now become the official opposition in Parliament.

The Liberals, led by Jean Chrétien, won 177 seats in the 295-seat House of Commons. The New Democratic Party (NDP), a social democratic party linked to the unions outside Quebec, fell from 44 to 9 seats, the

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Protests in Miami, N.Y. press return of Aristide

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

As repression by the military inside Haiti has forced many leading supporters of Jean-Bertrand Aristide into hiding, protests demanding the unconditional return of the deposed president are being organized by thousands of Haitians in the United States.

As we go to press, negotiations continue between Robert Malval, Aristide's transitional prime minister, and top Haitian military commanders led by army chief Raoul Cédras, who led the September 1991 coup that ousted Aristide. But it has become clear to all sides that the October 30 deadline for the return of Aristide, set by last July's UN-brokered agreement, will not be met.

In Miami, a march and rally of 1,000 people October 23 called for Aristide's return to Haiti and the removal and punishment of the military coup leaders. The action was organized by Veye Yo, a leading Haitian rights organization in that city.

In New York City, 5,000 Haitians and supporters marched to the United Nations October 28 prior to Aristide's address to the General Assembly.

In Haiti, a three-and-a-half-hour negotiating session October 25 yielded no substantive progress. Under discussion is a proposal calling for parliament to pass a broad amnesty law for military officers involved in the coup. The legislature would then also pass a law separating the army from the police.

Aristide has already issued an executive order granting amnesty to the army high command, but military officials want a more encompassing order to be enacted by parliament.

Cédras is also demanding that Aristide, upon his return, be required to "expand" his cabinet to include pro-military parties and other supporters of the former Duvalier dictatorship. Aristide insists that Cédras and Col. Michel François, the chief of police in Port-au-Prince, must immediately resign. Then he might consider such steps.

The talks occur during heightened military repression and violent attacks, which



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

At least 5,000 marched to the United Nations in New York October 28 to protest military rule in Haiti and support ousted president Aristide, who addressed the UN General Assembly. "No Aristide, no peace," chanted the demonstrators.

some human rights observers describe as the worst since the first days following the 1991 coup. Many pro-Aristide legislators, fearing for their lives, have gone into hiding or fled the country.

UN special envoy Dante Caputo has called on former heads of state such as former U.S. president Jimmy Carter, former Canadian premier Brian Mulroney, and Jamaica's Michael Manley to come to Haiti. Caputo hopes that such a step would help convince many of the pro-Aristide legislators to reappear so the senate can pass the amnesty bill demanded by the military.

On October 24 Dona St. Plite, a prominent Haitian radio commentator in Miami,

was gunned down by rightist supporters of Haiti's military dictatorship. St. Plite was the third pro-democracy talk show host to be assassinated in Miami's Little Haiti exile community since Aristide's ouster. A "hit list" targeting other activists for death has recently come to light.

U.S. warships surround Haiti

Meanwhile, a massive U.S.-led military armada continues to patrol the waters surrounding Haiti. This includes six warships with more than 1,900 sailors from the United States, three ships from Canada, and one from France. This is in addition to six Coast

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Socialist candidate offers working-class alternative in New York mayoral race

BY ANDY BUCHANAN

NEW YORK — Speaking at a recent candidates forum sponsored by associations of Black, Asian-American, and Hispanic journalists, Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Mary Nell Bockman said, "The New York City election is taking place at a time of deep economic and political crisis and an accompanying social breakdown that is having devastating consequences for working people."

"One million people are without jobs in New York. Three hundred thousand are on the waiting list for public housing. Public health is deteriorating — witness the growing rates of AIDS and tuberculosis. School buildings are crumbling and overcrowded. Brutality and abuse by the police is rising, a fact underscored by the cops' testimony at the recent Mollen Commission hearings."

Bockman told the 100 journalists in the audience, that three perspectives are being offered in the face of this crisis.

"Mayor [David] Dinkins and Rudolph Giuliani defend what is actually a bipartisan assault on working people by Democrats and Republicans alike," she said. "They propose more cops, more cuts in funds for social services, more reductions in the city's work force, along with tax breaks and handouts for big business. These proposals, along with their 'war on crime,' will increase the burden on working people while attacking democratic rights."

A more radical version of this assault is being presented

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Militant/Joel Britton

Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Mary Nell Bockman debates New York mayor David Dinkins (right) at garment factory where she works.

Debate on California 'school voucher' initiative — pages 5, 14



Moscow may permit owning land

Russian president Boris Yeltsin has announced plans to lift most remaining restrictions on private ownership of land. His draft decree would allow the purchase, sale, inheritance, renting, and mortgaging of land. The measure will reportedly cover agricultural tracts as well as garden plots granted mainly to city dwellers. Investment in land companies would also become legal. It is unclear when or whether the measure will take effect.

Yeltsin halts nuclear dumping

On October 21 Russian environmental minister Viktor Danilov-Danilyan called off plans to send a tanker with 800 tons of radioactive liquid to sea and said Moscow would suspend the dumping of nuclear waste into the Sea of Japan. A Russian ship had discharged 900 tons of radioactive water from nuclear submarines days earlier, shortly after Yeltsin told Japan's prime minister the ocean dumping would stop. Danilov-Danilyan's announcement was accompanied by an appeal for financial aid to speed construction of a nuclear waste processing plant estimated to cost \$8.5 million. If financing took more than 18 months, he warned, the Russian navy might be forced to resume discharging the radioactive products from the nearly 40 nuclear-powered submarines in its Pacific fleet.

Warsaw tallies sales

Four years after the crumbling of the Stalinist regime in Poland, the government has sold almost one-third of state-owned businesses for a total of \$473 million. The private sector currently employs 60 percent of the work force and accounts for more than half of the gross domestic product.

Most of the privatized companies, however, are retail shops, restaurants, and service firms. Basic manufacturing remains largely in state hands. The pace of privatization could slow down considerably once the recently elected government, which is under pressure from protests by workers against austerity measures, takes office. Inflation in Poland was 43 percent last year and is expected to be nearly as high for 1993.

Paris tries man for war crimes

A French court rejected Paul Touvier's final appeal and ordered him to stand trial for crimes against humanity. He is the first French citizen to be tried on these charges.



U.S. Army soldiers from 24th Infantry Division from Fort Stewart, Georgia, land in Mogadishu, Somalia, as part of Clinton's plan to build up U.S. troop strength there.

Touvier is accused of directing a collaborationist intelligence unit during World War II and selecting seven Jewish hostages for execution by German occupation forces, who were seeking revenge for the killing of a collaborator by the French resistance in 1944.

Tel Aviv releases some prisoners

Tel Aviv began the release of 760 Palestinian prisoners October 25 under an agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). Those to be freed include women, children, ill prisoners, and inmates over 50. None of them will be members of Hamas or Islamic Holy War, groups that oppose the September 13 Israeli-PLO accord. The PLO, however, continues to press for the release of nearly 14,000 political prisoners, including Palestinians opposed to the accord.

Seventeen Somalis killed in clash

Three U.S. army Cobra AH-6 helicopters

buzzed over Somali demonstrators in Mogadishu, October 25, dropping a tear gas canister. Violence broke out as supporters of Mohammed Ali Mahdi attempted to march across the "Green Line" that separates the northern and southern part of the city and clashed with residents in the section of the town controlled by forces loyal to Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid. At least 17 were killed and scores of others wounded. A spokesperson for Aidid said the march was an attempt by Mahdi to disrupt a truce between Aidid's forces and United Nations troops. Aidid and Mahdi fought each other for control of Somalia's capital for four months beginning November 1991 after initially joining forces to oust U.S.-backed dictator Mohammed Siad Barre.

Coup in Burundi

Burundi president Melchior Ndadaye was reportedly overthrown and captured in a military coup just three months after taking office as the central African country's first elected leader. Radio reports in Belgium, the colonial power in Burundi until 1962, said that Ndadaye had been killed. Government officials in hiding report soldiers are violently repressing spontaneous demonstrations against the coup, which was led by the top military brass and former president Jean-Baptiste Bagaza.

Beijing reinstitutes wage controls

Beijing reclaimed control over payrolls of private as well as nationalized companies. The new rules exclude internationally owned enterprises and Chinese-foreign joint ventures. Last July the government allowed businesses to set their own wages for employees, rather than follow a pay scale based mainly on seniority. Beijing claims wages

were rising faster than productivity, which it fears will lead to company bailouts and fuel inflation that already stands at 20 percent in major cities.

Captain cleared in Tailhook case

The Marine Corps dropped all charges against Gregory Bonam, the captain charged with sexually molesting the naval aviator who first spoke out about the abuses that occurred at the 1991 Tailhook convention. Navy officials said there is no doubt that the woman accusing Bonam had been assaulted there, but they lacked evidence to proceed with his court-martial. The aviator's description of her assailant's attire did not match photos of Bonam from that evening. Defense lawyers also said she first identified a marine corporal who was not at the convention as her attacker.

U.S. child poverty on rise

A study conducted by the Center on Hunger, Poverty and Nutrition Policy at Tufts University in Boston warns that if present trends continue, half of all children in the United States who are Black or Latino and one-fourth of children who are white will live in poverty by the year 2010. The report found that from 1973 to 1992, the number of children in the United States living in poverty increased by about 47 percent. The assessment follows a recent study by UNICEF that found child poverty in the United States was more than double that in other major industrial countries.

D.C. mayor seeks National Guard

Washington, D.C., mayor Sharon Kelly asked President Clinton to call up the National Guard October 22 to help police the city. Kelly requested a contingent of 500 military police to set up road blocks and ride with city cops. Domestic mobilization of a National Guard unit is usually handled by a governor. But the District of Columbia is not a state so the authority to call up the troops rests with the president. Clinton rejected the request, saying such a decision should be made by Congress, which he urged to act affirmatively. Mobilization of the National Guard is part of Kelly's "crime-control" package that would emphasize arresting youths, trying them as adults, and doing everything possible to convict and keep them in jail.

Flotilla brings aid to Cuba

The second Basta! [Spanish for enough] flotilla left Key West, Florida, for Cuba October 15 with 40 tons of powdered milk, medicine, and other aid. The 17-boat fleet donated six times more goods than was delivered in the first trip last April. Washington cleared the flotilla's journey, making it legal for volunteers to go to the Caribbean island and deliver the cargo.

According to the *Miami Herald*, most of the donations were made by Cuban-American groups that oppose the U.S. embargo. The Basta! volunteers are planning another flotilla next spring.

—PAT SMITH

Rosa Garmendia from Miami contributed to this week's column.

THE MILITANT

Defend public education!

The 'Wall Street Journal,' the 'New York Post,' and other big-business dailies, as well as many capitalist politicians, are campaigning for 'school choice' in the latest attempt to undermine public education. Will so-called school vouchers and privatization of schools solve the mounting problems facing millions of students? The 'Militant' provides facts and analysis you can't find anywhere else. Don't miss a single issue!



Parents and schoolchildren protest outside Public School 156 in Brooklyn, New York, to demand permanent building for students displaced because of asbestos crisis.

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Nelson Mandela takes ANC campaign to Zulus in Natal

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

A crowd of 60,000 people, most of them Zulu, assembled in the Indian Ocean port city of Durban in Natal province October 24 to hear Nelson Mandela. In his speech the African National Congress (ANC) president, campaigning for his organization's platform for the 1994 elections, called for unity among all South Africans.

"We have come here to celebrate the diversity and unity of our people," said Mandela. "We have upheld these principles in the face of the most brutal efforts by colonial and apartheid rule to divide our people, to destroy our pride in ourselves, and to ferment racial hatred and ethnic conflict."

Mandela's visit to Natal province helped boost the ANC's election campaign in the area and provided a powerful answer to the false claims by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he represents the vast majority of the region's 7 million Zulu people.

Buthelezi is also the chief minister of the KwaZulu "homeland," a creation of the apartheid regime in Natal. His organization has blocked with the right-wing white separatist Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) in the so-called Freedom Alliance, which opposes the multiparty negotiations under way.

The Durban rally was part of an ANC-organized festival and cultural event around the slogan "Many Cultures — One Nation." Buthelezi had told supporters to stay away. Some Inkatha members attempted to intimidate people who decided to attend.

"It is the ANC that calls the shots in this province," proclaimed Mandela to an enthusiastic crowd.

He explained that 350 years of white supremacist rule had failed to destroy the "common humanity" of South Africans. "All our communities... have provided the thread woven in this tapestry, black and white, coloureds and Indians are part of the weave," said the ANC leader.

"This festival," continued Mandela, "is the start of the process that draws on the unity of our people and carries forward the process of building a common nation."

"We stand at the gateway of democracy. On April 27, 1994, for the first time in the history of our country all South Africans, black and white, will participate in elections as equals, as individuals. At last we emerge from the tyranny of racial hatred, ethnic rivalry, and conflict," he said.

A day earlier, in the city of Pietermaritzburg, Mandela said that Buthelezi's scheme to withdraw the Natal-KwaZulu region from

the South African state would fail. "It's not an individual who decides on secession," said Mandela. "It's the people of South Africa."

Meanwhile, negotiators for the 21 political organizations participating in multiparty talks have set November 5 as the deadline for completing a new interim constitution. A broader meeting of political leaders is scheduled November 6-7 to ratify the proposed document.

The ANC has also held bilateral talks with representatives from the right-wing Freedom Alliance. This group is demanding that a final constitution be approved before the elections. The ANC insists that the final version must be drawn up by the constituent assembly to be elected in April.

Former South African Army general Constand Viljoen, who leads the AVF, is also demanding recognition of self-determination and a national state for white Afrikaners.



Mandela (center) at campaign rally in Durban October 24. On the right is ANC official Jacob Zuma, who is Zulu.

Mandela has made clear that the ANC will never agree to the demand for a separate homeland for any ethnic group in the new South Africa. The ANC leader said that as long as the right-wing groups "are prepared for dialogue I will work with them."

"I have said to General Viljoen," continued Mandela, "we are now drawing up boundaries for regions and if he shows me the region where he wants to live I am prepared to consider that. But it must be a region in which all population groups are free to settle and have full rights of citizenship."

Freedom Alliance representatives met with ANC negotiators, led by Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa, October 19 and again October 25. These talks, however, are deadlocked on how the constitution should be drafted.

NATO rejects expanding membership

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Initiatives by the governments of Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) were rejected by Washington and capitalist powers in Europe at a meeting in Germany October 21.

NATO defense ministers endorsed a Clinton administration proposal, outlined by U.S. secretary of defense Les Aspin, termed "Partnerships for Peace." Instead of membership, Aspin said, the governments of the former Warsaw Pact countries, including Russia, could negotiate individual contracts with NATO. These might include joint military training, exercises, so-called peacekeeping operations, and "crisis management." Details are to be worked out at a NATO summit in January.

Aspin deflected questions about whether governments with such contracts could become members in this decade. "NATO is not a club," he said, "it is a security organization."

Warren Christopher, U.S. secretary of state, downplayed remarks by one State Department official who claimed that Clinton's plan would eventually expand NATO to include Russia and other former Warsaw Pact governments. "We would welcome an opportunity to, in an evolutionary way, consider the admission of all the countries," said Christopher.

Moscow lobbied against the membership expansion. Russian president Boris Yeltsin, reversing a previous position, wrote Clinton recently saying he would oppose any broadening of NATO unless Russia was admitted at the same time. "We look at things from our view," said Russian defense minister Pavel Grachev. "As NATO is a military alliance, we would wonder what the purpose is with its expansion."

In an opinion column in the October 17 *New York Times*, Czech president Vaclav Havel argued that "the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia... clearly belong to the western sphere of European civilization," and that this area "borders both on the traditionally agitated Balkans and the great Eurasian area." Havel said that if the plea was rejected, it would "mean encouraging imperial ambitions," — a thinly veiled reference to Russia.

The German rulers favor NATO expansion to help stabilize Europe, which is the scene of one full-scale war in the former Yugoslavia and numerous conflicts in the former Soviet Union. German defense minister Volker Ruehe claimed new members could join the alliance by the year 2000. NATO is surrounded with pressures driven by the world depression as competition and conflict mount between the rival allies that make up the organization. In addition, turmoil in the former Soviet republics is of

concern to the imperialist powers.

"The insistent requests by Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic to be permitted to join NATO testifies to their perception of the European security problem," wrote Henry Kissinger in an October 26 *New*

York Post column. "If Russia restores its empire by force or pressure, some of the patterns of the Cold War will reappear."

The *New York Times* editors hailed Clinton's move October 25. "The Clinton administration is right to say no for now," they wrote.

Ten years after U.S. invasion, social and economic ills mount in Grenada

BY SARA LOBMAN

Ten years after U.S. troops invaded Grenada, economic and social conditions on the Caribbean island of 100,000 people have deteriorated drastically.

In October 1983, the workers' and farmers' government in Grenada that had come to power in 1979 as a result of a popular revolution was overthrown by a bureaucratic clique of officials in the army, government, and the ruling New Jewel Movement (NJM). This faction, led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard, then ordered the murder of Prime Minister and founding member of the NJM Maurice Bishop, as well as five other central leaders of Grenada's revolutionary government.

A week later, on Oct. 25, 1983, the U.S. government, taking advantage of the demobilization of Grenada's working people, launched a military invasion of the island. In the decade since, most of the gains of the revolution have been reversed by a government installed by Washington in the aftermath of the invasion.

