

# THE MILITANT

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is blow to democratic rights

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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## Miners vow to defend framed-up strikers

BY STEVE CRAINE  
AND KATHY RETTIG

YOLYN, West Virginia — Striking miners in Logan County have reacted with anger to the federal indictments in early November of eight members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 5958 at the Ruffner mine here. Most miners are determined to fight against this frame-up of their union brothers.

"We're going to win, there's no doubt about that," said Roger Horton, a member of UMWA Local 5958 who serves on the executive board of Subdistrict 3. "Those boys are innocent."

The eight miners were indicted one day before negotiations resumed between the UMWA and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The miners have been charged with interfering with interstate commerce in a July 22 incident at the Ruffner mine in which non-union contract worker Eddie York was shot and killed. Members of Local 5958 struck Arch Mineral Corp. at the beginning of the six-month-long strike, which now includes nearly 18,000 coal miners in seven states.

A three-month investigation by the state police, FBI, and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms led to the four-count indictment. It charges the miners with conspiracy to attack a convoy of cars with rocks, slingshots, firearms, and Molotov cocktails.

One striker, Jerry Lowe, is charged with illegal use of firearms. He faces 50 years in prison and a \$1 million fine. The other seven, who include UMWA Local 5958 president Ernie Woods, could receive sentences of up to 25 years and fines of \$500,000.

Local 5958 vice-president Larry Bartram said Lowe may have been singled out be-

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## Clinton appears to win battle on trade accord

BY GREG ROSENBERG

The White House faces an uphill battle to win passage of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). But the odds of winning congressional passage of the accord on November 17 improved dramatically after the recent debate between Vice-president Albert Gore and billionaire Ross Perot.

Most of big business, including the owners of machinery, computer software, and pharmaceutical industries, along with bankers and the grain monopolies, are strongly in favor of NAFTA. Some capitalists in the apparel, lumber, glass, and furniture industries are opposed to the accord.

The U.S., Canadian, and Mexican governments signed the agreement last December. Supplementary provisions on labor and

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environmental standards were announced August 13.

NAFTA's main features include gradual lifting of customs duties on nearly 10,000 products over a period of up to 15 years; establishing protectionist barriers to prevent capitalists from Japan and Europe with plants in Mexico from shipping duty-free to the United States; and opening Mexican banking, insurance, securities, and state-owned companies to U.S. and Canadian investors.

Echoing arguments of big-business owners who criticize NAFTA because they want more protectionist measures for their industries, AFL-CIO officials are campaigning for its defeat.

In response, the Clinton administration is highlighting the numerous protectionist features of the accord, exposing the lie that NAFTA has anything to do with free trade.

"The one thing you don't want to do is



Oil workers in Mexico. AFL-CIO anti-NAFTA campaign pits working people in Mexico, Canada, and the United States against each other instead of pointing to a united struggle for jobs against the employers' attacks.

let other countries take advantage of what we've negotiated," said U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor in defense of the agreement. "There is no such thing as free trade — it doesn't exist."

In an effort to bolster its position, the White House assigned Gore to debate Perot on the Larry King TV show November 9.

While Gore defended NAFTA and attacked Perot's credibility, the billionaire railed against Mexico. He claimed tens of thousands of "American" jobs would be "sucked" south of the U.S. border as a result of NAFTA. Perot, who calls NAFTA the "Mexican trade agreement," referred to

Mexico as a place "where babies are born without brains and U.S. companies are willing to take advantage of it." The Texas businessman showed a picture of a Mexican worker hammering boards and said, "Do you know what his dream is? To someday have an outhouse."

The world economic depression has led to growing competition for markets among the imperialist powers. From Japan, mired in recession, to the United States, in a weak economic recovery, the capitalist families are restructuring industry to extract more profit from workers' labor.

NAFTA's two main features have virtually unanimous support among the ruling families in the United States: opening Mexico up to increased exploitation and establishing a North American trading bloc as a bludgeon against capitalists in Europe and Japan. As a result, even if NAFTA fails in Congress, an alternative agreement along these lines will most likely be negotiated.

The White House is using the economic and military power of U.S. imperialism to impose an accord binding the Mexican economy tighter to that of the United States. Washington's rivals in capitalist Europe do not have a similar option with a semi-industrialized Third World country.

The U.S. government is pushing the accord at a time when hopes of challenging Washington's dominant position through a "united Europe" have vanished. The currency crisis that swept member countries of the European Community in August and led to the collapse of the Exchange Rate Mechanism virtually destroyed this myth.

The government of Mexico caved in to Clinton administration demands for further concessions on November 3. The new amendments to the trade accord will give additional protection to the profits of sugar, citrus, fresh vegetables, flat glass, wine, and appliance manufacturers in the United States.

A *New York Times* article bluntly noted November 7 that many U.S. businesses "advocate unrestricted free trade in all but their own industries." Florida's biggest citrus consortium dropped its opposition to NAFTA after assurances of protection. The Big Three auto bosses — General Motors,

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## Thousands in Miami protest murder and threats against Haitian activists

BY ERNIE MAILHOT  
AND SETH GALINSKY

MIAMI — Thousands of people attended the wake and funeral of Dona St. Plite, a prominent Haitian radio commentator assassinated here October 24.

St. Plite was gunned down near his car after speaking at a benefit for the family of Fritz Dor. A well-known activist, Dor was one of two radio commentators from Haiti murdered here in 1991. The other was Jean Claude Olivier, who was also shot to death.

St. Plite, Dor, and Olivier used their Miami-based radio shows to support the fight for democracy in Haiti.

Since the murder of St. Plite at least three "hit lists" circulating in Miami's Little Haiti have surfaced. St. Plite's name was on one of the them.

Other Haitian activists who oppose the military dictatorship in the Caribbean island have also received telephoned death threats. The killings are widely seen as the work of right-wing forces that oppose the return to Haiti of elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

At the November 5 wake and at the funeral the next day, many activists pointed out that city officials and the police have done nothing to capture St. Plite's murderers.



Funeral for St. Plite, who spoke out on Miami radio show against Haitian military regime.

More than two years after Dor and Olivier's deaths the police still have not solved the crimes, despite their claim to have captured an individual who admits to being the lookout during one of the murders.

Hundreds of people were unable to enter

the packed chapel of the First Interdenominational Haitian Church for the funeral service and instead waited outside. Groups of mourners talked about the latest events in Haiti, including CIA backing of army and

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## Bonn probes HIV-tainted blood

The German Health Ministry was forced to begin a special parliamentary investigation of claims that Federal Health Agency officials covered up knowledge of the distribution of HIV-infected blood. Documents recently made public suggest that hospitals in three German cities told state officials last April and May that they found HIV-tainted blood while performing random tests. The government did not act on this information. Responsibility for testing blood in Germany rests with the supplier and not the hospital. Health administrators estimate that 2 million Germans received blood products at hospitals that were customers of UB Plasma, the now-defunct German company that distributed the contaminated blood. Government officials throughout Europe have halted the sale of blood products purchased from the company.

## Gov't regains Georgian city

The Georgian government of Eduard Shevardnadze said it had recaptured the town of Khobi. Control of this town is considered essential for attacks against supporters of former president Zviad Gamsakhurdia in nearby Zugdidi. Hundreds of Russian troops landed in Georgia November 4 to help Shevardnadze regain control of strategic sites.

## U.S. forces restart Somalia patrols

The Pentagon announced November 4 that U.S. troops will begin using newly arrived tanks and armored personnel carriers to clear roadblocks set up by Somalis in the streets of Mogadishu. A U.S. military spokesperson said Washington would go ahead with plans to restart patrols in Somalia's capital. The U.S. military also withdrew half of the Marine contingent stationed offshore.

## PLO resumes talks with Tel Aviv

The Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) resumed negotiations with Tel Aviv November 8 on Palestinian self-government in the Gaza Strip and West Bank. PLO negotiators walked out November 2, saying Israeli proposals to redeploy troops in Gaza and the Jericho area fall short of the withdrawal agreed upon in the Israeli-PLO accord signed September 13.

A November 7 attack on Rabbi Haim Druckman's car resulted in the death of his driver and set off another wave of violent pro-

tests from right-wing Israeli settlers in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Druckman founded the Gush Emunim settlement movement and represented the National Religious Party in parliament for 11 years.

Settlers torched and stoned Palestinians' vehicles, blocked highways, and threw rocks at some homes. A Palestinian laborer was shot by the rightists. The settlers used similar tactics in protests a week earlier. The driver was the sixth Israeli killed in the occupied territories since the signing of the Israeli-PLO accord.