Unemployment, which had been slashed from 50 percent to 12 percent by the policies of the Bishop government, has risen again to more than 46 percent. Sixty-five percent of women are unemployed today.

According to an October 19 *Christian Science Monitor* article titled "Grenada — Ten Years Later," International Monetary Fund-mandated "restructuring" has led to "deepening hardship — unemployment and stagnation." Production of nutmeg, traditionally one of Grenada's major exports and a primary source of income has plunged. The 1993 earnings from this spice, are expected to be only \$6 million — less than 20 percent the figure from just 5 years ago. "Things have gotten progressively worse on the social and economic levels," an article in the *Carib News* said late last year.

The revolutionary government that came to power in 1979 faced massive challenges. Grenada had become independent from Britain just five years earlier, but its economy continued to be dominated by British and U.S. imperialism. Dictator Eric Gairy

had pushed through antistrike and other repressive legislation and defended his regime through bands of paramilitary thugs called the Mongoose Gang.

The new government immediately began to take steps to mobilize Grenada's workers and farmers to reorganize the country in their own interests. New laws required employers to recognize unions and ensured the right to strike. Membership in trade unions rose from 30 percent to 90 percent. Organizations of women, youth, and farmers grew as thousands of Grenadians began to take their destiny into their own hands. Councils were set up in workplaces, parishes, villages, and neighborhoods.

Between 1979 and 1982, Grenada's gross national product grew by nearly 14 percent. New roads were built. Water, telephone, and electrical services were upgraded and a new public transportation system were put in place. Programs were set up to give farmers more access to modern technology, low-interest loans, and markets. Medical and dental care was made free and secondary-school education was declared a right, not a privilege for the rich. An adult literacy program was

launched.

Special attention was paid to the rights of women, including legislation against sexual harassment of working women, equal pay for equal work, and a maternity law that forced employers to grant leaves to women — most of it at full pay — before and after childbirth.

The revolutionary government pursued an internationalist course. It established close relations with the people of revolutionary Nicaragua and Cuba and it mobilized solidarity with other liberation struggles around the world.

The conditions that working people in Grenada face today, 10 years after the defeat of the revolution by the Stalinist Coard faction, are a telling condemnation of the U.S. government's promises to guarantee prosperity and development to the region. The Caribbean Basin Initiative, for example, was launched in 1983 as a direct response by the U.S. rulers' to the Nicaraguan and Grenadan revolutions. Under the guise of offering aid to the region, it sought to restructure the Caribbean economy to benefit U.S. corporations and deepen dependence on U.S. imperialism.

FROM PATHFINDER

The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop

BY STEVE CLARK

The accomplishments and lessons of the Grenada revolution and how it was overthrown from within by the Stalinist gang that murdered Maurice Bishop. In *New International* no. 6. 272 pp. \$10.00

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Barbara McIntosh meets a man who says we are not being told the truth about the Balkans conflict

'Bloodshed, lies and capitalist propaganda'

SCENES of bloodshed, violence and utter devastation in what was once Yugoslavia are featured daily on our television screens and across the front pages of national newspapers.

But sitting cosily on our living room sofas, can we accept what we learn about the conflict is the truth?

What does it matter, anyway. What effect can a war thousands of miles away have on people in Chorlton?

Engineering worker Jonathan Silberman believes the consequences of such a conflict could have far-reaching influences on the lives of every individual in society today.

He believes the strife has been grossly misrepresented by world leaders through the press and media.

Jonathan, of St Werburgh's Road, Chorlton, has co-written a book based on what he perceives as the truth underlying the causes of one of the bloodiest conflicts since the second World War.

Called 'The Truth About Yugoslavia - why working people should oppose intervention,' it is published this week by Pathfinder Press.

Said Jonathan: "I was concerned that false explanations were being given about the devastation and

carnage which is taking place in Yugoslavia. I first became interested when I wrote an article for The Militant newspaper in New York.

"I later found out Pathfinder publishers, with whom I have a lot of contact, were looking put together a book on Yugoslavia.

"They asked if I would allow the article to form the core of the book.

"One of the other two authors, George Fyson, is from New Zealand. The other, Argiris Malapanis, is from Greece and has a greater insight of the conflict, having visited the area."

A political activist and trade unionist, Jonathan believes in non-intervention. He said: "I believe the solution to the problems lies



Jonathan Silberman... at home in Chorlton with his controversial book about the Balkans

Picture: TRISTAN FREEMAN

with the people of Yugoslavia, not foreign intervention.

"It was these same people, who under great adversity during the second world war, defeated the Nazi occupation and overturned capitalist rule.

"They drove out half a million foreign troops occupying their country and brought about a revolution.

"I believe that we have a lot to learn from these experiences.

"Unfortunately the world leaders, through the press and media are putting forward the message that the war is rooted in 'age-old

ethnic and religious conflicts."

The book places today's Balkan war in the framework of world capitalist decline. The authors present the war's economic and social origins, and explain why working people should oppose intervention.

It says the collapse of the former Yugoslavia came about, not as a result of communism as it is popularly believed, but because of Stalinist rule.

And it explains that the war is a product of intensifying conflicts and crises of the depression-ridden world capitalist system.

It suggests that rival gangs of would-be capitalists - fragments of the former Yugoslav Stalinist regime - have draped themselves in nationalist colours in a war for territory and resources that is against the interest of all working people.

Meanwhile, Washington and its competitors in Europe, it states, are intervening militarily to protect and advance their respective interests - economic, political and military.

"I believe we could be hearing the opening guns of world war three," said Jonathan.

"The major powers are trifling

with conflict. It starts with trade wars and ends with shooting wars.

"And with the nuclear technology such a prospect would be horrific. But I don't believe world war three is inevitable. It can be stopped by ordinary people taking the power to make war out of the hands of the war makers.

"With no less than 34 wars going on in the world today, society is a more volatile, more dangerous place.

"We are in a state of economic crisis. This conflict in the former Yugoslavia could happen anywhere if we are not vigilant against nationalism and racism."

'I believe we could be hearing the opening shots of World War Three'

Bosnia battles heat up; U.S. gov't renews threats

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

With talks for a negotiated settlement at a stalemate, fighting among rival militias has picked up across Bosnia.

After a lull of several weeks, Serb rightist forces have once again begun heavy artillery bombardment of Sarajevo. According to a Bosnian radio report, one such barrage on October 23 killed 5 people and wounded at least 37. Most homes in the Bosnian capital, which has been under siege for the past 18 months by troops led by Serbian Democratic Party head Radovan Karadzic, are without electricity, running water, and natural gas.

In response, Washington has once again threatened to unleash air strikes by NATO warplanes against Serb-held positions. The governments of Britain, France, and Canada strongly oppose such strikes, however, as long as their troops continue to operate in Bosnia.

At the end of September, the Bosnian par-

liament rejected a United Nations-sponsored plan to partition the country into three ethnic-based regions with 52 percent of the territory going to Karadzic's group, 30 percent to the Muslim-led Bosnian government, and 17 percent to the Croatian Democratic Union headed by Croatian arms dealer Mate Boban. Serbian rightist forces currently hold 70 percent of Bosnia's territory.

Karadzic's militias continue to block desperately needed food and other material assistance to enclaves inhabited mostly by Muslims. As winter sets in, food deliveries to areas hit hardest by the fighting have dropped to as little as 20 percent of what relief agencies consider necessary to meet minimal needs.

In Srebrenica, one of several towns that have been declared "safe areas" by the UN Security Council, inspectors found most of the housing too badly damaged to be habitable by the 44,000 people living there.

Boban's troops, which work hand-in-hand with Croatian army units, and the Bosnian government army have also been battling each other for territory in the central and southwest parts of the republic. Bosnian government troops recently attacked the predominantly Croat towns of Zepce and Vares. Croat forces in turn burned down Stupni Dol, a majority Muslim village. Some 80 residents were reportedly killed in this attack.

Bosnia's mainly Muslim town of Maglaj, located north of Sarajevo, has been almost completely destroyed. The 34,000 inhabitants were forced to cram into cellar shelters after being pounded by rightist Serbian and Croatian forces.

Fighting has also erupted between rival Muslim-based groupings in the Bihac region located in northwest Bosnia. Muslim leader Fikret Abdic declared this area autonomous from the Sarajevo government September 27 and has signed separate accords with Karadzic's and Boban's forces.

Some 200,000 people, most of them Muslim, live in the Bihac region. Abdic, a wealthy businessman, has kept his livestock and food processing enterprises going over the past couple of years by making clandestine deals with the Serbian and Croatian governments.

The 380,000 residents of Sarajevo are also now suffering the effects of gang warfare by paramilitary groups that operate throughout the city and are based within the Bosnian army.

"Foreign journalists and officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees are being held up at gunpoint almost daily in the downtown streets of Sarajevo by paramilitary bands," reported the October 23 Washington Post.

Bosnian army commanders acknowledge that key sections of the front lines around the city are under the control of militias loyal

to the gang leaders, many of whom have powerful links to officials in the Bosnian government.

"The gangs control the thriving black market, which accounts for virtually all the trade in food, alcohol and vehicle fuel in the besieged city," stated an article in the October 22 New York Times. "Working with similar gangs operating on the Serbian side of the siege lines, the gangs run a nighttime smuggling operation that brings truckloads of contraband over the bridges" that separate Serbian-held territory from Sarajevo.

"They call us heroes for defending the city," stated one Bosnian army soldier. "But much of the time, we seem to be defending the rights of profiteers."

Meanwhile, the economic sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia, which is comprised of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, has led to virtual economic collapse with working people suffering the most. According to the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, more than 3 million of the country's 10 million people are living at or below the poverty line. This figure includes 1 million idled industrial workers.

Industrial production and the gross domestic product have both fallen by about two-thirds from their 1989 levels, according to government statistics. Manufacturing is expected to fall another 30 percent this year. During the first nine months of 1993, annual inflation zoomed to a startling 48.5 million percent, and currently runs about 15-20 percent a day.

Facing intense criticism as a result of this crisis, Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic dissolved parliament October 20 to avert a no-confidence vote in his government. He called for new elections to be held December 19.

Milosevic's move follows a split between his Socialist Party of Serbia and his former ally, the rightist Radical Party led by Vojislav Seselj.

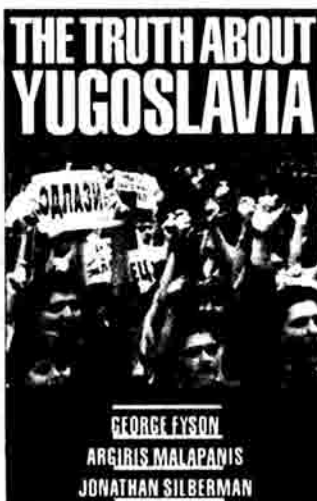
The Truth about Yugoslavia

WHY WORKING PEOPLE SHOULD OPPOSE INTERVENTION

by George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman

The carnage in Yugoslavia is a product of the crisis of the depression-ridden world capitalist system. Rival gangs of would-be capitalists—fragments of the former Yugoslav Stalinist regime—are fighting in a war for territory and resources. Far from displaying any humanitarian concern, Washington and the European powers are intervening militarily to advance their competing interests. \$8.95

Available at bookstores listed on page 12, or at the address below. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling.



'School voucher' proposition stirs debate

BY GALE SHANGOLD

LOS ANGELES — On November 2 the "Education Vouchers Initiative," more commonly known as Proposition 174, will be on the ballot in the state of California. If approved, it will deal a body blow to public education in a school system already under siege by the economic crisis. The principle of separation of church and state will also be thrown out the window.

The ballot initiative on public funding of private education through vouchers has stirred a heated debate nationwide. Despite unsuccessful efforts to pass similar measures in Oregon and Colorado, a growing number of states are considering the use of school vouchers. Legislative drives are under way in Florida, Connecticut, Indiana, and other states.

A "yes" vote at the polls for Proposition 174 would amend California's constitution to give parents who choose not to send their child to a public school a voucher worth about \$2,600, half of what the state currently spends on each public school student per year. The voucher can then be used toward tuition at any private school with more than 25 students that accepts the child — including religious schools.

According to a brochure produced by Coalition '93, a group that opposes the voucher scheme, the other \$2,600 would revert to the state's general fund and would not be earmarked for education unless the legislature and the governor decide to return it.

The state's 5.2 million public school students could start using the vouchers next fall; most students who are already in private schools would become eligible in 1995.

According to some statistics 120,000 private school students would initially be able to apply for vouchers, costing the state \$310 million. By 1995 all of the 540,000 students currently enrolled in private facilities would become eligible to accept vouchers, at an additional cost of \$1.35 billion.

These figures do not take into account public school students who might transfer to private schools, resulting in further losses.

If the initiative is approved, California would be the first state in the country to allow public funds to go to nonsecular schools. A program in the city of Milwaukee, already in effect, gives vouchers to 631 low-income students, but excludes religious schools.

Majority opposes initiative

According to a poll by the *Los Angeles Times*, published October 21, "California voters have turned sharply and solidly against Proposition 174." The poll showed that 59 percent of registered voters are currently opposed to the initiative and 26 percent favor it.

The California Teachers Association is the largest single contributor to the campaign against Proposition 174.

Albert Shanker, national president of the American Federation of Teachers, came to Los Angeles to add his voice to the opposition. At an October 13 debate he said, "The question is not whether the public schools are in bad shape. The question is what's the best way to improve the public schools. I would acknowledge the public schools have

lots of problems, but is your remedy a cure or a poison?"

Radio and TV spots by the anti-voucher campaign focus on the point that anyone who "rounds up" 25 students can open a voucher-redeeming private school, with teachers who need no credentials and would not be required to teach basic courses.

A main force behind the referendum is the Reason Foundation, an institute in Los Angeles that advocates privatization of many government functions.

One of their prominent donors is businessman Joseph Jacobs. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Jacobs said he supports Proposition 174 because "the free-market system always produces a better product." He compared schools to the automobile industry, saying they will only improve if faced with competition.

A section of the voucher plan actually lays out a process whereby a public school can be privatized.

Among the proponents of the measure and similar initiatives in other states is the Roman Catholic church, which has lobbied for decades for public funding of parochial school education.

National pro-voucher groups

Two new pro-voucher groups, Americans for School Choice and Empower America, have pledged to continue the fight no matter what happens with the California initiative at the polls.

The directors' list of Americans for School Choice, which is opening up its national headquarters in Chicago, includes many Republican Party leaders. Among them are former education secretaries Lamar Alexander and William Bennett, former housing secretary Jack Kemp, and Wisconsin governor Tommy Thompson.

The September 19 *Times*, however, reported that the California Republican convention was split over the referendum. Recently, Republican governor of California Peter Wilson announced his opposition to 174. Former president Ronald Reagan has also refused to back the voucher proposition.

On October 13 leaders of several business groups, including the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, the Valley Industry and Commerce Association, and Regional 2000 Partnership, held a news conference to announce their opposition to the initiative.

An October 18 *Times* article was headlined "Private Schools Polarized Over Voucher Issue." The article reports, "In general, the most elite and expensive schools... oppose the initiative, believing that the financing provisions will hurt public schools and lead to government intervention in private schools." Their students can generally afford to attend without the vouchers.

But officials in Catholic schools, which educate half the state's private school students, and most other church-affiliated facilities appear to favor the initiative. Most of these schools offer tuition at or below \$2,600.

Anyim Palmer, founder of the Marcus Garvey School in South-Central Los Angeles, a private school that promotes a curriculum including studies in Afro-American

history and culture, told the *Times* that he supports the initiative.

"Many of our parents feel it is too good to be true because it would ease a tremendous burden from them," Palmer predicts that many Black parents, fed up with public schools, would flock to his campus if the voucher scheme passes.

Meetings and debates on the referendum are taking place throughout California daily.

At an October 19 meeting at Baldwin Hills Elementary School in Los Angeles, Black and Latino parents discussed their opposition to the measure.

"Is the public going to subsidize the private choices of parents?" asked Sidney Morrison, an elementary school principal in Torrance. "There was a time when there were private police, private fire departments, but a public sector was developed because institutions were needed by the public regardless of their ability to pay. This initiative is an attack on the public system."

"The proponents of the initiative use rhetoric when they call this the 'school choice initiative,'" he continued. "But it is a tax subsidy for the private sector and it is an attack on the separation of church and state. It should not be the role of the public to subsidize religious schools or the private sector."

Morrison and others pointed out that while the initiative forbids discrimination on the basis of race or national origin, it says nothing about religion, gender, income, IQ test scores, or physical and mental disabilities.

In the discussion Jan Marrero commented that even though she lives two blocks from Marcus Garvey, if 174 were to pass she still couldn't afford to send her kids there. Many top-rated private schools in the Los Angeles area cost \$10,000 or more.

"Public schools tell the people, 'We will take you all,'" Marrero said. "But if you don't have the right attitude, you can be thrown out of a private school."

One section of the initiative gives private schools the right to expel any student they want who is "deriving no substantial academic benefit."

One woman with grandchildren in private schools voiced her support for the initiative. She said, "Children are suffering in L.A. Catholic schools perform much better. The public schools need the competition and I need all the [financial] help I can get."

Speaking at a Militant Labor Forum October 23, Gabriel Medel, a parent leader in the public schools for many years, said, "I trust the public school system even though we need to improve it. But we as parents



Militant/Stuart Mack
Many at immigrant rights march in San Diego October 16 opposed the school voucher initiative.

can participate in it.