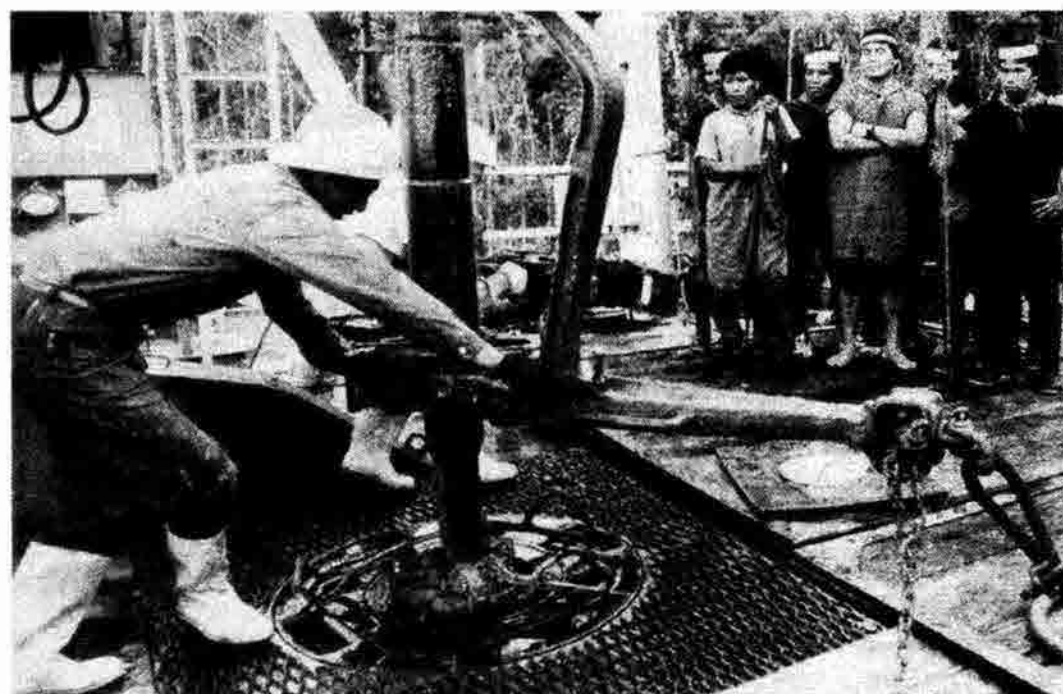
## Washington seeks oil boycott on Libya

Washington threatened to impose a global oil boycott against Libya if two men accused of bombing Pan American World Airlines Flight 103, which exploded over Scotland in 1988, were not turned over for trial in the United States or Britain. The Libyan government must also cooperate with French investigators in a similar explosion of a French airliner over Niger in 1989 and satisfy the secretary-general of the United Nations that it has renounced support for international terrorism, U.S. officials said.

In a deal with Moscow, which initially opposed the sanctions, the measures will not take effect until after Russia's December 12 elections. The sanctions freeze overseas financial assets, ban sales of equipment for oil refineries and pipelines, require countries to downgrade Libyan diplomatic missions, and order the closing of all international offices of Libyan Arab Airlines.

## Israeli firm ignores Cuba embargo

Ignoring the U.S. trade embargo, Solan Telecommunications & Computers Ltd. of Israel is offering direct-dial telephone service between Miami and Cuba. Callers dial a computer in London that automatically switches calls between two other destinations. "We do not believe that anybody can block anybody from calling London," stated



Members of the Secoya Nation of Ecuador have filed a lawsuit in U.S. federal court against Texaco for dumping 3,000 gallons of oil a day into the lagoons of Ecuador's rain forests. As a result of the dumping, drinking water is contaminated; rivers and lagoons where local residents fished, bathed, and washed clothes have become polluted; and roads are covered with a hazardous coating of oil. Members of another nation, the Cofans, (above), temporarily forced Petroecuador to stop drilling at its site in the Amazon.

a company official. "But I'm ready to fight." A spokesperson for the U.S. Treasury Department said if the company violates the embargo "we will take swift action."

Washington has shut down some of the phone services that offer calls to Cuba through 800 numbers in Canada. American Telephone & Telegraph Co. is the only licensed U.S. carrier to the island nation. Cuba's share of revenue from long distance calls made from the United States through AT&T is now deposited in an escrow account. Havana demands the U.S. government unfreeze the account, which now totals \$80 million.

## Alpha 66 threatens Cuba tourists

Alpha 66, a paramilitary group led by right-wing Cubans, has threatened to harass, rob, and kidnap people who visit Cuba. At a news conference November 4, Alpha 66 leader Humberto Pérez said, "We will use force to take food, clothing, and any other items tourists have access to in Cuba. We will use force, including the possibility of kidnapping tourists at random." The group had earlier threatened participants of the October 10-17 Freedom to Travel Campaign in Miami. Cuban officials guaranteed the safety of anyone who decides to visit the island.

## GI's conviction overturned

The conviction, 30-month sentence, and dishonorable discharge of Captain Yolanda Huet-Vaughn on desertion charges were set aside November 1 by the U.S. Army Court of Military Review. The court ruled that the military judge had refused to allow Huet-Vaughn and witnesses on her behalf to testify in her defense at the August 1991 trial in Ft. Leonard Wood, Missouri. The army reservist doc-

tor maintains that her absence from December 1990 to February 1991 was not with the intent of avoiding military service during the U.S.-led war in the Persian Gulf, but to try to prevent a war that violated international law and the military's own prohibition of unwarranted attacks on civilians.

"If the Army decides to retry Yolanda," commented Hillary Richard, who presented the winning argument on behalf of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, it could mean "opening up the U.S. role in the Gulf War and exposing the actions of the U.S. military to public scrutiny."

## U.S. Navy accident in Vieques

A U.S. Navy pilot went off course October 24 and dropped four 500-pound bombs behind the Isabel Segunda reservoir on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. If the bombs had been dropped two seconds later they would have landed in the city's neighborhoods.

The Navy took over Vieques during World War II, placing fishing waters off limits and forcing residents off two-thirds of the land. Washington has used the island to practice for invasions of Grenada, Cuba, and other Caribbean islands.

## Upset in New Zealand vote

Returns from New Zealand's November 6 elections indicates that neither major party won a clear mandate to form a new government. The incumbent National Party, the predicted winner, won 49 of the 99 seats in the country's single-chamber Parliament, one seat short of a clear majority. The Labour Party won 46 seats and two relatively new parties, the Alliance Party and the New Zealand First Party, each won 2 seats. — PAT SMITH

## THE MILITANT

## End U.S. embargo of Cuba!

The 'Militant' carries the latest news on plans for the February 1994 U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravan and other activities to challenge the U.S. embargo of Cuba. Next week's issue will feature an interview with Andrés

Gómez, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade in Miami. Don't miss it. In fact, don't miss a single issue!



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# Indian troops attack independence forces in Kashmir province

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Ten thousand Indian army troops are besieging 100 independence fighters inside the Hazratbal shrine in Srinagar, capital of Kashmir. The standoff began October 15.

The independence forces demand the removal of the army cordon, safe passage for themselves, and the handing over of a religious relic to clergy.

Tensions between the rival capitalist regimes of India and Pakistan have escalated during the siege. The governments of the two countries have fought three wars since 1947. In 1990 they came to the brink of nuclear conflict following rising unrest in Kashmir.

The explosive rebellion in the Himalayan valley, bordering India, Pakistan, and China, drew renewed attention when Indian forces fired indiscriminately on protest marches October 22, slaughtering about 60 people.

The fight for self-determination, supported by the vast majority of people in Jammu and Kashmir, the province's official name, has its roots in British colonial rule on the Indian subcontinent and the resolve of India's ruling families to hold onto this possession. New Delhi wants to set an example for other self-determination movements that are challenging a united India held together by force and violence in the midst of the world economic crisis.

The struggle by millions of workers and peasants to end 200 years of British colonial rule culminated in the victory of the inde-

pendence movement in 1947. Up until that time, the British crown did all it could to foster divisions among India's toilers along lines of religion, caste, language, and nationality. This included forcing a partition between majority-Hindu India and majority-Muslim Pakistan, creating millions of refugees who fled across borders as a fratricidal war unfolded.

A popular movement developed in Kashmir against the autocratic rule of the Maharajah, who replied with repression and refused to allow for a referendum on the status of Kashmir. He finally fled to New Delhi and "acceded" to India in return for military help. Indian troops arrived by air and quashed the opposition. War broke out with Pakistan until a cease-fire was signed in January 1949. Control of Kashmir was divided between the two countries, with the Indian regime controlling two-thirds of the area.

UN resolutions calling for a plebiscite on Kashmir's status have since been ignored by New Delhi.

Today the struggle in Kashmir to throw off Indian rule is the most serious national conflict confronting the capitalist regime in New Delhi, which maintains 400,000 troops in the territory. Until recently, Kashmir was the summer vacation spot for wealthy families from northern India.

Since 1990, when the independence struggle mushroomed alongside an armed insurgency, between 12,000 and 20,000 people have been killed. Many died in vi-



Kashmiri women hold pro-independence rally in Srinagar

olent massacres by the army. Today an estimated 15,000 await trial in Indian jails. "The security forces have been given free rein to murder detainees in custody, kill civilians in reprisal attacks, and engage in torture, rape and arson—all with impunity," said Patricia Gossman, author of a report for the human rights group Asia Watch.

K.V. Krishna Rao, governor of Kashmir, told *India Today* magazine that "I genuinely feel bad if torture leads to death."

Each day, young men suspected of being

"militants" are nabbed by Indian troops in "catch and kill" operations.

A majority of the eight million Kashmiris are Muslim. The Pakistani regime wraps itself in the mantle of Islam and seeks to exploit opposition to Indian rule by training and financing some groups engaged in combat with forces from New Delhi. A majority of Kashmiris, however, do not support annexation to Pakistan.

Since 1964, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, the most prominent group in the independence movement, has fought for self-determination. Recently, the All Kashmir Freedom Front, a coalition of 32 organizations, was founded to coordinate proindependence activities. The Front called the October 22 demonstrations, which were fired on by Indian troops.

A number of political groups that claim to speak in the interests of working people in India have consistently lined up with the government against Kashmiri independence. The Communist Party of India, for instance, backed the government in its war over Kashmir in 1965 with the regime in Pakistan. The organization argued that a Kashmir in Pakistani hands would become a military base against China.

U.S. government officials are concerned over rising instability on the subcontinent. CIA director James Woolsey told the Senate in February that the "arms race between India and Pakistan poses perhaps the most probable prospect for future use of nuclear weapons."

Robin Raphael, an assistant secretary of state, said October 28 that "we view Kashmir as a disputed territory and that means we do not recognize the Instrument of Accession as meaning that Kashmir is forevermore an integral part of India."

New Delhi reacted furiously. The *Financial Times* reported November 1 that Dinesh Singh, minister for external affairs, "said no one had the right to question the status of Kashmir as an integral part of India."

## Shining Path chief calls for 'peace talks'

BY HILDA CUZCO

In a major blow to the Shining Path guerrilla organization, the Peruvian regime has disclosed several letters by the group's imprisoned top leadership that offer to negotiate a "peace agreement" and end its 13-year-long war against the government.

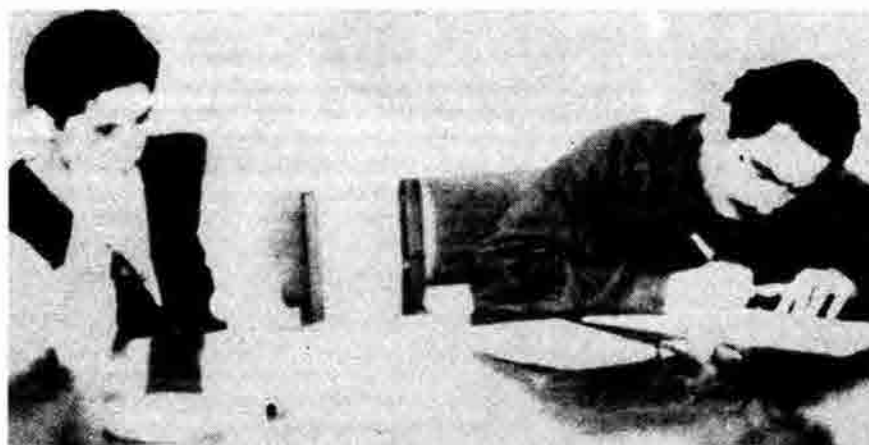
President Alberto Fujimori has taken advantage of this development to try to bolster support for his government, which over the past three years has carried out savage attacks on working people's living standards and unleashed fierce repression.

Opposition politicians said Fujimori timed the letters to build support for the regime's October 31 plebiscite on a revised national constitution. The new constitution strengthens Fujimori's hand by allowing the reelection of presidents and legalizing the use of the death penalty against those branded as "terrorists." It was approved by a narrow margin of 53 percent, reflecting the fact that the country's economic crisis—unemployment hovers around 70 percent—has eroded Fujimori's previously high popularity.

On April 5, 1992, Fujimori suspended constitutional rights and dissolved Congress and the courts. He won popular backing by accusing those bodies of corruption and promising to bring peace and stability. Security forces captured Shining Path chief Abimael Guzmán in September 1992 and, in a military show trial, sentenced him to life in prison. In the last year most of the top leadership of the organization has been captured and kept in solitary confinement.

Shining Path is a labor-hating organization that, in the name of communism, uses terrorist methods to try to drive workers and farmers out of political activity. While attracting support from some working people through its antigovernment demagoguery, the group's reactionary policies pushed many more workers into supporting the regime.

Fujimori disclosed Guzmán's first letter appealing for "talks that will lead to a peace agreement" on October 1 during an address before the United Nations. At a news conference in New York that day, Fujimori circulated photocopies of the handwritten let-



Jailed Shining Path leader Abimael Guzmán (right) signs letter requesting talks with Peruvian government. Elena Iparraguirre, second in the group's command, watches. Photograph is from video broadcast by Peruvian regime.

ter, dated September 15, showing the signatures and fingerprints of Guzmán and Elena Iparraguirre, another top Shining Path commander who is in jail.

In their second letter, dated October 6, Guzmán and Iparraguirre tell Fujimori that "your administration has achieved objective advances, especially after April 5, 1992." They state that "the capture of cadres and leaders, including ourselves, the signatories," represents the regime's "most important success."

The letter adds that "the Communist Party of Peru [Shining Path] has had to deal with fundamental leadership issues. It is precisely there where our party has received the heaviest blow. The leadership issue is, therefore, a decisive factor and, in our case, it will not be resolved soon. That is why there will be repercussions in the development of the people's war. Under the current circumstances," it continues, "just as we fought to initiate the people's war, today with the same firmness and determination we must fight to reach a peace agreement."

The government broadcast videotapes on national television that showed Guzmán reading and signing the two letters. Four other imprisoned Shining Path commanders were then allowed to meet with him.

The four—Osmán Morote, Marta Huatay, María Pantoja, and Angélica Salas—issued a third letter, restating the request for "talks to reach a peace agreement to conclude the war." They called on their followers to stop "any desperate, adventurous, or provocative actions by third parties,

because they are only aimed at undermining and preventing the reaching of the proposed peace plan." The government released copies of the signed letter as well as a photo of Guzmán with his four commanders.

Fujimori rejected the offer to negotiate and said Guzmán would serve out his life sentence.

Guzmán's call for negotiations would represent a complete reversal of views. In a 1988 interview he declared that "dialogue is a sinister betrayal."

Whether the Shining Path chief acted through coercion or has been broken politically by his harsh, one-year imprisonment, the letters and videotapes of Guzmán—who built a cult among his followers—have demoralized and confused the ranks of his organization.

In the past month the remaining Shining Path leadership has released no official response to Guzmán's letters.

Hours after the release of the third letter, however, a series of explosions attributed to Shining Path blew up power lines, blacking out Lima, the capital. Bombs were detonated at the congressional office and a bank. Similar actions were reported days after the broadcast of the first two letters.

Luis Arce Borja, editor of the pro-Shining Path newspaper *El Diario Internacional*, published in Belgium, issued a statement calling the first letter and Guzmán's appearance on television "a new farce by the regime."

The International Emergency Committee to Defend the Life of Dr. Abimael Guzmán, which is organized by Shining Path supporters abroad, issued a statement that fell short of denying that Guzmán has requested negotiations. The communiqué notes that no one outside of his jailers has been allowed to see Guzmán or other imprisoned leaders of the group. It suggests Guzmán may be the victim of "psychological pressure."

The statement concludes, "The only person who can prove Fujimori to be a liar is Dr. Abimael Guzmán himself."

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# Subpoena of senator's diary is blow to democratic rights

BY NAOMI CRAINE

After two days of debate, the U.S. Senate voted 94-6 November 2 to require Sen. Bob Packwood to turn over thousands of pages of personal diaries, to be used in an investigation of charges of sexual harassment. The Senate action dealt a blow to the rights to privacy, presumption of innocence, and freedom from self-incrimination.

Over the last year, more than two dozen aides, lobbyists, and others have accused the Republican congressman from Oregon of sexual harassment.

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ual harassment. The Senate Ethics Committee is carrying out an investigation of the charges.

Packwood presented the committee with portions of his personal diaries in his defense. The investigators said that in looking through these papers they uncovered evidence of other misconduct on the part of the senator. They allege he improperly asked a lobbyist to give his former wife a job.

The ethics committee then subpoenaed Packwood's entire diaries for the last five years. They demanded any "journals, or other documents or material, including all typewritten or handwritten documents, as well as tape recordings and all material stored by computer or electronic means" that recounted the congressman's "daily activities" for that period.

In doing so, the investigators made clear they intend to go beyond the harassment charges in their inquiry. Without making any specific accusations, Richard Bryan, who heads the Ethics Committee, said that the diaries might bear evidence of possible criminal evidence unrelated to any sexual misconduct.

The senators, along with many big-business publications such as the *New York Times*, claim that by submitting some of his papers to the investigating committee Packwood waived his Fourth and Fifth Amendment constitutional rights. These provisions of the Bill of Rights are supposed to protect individuals from unreasonable search and seizure and from being forced to incriminate oneself.