"Education used to be only for the select few," he said. "Public education came about so that we could all have equal rights. We fought so that every parent can have their children in the public schools. That is one reason why I came to this country."

He told the audience about an October 16 conference of 375 parents from across the district, sponsored by Parents for Unity and dedicated to defeating 174.

Medel closed his remarks by saying that the Los Angeles public schools are facing many attacks from the state government. "Even if we win this time, they will be back. They are thirsty and want our blood. Enough is enough. We need to improve education. This is just a beginning for us."

Kim Allen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles earlier this year, said both Democrats and Republicans are responsible for attacks on public education.

"Workers who can afford it send their children to private schools because of the real problems and real fears they have with a declining educational system," Allen stated.

"One of my coworkers, an engineer on the railroad, works a lot of voluntary overtime each week so he can afford the tuition of a private school. This means that he comes to work with little rest."

"But there are really no individual solutions," she said. "Workers struggled for the right to public education that would be available to everyone. Now we have to fight to defend and extend that right."

Southwest tour boosts defense of Iowa unionist

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

Mark Curtis recently. Chris Remple, representative of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, toured the region as the featured speaker and also had discussions with activists in other struggles interested in the case.

On October 8, the eve of the

qualifies for a parole hearing.

During his visit, Remple met with Pam Wilson of the William Andrews Equal Justice Committee (WAEJC). The committee was founded after the execution of Andrews, a Utah prisoner.

The WAEJC also fights for equal treatment under the law for all accused of crimes. Wilson and another activist reviewed the facts of the fight for justice for Curtis and expressed interest in reading the trial transcript.

The day before the public event, Remple also met with Suzanne Smith, an activist in the fight for the rights of Native Americans. Smith volunteered to arrange the showing of *The Frame-up of Mark Curtis* video, produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle, to those interested after a local Unitarian Church gathering.

Over dinner, supporters met with

two youth. One of them, Terri, who had already seen the Castle video, chaired the public meeting the next day. Terri signed up as an endorser of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee at the forum.

Fifteen people were present at the public meeting and more than \$550 was raised through a dinner before the forum and contributions from those attending the event.

In Denver, 15 people attended a public meeting, including two abortion clinic defenders, a Native American activist and member of

the American Friends Service Committee, and activists against police brutality. A question and answer period followed the presentation on the political stakes involved in the case. Four participants endorsed Curtis's fight for justice. Supporters collected over \$200 after the meeting. All participants received infor-

mation packets.

Supporters in Santa Fe, including

Curtis's sister, organized a house meeting attended by members of Curtis's family and supporters from the area. The meeting gave a thorough account of the case and how to broaden support for his fight. The participants included Mara Taub, the coordinator of the Coalition for Prisoner's Rights Newsletter, and Pamela Vasquez, a high school Spanish teacher.

For more information write to the

Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311, or call (515) 246-1695.

Chris Remple from Des Moines and Barbara Greenway from Salt Lake City contributed to this week's column.

DEFENDING MARK CURTIS AROUND THE WORLD

a 25-year sentence. Since his arrest, thousands of workers, farmers, students, and fighters for democratic rights around the world have joined in calling for justice for Curtis.

Supporters in Salt Lake City,

Utah; Denver; and Santa Fe, New Mexico, hosted several public events to continue the fight for justice for

public meeting in Salt Lake City, supporters learned that the Iowa Parole Board had denied Curtis a parole hearing and release this year. The board told Kate Kaku, Curtis's wife and leading activist in the defense effort, that instead they were requesting he be transferred to the Iowa Medical and Classification prison at Oakdale for psychological evaluation. Based on the results, the board would decide whether Curtis

Special forums on Iran, other topics, will boost fund-raising

BY SARA LOBMAN

Supporters from across the United States have started to write in to the *Militant* to report on plans for special Militant Labor Forums to celebrate the 65th anniversary of the paper and to raise contributions and pledges for the \$75,000 fund. Detroit; Greensboro, North Carolina; Philadelphia; Salt Lake City, Utah; Twin Cities, Minnesota; and Pittsburgh are all planning meetings in November or early December.

Supporters in Seattle have asked Doug Jenness — who edited the paper for several years and is now a member of the United Steelworkers of America in the Twin Cities — to speak at a fund program on a working-class response to the destruction of the environment. Jenness will also give a class that will explain a Marxist approach to the North American Free Trade Agreement.

The *Militant* is excited to announce that Ma'mud Shirvani will be available to speak for the rest of the fund campaign. Shirvani, who is the coauthor of the introduction to the Pathfinder book *To See the Dawn, Baku 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East*, recently visited Iran and Azerbaijan. He has already spoken in a number of cities on political developments in the region.

The *Militant* has been a crucial source of information over the years for political developments in this area of the world. "Wall Street and the Eisenhower administration are holding their breath in the hope that the royalist military coup in Tehran, which has returned the exiled Shah of Iran to power and deposed Premier Mossadegh, will prove lasting," the *Militant* wrote in August 1953. The *Militant* explained how the treachery of the

Stalinist parties in Iran and the Soviet Union crippled the toilers, led to the slaughter of thousands of working people, and prevented any effective opposition to the Shah.

The 1953 coup, incidentally, coincided with the 25th anniversary of the *Militant* and a special \$18,000 Publication Fund.

Revolution in Iran

Almost 26 years later, in early 1979, working people in Iran overthrew the Shah. The *Militant*, which was on its way to the successful completion of a \$75,000 50th anniversary fund, was on the scene. "Shah's regime crumbles as revolution deepens," read a headline in the first issue of the year. *Militant* staff writer Cindy Jaquith rushed to Tehran to cover first hand the massive revolutionary mobilizations of workers, students, and soldiers that swept across the country and inspired workers and peasants throughout the Middle East.

"The entire country is at an intense revolutionary pitch," Jaquith wrote in an article that appeared in the Feb. 9, 1979 issue of the *Militant*. As millions mobilized in Tehran, Tabriz, and other cities, the Shah fled the country. Peasants seized the land they had been working. Azerbaijani and Kurdish toilers mobilized against the Shah and for their national rights.

Massive strikes by oilworkers and others; soldiers deserting the Shah's army to join the popular uprising; tens of thousands of women pouring into the streets to advance the revolution and fight for their rights; the formation of workers committees in the factories; endless political debates and discussions — this was what a revolution looked like. And the *Militant* was there to report the

facts and help point the way forward.

In the years since, the *Militant* has been the only source for working people who want to understand why the 1979 revolution did not lead to a workers and peasants government. In an article in a recent *Militant*, Shirvani explains how the lack of working-class leadership enabled a section of Iran's capitalist class to take governmental power and hold onto it. Today, Shirvani explains, the crisis of the bureaucratic regimes and Stalinist parties in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are once again leading to new openings for political discussion.

Overtime helps reader contribute

As we enter the third week of the fund campaign, four more cities have placed themselves on the chart with contributions. Detroit, Greensboro, Philadelphia, and Twin Cities all sent in funds this week. We received \$600 on pledges made at the recent meeting of socialist trade unionists who are members of the United Auto Workers.

"Enclosed is a contribution of \$200 to help cover the reporting trip to occupied Palestine," a reader from Michigan wrote. "It's a revolving credit loan check, but we seem to be getting overtime Saturdays, so I can rush it to the *Militant* and not be too nervous about covering it before I have to pay the bank a lot of interest."

Our Michigan reader has the right spirit. A good challenge for supporters around the country to shoot for by next week is for every single area to make at least a modest contribution toward their goal. Funds received in the Militant Business Office by Tuesday 12:00 noon, EST, will be counted toward that week's total.

MILITANT
PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL
1993 FUND
GOAL \$75,000

	Goal	Paid	Percentage	
Pittsburgh	\$ 2,000	\$ 775	39%	
Cleveland	\$ 2,750	\$ 302	11%	66,700
Morgantown	\$ 1,250	\$ 105	8%	
New York	\$ 4,000	\$ 305	8%	
Greensboro	\$ 2,000	\$ 150	8%	
Detroit	\$ 3,500	\$ 250	7%	58,300
Twin Cities	\$ 4,500	\$ 250	6%	
Philadelphia	\$ 3,800	\$ 200	5%	
Newark	\$ 4,000	\$ 210	5%	
San Francisco	\$ 6,500	\$ 100	2%	
St. Louis	\$ 3,425	\$ 5	0%	50,000
Albany	\$ 200	\$ 0	0%	
Atlanta	\$ 2,750	\$ 0	0%	
Baltimore	\$ 2,000	\$ 0	0%	
Birmingham	\$ 2,000	\$ 0	0%	41,700
Boston	\$ 3,000	\$ 0	0%	
Brooklyn	\$ 3,000	\$ 0	0%	
Chicago	\$ 5,000	\$ 0	0%	
Cincinnati	\$ 300	\$ 0	0%	
Des Moines	\$ 2,000	\$ 0	0%	33,300
Houston	\$ 3,000	\$ 0	0%	
Los Angeles	\$ 6,500	\$ 0	0%	
Miami	\$ 2,000	\$ 0	0%	
New Haven	\$ 500	\$ 0	0%	
Salt Lake City	\$ 2,500	\$ 0	0%	25,000
Seattle	\$ 2,500	\$ 0	0%	
Washington, D.C.	\$ 2,400	\$ 0	0%	
TOTAL	\$77,375	\$ 2,652	4%	16,700
SHOULD BE	\$75,000	\$16,667	22%	8,300

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

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SEND TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014

Socialist candidate speaks out in New York City

Continued from front page

by George Marlin, candidate of the Conservative and Right to Life parties, and Joseph Brennan of the Libertarian Party.

Bockman and her running mates, Al Duncan for public advocate, and Melissa Harris for comptroller, are the only candidates offering a working-class alternative.

During the final week before the November 2 election, Democratic incumbent Dinkins and his main challenger Giuliani, who is endorsed by the Republican, Liberal, and Independent Fusion parties, are running neck and neck in the polls.

Interviewed on the "Campaign '93" show on WNYC TV, Bockman, referring to Dinkins and Giuliani, said, "All the programs they advance are essentially the same. At the heart of both their campaigns is more cops." Dinkins points to tripling the number of cops on the beat and increasing the police force to nearly 30,000 as major achievements of his four years in office. He now proposes to hire 1,200 additional police officers and station them in the city's schools.

Assailing Dinkins for "surrendering" to drug dealing, Giuliani proposes a "massive, street level antidrug campaign." The Republican candidate trades on his reputation as a tough former district attorney. He is endorsed by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, which has also sponsored a series of anti-Dinkins newspaper ads. Giuliani was the major speaker when 10,000 cops rioted at City Hall last year against Dinkins's plan to set up a civilian police review board. Giuliani is often accompanied on the campaign trail by members of the Guardian Angels, a vigilante group with close ties to the police department.

Debate on crime

Both Dinkins and Giuliani agree on proposals to reorganize the cops into one streamlined force, uniting the city police department with the transit and housing police.

Asked by a phone-in caller to "Campaign

'93" about her attitude to the death penalty — which both Giuliani and Marlin support — Bockman said, "There is a deep assault taking place against democratic rights under the guise of the 'war against crime.' The media hysteria around this is being used to support the death penalty and to erode the right of prisoners to appeal convictions, as well as the right to the presumption of innocence."

In response to a similar question on the "On the Line" radio show on WNYC, Bockman said that the real criminals are those responsible for the shooting down of 300 people in Somalia by U.S. helicopter gunships — "the same people who rob working people every time we clock in to work."

There has been a great deal of interest in the campaign from Bockman's coworkers in the sewing factory where she works. Nearly 100 workers, members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), signed petitions to place the socialist candidates on the ballot. Copies of the Voters Guide, with statements by the candidates, have been passed around the plant.

The guide is distributed to 3 million registered voters in New York in English, Spanish, and Chinese. Statements by the Socialist Workers candidates include a strong defense of immigrant workers. "Today, the rulers are carrying out a campaign that blames unemployment, street crime, and other social ills on immigrants," it reads.

"The jailing of Chinese immigrants, imprisonment and deportation of Haitians fleeing dictatorship, and the hysterical anti-Arab witch-hunt are part of a campaign to victimize and isolate immigrants. . . . We join the protests demanding asylum for the Haitian refugees and freedom for the Chinese immigrants." The socialist candidates have denounced the trumped-up conspiracy charges against Arab-Americans in the World Trade Center bombing case.

The discussion among the wealthy families that run New York, reflected in the edito-

rial pages of the *New York Times* and other newspapers, comes down to trying to decide which candidate has the best chance of dealing with the potentially explosive social tensions. The *Times* supported Dinkins, but its editorial statement was hardly a ringing endorsement. "In a choice between two imperfect candidates, Mr. Dinkins is clearly the more worthy," the editors concluded.

This situation has helped to create some new openings and opportunities for the socialist candidates to get their proposals out in the media and at public debates. During the second half of October, Bockman was interviewed on seven radio programs and one TV show. *New York Newsday* ran a profile of the socialist candidate, and a number of other newspapers conducted interviews.

Impromptu debate with Dinkins

On October 21 Bockman encountered Mayor Dinkins in an impromptu debate at Mademoiselle Knitwear, where the socialist candidate works as a sewing machine operator. Dinkins was touring the large knitting mill and garment factory along with New York state governor Mario Cuomo, ILGWU president Jay Mazur, and others.

Bockman, an active member of the ILGWU, was working at her machine when Dinkins and Cuomo entered the room where 100 operators sew sweaters.

As Dinkins walked by her machine, Bockman said, "Hello Mayor Dinkins, I'm running for mayor too." Dinkins, surprised, reached out and shook hands as Bockman introduced herself and the large entourage of reporters and aides gathered around.

As TV lights and cameras flashed, Dinkins pointed to the large purple button Bockman was wearing that called for opening U.S. borders to Haitian refugees. Dinkins said he also disagreed with Washington's policy on refugees from Haiti.

"It's your president, President Clinton, who has closed the borders and is turning

refugees back, who kept them in concentration camps in Guantánamo [Cuba]," Bockman shot back.

Dinkins bristled, "I've never agreed with that."

"Then let's declare New York a sanctuary for Haitian refugees," responded Bockman. "That's what you could do as mayor of this city."

Bockman's exchange with Dinkins received coverage in *Newsday*, on the New York One and WCBS television channels, and on several radio stations.

Marlin's rightist campaign

Conservative and Right to Life candidate Marlin has also been campaigning aggressively and winning media coverage of his views. He has appeared in debates with Dinkins on a number of occasions, taking the opportunity to advance his rightist perspective. In his Voters Guide statement, Marlin attacks both Dinkins and Giuliani as politicians who are "captive to the liberal establishment that has run New York for half a century." He says "crime is out of control," and blasts "welfare abuse, poor schools and moral decay." Declaring that "this is our city and its time we fought back," Marlin advances a radical program of tax and welfare cuts, privatization, and a reintroduction of the death penalty. He proposes tuition tax credits and state-funded vouchers so that "parents can freely choose between public, private and parochial schools."

Marlin, who is vocal in his opposition to abortion rights, has been endorsed by right-wing columnist Patrick Buchanan and by Mary Cummins, leader of the campaign against former New York City school chancellor Joseph Fernandez and the "Rainbow Curriculum."

Bockman has pointed out in numerous meetings that Marlin gets a hearing by demagogically attacking the corrupt "liberal es-

Continued on next page

INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

DRIVE GOALS: 3,000 MILITANT ■ 700 PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL ■ 1,200 NEW INTERNATIONAL

Detailed plans can propel sales campaign to successful finish

BY GREG ROSENBERG

As we head into the final weeks of the international campaign to win new readers to the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International*, two things are abundantly clear. It is possible to complete the drive successfully — in full and on time. And it will take a major effort by every single supporter around the world to do so.

Working-class fighters, political activists, students, and others need the socialist publications to be able to understand that the deep-going economic and social catastrophe confronting working people today — from Haiti to New Zealand and Bosnia — is a crisis of the entire capitalist system.

The key to making the drive lies in mapping out detailed plans in every area that make thorough use of every available supporter and every available hour. In many cases, readers who have been helping distribute the paper may find they can take a day or two off work to join a full-time team.

Areas that have been giving this kind of meticulous attention to the drive are meeting with success.

Miami supporters, who have been on the cutting edge since the first scoreboard appeared, are still setting the pace. Distributors there launched the October 23-29 target sales week with seven people joining a team spread over four days in Tampa, Florida, where a variety of political activities took place.

The results? Sixteen *Militant* subscriptions, one *PM* subscription, and two copies of *New International* no. 7 with the article "The Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq."



Selling the *Militant* at Tampa, Florida, march against hate and violence October 24.

Students and working people snapped up subscriptions at college campuses, a National Organization for Women meeting, and a rally against the North American Free Trade Agreement. Along the way, distributors joined in a march against violence and hate and participated in a debate on "Socialism vs. Capitalism" at the University of South Florida.

Philadelphia distributors place number one on the international chart for the second week in a row. Along with San Francisco they are freeing up salespeople to join the effort in other cities.

Thirty people, including four Air France strikers, attended a Militant Labor Forum in Paris on the current strike wave there October 23. Three *Militant* subscriptions and a

copy of the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale* were sold.