Writing in the November 10 *Wall Street Journal*, Janlori Goldman of the American Civil Liberties Union commented, "Although it may be acting within its own rules, the Ethics Committee is flouting Constitutional principles of privacy and fairness by pursuing the senator's diaries in their entirety. . . . The Ethics Committee's subpoena power should conform to Fourth Amendment standards requiring a show of probable cause or reasonable suspicion before documents can be seized."

### Subpoena weakens women's rights

Like the Senate confirmation hearings for Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas two years ago in which charges of sexual harassment by Anita Hill, a former employee of the judge, became a focus for debate, the Packwood case reflects some of the gains women have won in the fight for equal rights.

Growing numbers of women have entered the workforce over the last four decades, including many who have fought their way into formerly all-male industrial jobs. As a result, there is more opposition today among working people—men and women—to sexual harassment, an intimidating and degrading practice that millions of women are subjected to.

Washington's common practice is not to take it seriously when working-class women complain of harassment. The Equal Employ-

ment Opportunity Commission, charged with investigating such allegations, takes action on only a tiny percentage of the complaints that cross its desk.

The Senate's subpoena of Packwood's personal papers does not advance women's rights, however, including the right to be free from sexual harassment.

Ellen Goodman, in an early November column for the *Boston Globe*, said, "I too am uncomfortable with a Senate committee on a search mission for new offenses. . . . But the Senate was legally right and fair in voting to compel Packwood to turn over" his diaries. "It's time to refocus on the original question," she continued. "Did this man's behavior constitute a breach of ethics?" Goodman suggested that the senator should resign immediately.

This demand, which was echoed by the editors of the *New York Times*, ignores the fact that Packwood is innocent until proven guilty. The allegations should be seriously investigated and if they are proven true, appropriate action should be taken. Throwing out the presumption of innocence, however, as many politicians and commentators are doing in the Packwood case, is a threat to basic democratic rights.

In addition, the attempt to carry out a fishing expedition into the senator's personal diaries in search of possible evidence of unspecified misconduct is a dangerous precedent. It sets back the right to be free from self-incrimination and does nothing to advance the fight for women's rights.



Bob Packwood. Subpoena of the senator's personal papers does not advance the fight for women's rights.

## Court extends grounds for harassment charges

A worker does not need to prove she was psychologically injured in order to win damages for sexual harassment, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled November 9.

The unanimous decision threw out a lower court ruling in a suit filed by Teresa Harris. For more than two years before she quit her job as a manager at a truck leasing business, Harris said, company president Charles Hardy subjected her to repeated sexual innuendos and demeaning comments.

Harris said Hardy often told her, "You're a woman, what do you know," joked about going to a hotel to "negotiate your raise," and asked her and other women to retrieve coins from his pants pocket.

A federal district court in Nashville, Tennessee, ruled in the company's favor, saying that while the boss's actions were "vulgar" and "inane," they were not likely to "seriously affect" her "psychological well-being."

In writing the opinion that overturned this ruling, Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor said that sexual harassment violates federal law against job discrimination when "the environment would reasonably be perceived, and is perceived, as hostile or abusive."

Harris brought her suit under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion, and national origin in the workplace. In 1986 the Supreme Court ruled that this provision applies to sexual harassment.

The November 9 decision instructed a lower court to reconsider Harris's case in light of the new guidelines. —N.C.

# Jailing of doctor stirs right-to-die debate

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT—Hundreds of protesters gathered outside the Wayne County jail November 6 to demand the release of Dr. Jack Kervorkian and to support an individual's right to choose when to die.

Kervorkian was jailed November 5, after a Detroit Recorder's Court judge revoked his personal bond and ordered a \$20,000 cash bond. He has been charged with assisting two terminally ill men in ending their lives. Michigan passed a law in February outlawing assisted suicide. The legislation was passed as a direct challenge to Kervorkian who, since 1990, had helped 16 terminally ill people terminate their lives. He is also under investigation for helping a 19th person die since his indictment earlier this year.

An opponent of the right to die bailed the doctor out November 8, saying he wanted to end "this charade." Kervorkian had launched a hunger strike, vowing to starve himself to death unless the law prohibiting

doctor-assisted suicide is overturned.

Relatives of both men Kervorkian was formally charged with assisting to die were at the picket line. Eunice O'Keefe, whose 72-year-old husband, a retired auto worker suffering from bone cancer, committed suicide September 9, said, "Why don't they go and visit some of these people? They would see. It isn't living sometimes."

Protesters spanned the generations from high school and college students to retirees. They kept up a spirited picket line in front of the jail chanting "Free Jack Now" and "I back Jack and so should you; if you don't, they'll choose for you."

Gail, a young worker from the Detroit suburb of Garden City, explained that she watched her grandmother die a slow, painful death and has decided "It's my body, it should be my choice."

Another picket said that he came out because "having the right to decide and the ability to get help on when and how to die when you're really sick doesn't devalue

your life. It gives you the fullest control of your life."

Supporters of the doctor have set up a committee to win support for him. They are raising money for legal expenses and responding to a campaign against Kervorkian spearheaded by county prosecutors and the anti-abortion-rights outfit Michigan Right to Life.

Only four people picketed in support of the jailing, but Michigan Right to Life activists have been outspoken against assisted suicide. They have searched trash cans trying to find evidence that people were forced to end their lives.

John Sarge is a member of United Auto Workers Local 900 in Wayne, Michigan.

# U.S. Congress approves billions in funding for more cops and prisons

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Both houses of Congress moved closer to approving a series of measures in early November that will restrict democratic rights and pour billions of dollars into putting more cops on the street and building more prisons.

The U.S. Senate voted November 4 on key components of the Clinton administration's "anticrime" bill. The body voted overwhelmingly to set up a \$22 billion trust fund, to be paid for out of job cuts in unspecified government programs.

A large portion of this money will be allocated to local governments for hiring 100,000 more cops over the next five years. Another \$3 billion will be used to build 10 new high-security prisons. A similar amount will go toward setting up boot camps and rehabilitation centers for young inmates.

The Senate also passed legislation that would lengthen by one third federal sentences of those convicted of so-called hate crimes and approved a provision dubbed the Violence Against Women Act. This bill defines rape as a "gender-motivated" crime punishable under civil rights laws, giving the federal government more authority to prosecute such cases. It also creates federal penalties for spouse abusers who cross state lines.

Further amendments to the administration's crime bill were approved the next day. One proposed change allows prosecutors to present evidence of previous sex crimes in trials of those accused of rape or child molestation; such testimony is currently excluded because it can unfairly prejudice a jury. Another amendment calls for trying 13-year-olds as adults if they are accused of using a firearm in committing murder, assault, or robbery.

The same week the House of Representatives took similar steps, including authorizing funds to hire 50,000 additional cops nationwide. The House is expected to approve other measures as part of the "crime package" in the coming weeks, including the plan to set up boot camps for youth convicted of crimes and a bill setting up metal detectors in public schools.

Differences between the two packages will be worked out before a final vote in each house.

In addition to the measures that Congress has already moved on, President Bill Clinton's scheme includes proposals to limit the habeas corpus appeals of inmates on death row and to greatly extend the use of the death penalty. These are still to be debated in the legislature.

for further reading

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Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150



# Was racism behind Republican victory in N.Y.?

BY MARY NELL BOCKMAN

On November 2 Democratic Party candidate David Dinkins was defeated in his bid for a second term as mayor of New York City. Rudolph Giuliani, a former federal prosecutor and U.S. Attorney who ran as the candidate of both the Republican and Liberal parties, won the election against the city's first Black mayor by 44,000 votes, a 2 percent margin. A wide-ranging discussion has opened up in the major big-business media, on editorial pages of newspapers with majority Black readerships, on TV and radio talk shows, and among working people and others on the results of the election.

An editorial in the *City Sun* captures the sentiment expressed by some Black politi-

## AS I SEE IT

cians and middle-class leaders, liberals, and others who supported Dinkins. They claim racism was a fundamental factor in Giuliani's victory. "Rudy Giuliani did not win the election; David Dinkins lost New York. David Dinkins lost white New York, and now Giuliani rules over a divided city. The worst elements in this city have crawled out from under the rocks, and Rudy has helped them in their emergency," the *Sun* declared.

Ben Chavis, executive director of the NAACP, called the election a "referendum on race relations in America." In a post-election editorial, the *New York Times*, which had given a lukewarm endorsement to Dinkins, called the results "troubling" and declared the role played by race an "unresolved question."

Exit polls on election day showed that 95 percent of voters who are Black supported Dinkins and 77 percent of the white voters supported Giuliani. Those who argue that most whites will not support candidates who are Black point to these statistics. In 1989 Dinkins won the election, against Giuliani, by a 2 percent margin.

But racism was not the deciding issue in this election. A look at the situation facing workers — Black and white — in New York and the so-called solutions the major contenders offered shows why.

### Social crisis in New York City

Dinkins has presided over the city government as conditions for working people have continued to decline. Crises in the schools, public housing, the city infrastructure, and government corruption all became big issues just in the final few months of this election campaign. One million people are without jobs in New York. Three hundred thousand are on waiting lists for public housing. Depression-like conditions face all workers and youth in the city and disproportionately affect workers who are Black.

Giuliani and Dinkins, like all Republican and Democratic party politicians, defend the wealthy capitalist rulers of New York, who are responsible for this economic and social crisis. Many voters simply cast their ballots against Dinkins — who they already knew from experience couldn't solve the city's problems — and for Giuliani, who they hope will be better.



New York mayor David Dinkins (left) with mayor-elect Rudolph Giuliani after election.

Giuliani ran a "law and order" campaign and was endorsed by most of the city's organizations. He was the major speaker at a rally at City Hall last year where 10,000 cops rioted against a proposal for a civilian police review board. He supports the death penalty.

Giuliani was able to take advantage of a New York State report issued last August in response to a series of events in the Crown Heights section of the borough of Brooklyn in 1991. The report, which helped legitimize a more sweeping and violent use of police forces, criticized Dinkins for not calling out the cops quickly enough against working people in the Brooklyn neighborhood. The behavior of the police at the scene of a car accident that killed a seven-year-old boy and severely injured his cousin sparked an antipolice riot.

Dinkins also expressed agreement with the basic proposals in the report and vowed to put more cops on the street.

Giuliani blamed Dinkins for the loss of jobs, the crisis in education, and government corruption and promised to make government work "for change."

Giuliani vowed to cut the municipal workforce by 35,000 jobs and pledged to kick working people who are homeless out of public shelters after 90 days.

Pro-Dinkins forces, including union officials and Black middle-class leaders, tried to mobilize votes by presenting

the election as a choice between a progressive and an ultrarightist. The *Village Voice*, a liberal weekly, described the election as a choice "between Dinkins's advancement of the progressive agenda and Giuliani's stated intention to roll it back."

City Council member Una Clarke said, "If Giuliani becomes mayor, I can look forward to a police state."

The Communist Party and Workers World Party, both of which claim to speak in the interests of working people, supported the reelection of Dinkins. The *People's Weekly World*, reflecting the views of the Communist Party, printed a special election supplement called "Danger! The anti-people program of Rudolph Giuliani" and called for defeating the right wing at the ballot box by voting for Dinkins. The Patrice Lumumba Coalition distributed flyers for a program in Harlem that equated Giuliani with the military dictators in Haiti.

All these forces, and particularly Black middle-class leaders, had a difficult time covering up Dinkins's record as a faithful representative of New York's ruling class. Michael Tomasky, a columnist for the *Village Voice* and Dinkins supporter, pointed out that

if the election were a referendum on the mayor's performance, "Dinkins could not possibly win." Portraying Giuliani as an ultrarightist made it easier to avoid the facts.

### Dinkins, Giuliani: both antiworker

The fact is, Dinkins's program was not that different than Giuliani's. Both oppose the struggle of working people and defend the interests of the wealthy capitalist families that rule the city.

Dinkins tripled the number of cops on the streets and increased the size of the police force to nearly 30,000. One of his campaign pledges was to hire 1,200 additional

Continued on Page 7

## Important referenda in Nov. 2 U.S. elections

Several initiatives of particular importance to working people were on the ballot November 2.

In California, a victory was won when proposition 174 — the "Education Vouchers Initiative" — was defeated by a margin of 70 percent to 30 percent. If approved, the proposal would have dealt a blow to public education and separation of church and state by amending California's constitution to give parents who choose not to send their child to public school a voucher worth \$2600, half of what the state spends on each public school child per year. Parents could then use the state funds to send their child to a private institution, including religious schools.

An initiative restricting democratic rights was approved in Washington state by a margin of 76 to 24 percent. It mandates a life sentence without parole for anyone with three felony convictions for such crimes as rape, manslaughter, and child molestation.

Voters in Cincinnati repealed an ordinance outlawing discrimination based on race, religion, "Appalachian heritage," or sexual orientation.

A coalition of right-wing groups organized against the ordinance because of its opposition to discrimination of gays and lesbians. Similar measures were overturned in Maine and New Hampshire.

— SARA LOBMAN

# Death penalty opponents support unionist's case

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

bought pamphlets about the defense effort.

Activists at the conference discussed the fight against the death penalty and defense work in support of a number of death row inmates including Gary Graham in Texas, Manuel Salazar in Illinois, and Mu-

Hollywood director Nick Castle.

One woman from Chicago learned about Curtis's fight at the NAACP convention held in Indianapolis, Indiana, last summer. Others from Chicago contacted Curtis supporters through the Manuel Salazar defense work there. Salazar is accused of killing a U.S. cop. He was abducted by U.S. federal agents from Mexico and brought back to Illinois in violation of international law.

A filmmaker from Los Angeles who had just completed a documentary on Gary Graham expressed interest in seeing Castle's video on Curtis.

Graham, who has been on death row for 12 years, was convicted in 1981 of robbery and murder on the testimony of a single witness who said she saw the killer's face for no more than a second. Since the trial, six witnesses have come forward to swear the killer they saw could not have been Graham.

"Give Jerry McCarthy a Fair Trial," "Susan May—Rough Justice, Trial—and Error," "Free Mark Curtis—Framed US Trade Unionist." These were some of the slogans emblazoned on T-shirts, buttons, and stickers worn by relatives, friends, and supporters of victims of police frame-ups gathered at a meeting in Manchester, England,

November 3. More than 200 people packed the Town Hall for the inaugural meeting of the organization, "Innocent," set up to fight against miscarriages of justice and to give voice to those wrongly jailed.

McCarthy, who attended the meeting, was recently released on parole after being imprisoned for nine years. He was set-up by an agent provocateur working for the Manchester cops and charged with conspiracy to rob.

Toby May, Susan May's son, told how his mother had been held in custody for 12 days under interrogation without a lawyer. She did not request an attorney because "she believed in British justice and wanted to help the police," said Toby May, who explained that his mother has now lost faith in the cops.

She was convicted and jailed for murdering her aunt whom she was taking care of for 15 years. The victim was probably killed during a robbery but the trial outcome was prejudiced by a misleading press campaign. Other speakers included friends and family members of victims facing frame-up charges of rape, robbery, and possession of drugs.

Paddy Hill, one of the Birmingham Six, was a featured speaker at the meeting. Hill was imprisoned for sixteen and a half years on false charges of bombing pubs in Birmingham. He quoted a statement by

Home Secretary Michael Howard at a recent Conservative Party conference. Howard defended the government's plans to end a suspect's right to silence and to trial by jury. "The innocent have nothing to fear," Howard claimed. "Look at me," said Hill, "I went into the police station to help them at first. I wish Howard was here tonight." Hill also quoted a recent statement by Judge Lord McCuskey that "police officers North and South were fabricating evidence." He encouraged those present to rely upon solidarity to win, but warned, "If you fight against the system, expect no justice. They released us because they were castigated from one side of the world to the other."

Supporters of Mark Curtis at the conference distributed literature about his case, which attracted considerable attention from other frame-up victims and their supporters. Many expressed interest in finding out more about the case, writing to Curtis, and learning how the defense campaign has been built over the years.

Edwin Fruit, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1976, and Sandi Sherman from Pittsburgh; and Hugh Robertson and Pete Kennedy from Manchester, England, contributed to this week's column.

## DEFENDING MARK CURTIS AROUND THE WORLD

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

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

\* \* \*

Supporters of Mark Curtis's fight for justice received a warm response from participants at the 13th annual conference of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty held November 6-7 in Pittsburgh. Many of the 250 people attending the meeting from across the United States and Britain stopped by the literature display on Curtis's case and some

mia Abu-Jamal in Pennsylvania.

Participants at a workshop on the case of Abu-Jamal, an African-American journalist from Philadelphia framed up and sentenced to death in 1981 for the murder of a Philadelphia cop, heard lively presentations from Jane Henderson, coordinator of Equal Justice USA and Pam Africa, a supporter of MOVE and leader of Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Africa linked the fight for justice for Abu-Jamal with other cases, including Curtis's fight.

Activists in Philadelphia involved in defending Abu-Jamal have worked with Curtis supporters there. Some 30 conference participants signed a mailing list indicating interest in getting more information and seeing the video "The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis" produced by



# Salt Lake City sets example with ambitious fund-raising

BY SARA LOBMAN

Militant supporters in Salt Lake City, Utah, are charging full speed ahead with plans for two days of activities to celebrate the 65th anniversary of the paper and raise money for the \$75,000 fund, which runs until December 14.

A November 20 program, titled "The Truth about Cuba — a Report from a Participant in the Friendship Caravan," will feature Chris Hoepfner, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and the International Association of Machinists. Harry Ring, a former editor and long-time staff writer for the *Militant* will speak as well.

Ring will also give two classes on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning on "The *Militant* — from the Working-Class Struggles of the 30s to Today." He will fly to Utah a few days early to meet with individuals and organizations about the fund. One 26-year-old supporter of the paper has already organized a house meeting for some of his friends.