Morgantown, West Virginia, readers fielded a team to the eastern Kentucky coalfields where nonunion miners are fighting their way into the United Mine Workers of America against the bosses' wishes. They sold eight subscriptions to the *Militant* over the weekend and visited the shift change at the Wolf Creek Collieries portal, where 22 miners picked up the paper and 1 bought a subscription on the spot.

The final scoreboard will appear in the issue of the *Militant* printed on November 18. All subscriptions received in the business office by Tuesday, November 16 at 12 noon EST will be counted toward each area's final tally.

GM, union officials agree on concession pact

BY PETER THIERJUNG

CLEVELAND — A tentative contract agreement between General Motors Corp. and the United Auto Workers (UAW) will not stop the giant automaker from putting thousands of UAW members out on the streets by 1995.

GM plans to cut as many as 65,000 hourly workers, almost a quarter of the company's current payroll, in a bid to become profitable. The company is shutting down 21 plants, a fifth of its factory space. Prior to negotiations, the automaker announced that further cuts may be necessary.

GM, hobbled by domestic and international competition, is reeling from \$17 billion in North American

losses since 1990.

The proposed agreement accepts the automaker's framework for recovering profits through a massive restructuring of the company's operations. "We're trying to make it easier for them, not harder," one UAW official told the *Wall Street Journal* after the agreement was reached.

The proposed pact sidesteps the issue of jobs and allows GM to carve out greater takebacks within the pattern of concessions wrung earlier from the UAW by Ford Motor Co. and Chrysler Corp.

Both Ford and Chrysler were able to gain a 70 percent starting wage for new hires, 3 percent lump-sum payments instead of wage in-

creases in the last two years of the three-year contract, and a backdoor copayment for health-care benefits from deductions in cost-of-living wage increases.

Press reports indicate the new contract would also allow GM to reduce full pay to workers laid off at closed plants to 95 percent of take-home pay, or 70 percent of pretax wages. The company will be able to insist that displaced workers transfer to operating plants within a 75-mile area or face loss of benefits. The previous contract had a 50-mile limit.

UAW members will have to use one week's vacation time during the company's two-week summer shutdown. A \$600 Christmas bonus has been dropped to provide pay to workers during the second week of the shutdown.

The fate of some 85,000 UAW members employed at GM parts plants appears unclear. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that GM agreed to provide parts workers "GM-style" wages and benefits through 1996 even if the plant is sold to another owner.

The October 26 Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, however, quotes James Harbour, president of an automotive consulting firm in Troy, Michigan, saying that purchasers of GM's parts operations are not necessarily bound by the UAW contract.

The proposed agreement will go to a council of union local officials for approval before being submitted to the 265,000 UAW members at GM for ratification.

Peter Thierjung is a member of UAW Local 538 in Cleveland.

New York City elections

Continued from previous page
tablistment" and scapegoating immigrants, women, and gays for the social crisis.

The socialist mayoral candidate and her running mates explain that the economic depression of capitalism worldwide is the root of the problems facing working people. Among Bockman's campaign proposals are reducing the workweek with no cut in pay; raising the minimum wage and other affirmative action measures; eliminating all taxes and replacing them with a single, steeply graduated income tax above a certain level of income; and canceling the Third World debt to banks in the imperialist countries.

Speaking at the forum sponsored by the journalists' associations, Bockman said that her campaign

presents an active perspective that begins with participating in the struggles going on today. Bockman arrived at the meeting after taking part in a mobilization to defend abortion clinics and in a fund-raising walkathon for the African National Congress election campaign in South Africa. The socialist candidates are also strong advocates of the fight against the U.S. embargo on Cuba.

"It is through participation in the union and social battles going on today that working people will come to see that they have no interests in common with the bosses and their politicians and will start to chart a course toward building a broad social movement capable of establishing a revolutionary government of working people," she said.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 68% 2,044

SHOULD BE: 80% 2,400

END OF WEEK EIGHT

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
Philadelphia*	100	105	95%	23	32	15	25
Los Angeles*	179	190	94%	73	95	49	95
Miami*	107	120	89%	34	50	48	60
San Francisco	101	120	84%	20	35	39	70
Salt Lake City, UT	69	85	81%	9	15	8	35
Cleveland	60	75	80%	12	5	12	25
Houston*	56	70	80%	8	15	17	15
Pittsburgh*	67	85	79%	9	10	8	20
Cincinnati*	11	14	79%	0	2	1	3
St. Louis	55	75	73%	1	8	7	30
Chicago	90	130	69%	19	30	14	35
Greensboro, NC	50	75	67%	5	10	9	20
Seattle*	49	75	65%	5	15	9	25
Twin Cities, MN	70	110	64%	3	18	9	30
Boston	71	115	62%	20	30	33	45
Detroit	52	85	61%	3	10	11	30
Albany, NY	3	5	60%	0	2	0	—
Morgantown, WV	39	65	60%	2	3	1	15
Portland, OR	9	15	60%	2	2	6	10
Des Moines, IA	51	90	57%	20	40	10	40
Baltimore	38	70	54%	7	10	10	20
New Haven, CT	8	15	53%	1	3	1	10
Atlanta	41	80	51%	7	10	5	20
Washington, DC	37	75	49%	13	15	10	20
Birmingham, AL	36	75	48%	1	10	5	20
New York	62	135	46%	13	45	11	55
Newark, NJ	59	130	45%	12	40	19	70
Brooklyn	57	130	44%	13	40	13	50
Denver	4	10	40%	0	2	0	5
U.S. Total	1631	2,424	67%	335	570	380	873
AUSTRALIA							
BELGIUM	0	5	0%	0	4	0	10
BRITAIN							
London	52	65	80%	4	5	23	25
Manchester*	38	50	76%	0	1	15	20
Sheffield	23	35	66%	0	3	0	15
Britain Total	113	150	75%	4	9	38	60
CANADA							
Vancouver	58	70	83%	5	10	15	30
Toronto	46	85	54%	5	15	17	45
Montreal	25	70	36%	6	12	15	40
Canada Total	129	225	57%	16	37	47	115
FRANCE*							
GERMANY	3	10	90%	1	3	12	15
GREECE*							
ICELAND	4	10	40%	0	1	0	3
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland*	62	70	89%	7	9	9	15
Christchurch*	32	40	80%		1	2	5
New Zealand Total	94	110	85%	7	10	11	20
PUERTO RICO*							
SWEDEN	35	60	58%	21	20	39	50
OTHER INT'L	1	—		0		0	—
TOTAL	2,044	3,042	68%	399	702	551	1,203
SHOULD BE	2,400	3,000	80%	560	700	960	1,200

IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		SOLD / GOAL		
UNITED STATES							
ACTWU	28	32	88%	3	12	7	16
OCAW	49	75	65%	1	—	5	20
IAM	57	90	63%	5	—	7	20
UTU	54	86	63%	2	2	1	27
USWA	48	85	56%	2	3	1	25
UMWA	28	60	47%	0	2	1	10
ILGWU	9	20	45%	12	25	6	15
UAW*	69	150	46%	9	10	1	25
UFCW	22	55	40%	18	38	2	22
U.S. Total	364	653	56%	52	92	31	180
AUSTRALIA							
AMEU	2	3	67%	0	—	0	1
FPU	2	3	67%	0	—	1	1
NUW	0	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	2	3	67%	0	—	0	6
Britain Total	23	31	74%	0	—	1	15
CANADA							
IAM	8	11	73%	0	2	1	4
CAW	9	15	60%	1	1	1	4
ACTWU	1	2	50%	0	—	0	1
USWA	3	13	23%	0	1	2	5
Canada Total	21	41	51%	0	4	4	14
NEW ZEALAND							
MWU	1	2	50%	0	—	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	2	3	67%	0	—	4	5
Metal workers	2	5	40%	0	—	2	2
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	—	0	2
Sweden Total	4	10	40%	0	—	6	9

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

Protests grow over U.S. harassment of travelers to Cuba

BY JON HILLSON

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — "We are concerned about the possible prosecution of U.S. citizens for traveling to Cuba," Pastors for Peace national co-coordinator Elizabeth Flannery told U.S. attorney general Janet Reno.

Flannery's description of how U.S. Customs officials in Houston seized the passports of 60 participants returning from the Freedom to Travel Campaign trip to Cuba October 17-18 came during a question period at an October 22 "Town Hall Forum" here on "crime," sponsored by local congressman Bruce Vento. Nearly 1,000 people attended.

"The cold war is over," Flannery told Reno. "The United States is not at war with Cuba. Why do people face 10 years in prison and \$250,000 in fines for going to Cuba?"

"I am not aware of the case," the country's top cop replied in a measured tone. "I will check it over and make sure justice is done."

The encounter between Reno and Flannery was carried live on public cable television stations and the local National Public Radio affiliate.

The attorney general's profession of ignorance rang hollow, however.

According to the Minneapolis *Star Tribune*, which reported on a news conference protesting the passport seizures and potential prosecution, Peter O'Brien, a spokesperson for the U.S. Treasury Department, stated that the Justice Department would decide next week whether to prosecute the travelers.

The Justice Department — and its subordinate agency, the Immigration and Naturalization Service — have been peppered with phone calls from reporters, opponents of the travel ban, and congressional staff members concerning the government's attack on democratic rights.

At the conclusion of the forum, Pastors for Peace national director Tom Hansen spoke briefly with Reno, and handed her a letter requesting a meeting on the situation.

The Minneapolis-based Pastors for Peace was one of more than 50 national cosponsors of the Freedom to Travel Campaign's week-long tour of Cuba October 10-17.

The trip, initiated by Global Exchange in San Francisco, took place without State Department approval and hence subjected participants to potential charges of violating Washington's longstanding travel ban and embargo of Cuba.

New Freedom to Travel trip

The Freedom to Travel Campaign has decided to launch a second nationally organized challenge to the travel ban, modeled on the October trip, with participants leaving for Cuba December 27 and returning Jan. 3, 1994.

"The people of Cuba are not my enemy, or the enemy of my country," Polly Mann told a news conference here October 21 in

the state capitol rotunda.

Mann, a veteran peace and justice activist and a founder of Women Against Military Madness, had her passport seized in Houston.

William Roath, executive director of the Minnesota Civil Liberties Union (MCLU), denounced the travel ban as an unconstitutional violation of the rights to travel, to equal protection under the law, and to freedom of the press and association.

He announced that the MCLU's parent organization, the American Civil Liberties Union, had decided to undertake legal defense of the Cuba travelers.

Peter Erlander, national president of the National Lawyers Guild, also affirmed his organization's full support of the Freedom to Travel Campaign participants.

A statement by U.S. senator Paul Wellstone of Minnesota protesting the passport seizures and opposing federal prosecutions was read by Kori Lane, a participant in the travel challenge.

Wellstone praised such "people-to-people exchanges." He stated that "further steps must be taken by the U.S. government, including the lifting of [the U.S.] embargo."

Hansen described his detention by customs agents in Miami, as he returned from the Cuba trip along with Freedom to Travel Campaign director Medea Benjamin.

The agents seized videos, cassettes, and newspapers, items exempted from embargo restrictions, from Hansen.

'We will not be intimidated'

"They also took a key chain and candy from my four-and-a-half-year-old son, Keenan," Hansen said.

"In Houston," the Pastors for Peace leader said, "agents handcuffed one traveler, a Black woman, to a pillar when she refused to give up her personal journal. They stripped a Cuba T-shirt off the back of a teenager. They interrogated a 12-year-old



Pastors for Peace leader Tom Hansen (right) and anti-embargo activist Kori Lane speaking at St. Paul press conference to protest harassment by customs agents of U.S. participants in the recent Freedom to Travel Campaign trip to Cuba.

for three hours."

These actions, the possibility of prosecution, and the increase of telephoned and written death threats to Pastors for Peace by Cuban ultrarightists "will not intimidate us in any way," Hansen said.

To mount a campaign against potential prosecutions, Pastors for Peace and the Freedom to Travel Campaign are urging defenders of democratic rights and opponents of the embargo to do the following:

- Send protest messages to the Clinton administration demanding no prosecutions in the case and lifting the travel ban.

- Help promote challenges to the travel ban by opening Freedom to Travel offices to build tours to Cuba. Such offices are expected to open in 20 cities in the next two weeks.

- Organize public protests against potential prosecutions and reportbacks featuring returning Cuba travelers.

- Get the story of the passports and possibility of prosecutions to local media.

The two organizations will also work to ensure that "every month there will be a challenge to the embargo and the travel ban as we continue to organize people to go to Cuba," Hansen said.

"We follow the example of [civil rights figure] Rosa Parks," he said. "We will no

longer stay at the back of the bus. We are moving to the front, as our right."

Along with the December Freedom to Travel Campaign trip, another travel challenge is being organized by Pastors for Peace. It is a housing construction brigade to Havana, scheduled for November 19 to December 4. An accompanying tour of the island is also planned.

At its meeting October 25, the Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee set November 21 as the date for a citywide protest meeting to defend the Cuba travelers, oppose government prosecution, and demand the travel ban be lifted. The speakout will cap a week of Cuba-related activities, including a send-off of the construction brigade, a tour of Cuban musician Lázaro Ros and the group Mezcla, and a debate featuring a representative of the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.

For more information contact Pastors for Peace, 331 17th Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. Tel. (612) 378-0062.

To contact the Freedom to Travel Campaign, call (415) 558-9094.

Jon Hillson is a rail worker and a member of the United Transportation Union in St. Paul, Minnesota.

London meeting solidarizes with Cuba

BY PHIL WATERHOUSE

LONDON—"When I did my first meeting here in 1990, the Berlin Wall had just fallen, and the western press said Fidel Castro could not last much longer in power. I said I would come back and our revolution would still be on; we would go through a difficult period, but there is a way out for us."

That is how Cuban economist Carlos Tablada opened his talk to an audience of 100 people at Conway Hall in central London October 13. Keeping his earlier pledge, Tablada, who is the author of *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*, published by Pathfinder, returned to Britain for a second visit.

The meeting, called by the Cuba Solidarity Campaign to kick off a week of solidarity actions, was also addressed by Labour Party member of Parliament Ken Livingstone; María Flórez, Cuban ambassador to Britain; and Gail Walker from Pastors for Peace in the United States, which organized the recent U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan in defiance of the U.S. embargo.

Livingstone said that despite a 33-year embargo by Washington "not a school has closed down in Cuba, whereas in Britain even Labour Party-controlled local government councils, in much easier circumstances, have closed down dozens of schools."

Flórez spoke of the impact on her country of the embargo and why "this meeting to demand the end of the blockade could not be more timely with the coming discussion in the United Nations assembly."

On Nov. 24, 1992, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution declaring the U.S. embargo of Cuba illegal and a violation of Cuba's right to national sovereignty. It called for action to normalize trade relations with Cuba. The vote passed with 59 in favor, 3 against, and 71 abstentions. The next general assembly meeting this year will review the action taken by member states to comply with the resolution.

Walker, the Pastors for Peace representative, detailed how the Friendship caravan twice broke the U.S. embargo, in November 1992, and again in August 1993. Material aid was collected in Canada, Mexico, and across the United States and taken to Cuba — deliberately without applying for a government license.

"We were the tip of an iceberg," she said, "of millions across the world that broke that blockade. Our collective determination, our superior organizing, our beautiful diversity forced the U.S. government to take a new look at its policy. This victory was an international achievement." A third aid caravan

is planned for February 1994.

Tablada said that in 1993 Cuba had experienced its gravest economic crisis. The country had come to a standstill.

"In my opinion, we bottomed out in July and August. It practically led to the stopping of the country. . . . But in September the country started up again. The blackouts are down to eight hours a day. We hope to bring it up to normal standards in three weeks."

He predicted that "1994 will bring some leveling out, and by 1995 the Cuban economy will grow again, even if we are still blockaded."

"Cuba is inviting the investment of foreign capital," he said, "but in a different way from the rest of the world. We can control and select what comes into our country. Capital comes into areas we decide, not to close down industries, but to reopen those closed down through lack of national resources. . . . We have agreed to contracts of \$360 million already in spite of the blockade. Five years ago there was only \$8 million [of foreign investment]."

At the same time, Tablada stated, "we are convinced that we are introducing market relations that are capitalist, we do not pretend they are socialist when talking to our work force. We have been compelled to take measures that do not please us."

A necessary counterpoint to these measures must be a deepening of the process of involving millions of Cubans in solving social problems, mainly through voluntary work brigades in agriculture, Tablada said.

At a time when "to be a militant [in the Communist Party] is no longer a privilege . . . it means to sacrifice oneself . . . we have more people with us. There are more Cubans in the communist rank and file. Our conception of communism is not what was lost in the USSR. That type of communism leads to what we witness there now."

Phil Waterhouse is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union in London.

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Mandela on ANC's strategy for power

In mid-March 1993 African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela made a three-day visit to the Midlands region of Natal Province in South Africa. The trip was organized in response to three incidents earlier in the month in the Table Mountain area, where 20 people — including six schoolchildren — had been killed in armed ambushes of vans and buses.

Several ANC members were arrested and charged with the attack on the school van. ANC supporters traveling to the arraignment of these accused members were targets in another of the shootings.

Included in Mandela's delegation were Chris Hani, then chairperson of the South African Communist Party, who was later assassinated; John Gomomo, president of the Congress of South African Trade Unionists; Harry Gwala, chairperson of the ANC regional executive committee in the Midlands; Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League; and others.

Below we are reprinting excerpts from a speech Mandela delivered at the University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg, March 13, 1993. The speech and the photographs are included in the new Pathfinder book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. It is scheduled to be released November 1.