Other activists in the area who find the *Militant* to be a valuable source of information will also be speaking at the rally. *Militant* distributors are preparing a special display for this event of messages from antiapartheid fighters, activists opposed to the U.S. embargo of Cuba, and abortion rights activists.

Another team is preparing a giant display of past issues of the *Militant*. Several young political activists — partisans of the paper — have volunteered to provide live music after the program. "We may get some old-timers into the act as well," fund director Ellie García said during a phone interview. A

buffet dinner will precede the rally. "We're having a lot of fun with this," García said. "We're contacting almost everyone who has subscribed to the paper in the past year and a half and inviting them to come to the programs and participate in the fund."

## Hundreds of invitations sent out

García explained that supporters of the *Militant* in Salt Lake City help to distribute the paper over a very large area. As a result, more than 200 invitations to the "big shebang" went out to workers, youth, and political activists in five states — Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah.

"A lot of the invitations went to miners throughout the western coal fields," García explained. The *Militant* has been the most reliable source of information and analysis of the struggles of coal miners throughout the United States, as well as in Britain and other countries.

Salt Lake City *Militant* supporters prepared a special brochure for the event and a letter explaining the importance of the fund. A pre-addressed envelope was included in every packet mailed out. "This way," García noted, "it's easier for people who can't make it to the events to send in a contribution."

But supporters in Utah are not just banking on a successful weekend to go over their \$2,500 fund goal. "Basically, we're asking everyone who likes or appreciates the paper to be a part of the fund," García said.

The hard work is paying off. Already \$2,200 is pledged toward the Salt Lake City goal.

Supporters in Newark, New Jersey, sent in more than \$1,000 this

week after a successful weekend program featuring Ma'mud Shirvani. Shirvani spoke November 6 at a special *Militant* Labor Forum on Iran, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian republics. Many supporters returned the next day for two classes based on the new Pathfinder book *To See the Dawn: Baku 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East*. Shirvani, who coauthored the introduction to this book, will be speaking in Atlanta November 20.

## Events help reach out

The *Militant* Labor Forums and other fund activities like those in Newark and Salt Lake City have helped supporters of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* begin to reach out to the hundreds of workers, youth, and others who appreciate the importance of the facts and analysis the socialist periodicals provide.

But supporters don't need to wait for an event in their city to start letting everyone know about the fund. Boston supporters have already sent out a letter inviting *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscribers, including those who just signed up for the paper as part of the current circulation drive, to contribute to the fund campaign.

As readers can see from the chart on this page, almost \$6,000 was sent in to the business office this week. This is almost double the amount collected in the preceeding three weeks, but it's still far short of the \$8,300 that needs to come in every single week to meet the goal on time. With five weeks left in the drive, we encourage supporters in every area to pay increased attention to the campaign. The event taking place in Salt Lake City can provide some useful ideas to emulate.

	Goal	Paid	Percentage	
Albany	\$ 200	\$ 125	63%	66,700
Pittsburgh	\$ 2,000	\$ 1,130	57%	
Twin Cities*	\$ 5,500	\$ 2,185	40%	
Detroit	\$ 3,500	\$ 1,180	34%	
Newark	\$ 4,000	\$ 1,268	32%	58,300
Salt Lake City	\$ 2,500	\$ 625	25%	
New York	\$ 4,000	\$ 825	21%	
Miami	\$ 2,000	\$ 401	20%	
Morgantown	\$ 1,250	\$ 225	18%	50,000
Greensboro	\$ 2,000	\$ 335	17%	
Washington, D.C.	\$ 2,400	\$ 330	14%	
Philadelphia	\$ 3,800	\$ 500	13%	
San Francisco	\$ 6,500	\$ 831	13%	41,700
Cleveland	\$ 2,750	\$ 302	11%	
Houston	\$ 3,000	\$ 325	11%	
Seattle	\$ 2,500	\$ 250	10%	
Atlanta	\$ 2,750	\$ 270	10%	33,300
Brooklyn	\$ 3,000	\$ 280	9%	
Los Angeles	\$ 6,500	\$ 498	8%	
Boston	\$ 3,000	\$ 210	7%	
St. Louis	\$ 3,425	\$ 110	3%	25,000
Birmingham	\$ 2,000	\$ 55	3%	
Baltimore	\$ 2,000	\$ 0	0%	
Chicago	\$ 5,000	\$ 0	0%	
Cincinnati	\$ 300	\$ 0	0%	16,700
Des Moines	\$ 2,000	\$ 0	0%	
New Haven	\$ 500	\$ 0	0%	
Other		\$ 188		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$78,375</b>	<b>\$12,448</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>8,300</b>
<b>SHOULD BE</b>	<b>\$75,000</b>	<b>\$33,330</b>	<b>44%</b>	

\*Raised goal

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# Socialist debates Shining Path supporter in L.A.

BY JUDY WHITE

ORANGE, California — A sharp difference of views on the way forward for working people in Peru marked a panel discussion entitled "Sendero Luminoso [Shining Path] and the State," which took place here at the annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American studies in October.

The conference, held at Chapman University, drew students and professors of Latin American studies from California, Arizona, and Mexico's Baja California, for three days of discussion. Themes varied from revolutionary Cuba in the 1990s to conditions facing Latinos in the United States and the work of former Nicaraguan minister of cul-

ture Ernesto Cardenal.

Participating in the panel discussion on Shining Path were Martín Koppel, editor of the socialist Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*; George Vasquez, professor of history at San Jose State University; Heriberto Ocasio of the Committee in Support of the Revolution in Peru; and Adele Lord, a graduate student in Latin American Studies from San Diego State University.

The central ideas of the debate were laid out in the remarks by Ocasio and Koppel.

Ocasio asserted that the "people's war today has organized the sons and daughters of the peasants, of the shantytown dwellers, into a new political power," which has established

a "new system of justice and land tenure."

Koppel, who is the author of the new Pathfinder pamphlet *Shining Path: Anatomy of a Reactionary Sect*, presented a diametrically opposed assessment of Shining Path. "Sendero Luminoso is not a communist or a revolutionary organization," he said. "It is a reactionary group, an enemy of the workers and peasants, whose main method is terrorism."

In response to a question on Sendero Luminoso's use of terror, Ocasio replied that "those who say people are being organized only to destroy are not looking at what people are trying to create." However, when a student asked him to comment on the organization's policy of killing missionaries, Ocasio justified the course saying, "local priests know the people and are in a very key position working with the military."

Koppel stated that "it's not a question of violence in general." The important thing to grasp, he said, "is how the violence employed by Sendero Luminoso is an obstacle to solving the problems facing working people in Peru."

Koppel gave the example of Sendero Luminoso's coming in to kill an allegedly corrupt leader of the Peruvian miners' union in 1989. "This was a blow to the ability of the union ranks to discuss a course of action and organize a fight," the *Perspectiva Mundial* editor said. "It was a provocative action that gave a free hand to the government" to intervene in the affairs of the union.

Such actions by Sendero Luminoso "foster passivity, reliance on a savior," Koppel said. "It is hard to see today," he concluded, "but the working people of Peru have shown through history their potential to fight. The workers and farmers of Peru are the alternative to Sendero Luminoso."

Koppel also spoke on the same topic at a *Militant* Labor Forum in Los Angeles October 30. Designed to raise funds for



Militant/Greg Rosenberg  
*Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel. "Sendero is a reactionary group."

the *Militant*'s 65th Anniversary Fund, the meeting garnered most of the more than \$5,000 in pledges raised by supporters in that city.

Koppel termed Peruvian president Alberto Fujimori a "Bonapartist," a strong man who promises to end the corruption of traditional politicians and bring stability by ruling through decree and referendum. Fujimori has made good on promises to cut inflation sharply, as well as to deal heavy blows to the Shining Path by jailing its leader.

Shining Path is led by middle-class intellectuals, Koppel told the crowd of 75 people. While attracting some layers of working people, most workers despise and fear the group. "Its appeal is reactionary and quasireligious," he said. "There is nothing revolutionary about bombings and assassinations of anyone opposed to your program."

from Pathfinder

## Peru's Shining Path Anatomy of a Reactionary Sect

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

The guerrilla group known as Shining Path presents itself as a leader of the oppressed. In reality, however, it is a reactionary sect that, in the name of communism, seeks to drive workers and farmers out of political activity through terrorist methods. How can Shining Path's growth be explained? What is its actual record and political perspective? Is there an alternative for workers and peasants fighting to defend their interests against the wealthy rulers? This pamphlet answers these questions. \$3.50

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# INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO WIN NEW READERS

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

## Distributors are within striking distance of goals

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Around the world, supporters of the socialist press are carrying out a concerted effort to bring the campaign to win new readers to a successful close. Over the course of the circulation drive, thousands of workers, young people, farmers, political activists, and others have signed up to receive the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and hundreds have picked up copies of the Marxist magazine *New International*.

This lays the basis for continuing political discussions and joining in actions—from union struggles to fights against racism and in defense of democratic rights—with these readers in the coming months.