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* * *

There has been a great deal of concern about the very principle which has now been adopted as the strategy of the African National Congress. Voices have been heard to the effect that the African National Congress has betrayed the liberation movement by adopting this strategy. Some people have even accused us of having decided to share power with the National Party and its government.

Almost without exception, the people who have said this have no alternative to put, either in relation to the strategy, the general strategy of negotiations, or the government of national unity. Many of those who criticize us have either not read our policy document or, if they have, they have not understood either the ideas or the language in which those ideas are expressed.

We started negotiations as far back as July 1986 — our motivation being that the African National Congress has, from its inception, adopted a nonviolent, peaceful, and disciplined struggle. We maintained that over the years, until the sixties, when the Nationalist government, with the most brutal form of repression this country has seen, tightened all the screws of repression, closed all channels of political agitation, and even when we called strikes and asked our people to stay inside doors, they called the military, they went from house to house, especially in places like Soweto. They often drove people back to

work. Any form of demonstration, no matter how peaceful and disciplined, was regarded as a declaration of war on white minority rule.

We had therefore no alternative but to resort to armed struggle. But we have never been under any misconception that we would be able to achieve a military victory against this regime. We knew we had the advantage of numbers, and therefore the potential to defeat this government in due course. But what we were determined to do was for the oppressed people in this country to be able to stand on their feet and to strike back.

We did so, and in that process we produced the Chris Hanis, the Joe Modises, who commanded that liberation army, and made quite an impact, a psychological impact, for blacks who had been deprived of everything which could be a source of pride to them. To see a white man running away from a black soldier was something unheard of in this country, and which gave us a lot of strength, a great deal of pride, and hope in our future.

But we thought that we had made our point, and in 1986 I was instructed by the leadership to see the government and to raise the question: Why slaughter one another, when we could sit down and talk, and try and resolve our problems peacefully? We have, as a result of those discussions, achieved a great deal.

Some people say: You can't achieve anything without that black organization — you all know what organization it is. We say: all the achievements that have been made as a result of negotiations have been due to the discussions between the African National Congress and the National Party, or government, on the other side. The unbanning of the ANC and other political organizations, the lifting of the state of emergency which was enforced for no less than three years, the release of political prisoners, the return of political exiles, the repeal of repressive legislation, the introduction of a climate of free political activity in the greater part of South Africa — all these are the achievements of only two organizations in this country: the ANC on the one hand, and the National Party and the government on the other. No contribution whatsoever by those black organizations where people tell us: You can't go forward without this organization.

A sovereign constituent assembly

But in the course of these negotiations, we have said: We want an elected and sovereign constituent assembly. The govern-



ANC DIP/Nigel Dennis
Nelson Mandela congratulates members of Zulu dance group during his tour of Natal Midlands following violence in March.

three years." We know why they are saying so. It is because they are in government, they are in power. No government anywhere in the world will surrender power without a tremendous amount of pressure.

So we understand when de Klerk says, "No, let them take three years, let's not be in a hurry." What we can't understand is black organizations — where people are oppressed, where there is no decent housing, no educational facilities, where there is poverty and unemployment, where there are no medical facilities, where there is gross disparity in pensions — we can't understand any black leader who says, "Let's not be in a hurry. Let's take anywhere from three to five years before we can have a solution." There are such black leaders — some of them are your fellows in this province. We are not going to agree to that. ...

'Power sharing'

We have never put forward as a solution the idea of power sharing, never. We have resisted it right from the beginning. In our policy document, "Negotiations: A Strategic Perspective," which has been misunderstood by many people, we mention the term "power sharing" once, and we mention it in the context of rejecting it. We say we don't agree with the concept of power sharing. That's the only time it's mentioned.

And yet, many of our critics say the African National Congress has agreed to power sharing. The government means by power sharing a type of dispensation where the party that loses an election, instead of going into opposition, as happens in democratic countries, will remain in government and be able to block legislation by the majority party.

If for example [military leader of the Ciskei "homeland" Oupa Josh] Gqozo's party gets 75 percent in the coming election and the National Party gets the balance, in the view of the National Party, if Gqozo's party decides to take a particular policy decision, with its 75 percent majority in parliament, and the National Party has 25, the National Party can block that decision. It won't be carried out, it won't be implemented as law as long as the National Party does not agree. That is power sharing, as understood by the government. We have totally rejected that.

Our policy is a government of national
Continued on Page 13

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Officials, Clinton at AFL-CIO convention push for labor-management cooperation

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

SAN FRANCISCO—The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) held its 20th biennial convention October 4-7 here. The 726 delegates, representing the top leadership of labor unions in the United States, discussed how to mediate the effects of the present world economic crisis on their organizations.

The AFL-CIO Executive Council advanced a perspective of a greater role for labor officials in making policy in collaboration with the Clinton administration.

"By and large, [U.S. president Bill Clinton's] agenda is our agenda," AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland told the convention, "and we are and will be his most reliable troops." Several top union officers and staff members have resigned in the last year to take posts in the Clinton administration.

In his speech to the opening session of the convention, Clinton noted that most working people are working harder and longer for less money. His solution is to make "labor-management cooperation a way of life."

Representatives of the Clinton administration and Democratic Party played a prominent role in the convention and repeated the theme of labor-management partnership, regulated by the government.

In return for labor's cooperation in making U.S. corporations more profitable, Clinton and his representatives cited such measures as the Family Leave bill and promised their assistance in legislation to outlaw permanent replacement of striking workers.

Health-care 'reform'

The convention endorsed the Clinton administration's health-care "reform" package. A panel, including a Ford Motor Co. executive, a consumer advocate, and a physician, addressed the question of health-care reforms and "cost containment." Democratic senator Jay Rockefeller moderated the panel by satellite hookup.

Questions from the floor reflected uncertainty among some delegates on whether the administration's plan was really an advance for working people.

Edward McElroy, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, asked, "Why should our members, whose insurance is 100 percent funded by their employers, support a plan which mandates that they pay for their medical insurance?" Rockefeller responded that a long phase-in period would soften the blow. But, he emphasized, "cost sharing is a moral principle." Rockefeller argued that the plan would greatly increase U.S. corporations' ability to compete by reducing their health-care costs.

One member of the International Association of Machinists commented in the corridor, "They talk as though a 10 percent cut in the company's costs will translate to a raise for us! In your dreams!"

Stanley Hill, an American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees delegate from New York, pointed out that the health-care package was accompanied by deep cuts in Medicare. "How can we approve of that?" he asked. Rockefeller responded that cuts in Medicare were necessary for the administration's budget bill.

Secretary of Labor Robert Reich defended the Clinton budget, and maintained that success would depend on "workers and managers working together to create more profits and more productivity."

Reich saluted union presidents by name and lauded contracts they had negotiated with various corporations, based on cooperation and higher productivity.

U.S. attorney general Janet Reno, who ordered, with Clinton's approval, the April



AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland (left) clapping hands with U.S. secretary of labor Robert Reich. Labor officials are Clinton's "most reliable troops," said Kirkland. AFL-CIO officials advanced a perspective of tying workers' fortunes to employers' profitability instead of projecting a fight to defend the working class and its allies from effects of capitalist economic depression. Coal miners' strike received scant attention at the California convention.

FBI massacre in Waco, Texas, was greeted with a standing ovation.

Opposition to NAFTA

While the Clinton administration firmly backs the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), opposition to the accord was projected as a central campaign of the AFL-CIO and its member unions. Delegates expressed hope that another form of trade agreement could protect them from job losses. Robert White, representing the Canadian Labor Confederation, spoke against NAFTA, but complained that factories in Canada had moved production to the southern United States under present trade agreements.

A noon rally October 6 at Union Square, organized in opposition to NAFTA, drew a crowd of 800 people, most of them rank-and-file union members. Jack Henning, executive secretary-treasurer of the California AFL-CIO, drew cheers when he referred to the trade agreement as an example of "bloodthirsty capitalism unchecked."

Jesse Jackson led a chant of "Save the worker. Save the family. Rebuild America. Down with NAFTA." Jackson stated that "American workers are not afraid to compete with Mexican workers. We can't compete with slave wages."

Some delegates expressed a desire to distance themselves from the overtly racist component of the anti-NAFTA campaign. Noel Beasley of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union said meeting and working with union counterparts in Canada and Mexico are important.

The convention hosted 115 international visitors. While many speakers referred to "the global market," there was little discussion of international politics.

Numerous union locals and central labor councils had supported the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipship caravan this year, which defied Washington's trade embargo of Cuba. But the resolution on labor and the world expressed support for the U.S. embargo and denounced the Cuban government as "the last bastion of Stalinism in the Western hemisphere."

COSATU leader addresses delegates

Jay Naidoo, who served as the general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) for several years, was given a friendly reception at the convention. Naidoo recently resigned his position to stand for election to the new constituent assembly as a candidate for the African National Congress.

Naidoo saluted U.S. workers' proud history in the fight against apartheid. On behalf of COSATU, he presented the United Farm Workers with \$1,000.

He told the delegates that COSATU supports Nelson Mandela's call to end trade sanctions against South Africa. Naidoo added that workers in South Africa are strong enough to fight for respect for women's rights, labor standards, the environment, and human rights. He also explained that

COSATU will play a central role in determining economic, trade, and industrial policy in the new South Africa.

Naidoo reported that the AFL-CIO and individual unions had provided him and other COSATU delegates with concrete pledges of assistance. He invited union members to visit South Africa and monitor the election process leading up to the April 1994 first-ever universal ballot.

In conclusion, the South African labor leader said, "Our victory will be a living symbol and a triumph, not only to workers in southern Africa, but to the struggles of workers worldwide. And we want to be able in southern Africa to give our solidarity to mine workers that are on strike in your country today, to the farm workers that are struggling for their basic rights, the Irish workers and their struggle for self-determination, or Malawian workers in their struggle for dignity and democracy. . . . We want to be able to stand up and say that we are proud to be in the union."

Naidoo's speech was a refreshing break from the themes of class collaboration that AFL-CIO tops advanced throughout the conference.

Coal miners' strike

John May and Clay Fuhrhop, two striking members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), came from District 12 in southern Illinois to build strike support at the convention. Eighteen thousand members of the UMWA are on strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Their experience provided concrete evidence that while the top leadership of the AFL-CIO is willing to enter into junior partnership with corporate management, the capitalist class may not at all be willing to accept the offer.

The AFL-CIO convention did not discuss building support for the miners' strike. UMWA president Richard Trumka introduced May and Fuhrhop to the convention

as he opened his remarks on labor law reform. "I wasn't going to talk about our strike here," Trumka said, "but we're on the road to organize." Trumka said that with stronger labor laws the strike wouldn't have happened. "Give us the right to organize and we'll rebuild the middle class."

"The BCOA is out to break our union," said May in an interview. "It's perfectly clear — [the coal companies] want to bust the UMWA. Maybe Rich [Trumka] didn't believe it before, but I think he does now."

"The biggest thing we have to do is get together," said May at the conclusion of the convention. "We're learning that in this strike. We're all workers and we're all having the same problems. It really is all the same struggle. If we'd fight together all the time, we'd win sooner and more often."

Convention delegates saw a video of a memorial rally for striking United Steelworkers of America Local 15015 members Keith Cain and Walter Fleming. Cain and Fleming were run over by the driver of a scab truck as they picketed at National Standard in Columbiana, Alabama. A delegate from Birmingham, Alabama, who is a member of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, said that she and others in her local had participated in marches and rallies to support the strike and protest the murder of Cain and Fleming. "Most people don't like to get involved until it's clear they are affected. But the killing did that for a lot of people — it cleared up what the strike is about. That brought them a lot more support."

Some of the resolutions delegates approved reflected the impact social struggles have had on the labor federation.

A resolution on civil rights denounced campaigns to establish English as the only official language in the United States as discrimination against immigrants. The resolution opposed harassment and discrimination against people on the basis of their sexual orientation and pledged to take an active role in campaigning against legislative attempts to discriminate against homosexuals.

Discussion on a women's rights resolution was held late in the agenda October 6, when many delegates had left. The resolution included support for pay equity and opposition to sexual harassment, but did not mention abortion rights. However, Evelyn Dubrow, a delegate for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), drew cheers and applause from many when she said, "It's time the AFL-CIO faced up squarely to the question of choice. We're not saying we're for abortion. We're saying that the government has no business deciding what a woman should do with her own body."

The convention voted to set up an ad hoc committee on immigration. Steve Nutter, from the ILGWU denounced attacks on immigrant workers and called for unions to oppose sanctions against employers of undocumented immigrants. "They are really worker sanctions," Nutter said.

Kathleen Denny is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1781. Alfredo Rico, a member of the United Food and Commercial Workers, also contributed to this article.

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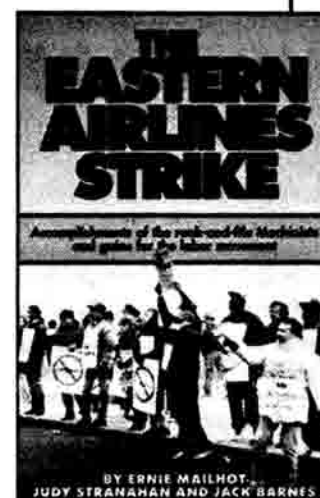
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Buck Creek miners in Indiana fight for first union contract

BY DAVID MARSHALL

SULLIVAN, Indiana — Sandbags have become a symbol in the Midwest for resistance against last summer's devastating floods.

For the 54 coal miners on strike at the Buck Creek mine here the sandbags stacked against the outer wall of the picket shack state their determination to win their first contract with the company.

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) members had to fortify their shack a few weeks ago, after a gunman fired a number of rifle rounds into the structure from a tightly guarded company complex across the road. The several strikers who were in the shack dove for cover when the first shots rang out. No one was injured.

Local police have done little to investigate the shooting. "They'd have 20 cops there in a minute if somebody fired a gun in town," said Mike Coffin, a 22-year-old striker in an interview at the picket shack recently. "One policeman answered our call, and he just went over to talk with the company. That's the last we saw of him."

The Buck Creek miners have been on strike since April 1. After voting for UMWA representation in 1991, the new Local 4538 worked for 15 months without a contract. Safety conditions in the mine grew increasingly dangerous.

Buck Creek's top management includes executives who had run the nonunion Pyro mine in Kentucky. The company had to pay \$3.75 million in fines for safety violations at the Kentucky mine that led to a September 1989 explosion that killed 10 miners. "They ran this mine just like Pyro," said Coffin. "Every killer has his pattern."

"We broke all sorts of production records leading up to the strike," explained Ron Morse, who worked at a UMWA-organized mine in Kentucky for 14 years before starting at Buck Creek. But it wasn't safe. And then the contract they offered us was a slap in the face."

'Company doesn't want union at all'

The local voted down a company offer that included no seniority rights, no grievance procedure, and no "walk-around" rights, which entitle union members to accompany federal inspectors on safety tours of the mine.

"The company basically just doesn't want

the union in the mine at all," said Scott Pearce, a 26-year-old striker.

Buck Creek Coal began hiring scabs shortly after the strike began. With the scabs, who include some 22 UMWA members who crossed the picket line, the mine currently produces about one-half the coal it yielded prior to the strike.

Although the seven-month stoppage has been hard on miners and their families, the Buck Creek strikers are set on winning. "They knew the union was moving in so they hired lots of younger guys like me who had never worked in a mine and didn't know much about the union," said Mike Loftin. "They were surprised that more of us didn't cross the picket line. They were surprised at the resolve."

Local 4538 has received support from other UMWA locals and area unions. Striking miners from Peabody Coal Co.'s Lynnville, Indiana, mine help out by picketing the offices of Buck Creek's parent company in Evansville, Indiana, which is nearer to them than to Buck Creek. Strikers' wives have organized a women's auxiliary, and UMWA miners at the Wabash mine in Illinois have sent gift certificates to help the strikers buy food and other supplies.

Since the strike began, federal mine officials have cited the company for numerous



Striking Indiana miners in front of picket shack. UMWA members had to fortify the structure after shots were fired at it from nearby company complex.

safety violations, and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) has filed complaints charging that Buck Creek management has waged an illegal campaign against the union.

According to the NLRB complaint, Buck Creek management spied on miners and questioned them about their union views leading up to the strike. The NLRB also charged that the company has instructed scabs to "engage in conduct to cause trouble for employees on the picket line" so as to provoke incidents that would help the company obtain court injunctions against the union.

Even with unfair labor practice charges

unsettled, the NLRB has said that it will grant the company's request for an election to decertify the union.

"The NLRB told us earlier they wouldn't hold an election with the charges pending," said Local 4538 president Luke Sligar in a telephone interview. "Now they say they're going ahead with it. There's no way the company will negotiate as long as they can get this election, but we're staying out until we negotiate a contract."

David Marshall is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1345 at National Vendors in St. Louis.

Consolidation Coal opens struck mine

BY ROBERT DEES AND JOAN PALTRINERI

VANSANT, Virginia — "They're running coal here," United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) striker Linda Lester said. More than 300 miners mobilized at the entrance to Consolidation Coal's Island Creek no. 3 mine here at 5:00 a.m. October 11 in response to this attempt by the company to move struck coal. "We've been on strike for three months. They haven't tried to run our mines until today. We can't just stand by and let them take our jobs," she said.

Cars drove into the mine carrying foremen and bosses from this mine and many who the miners didn't recognize. "They're probably bosses from other Consol operations," Lester said. Strikers reported that the

company is just using bosses at this point. Guards from an out-of-state security firm were posted at the mine entrance where a thick yellow line was painted — a line the union was told they could not cross.

"We heard rumors that they were going to try to run coal," Buck Charles, the local UMWA president, said. "We're baffled by this. We thought we had good negotiations. The next thing we know, the company is taking a belligerent stand."

"They're seeing how much they can get away with," striker Clarence Estep said. He stressed the need for a disciplined and orderly, though massive, picket line. "They would like to find a reason to file an injunction against us having a big picket line," Estep said.

The basic issue in the strike is "job security" explained Lester. "They're buying up all this property, opening up all those mines [with nonunion labor], and taking our jobs."

Lester is one of 12 women miners still employed at one of the three struck Island Creek mines in this area. Between 40 and 50 women miners have been laid off in this area, she pointed out. Lester is on the board of the Coal Employment Project (CEP), which works to get women hired in coal mines.

"The United Auto Workers from Ohio brought us a big donation of food and clothing," said striking miner Jerry Ward. Other important donations have come from UMWA locals at Pittston, as well as local churches and businesses. "It really encourages us when people come by the picket lines."

Widespread support for the strike is clearly evident from the hundreds of passing cars that wave and honk their horn in support of the miners. As half a dozen school buses went by the youngsters slid down the windows to hoot and wave.

That evening, a sheriff's deputy arrived with a stack of summonses. He left chomping his cigar angrily, however, as none of the individuals named in the papers were present. The company was seeking an injunction to limit the number of pickets.

In a telephone interview later, Estep explained that the company served the papers on the union's lawyer the next day, and was able to obtain an injunction limiting the picket line to 15 miners. "They are still running the coal," he said.

Relief Fund aids striking Illinois miners

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

MARISSA, Illinois — "One day longer" is a slogan seen throughout coal country that expresses the sentiment of striking members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). For the 18,000 striking miners and their families, lasting one day longer than the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) more and more depends on the solidarity of fellow working people and the donations raised to put food on their tables and ensure necessary bills are paid. That's what the Illinois UMWA Relief Fund is all about.

Letters of support from various local unions and individuals adorn the office where Gilbert Stellhorn, Daniel Neff, and Dick Smith work. The three men are strikers and the trustees of the Relief Fund, which covers 3,300 UMWA strikers in Illinois. "Right now," said Neff, a member of Local 1820, "we're spending about twice as much as we're taking in. Guys need help with home mortgages, rent, electric, natural gas, and water bills."

The trustees explained that miners come to the office to apply for emergency assistance and the office helps strikers deal with the problem. "If a guy can't make his mortgage," said Neff, "we'll call the bank, explain the situation, and try to get them to agree to accept interest-only payments. That's worked with most of the local banks, but it's different with banks outside the area. After I explained the situation to a banker in Florida, he said, 'That ain't my problem.'"

Each UMWA local — striking and non-striking — has a member on the relief committee, which holds monthly meetings.

"We have 13 working locals," said Neff. "Every member is asked to voluntarily give \$10 per pay, which is every two weeks." While this is a good base for the fund, it does not begin to cover the needs. The trustees report that since July the fund has paid out \$90,000 in personal assistance to miners' families.

"We've gotten contributions from auto workers, steelworkers, machinists, fire fighters, airline workers — from all over the country, even Alaska," said Stellhorn, who is on strike at the Marissa mine. "We get them from speaking tours and conventions."

With the strike past the five-month mark

and the cold weather coming on, the trustees anticipate the need to raise more money. "We'll need about \$10,000 a week," said Stellhorn. "We need people to help us out in any way they can — even if it's a \$1 or \$5 contribution."

Donations can be sent to: Illinois UMWA Relief Fund, P.O. Box 95, Marissa, IL 62257. For more information call (618) 295-3657 or (618) 295-2746.

Estelle DeBates is a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union in Masontown, Pennsylvania.

Iowa tour wins support for UMWA

BY MIKE GALATI

DES MOINES, Iowa — Dwight Summers, a member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 16 at an Arch Minerals mine in southern Illinois, completed a successful five-day tour here October 16.

The tour, which was organized by United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 270, raised more than \$3,000 for the Miners Relief Fund. This was the fourth trip Summers has made to Iowa since the spring to explain the issues in the five-month-long strike by 18,000 coal miners and to seek support.

During the course of the tour Summers spoke before a membership meeting of UAW Local 838, which is the largest UAW local in the state, representing workers at the John

Deere assembly plant in Waterloo, Iowa.

The striking coal miner spoke to the first- and second-shift union stewards' meetings of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1149 from the Monfort plant in Marshalltown, Iowa, and a meeting of the Building Trades Council in Des Moines. He was also invited to meet with Des Moines mayor John Dorian.

Commenting on the visit, Summers said in an interview, "Doing these tours has been a great experience. I've been very pleased to see the support we've been getting from the different unions in Iowa, including from unions that I never even knew existed before. It's fantastic."

Mike Galati is a member of UFCW Local 1149 in Marshalltown.

From Pathfinder

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Protests press for Aristide's return

Continued from front page

Guard vessels and planes that were already there to enforce Clinton's policy of forcibly repatriating Haitian refugees.

The purpose of this display of military might is supposedly to enforce an oil and arms embargo, which the UN Security Council reimposed on Haiti October 16. However, it also dramatically reinforces Washington's efforts to ensure that all Haitians fleeing the island by boat are promptly returned back to the hands of the military rulers. The Security Council is threatening to impose a total blockade of all commerce with Haiti.

The warships have fired upon at least one merchant vessel and boarded and searched a number of others. One ship, after being searched, was ordered to turn back, although none of the inspected cargo violated the embargo. Another vessel, which was met with a burst of machine-gun fire across its bow, simply idled in another area off the coast where it was unloaded by smaller boats.

Inside Haiti, a flourishing black market keeps plenty of gas available for the wealthy few who can afford to buy it. Skyrocketing prices on vital necessities like rice, which has recently risen 400 percent, hurt the vast majority of Haitian working people the most.

Many Haitians continue to back the embargo, hoping it will pressure the military to grant concessions. "Whatever pain we feel from the embargo, we understand to mean as a sacrifice so that we can have a better tomorrow," Jean Pierre-Louis, a farmer in the town of Cazales, told the New York Times.

A growing number, however, are expressing concern about the naval blockade and the provocative actions of the U.S. warships surrounding the Caribbean island, fearing it is a first step toward U.S. military intervention.

While expressing his support for a UN "peacekeeping" operation in Haiti, including their right to use force if necessary, Aristide has stated that he could not call on foreign troops to intervene because it is against the Haitian constitution.

An article in the October 22 *New York Times* reports that boatbuilding has begun again in Haiti. "If [Aristide] does not return, we'll take matters into our own hands," stated Colbert St. Vil in the town of Petit-Goave. "I don't mean on land; I mean the ocean. It's our only way out."

In a sign of continued division among the U.S. rulers on whether to support Aristide's return, the CIA briefed congressional representatives October 20 on its negative view of the Haitian head of state. The CIA report raised anew some of the slanders first circulated shortly after the coup — that Aristide is mentally unstable and is not a supporter of democratic rights.

CIA analyst Brian Latell, who presented the briefing, had also produced a report last year praising Haiti's current military dictator Cédra as part of "the most promising group of Haitian leaders to emerge since the Duvalier family dictatorship was deposed in 1986."

Ernie Mailhot, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 368 and Rollande Girard, a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 694-A from Miami contributed to this article.

— CALENDAR —

MASSACHUSETTS

Cambridge

Challenging the U.S. Embargo against Cuba: Eyewitness Reports. Speakers: Hugo Yedra, first secretary of Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C.; David Olson, Friendshipment driver and July 26 Coalition; Michael Canney, Friendshipment driver and Let Cuba Live; Jim Maurer, recent visitor to Havana Hospital for Transplants and Regeneration; Peter Sakura, health-care worker and community activist. Sat., Nov. 6, 7 p.m. Sherill Hall, Episcopal Divinity School, 99 Brattle St. Sponsored by the July 26 Coalition, a committee of CASA. Donation: \$4. For more information, call (617) 492-8699.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Cuba Needs You... Say 'No' to the Blockade! Protest during UN review of U.S. trade embargo. Wed., Nov. 3, 4-8 p.m. Ralph Bunche Plaza, 1st Ave. between 42nd and 43rd Sts. Sponsored by Casa de las Américas, Pastors for Peace, and Cuba Information Project. For more information, call (212) 675-2584, 926-5757, or 227-3422.

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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Immigrant Workers under Attack. A World Political Issue. Speakers: Alicia Lepe, director, Immigration Project of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); Leonardo Vilchis, Proyecto Pastoral de Mision Dolores; Greg McCartan, member, ILGWU Local 106 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 6. Dinner — 6 p.m. Forum — 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

The Political Crisis in Haiti. Speakers: Linda Joyce, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Donation: \$3. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Defend Public Education. Oppose the University 2000 Plan. Panel discussion with unionists and students. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Speakout: The Crisis in Haiti and U.S. Military Intervention. Speakers: Ben Dupuy, former ambassador-at-large of the Aristide government; Brian Williams, Militant staff writer; special video interview with Antoine Izmerly, murdered in Haiti by army agents. Sat., Nov. 6. Reception — 6 p.m. Program — 7 p.m. 59 Fourth Ave. (corner of Bergen). Donation: \$4. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

South Africa Advances toward Democracy: Celebrate the Publication of Nelson Mandela Speaks. Speakers: Robert Dees, Socialist Workers Party; Musa Kamara, resident administrator, A&T State University; others. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Political Crisis in Haiti. Speakers: Carl Anderson, attorney for Haitian refugees in Philadelphia, returning November 4 from National Lawyers Guild delegation to Haiti; Carole Metellus, PhilaLink for Haiti and Lavalas; Nancy Cole, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Pittsburgh

Challenges Facing Airline Workers Today — A Panel Discussion of USAir Workers. Sun., Nov. 7, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

Big political shake-up in Canadian election

Continued from front page

worst showing in its history.

John Bulloch, president of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, said he had no qualms about the Liberals' victory. Thomas d'Aquino, president of the Business Council on National Issues, said the Liberals "conducted an impressive campaign in which they addressed many of the issues that businesspeople care most deeply about." Canadian stocks closed higher after the election results were announced.

The election campaign was completely dominated by social problems exacerbated by the depression conditions throughout Canada.

Under the leadership of Brian Mulroney, the Conservatives had for some time been the most hated government of the last half-century. In an effort to reverse that situation, they dumped Mulroney and elected Campbell as a new leader earlier this year.

Their election drive went into a free fall, however, when Campbell campaigned on reducing the federal deficit by introducing steeper cuts in social services and claimed there was nothing her government could do against unemployment before the year 2000.

Joblessness stands at 11 percent in Canada.

The NDP was decimated in Ontario, Saskatchewan, and parts of British Columbia — the three provinces where NDP-led governments initiated some of the deepest attacks against social services across Canada over the last year.

The Bloc claimed that a "sovereign" Quebec would have the necessary political power and tax base to ensure jobs and better living conditions for Quebecois, who constitute a French-speaking oppressed nationality inside Canada. The BQ presented candidates only in Quebec, with the support of Quebec trade union federations.

The Bloc has close links with the Parti Quebecois, the official opposition party in Quebec's National Assembly. Both parties are campaigning for a referendum in Quebec over "sovereignty."

The Reform Party didn't run any candidates in Quebec. Denouncing "big government" in Ottawa, it campaigned for eliminating the federal deficit within three years through "radical reforms," that is steep cuts, in unemployment insurance and Medicare, and for cutting immigration by half — claiming this would reduce unemployment.

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Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. For information on time and location of presentations and classes in each city, call Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12.

BRITAIN

London

Rape, the Courts, and Women's Rights. What Views Should We Take on the 'Kings' College' Trial? Speaker: Marcella Fitzgerald. Sat., Nov. 6, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut, SE 1. Donation: £2. Tel: 71-401-2409.

CANADA

Vancouver

The Deepening Political and Economic Crisis in Russia. Speaker: Beverly Bernardo, Communist League. Sat., Nov. 6, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24th Aves). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

The Liberal Party led a campaign centered on "job creation" and "commitment" to social services. When criticized by big business spokespeople for not campaigning enough for cuts in social services, Chrétien argued that too sweeping reductions could lead to "social revolution."

Commentators in the big-business press underlined the depth of the challenge facing Canada's ruling wealthy families following the elections.

Articles in the Montreal daily *La Presse* expressed concern that the Liberals will not dare confront the expectations they have raised among working people, fearing the creation of a social explosion. But the paper argued that Chrétien should forget all his promises on job creation and social benefits.

The Toronto *Globe and Mail* editors were particularly upset by the majority won by the Bloc in Quebec. Canada, the *Globe* wrote, is "a nation that has seen the ties that bound it for a century and a quarter frayed to the breaking point over the past several years" — a clear reference to the repeated failure of Ottawa to find a sustained solution to the demands for more power put forward by Quebec's rulers.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 071-928-7993.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield: 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

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Toronto: 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

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FRANCE

Paris: 8, allée Berlioz 94800 Villejuif Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klappargstig 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland: La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

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

SWEDEN

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

Sticking with make-believe — Home to a well-touted annual film festival, Cannes, the French seaside



Harry Ring

resort, is grappling with a real-life image. The mayor banned the homeless and panhandlers from the town's posh seaside boulevard.

'Separate but equal' — New York's Mt. Sinai Medical Center maintains separate maternity wards

— one for mostly white private patients, the other for mostly non-white Medicaid patients. The hospital said that while there are "some differences in amenities," there is "absolutely no difference in the standard of care provided."

May require modest increase — Three top drug manufacturers will ax a total of 7,000 employees, saving millions of dollars. They made no mention of paring drug prices accordingly.

It figures — The Los Angeles city controller is auditing the stunning bills from caterers for feeding several hundred managers who functioned as live-in scabs during

the city's failed effort to break a nine-day strike by utility workers. The tab — now \$800,000 — includes one bill he considers "outrageous" and definitely will not pay — \$75,000 for free goodwill food for the 10,000 strikers the day they returned to work.

The heart feeds on the body? — Addressing an anti-NAFTA rally, U.S. politico Jesse Jackson advised Canadians who are Black to establish their own banks as the way to control their destiny. "The bank," he said, "is to the capitalist system what the heart is to the human body."

No slot machines in the lav-

atories? — Virgin Atlantic Airways will offer passengers an opportunity to play poker, blackjack, and roulette on back-of-the-seat video screens. The only purpose, they say, is to provide entertainment. They do estimate that if each passenger drops a mere \$15 it would mean an annual take of \$30 million.

Must be popular — While the University of California system slashes programs and hikes tuitions, UC Santa Cruz allocated \$30,000 for bulletproof glass to shield the chancellor's office.

Trick, no treat — It's too late for this year, but the Divine De-

lights company was offering Eye-ball Truffles for Halloween. White chocolates with truffle centers. \$24 a dozen.

British crisis — London's Savile Row concedes a dangerous slump in sales. A cluster of venerable shops there offer custom-made suits for up to \$2,700. Cashmere and special fabrics extra.

Thought for the week — "It's a sad fact that the Englishman is no longer the best-dressed man in the world. It's a disgrace the way some of our ministers look, a national tragedy the way MPs [members of Parliament] dress." — A Savile Row clothier.

Attorney General Reno calls for TV censorship

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In testimony before the Senate Commerce Committee October 20, U.S. attorney general Janet Reno vowed to institute new censorship regulations to restrict instances of violence depicted on television.

She warned the TV industry that unless the networks moved immediately to limit programs with shootings, stabbings, and other violent acts, the White House and Congress would seek laws to mandate this be done.

The attorney general's harsh remarks came a few days after one teenager died and two were critically injured when they were struck by vehicles while lying in the center of a road, imitating a scene from *The Program*, a new movie about college football. Some people are also blaming the MTV cable network series *Beavis and Butt-head* for a house fire set by a five-year-old shortly after watching this cartoon show.

"Television violence and the development of our youth are not just another set of public policy programs," stated Reno. "They go to the heart of our society's val-

ues." Reno said television programs depicting violence are the cause of many crimes. Through TV shows, violence has been "ground into us, day in and day out," she stated.

Since assuming the office of attorney general earlier this year, Reno is perhaps best known for having ordered the six-hour tank and tear-gas assault on the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, last April, which led to the deaths of more than 80 people, including 25 children.

The Commerce Committee is currently considering proposed legislation that would require federal regulators to rate television and cable programs, force broadcasters to place warning signs on some programs, and ban certain shows altogether.

Reno said the Justice Department viewed all these proposals as being constitutional. She also made clear that restrictions would be considered not just on programs usually viewed by children but on those primarily seen by adults as well.

Several top television and motion-picture executives participating in the committee's

hearings insisted that these kind of federal regulations would in fact curb free speech, not violence.

An editorial in the October 22 *New York Times* agreed, characterizing Reno's proposal as a "threat to freedom of expression."

"To look back at 70 or so years of American films is to see a whole roster of things that nobody should do," stated the *Times*. "Nobody should imitate the Keystone Kops running amok with fire engines, Harold Lloyd dangling off a clock hand, Charlie Chaplin eating a shoe or James Dean racing a convertible. It's foolish to try to stop a bullet like Schwarzenegger or swing off a mountain like Stallone. But most foolish of all is Janet Reno's dangerous embrace of a very seductive form of censorship."