As the *Militant* goes to press, we need to sell 258 subscriptions to the socialist weekly, 167 subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 391 copies of *New International* to reach the international goals. Distributors in cities across the United States, as well as in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, New Zealand, Puerto Rico, and Sweden, are taking advantage of the extra time before the final scoreboard is printed



Militant supporter shows fellow fighter the paper at labor solidarity rally in Decatur, Illinois.

next week to meet this challenge.

Distributors who have already made their local goals are continuing their efforts and helping out those in other areas that are further behind. *Militant* supporters in Boston, for example, made one volunteer available to help sell in

Washington, D.C., while pledging to exceed their own goals on all three publications. Readers in Miami are also pushing to go over their goals, as well as helping out in Atlanta and Des Moines, Iowa.

All subscriptions and reports of *New International* sales received in

the business office by Tuesday, November 16, at noon E.S.T. will be counted in a final chart.

Supporters have found that in the process of selling subscriptions they meet many people who want to check out a single issue of the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*. "This

week we sent a team to Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana," read a note faxed in by distributors in Chicago. "They sold 4 *Militant* subscriptions, 2 copies of *Nueva Internacional* in Spanish, and 21 *Militant* singles." A two-day team to Penn State University in Pennsylvania sold 5 *Militant* subscriptions and 68 single copies.

This interest in the socialist press will continue long after the sales drive is over. *Militant* supporters can follow up by regularly getting out to sell single issues and subscriptions on campuses, on the job, at political events, and in working-class neighborhoods. Readers who signed up during the sales campaign may want to help distribute the paper, or get together to discuss some of the articles they are following in the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, or *New International*.

Many of the new subscribers will also want to contribute to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* 1993 Fund, which continues through mid-December.

## Was racism behind N.Y. vote?

Continued from Page 5

police officers and station them in the city's schools—a promise Giuliani is now saying he'll make good on. Dinkins "balanced" the city budget by cutting \$800 million in social services.

Both Dinkins and Giuliani claim to support a woman's right to choose abortion, while cutting social programs and limiting access for working-class women to reproductive services.

The Dinkins and Giuliani campaigns are examples of how all capitalist party politicians—be they Democrat, Republican, Liberal, or some other variant—are moving further to the right under the impact of the economic crisis.

George Marlin, Conservative Party candidate for mayor, advanced a more openly rightist program, putting attacks on welfare, immigrants, public schools, the homeless, and abortion rights at the center of his campaign. Marlin was endorsed by Patrick Buchanan and former education secretary William Bennett. He was treated as a major candidate by the media and invited to all debates at Mayor Dinkins's insistence. Despite this attention, Marlin received less than 1 percent of the vote.

Operation Rescue, the ultrarightist anti-abortion outfit, failed in its well-publicized campaign to blockade clinics in New York in the month before the election. While opposing abortion rights, Marlin also distanced himself from the violent attempts of rightist thugs to close abortion clinics. Unlike Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot, Marlin did not make a pitch for organizing a movement in the streets around his reactionary program.

Since the election, Giuliani has made efforts to reassure the Black middle class. He pulled back on campaign pledges to dismantle the civilian review board that investigates complaints against the cops and announced that he will keep, for now, a program setting aside a percentage of city contracts for minority-owned firms. His first action as mayor-elect was a trip to Harlem to meet with Black leaders, including close associates of Mayor Dinkins. He was praised for this initiative and a photograph of a public

embrace with Democratic congressman Charles Rangel was printed on the front page of the *New York Times*.

Giuliani will not offer a road out of the crisis confronting working people in New York or anywhere else. The only thing the Republican mayor and Democratic City Council have to offer us are new attacks on city workers' contracts, social services, and education, as well as more cops to brutalize those who resist.

What was revealed by this campaign and its aftermath is not a big distinction between Dinkins and Giuliani. The election did not signify a big increase in racist attitudes, or a shift to the right by working people in New York. Instead, it revealed increasing class divisions and tensions.

A small but significant layer of Blacks who have advanced economically have vastly different class interests from the majority of Blacks, who face deteriorating social conditions and increasing impoverishment. Middle-class Blacks defend their position by campaigning to lead working people who are Black into the Democratic Party.

But this is a dead end. It points away from a fight against the social catastrophes that will come for all workers—Black and white—no matter which Democrat or Republican is in office.

### Working-class alternative

There was an alternative in the November elections. The Socialist Workers Party candidates, which included myself for mayor, Al Duncan for public advocate, and Melissa Harris for comptroller, explained that the Democratic and Republican parties have no solutions to the devastating social crisis facing working people in this city. The only road forward for working people is building a social movement with a working-class leadership that can mobilize all the toilers to defend our rights and standard of living. We explained that striking coal miners, fighters against the U.S. embargo of Cuba, defenders of immigrant rights, young people defending abortion clinics, and working people struggling for a democratic, nonracial South Africa are showing the way forward.

Out of these mobilizations, broad layers of working people can gain unity and confidence in themselves as a class and eventually replace the rule of Democratic and Republican profiteers with a government of workers and farmers.

Mary Nell Bockman is a sewing machine operator and member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 155. She was the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York in the November 2 election.

Pathfinder

## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY MIKE TABER

The Socialist and Political Action Committee, a campus group at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania, is compiling a list of books students would like added to the college library.

Invited to a recent meeting of the group, Pathfinder representatives from Philadelphia gave a short presentation to the 40 students present and displayed books published by Pathfinder. "We've got to be able to read these books," said one student, "if we're going to understand what is happening in the world and what we can do to change it."

As part of its promotional efforts for the recently published *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, the Chicago Pathfinder bookstore donated a copy to National Public Radio affiliate WBEZ. The station used the collection of the African National Congress president's speeches as a prize in WBEZ's fund drive.

Pathfinder sales representative Earl Kidd reports that five minutes after the book was delivered, information about it was being included in the station's fund drive pitch.

In concluding a recent column that appeared in the *San Juan Star*, Jorge Luis Medina wrote, "I don't want to go before recommending to those interested a nifty little book. *February 1965: The Final Speeches* by Malcolm X (Pathfinder Press 1992, \$17.95) collects the speeches and interviews Malcolm X gave the last month of his life, and is required reading for anybody into the study of racism and global politics."

"I am looking for some books of Leon Trotsky. . . . We really need these books right now." This was how a letter from the Philippines began, written last year to request a catalog. In recent weeks this avid reader joined the Pathfinder Readers Club and purchased hundreds of dollars worth of books by Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Trotsky.

The October issue of the *VVA Veteran*,

newspaper of the Vietnam Veterans of America, features a roundup of books on the Vietnam War. As part of the article, Marc Leepson writes:

"Fred Halstead's 1978 recounting of the antiwar movement, *Out Now!* is available in paperback from Pathfinder Press (759 pp., \$22.95). Halstead, an outspoken opponent of the war, calls his book a 'contribution to the history of the antiwar movement by a participant, not a definitive or all-inclusive account.'

"Halstead—a longtime Socialist Workers Party, union, and civil rights activist who died in 1988—provides plenty of details but also uses the dated rhetoric of the extreme left. He refers to the South Vietnamese government as the 'puppet' regime, for example, and to the 'imperialistic' war as 'the American-sponsored bloodbath.' Halstead concludes that the antiwar movement 'accomplished what we had set out to do. Our protests did win over public opinion and exert enough pressure . . . to bring the U.S. forces home.'"

From Tokyo a correspondent to Pathfinder writes: "I received the book I ordered (*Mother Jones Speaks*). Now I'm enjoying reading it. I'm a university student in Japan, my major is American studies. The book is for my graduation thesis. I'm interested in Mother Jones's powerful life, so I am studying her."

Members of the Pathfinder Readers Club have until the end of November to take advantage of the special 25–35 percent discount for *To See the Dawn* and related books on the Russian revolution and early communist movement.

During a visit to Salt Lake City, Utah, October 23–24 to promote the recently published book, Ma'mud Shirvani addressed a meeting of 25 and gave classes on the 1920 Baku congress and its lessons for today. Seven copies of the book were sold.

The special offer is good at all Pathfinder bookstores around the world, listed on page 12, or by mail through Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

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# The rise and fall of bourgeois democracy

## 'Democracy and Revolution' discusses changing forms of capitalist rule

Democracy came to ancient Greece, as it did later to other parts of the world, through sharp and prolonged conflicts between social classes, George Novack explains. "It was everywhere the offspring of revolution."

In his book *Democracy and Revolution*, first published in 1971 and just reprinted by Pathfinder with a new cover, Novack traces the evolution of democracy from its roots in the mercantile city-states of ancient Greece through its rise and decline under modern capitalism.

He also discusses—in the excerpt printed below—the emergence of Bonapartism (rule by a "strong man" claiming to stand above classes during a deep-going but unresolved conflict), military dictatorship, and fascism.

Novack joined the communist movement in the United States in 1933 and remained a member and leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1992. He was active in civil liberties struggles for decades. Titles by Novack include: *The Origins of Materialism*, *How Can the Jews Survive?* *A Socialist Answer to Zionism*, and *Understanding History*.