The more conservative *New York Post* also took its distance from Reno's plan. "This kind of regulation is a step along the way to full-fledged government control of broadcasting content," warned the *Post*. "It would signal a not-insignificant step towards control of information by the federal government."



Attorney General Janet Reno

The ANC's strategy for power

Continued from Page 9

unity, which is totally different from power sharing. What we say is that the coming election must be fought like all democratic elections; the principle of majority rule must be respected. The party that has an outright majority is entitled to form the government singlehandedly. But that party may invite all political parties which get more than 5 percent of the vote to join the government. It's not something that is required; it is the discretion of the majority party.

But we have gone beyond that. We say: the problems of our country demand that we should address them collectively. We are having problems now. We are having the beginnings of a counterrevolution, in which certain elements are slaughtering innocent people in order to destroy, to prevent the democratic process. We haven't got the power—in spite of the fact that we are drawing unprecedented crowds in our regions—we have not got the power to stop the violence.

When a democratic government is installed, you are going to see a different situation. They will even launch a civil war to destroy that government.

It is comparatively easy to gain political power, to win an election. But when you do so, you merely hold political office. You don't have political power. Because to gain political power means you have to control the civil service, you have to control the army, the police. You have to go out and get the support of business, of technicians, academicians. That is a process which is going to last for years. We will start to reorganize the civil service and the security services, but to do so is going to take some years. What happens in the meantime? It is easy to win an election. But to hold political power is something extremely more difficult than winning an election. . . .

We want a government where every one of us can say, "I am represented in that

government." You must also think in terms of the minorities—the whites, the so-called Coloureds, the Indians. During the transition, minorities everywhere will say: "If this change comes, what is going to happen to me, to my spouse, to my children, to the national group to which I belong, to the values in which I believe, to my possessions?" There are always these concerns and doubts. It is our duty as the architects of negotiations to succeed in bringing about unity, uniformity of thought, in this country; that all of us should speak with one voice. And the only way in which we can do that is through a government of national unity, which we say should last anything up to three to five years. Because to address these crucial problems facing the country is something extremely serious. . . .

Now, however, we have called for this government of national unity. We challenge everybody. We say: give us an alternative to address this particular problem. What people tell us is that we have power. Last year we brought into the street through mass action no less than four million people.

We have the power. We say we have the power, that is true. Why can't you stop the violence that is raging today if you have the power? Why can't you reduce the unemployment which is facing our people? What do you say about Angola, where the MPLA won an election and an outright majority; Savimbi has refused to recognize that result, took up arms. He almost overran the whole country. In our view, the only solution is a government of national unity.

1. In elections held in Angola in September 1992, the governing MPLA defeated the forces of UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi and backed for many years by the South African and U.S. governments. The following month, however, UNITA resumed its war against the government, seizing large parts of the country.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
November 8, 1968 Price 10c

Students and workers in Japan staged massive demonstrations Oct. 21 protesting the war in Vietnam and the Japan-United States security treaty and demanding the U.S. get out of Okinawa. The Japanese press estimated that 800,000 took part in the actions throughout the country.

The International Antiwar Day was planned to coincide with the Oct. 27 march scheduled in London and the Oct. 26 demonstration called by the Student Mobilization Committee in the U.S.

In Tokyo, according to a dispatch by Philip Shabecoff in the Oct. 22 *New York Times*, riot police fought students in front of the headquarters of the Japanese Self-Defense Agency (Ministry of War), at the Diet (parliament) Building, and in the massive Shinjuku railroad station. A serious clash between students and police also took place in Osaka. More than 700 people were arrested in the two cities and many were injured, Shabecoff reported.

Arrested students were held under a rarely used "antiriot" law that was invoked for the first time in 16 years. Shinjuku station, Tokyo's busiest, was closed overnight by the demonstration.

Sohyo, Japan's largest trade-union federation, was one of the sponsors of the day's actions. According to Shabecoff, there were one-hour work stoppages and shop rallies in addition to trade-union street demonstrations throughout the country to denounce U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

November 6, 1943

After prolonged and elaborate negotiations conducted in strictest secrecy, the Kremlin has arrived at another diplomatic deal with London and Washington. The Hull-Eden-Molotov joint communique, made public amid great fanfare on Nov. 1, is a typical product of secret diplomacy.

The consensus of capitalist opinion in Britain and the United States is that the "democracies" have scored the greatest diplomatic victory of the war through this completely reactionary deal. Roosevelt — with good reason — expressed his gratification.

The capitalist press is gleeful. "Triumph at Moscow," exulted the usually restrained editors of the *N.Y. Times*. David Lawrence, commentator for the American Tories and in this sense violently anti-Roosevelt, credits Hull with having won "a major triumph" at Moscow. (*N.Y. Sun*, Nov. 2.)

But the expressions of greatest satisfaction and joy appear in the Stalinist press. In the scheduled Stalinist celebrations of the 26th anniversary of the October Revolution, slogans have been included hailing the gist of the "Moscow Agreement." In Moscow and abroad the Stalinists are also claiming a "tremendous victory," characterizing the deal as one of the "great peaks in History," and deluding their followers with the "great new perspectives of the future." (*Daily Worker*, Nov. 2.)

The Moscow deal demonstrates that Stalin is ready to aid in the suppression of the Italian and European revolution. This is implicit in the entire agreement which calls for the establishment of a "general international organization" along the lines of the present "European Advisory Commission" and its Italian subcommittee not only for the duration but in "the period following the end of hostilities," and thereafter during the "peace" to come.

Oppose naval blockade of Haiti

Under the guise of enforcing an oil and arms embargo against Haiti, Washington has encircled the Caribbean island with an armada of warships, which pose a deadly threat to the sovereign rights of the Haitian people.

Backed by massive military firepower, U.S. forces are boarding and searching vessels at will. They've fired with machine guns on at least one ship deemed not to be fully cooperating with Washington's directives.

The Clinton administration claims these provocative acts are part of an effort to pressure Haiti's military rulers to accede to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return. But the naval blockade being imposed on this Caribbean country is fundamentally aimed at strengthening the hand of U.S. imperialism to advance its political and military interests in Haiti.

Washington has never been too concerned about democracy or the rights of Haiti's workers and peasants. For decades, the U.S. government under both Democratic and Republican administrations armed, financed, and fully backed the Duvalier family dictatorship, until it was overthrown by a massive uprising in 1986. U.S. marines invaded the country in 1915 and occupied it for 19 years.

What Washington seeks above all in Haiti is a return to capitalist stability where U.S. corporations can continue making fat profits by paying Haitian workers starvation wages. The U.S. rulers, however, are split over how best to bring this about. Some, such as Clinton, hope a government headed by Aristide with ministers from the military elite is the answer. Others, like Republican Senate leader Robert Dole and CIA officials, are for continuing to rely solely on Raoul Cédras

and the military strongmen with whom he's aligned.

Shortly after the 1991 coup, those fighting for Aristide's return called for an economic embargo of Haiti. Similar to the fight in South Africa, this demand was advanced as part of the struggle to return to democratic rule. Millions around the world backed the embargo as an act of political solidarity with the Haitian people.

From the beginning, Washington's policy has been to weaken and evade such an embargo. In February 1992, for example, then president George Bush announced that all U.S. businesses with factories in Haiti would be exempt from the embargo.

The current naval blockade has nothing to do with advancing the fight of Haiti's toilers for democratic rights and social justice. The truth is that U.S. military intervention into the island would be a weapon directed at crushing the just struggles of Haiti's workers and peasants.

The U.S. government under both Clinton and Bush has implemented a policy of forcibly returning all Haitians attempting to flee the repression in their homeland. The U.S. warships in the area drive home the point to every Haitian that this inhuman policy remains very much in effect.

Recent protests by Haitians and their supporters in the United States demanding the unconditional return of Aristide help point the way forward.

Working people and all supporters of democratic rights should join such actions. We should demand: Halt the criminal forced repatriation policy! Withdraw the warships from Haiti's waters! End Washington's military threats!

Defend public education!

The "Education Vouchers Initiative," which will be on the California state ballot November 2, is an attack on public, state-funded education. If passed, Proposition 174 would erode the right of all children to an education and would contribute to the disintegration of an already staggering school system. It should be decisively defeated.

The referendum would give parents \$2,600 out of the approximately \$5,200 the state currently spends on each student in the public schools. The vouchers could be turned in at the local public school, if that is where the child attends, or they could be used toward paying tuition at a private facility. In addition, the initiative would allow the privatization of some public schools.

Although the city of Milwaukee has a "parental choice" law in place, California would be the first state to pass such an initiative. Colorado and Oregon rejected similar measures. Legislative drives around this issue are currently underway in Florida, Indiana, Connecticut, and other states.

By allowing vouchers to be used at religious schools, Proposition 174 would also undermine the separation of church and state. The Catholic church hierarchy has been lobbying for decades for funding for parochial school education.

The *Wall Street Journal* and other proponents of Proposition 174 argue that the voucher plan is primarily about leveling the education playing field by giving poor, working-class families an opportunity the rich have always had — the chance to send their children to private schools. The school voucher initiative is part of "a cru-

sade to allow parents without extraordinary knowledge or resources to have some of the educational freedom of choice that insiders and the better-off already have," the *Journal* wrote in an October 25 editorial.

In addition, the *Journal* editors argue that public schools will improve if they are forced to compete for state funding with private institutions.

But Proposition 174 is not about parental choice. It is not about equality either. It is a broadside attack on a hard-won conquest of the working class that established education as a right — not a privilege — for all children. As part of this fight, working people won laws abolishing child labor, making school attendance compulsory, and establishing public schools. And the fight for free education didn't stop with children — it included establishing public libraries and demanding a shorter workweek to allow adults to study too.

The California voucher initiative points in the opposite direction. In exchange for \$2,600, it promises to further devastate the system of public schools and place education back in the marketplace, where working people would be forced to purchase their children's education.

Many workers and professionals, faced with the decay of public school education under incessant cutbacks by Democrats and Republicans alike, will try to come up with the money to send their children to private schools. But this is not a solution to the education crisis.

For the working class, the only road forward is a fight for the right to universal, lifetime education, free of charge for all — not backward to buying knowledge in the market.

Canada's political shake-up

Canada's Liberals won a majority in Parliament in the October 25 elections by promising to create jobs and to address the concerns working people have over the devastated state of the capitalist economy.

As reflected in commentaries by big-business spokespeople, this is the last thing the Liberals intend to do. They will apply the reactionary, anti-working-class program that the right-wing populist Reform Party openly campaigned for during the elections.

The Liberals will slash unemployment benefits, pensions, welfare, education, and health-care services. They will attack union and democratic rights. They will increase police repression against youth, workers, and immigrants. And they will engage in more wars against working people abroad.

The dramatic rise of the Reform Party and of the Bloc Quebecois is a reflection of the deep political divisions tearing apart the fabric of Canada's bourgeois parties under the impact of the world capitalist depression.

The capitalist class is divided over how far and how fast it can slash social services and undermine rights of working people without provoking significant resistance. The Reform Party campaigned for a sharp acceleration of the cutbacks. In the absence of any working-class alternative, its populist, radical-sounding, anti-government demagoguery and its scapegoating of immigrants, Quebecois, and native people are receiving a hearing among a layer of workers.

The second question that sharply divides Canada's rulers is how many, if any, new powers should be vested to the Quebec government — a long-standing demand by many capitalists in Quebec. This is being promoted by the Bloc Quebecois under the vague slogan of "sovereignty for Quebec."

In order to win support of working people in Quebec for this perspective, the Bloc claims to defend the interests of all francophones, an oppressed nationality in Canada.

But the Bloc Quebecois doesn't defend the rights and interests of working people who are Quebecois any more than any of the other capitalist parties do. The Bloc's attempt to pull Quebecois working people behind the employers' "defend-the-interests-of-Quebec" bandwagon is as reactionary as the Canadian nationalist appeals of the Liberals, the Reform Party, and the New Democratic Party.

There is only one way for working people in Canada to defend themselves against the ravages of the capitalist crisis and the attacks that all sections of the ruling class are carrying out and planning to intensify.

First, the labor movement should refuse to side in any way with any of the wealthy capitalist families — Canadian or Quebecois. Second, working people need to see themselves as part of an international class having a common interest in fighting together against all forms of oppression, exploitation, and injustice in Canada and around the world.

As a first step toward forging this crucial working-class unity, working people must denounce the chauvinist campaign launched against the right of the Bloc Quebecois to become the official opposition party in Parliament under the pretext that it is a so-called "separatist party."

They should also strongly oppose the racist anti-immigrant program of the Reform Party, a program it promoted during the whole election campaign with the tacit agreement of all the other capitalist parties. Working people should oppose the participation of three Canadian war ships in a possible military intervention led by Washington against the workers and peasants in Haiti.

Finally, emulating the example of the 8,000–10,000 unionists and others who marched in the streets of Edmonton, Alberta, two days before the election to defend social services against government attacks would be a step forward for the labor movement.

Is 'crime wave' media hype?

In a letter printed in last week's *Militant*, reader Phil Amadon from Cincinnati raised some criticisms of an editorial that appeared in the October 11 issue. He disagreed with the *Militant's* statement that "a lot of the so-called crime wave is basically media hype."

"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 (emphasis in original)," Amadon asked. "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?"

By media hype the *Militant* did not mean to imply that the question of crime is not a real social problem. It is, and many working people's lives are affected by it. But what is hype is the way that the big-business media and capitalist politicians portray "crime" as the central problem working people face.

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

Violence and crime have their roots in class society. From forcibly driving peasants off the land to toil in the factories to numerous imperialist slaughters of working people around the world in this century, capitalism "comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," as Karl Marx described it.

The antisocial actions that are more often referred to as crime also come from capitalism. So-called organized crime is simply the illegal — and very lucrative — side of private enterprise. The Kennedy family, for example, won its place in the big bourgeoisie through smuggling liquor during Prohibition in the 1920s.

The vicious dog-eat-dog nature of capitalism also creates a layer of people who have lost any sense of human solidarity, sometimes called the lumpenproletariat. This is not a section of the working class, but rather individuals who come from the dregs of all classes and prey on the working class — pimps, hired killers, etc. In times of deep capitalist crisis, the lumpenproletariat provide some of the shock troops for fascist gangs.

Capitalism also breeds despair and alienation within the working class, leading to all kinds of violence, including and foremost within the family. There will be an increase in this kind of violence as long as the capitalist depression continues without an organized fightback by working people.

The ruling class and the big business media put forward various "nuts and bolts" schemes for "fighting crime" — more cops, longer prison sentences, greater use of the death penalty, gun control, fewer rights to appeal, etc. U.S. attorney general Janet Reno has just called for censoring TV broadcasts that depict acts of violence. Most of these recipes have been tried in one form or another, and none of them actually reduce crime. What they do accomplish is to confuse workers about the source of crime, take away hard-won democratic rights, and strengthen the ability of the police to use their billyclubs on youth or workers they deem rebellious.

Others argue for individual "solutions" to crime — such as buying guns. A new ad put out by the National Rifle Association, for instance, tells women to "refuse to be a victim," presumably by arming themselves. This does nothing to address the source of violence in this society — the capitalist system — and heads in the direction of right-wing vigilantism.

Or you hear from many liberals that crime is caused by poverty. This plays into the false notion that poor people cause crime, not the ruling rich. But social revolutions, including in very poor countries such as Burkina Faso, Cuba, and Nicaragua have demonstrated that when workers and farmers are mobilized in a mass struggle all types of antisocial criminal activity decrease.

What the October 11 *Militant* editorial correctly pointed to was that "human solidarity, which in this epoch means working-class solidarity," is the only answer to the problem of crime and the system that breeds it. To do this means building a movement of fighting workers and their allies.

This isn't a pie-in-the-sky scheme that says "wait for socialism and things will get better." There are many concrete ways today to join in the struggle. Support the striking coal miners, who face increasing attacks from the bosses, violence from their hired gun thugs, and restrictions of their rights by the courts. Defend the rights of immigrant workers, who the ruling class try to scapegoat for crime and other social problems. Speak out loudly against the U.S. Justice Department threats to prosecute the activists who just returned from Cuba after challenging Washington's travel ban. Expose the criminal nature of the U.S.-led war against the Somali people and the military blockade of Haiti.

In the course of taking on these struggles to defend the working class, family farmers, and small businesspeople against the capitalist class and the crimes it commits daily against working people the world over, greater numbers of workers, farmers, and youth can be won away from the despair and alienation that are behind the crime wave. It is the only working-class answer to the problem, which can ultimately be solved only by a fight to overthrow capitalism and replace it with a system that puts human needs before profits.

— NAOMI CRAINE

Union wins back London subway workers' jobs

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

but demoted him and refused to give back Sikorski's job.

On October 7, 350 RMT members on the Central line went out on a 24-hour strike. This left the busy line with seriously restricted service.

During the strike, picket lines were formed at other depots as well. The pickets

ON THE PICKET LINE

about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Workers on the London Underground [subway] won a victory recently when two sacked rail workers were reinstated after a successful campaign, including union meetings and a 24-hour strike. The bosses reinstated the workers two days before another one-day strike was planned. The action involved 350 train drivers and guards on the Central line.

The sackings come at a time when victimization and unfair dismissals are part of the overall attacks on workers at the Underground. Management claimed Ray Steltzner had removed a number of security tags from a train. (These are seals that hold the bottom of the train seats to the base.) The official reason given for his dismissal was "destroying London Underground property." The bosses' story against him kept changing and no evidence was presented to justify the dismissal. It turns out Steltzner and management had been in dispute over unpaid wages for two years.

Patrick Sikorski, secretary of the local unions district council, was sacked for "abusive language and threatening behavior to a manager." This charge came as a result of his trade union activities, which included putting up leaflets in his workplace calling for a meeting to campaign for the reinstatement of Steltzner. Without discussion a train crew manager tore them down. Sikorski was sacked because he confronted the manager about this.

Before the ballot by Rail, Maritime and Transport (RMT) union members authorizing strike action, the company reinstated Steltzner

were maintained from 4:45 a.m. onward.

Following the successful 24-hour strike, the RMT called another one for the following week, and also planned to ballot all London Underground workers for strike action.

In response, the bosses quickly met with the union and agreed to drop all the charges against the two sacked workers and return them to their jobs at their original depots.

At a victory meeting, Tony Gildea, a train operator at Leytonstone, expressed his pride at the action. Referring to the management of the Central line, he said, "We've taken on the rotweiler of the underground and beaten the hell out of them." He went on to say that "every railworker today is stronger because of the action we took."

Air France strikers win victory

Ground workers on strike at Air France won a victory October 24, when the French government backed down from plans to terminate 4,000 jobs at the carrier.

Just days after calling for workers to cease runway takeovers and protests that shut down Paris's Orly and Charles de Gaulle airports, French prime minister Edouard Balladur accepted the resignation of Air France president Bernard Attali. Transport minister Bernard Bosson called for a "return to social peace," and said a new plan would be drafted under which no workers would be fired.

Airline management claims the strike is costing \$12 million a day. Air France is the biggest money loser among airline companies in Europe.

Leaders of Force Ouvriere, a ma-

jor union involved, recommended a return to work October 25. Union members, however, voted the proposal down and planned to continue the strike at least through October 26. Plans include a 24-hour strike by pilots and cabin crews along with many other unionists at Air Inter, Air France's domestic subsidiary. The big-business media has termed the actions "Black Tuesday."

Chinese restaurant workers fight in New York

Workers at the Silver Palace, the only unionized restaurant in New York's Chinatown, are picketing the spot every day. Restaurant owners demanded cuts that would drop wages from \$8.40 to \$2.95 for *dim sum* servers, along with reductions in paid holidays and medical benefits.

The workers, members of Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union Local 318, include bus boys and food servers. They have been locked out since August 20.

Richard Chan, executive director of the restaurant, claims that "no one supports the workers," while complaining that "with the union behind these people, we cannot discipline these people or ask them to do anything."

The workers are more confident of their impact on the picket line, where they have constructed a prominent

red coffin to symbolize slavery.

Locked-out Staley workers seek solidarity

"Before, the attitude was, 'How much do I have to give up to continue working?' Now, many of us see this fight as going beyond Staley, that the company should deal fairly with the workers, or it goes down."

This is how Dan Lane, assistant chairman on the bargaining committee of the Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) described the outlook of workers fighting the union-busting campaign of A. E. Staley Manufacturing in Decatur, Illinois — a major corn processor. Workers have been locked out since June 27. Lane spoke at the Militant Labor Forum in Chicago October 2.

Unionists maintain pickets outside the Staley plant, where management and 150 scabs continue limited production. A boycott is also underway.

AIW Local 837 members are seeking invitations to speak before unions, churches, and campus groups. A video explaining the union fight, *Deadly Corn*, is available. The unionists can be reached at 2882 North Dineen, Decatur, Illinois 62526. (217) 876-7006.

Striking Alitalia workers rally on Columbus Day

About 100 striking Alitalia Air-

lines workers and supporters rallied at the Alitalia reservations center in Manhattan as the Columbus Day parade passed by. Chants of "Boycott Alitalia!" rang out to spectators and participants in the Italian-American parade.

Cargo workers, and ticket and reservation agents have been on strike for more than a month. The members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) locals 1894 and 2655 are fighting company demands for 40 percent wage reductions, health-care cuts, and increased use of part-time workers.

Management is demanding the right to subcontract out any and all work currently being performed by IAM members. Accepting this would mean signing the union out of existence.

"People who still believe those who work at an airline are all one happy family might just as well believe in Santa Claus and the Easter Bunny," said striker Louis Proffetti. "The only ones we can rely on are ourselves."

The following people contributed to this week's column: Julie Crawford, Robert Higley, and Simon Borman, members of the RMT in London; Anthony Perez in Chicago; and Bob Bruce, member IAM Local 1056 at JFK Airport, and Elizabeth Stone, member of IAM Local 1322 at La Guardia Airport, in New York.



Five to six thousand striking aerospace workers fanned out across runways at Tel Aviv's Ben-Gurion International Airport, above, closing it for three hours October 21. Workers are fighting plans to eliminate 4,000 jobs and cut wages 15 percent at government-owned Israeli Aircraft Industries.

LETTERS

Miami homeless

On October 1 half of an encampment built by homeless working people in Miami was razed by the Florida Department of Transportation. The encampment is built under the I-395 expressway overpass and sheltered 110 residents in the majority Black working-class district called Overtown.

Seventy people were moved to a "hotel" at an undisclosed location. The other half of the camp is scheduled to be demolished in the next two weeks.

It is estimated that there are between 7,000 and 10,000 homeless people in Miami. At a recent city commission budget hearing, Socialist Workers Party candidate for the commission, Seth Galinsky, told members, "Of the \$200 million in the proposed budget, 44 percent of it is going to the police department and virtually none of it is going to resolve the problems of working people in this city."

"For example, there are thousands of homeless people here, which Mayor (Xavier) Suarez knows a lot about because he's made many proposals to get them off the streets while doing nothing to meet their needs," Galinsky continued.

Campaign supporters of Galin-

sky, and campaigners for socialist Workers mayoral candidate Laura Garza and city commission candidate Maggie McGraw, visited some of the remaining residents of the Overtown homeless encampment following the bulldozing. Also visiting were students from Florida International University who were distributing food, including to AIDS victims.

Although the homeless were living in squalid conditions, with almost no sunlight, and no visible means of food preparation, many said they preferred this to the proposed hotel accommodations.

"At the hotel it's like being locked up in prison. They'll be watching us all the time and deciding when we can come and go." They also force us to take urine tests, and we don't know what all else since they won't tell us," said one resident.

Janet Post
Miami, Florida

Antiracist protest

On September 22 more than 1,000 demonstrators, mainly young people, marched against fascism and racism in the streets of Montreal.

The demonstration was the last of a series of actions protesting the

presence of three National Front of France delegates at the 4th International Metropolis convention held in Montreal. Led by the extreme-right politician Jean-Marie LePen, the National Front campaigns against immigrants and north African workers living in France whom they blame for the deep economic and social crisis afflicting French imperialism.

The September 22 action was called by a coalition of some 60 organizations comprising community, antiracist, defense of immigrants, and political rights groups.

Notwithstanding the presence of a strong and intimidating police force, the demonstration was spirited. Slogans and placards demanded in French and English: "No to racism," "No to fascism, yes to immigrants," and "FN out." Participating contingents came from as far away as Toronto, New York, and Kingston, Ontario.

In the days preceding the demonstration, principal daily newspapers denounced it. "It is this crusade [against ultra-right politicians] which is undemocratic..." stated *Le Devoir* on its front page, emphasizing the fact that the FN delegates had been elected in France. A *La Presse* editorial entitled "The anti-racist circus" advocated ignoring

the presence of LePen's cohorts as a better way of fighting racism.

Marc-André Ethier
Michel Prairie
Montreal, Quebec

Palestinian struggle

I wanted to express a couple of points on the article "Palestinian Struggle for Self-Determination Spans Eight Decades" by Hilda Cuzco, which appeared in the September 20 issue.

First, one cannot present a view, even a very general overview, of the rise of the Palestinian struggle and on the serious blows it has suffered since the 1970s, without discussing the Lebanon war. This is a serious hole in the article. Not even a mention is made of the 1982 Israeli invasion, of Tal El Zaatar, of Sabra, of Shatila, or of the earlier gigantic advances the PLO made in Lebanon. *Militant* readers should reread the series by Harry Ring and myself, which appeared in 1990.

Secondly, in referring to the 1967 war the article says, "Despite bitter resistance, Israeli troops seized Gaza..." The truth is the war, the Six-day war, was a walk over for the Israelis as the Arab regimes organized no resistance. It was resistance like the one Saddam Hussein

organized. This is the fact that gave an impetus to the arguments of Fatah that propagandized around the political perspective that Palestinian people will liberate Palestine.

Georges Mehrabian
Athens, Greece

Grateful for 'Militant'

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Huntsville, Texas

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London uses IRA blasts to derail talks

BY SHELLIA KENNEDY

MANCHESTER, England — On October 23 the Irish Republican Army (IRA) exploded one of the biggest bombs to hit Belfast in the last 20 years. In this latest blast, part of an unabated bombing campaign, 10 people were killed and 57 were injured. The dead included the owner of a fish shop, his daughter, and two girls aged 7 and 13. According to an IRA statement released shortly after the explosion, the bombers were hoping to catch the leadership of the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) — a loyalist paramilitary organization, which is the armed wing of the banned Ulster Defense Association — who were attending a meeting in an office above the fish shop.

The IRA said it regretted causing the deaths and understood the grief felt by families who had lost relatives. The IRA insisted the bomb was aimed at those it claimed were directly involved with loyalist death squads, adding "We reiterate our policy of not allowing ourselves to be dragged down a cul-de-sac of sectarian warfare." None of the intended victims appeared to have been injured by the blast. The bomb exploded prematurely, killing one of the IRA activists and severely wounding another.

The British government was quick to take advantage of the bombing. In the weeks leading up to the blast, a major discussion has been taking place following a proposed initiative on Northern Ireland advanced by Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams and Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) leader John Hume. Sinn Fein is a legal political party in Northern Ireland that opposes British occupation. It supports the armed campaign of the IRA.

Adams issued a statement critical of the bombing, "What happened, no matter about the intention, cannot be excused," he said.

The British government is opposed to the involvement of Sinn Fein in any talks. Even before the bombing, the government took steps to prevent Sinn Fein from addressing a meeting in the House of Commons, which Adams was invited to by Labour member of Parliament Tony Benn. On October 19 London banned Adams from entering Britain indefinitely under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Benn has protested Adams's exclusion from Britain.

Following the explosion, the government stepped up this line of attack. Prime Minister John Major condemned the bombing as "cold-blooded, premeditated attempted murder" and rejected the participation of Sinn Fein in any talks.

In a House of Commons statement, Patrick Mayhew, British secretary of state for Northern Ireland, applauded Hume's "courage" in seeking a breakthrough, but attacked Adams's suggestion that he might be able to persuade the IRA to call a ceasefire as "sickening hypocrisy."

The British government stepped up military activity in Northern Ireland in the wake of the bombing. The police have carried out a number of arrests.

"There can be no question of talking to any people or organizations who are capable



Rescue workers remove body from rubble after blast in Belfast that killed 10 people.

of such vile cruelty to innocent people," said John Smith, leader of the Labour Party. Kevin McNamara, Labour's Northern Ireland spokesman called on London to consider troop reinforcements in the six occupied counties. There are currently about 20,000 British troops in Northern Ireland.

Ireland's prime minister Albert Reynolds, who has spoken favorably of the Hume-Adams initiative, said, "All sides, even at this late stage, must desist from killing and allow

dialogue to develop between those who believe in peace."

An estimated 7,000 workers from Harland and Woolf shipyard and Short's aerospace factory — where discrimination against Catholic workers in employment is prevalent — participated in a demonstration protesting the bombing and opposing any talks involving Sinn Fein.

Among workers in predominantly Catholic areas, it is reported that fear of reprisals

is widespread. A man in Belfast said of the Shamrock Club there, "It's a working men's drinking club and it's normally pretty busy. But it was absolutely empty. I noticed it here with the kids as well. . . . Everybody's keeping them in because they're afraid something might happen." At least four Catholics have been killed by loyalist paramilitaries since the bombings.

Democratic Unionist Party leader Ian Paisley went on to say, "The reaction I got from people in the Shankill Road today is that there can never be any dealing with either the IRA or Sinn Fein. They believe that the only way to deal with these people is to exterminate them. I believe that is quite right."

Many working people from Protestant backgrounds do not support such blood-thirsty appeals, however. "These loyalist paramilitaries will now go and bomb some bar with Catholics in it. The one doesn't justify the other. It's terrible," said a passerby on the Shankill Road where the bombings took place.

After the Belfast blast and another explosion October 24 of an IRA bomb on the main London railway line 30 miles west of the capital, discussion and debate on the bombings has mushroomed among working people in Britain. A rail worker in Manchester who supports Irish self-determination said in an interview he considered the bombings an outrage, adding that he thought they will undermine support for the Irish freedom struggle.

Gunmen fire on Catholic workers in Belfast

BY IAN GRANT AND SHELLIA KENNEDY

BELFAST, Northern Ireland — Loyalist gunmen attacked a van of Catholic workers on their way to work at Shorts aerospace factory here on October 12, killing one and wounding five.

Torn Gillen of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, told the *Independent* October 13, "This seems to be a response from loyalist terrorists saying, 'Keep Catholics out of Shorts.'" Gillen said the workers were targeted because of Shorts' efforts to provide a measure of equal opportunities for Catholics.

The attack came as violence by paramilitary groups that support British rule in Northern Ireland has escalated in response to a new initiative on Northern Ireland advanced by John Hume, leader of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, and Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams.

According to a report published by the Equality Working Group in Belfast, only 11 percent of Shorts employees are Catholic. As a result of the MacBride Principles for Fair Employment campaign mounted by trade union coalitions in Canada, Shorts has come under pressure from its parent company, Bombardier Corp. of Canada, to adopt fair employment practices. In 1983, the company claimed to have adopted an affirmative action program in response to the lobbying efforts of

Irish-American organizations on the U.S. Defense Department, one of Shorts' customers. According to company officials, this resulted in an increase in Catholics in the work force of only 6 percent in seven years.

The Equality Working Group report also singles out the Ford Motor Co. for special mention. Situated in Finaghy, a predominantly Catholic area of Belfast, Ford employs 100 percent Protestants in certain departments.

In a front page news story August 25 the *Irish News* reported that Ford had attempted to introduce its own affirmative action initiative in the plant following a report prepared by the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Center in April, which found Catholics underrepresented in certain job categories.

Representatives of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU), with a membership of around 600 of the 700 workers in the plant, refused to participate in the equal opportunities working group, according to the *Irish News*. Trevor McKirgan, TGWU spokesperson at the plant, told the paper that workers had voted overwhelmingly last June against participating in the initiative. "My own feeling is that workers are not happy with the current situation in the plant and they would prefer to see some action as opposed to a committee," he said.

AEEU shop steward Raymond Kelly referred *Militant* reporters in Belfast at the end of August to Ford management to discuss the matter. Ireland regional TGWU secretary John Freeman said he was unaware of any issue at the auto plant. Ford management also refused to discuss the question when company officials met *Militant* reporters outside the factory.

The *Irish News* article reported that five cases are pending against Ford in Belfast under fair employment legislation, the majority by Catholics. Gerry Campbell, a TGWU representative at the plant, claimed nine individual cases were pending, going back to 1977.

"If we could get something started on the discrimination cases there would be a lot of support among the work force," Campbell stated in a telephone interview. He related a recent incident where sectarian divisions in the plant were breached in an effort to prevent the firing of two timekeepers whose

jobs were threatened by automation.

"This would have meant throwing out two workers who had worked in the factory 22 years," he said. "Right now there is a breakdown of trust of management by the work force. Management uses the divisions for their own reasons."

Ford management is threatening a further round of layoffs following the announcement of voluntary redundancies last May, as part of a plan to shed 14,400 jobs in plants in Europe by the end of this year.

Discrimination against workers who are Catholic in the British-occupied six counties of Northern Ireland has shown little or no improvement over the last quarter century. Aug. 24, 1993, marked the 25th anniversary of the first civil rights march in Northern Ireland. Thousands participated in that protest from Coalisland to Dungannon, under the demand, "British rights for British citizens." Fair employment legislation, introduced under pressure from civil rights campaigners by the British government in 1973, 1976, and 1989, has in each case failed to redress the situation through the courts.

According to a confidential British government report quoted in *The Independent*, "On all the major social and economic indicators Catholics are worse off than Protestants. They are more likely to be unemployed, more likely to experience long-term unemployment, and significantly less likely to hold professional, managerial, or other nonmanual positions."

The latest census shows that 28.4 percent of all economically active Catholic men are unemployed. This compares to 12.7 percent for Protestant workers. Women workers who are Catholic are nearly twice as likely to be unemployed as their Protestant counterparts.

Joyce Fairchild also contributed to this article.

Correction

An article titled "New initiative boosts talks on N. Ireland," which appeared in the October 25 issue of the *Militant* incorrectly identified James Smyth as an IRA activist. Smyth, who is under extradition hearings in San Francisco has testified he is not a member of the IRA. He was an activist in Sinn Fein, a legal political party in Northern Ireland.

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