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\* \* \*

The various forms of antidemocratic rule in the era of imperialism are not separated by impassable partitions. The lines of demarcation between them are often blurred and one can in the course of time grow over into another. A "strong government" can readily give rise to Bonapartism. A Bonapartist regime can yield to a military dictatorship or bow before fascism, as happened in Germany in 1932-33.

The political history of France over the past forty years most strikingly illustrates what political transformations can be generated by the continuing crisis of bourgeois society. Since the early 1930s, this country has passed through a succession of upheavals in which the political structure has changed numerous times.

After the failure of an extreme right-wing coup in February 1934 and the downfall of Premier Daladier, the tottering parliamentary republic passed into the hands of the reactionary Doumergue government. In a sharp lurch to the left, it went over to a Popular Front coalition, coinciding with the massive factory occupations of the workers in 1936.

Then its crippled parliamentarism underwent an abrupt shift to the right, culminating in the overturn of the Third Republic and the establishment of the Bonapartist Vichy regime of Petain after Germany occupied most of France. The Fourth Republic set up immediately after the war was replaced by de Gaulle's personal dictatorship in 1958 and the vicissitudes of the general's Fifth Republic have by no means been ended by his retirement.



Charles de Gaulle, who ruled France by decree from 1958 to 1969 while maintaining the trappings of parliamentary democracy. "The capitalist class... is more and more impelled in its twilight years to resort to authoritarian methods of rule," says Novack.

Such sharp oscillations from one method of rule to another within the framework of private property must persist as the relations of class forces within each country and the external situation of the nation are altered and so long as no definitive settlement of accounts takes place between big capital and the working class.

What is decisive in determining the nature of a given government is not the listing of separate traits, any formal designation or abstract definition, but the actual alignment of class forces and the amount of liberties salvaged from the wreckage of liberal democracy. This has to be ascertained concretely in each case and at every turn in the evolution of the political regimes.

### Bourgeois democracy and dictatorship

Although uninformed radicals and reckless ultralefts may put them all in the same sack, not all forms of bourgeois domination are the same. There are important differences between the democratic method of rule and its rivals—and there are significant differences among these latter.

The exponents and leaders of the different forms of bourgeois rule can not only be in league against the working class but also enter into fierce competition with one another in the struggle for power. A vigilant revolutionary leadership must be aware of these cleavages so that its tactics may take

full advantage of them.

While all the modes of bourgeois domination are arrayed against the interests of the proletariat and must be combated, some are more dangerous than others because they hold out a greater immediate threat to the existing rights and organizations of the working class. Some offer wider latitude for action and reaction by the masses. From this standpoint a bourgeois democracy is preferable to any dictatorship—and certain milder forms of Bonapartism retain better conditions for the recuperation of lost ground by the workers than fascism, as the relation of forces in Gaullist France demonstrated.

In the case of civil war, it is imperative to distinguish between the camp of overt counterrevolution and any sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie which actually take the field to fight the fascists. It is permissible and may be imperative to effect a practical alliance with such elements.

However, there are vitally important conditions attached to such a united front. It has to be made without confusing the political programs and aims of the different classes, without entering any political coalition with the bourgeois liberals which subordinates the class struggle to their stipulations and restrictions, and without teaching the workers to trust in the reliability of the temporary ally.

The Spanish civil war [in the 1930s] was lost and its chances of socialist revolution ruined precisely because the workers' parties disregarded these conditions as the price of maintaining a political bloc with the republican liberals.

### Applying fascist label indiscriminately

The most costly example of indiscriminately applying the label of fascism to any type of bourgeois rule was furnished by the false positions of the German Communists from 1930 to 1933. They not only characterized the prefascist governments of Brüning, von Papen and Schleicher as fascist but even placed the Social Democrats in the same category. This was in line with Stalin's assertion that the Social Democrats were not the antipode but the twin of fascism.

"Fascist dictatorship is in no way opposed in principle to bourgeois democracy under whose cover the dictatorship of finance capital also prevails," declared the resolution of the German Communist Party Central Committee following the Second Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern in May 1931. In many powerful polemics from 1929 to 1933, Trotsky refuted this senseless refusal to recognize any differences between democracy and fascism or social democracy and fascism.

Here are two passages from his pamphlet *What Next?*, written in 1932: "A contradiction does exist between democracy and fascism. It is not at all 'absolute,' or, putting it in the language of Marxism, it doesn't at all denote the rule of two irreconcilable classes. But it does denote different systems of the domination of one and the same class."

"In order to try to find a way out, the bourgeoisie must absolutely rid itself of the pressure exerted by the workers' organizations; these have to be eliminated, destroyed, utterly crushed."

"At this juncture, the historic role of fascism begins. It sets on its feet those classes that are immediately above the proletariat and who are ever in dread of being forced down into its ranks; it organizes and militarizes them at the expense of finance capital, under the cover of the official government; and it directs them to the extirpation of proletarian organizations from the most revolutionary to the most conservative."

"Fascism is not merely a system of reprisals, of brutal force, and of police terror. Fascism is a particular system of government based on the uprooting of all elements of proletarian democracy within bourgeois society."

The confusion spread by the Stalinists in the name of Marxist policy had the most catastrophic results. If fascism had already taken power, what need was there to summon the workers to prepare for mortal combat against Hitler's thugs? It could only be a variant of the same power.

And, if the Social Democrats were nothing but "social fascists," it was obviously impossible to try and unite forces with them in a common front of struggle against the Nazis. The whole world and the cause of socialism paid a terrible price for the blunders of political analysis committed under the aegis of Stalinism in Germany, which helped Hitler come to power.

### Economics and politics

The essential nature of political democracy, and of bourgeois democracy in particular, cannot be grasped without understanding the connection between the socioeconomic substance and the varying forms assumed by the state power. Economics is more decisive than politics in determining the essence of a regime.

The true class character of the state can be ascertained, not simply by the legislation it enacts, the kinds of war it conducts or the categories of citizens it represses, but above all by the type of property ownership it protects and promotes.

Every state is the organ of a given system of production based upon a particular form of property, which invests the state with a class bias and social content. Every state is the organized expression and instrument of the will and welfare of the dominant class, or the strongest section of it.

The class nature of a state is not determined by its political form, which can vary considerably from time to time according to the changes in historical conditions and the alignment of class forces, but by the productive relations and property rights its agencies defend. In the course of its evolution, bourgeois society based upon capitalist ownership of the means of production has been governed by absolute and constitutional monarchies, oligarchic republics, parliamentary democracies, military regimes and fascist dictatorships.

Conversely, if dissimilar modes of political rule can be erected on the same economic foundation, a single form of sovereignty can in its mutations have very different socioeconomic roles. Political democracy, as has been noted, has grown up in a sequence of historical formations since the rise of commercial city life.

First came the democracy of the petty republics of Greece followed by the medieval urban communes; then the democracy of bourgeois times which is weakening but still with us; and after that the still mutilated and immature workers' democracy which has emerged in the twentieth century.

These successive forms of democratic government have rested upon different eco-

Continued on next page

### FROM PATHFINDER

#### Democracy and Revolution

FROM ANCIENT GREECE TO MODERN CAPITALISM  
by George Novack

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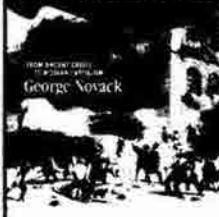
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# Third aid caravan to Cuba will challenge U.S. trade embargo

## Interview with Pastors for Peace leader

BY JOEL BRITTON

NEW YORK — Describing it as a "very simple project that has the power to reach literally tens of thousands — if not hundreds of thousands of people — from around the world," Rev. Lucius Walker explained the efforts under way to organize the Third U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan. "It gives people an opportunity to get involved in a challenge to a U.S. law which is senseless, immoral, and illegal," he said during a recent interview here.

Walker is the director of Pastors for Peace, which initiated the U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan. The effort is a challenge to Washington's 33-year-old economic embargo against Cuba, which, Walker explained, "hurts people in the U.S. and in Cuba and increasingly, because of the Torricelli bill, infringes on the rights of other countries as well." Caravan participants collect and take material aid destined for Cuba across the border with Mexico and the United States.

The Torricelli bill — or Cuban Democracy Act — tightened the trade ban against Cuba by forbidding foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies to trade with Cuba and closed U.S. ports to ships that have called on Cuba within the previous six months.

All indications are that the third caravan — scheduled for February 1994 — will surpass the two previous efforts. The first caravan in November 1992 involved a little more than 100 drivers leaving from 9 U.S. cities carrying some 15 tons of aid. The July 1993 Friendship caravan had more than 300 drivers, left from 12 U.S. cities, and collected 100 tons of aid along the way. The goal for the 1994 caravan is to collect 200 tons of aid and involve 400 drivers.

### Cuban-Americans oppose embargo

The caravan efforts have proven to be "a truly powerful tool in the fight against the embargo," Walker said. The Friendship shipments involve not only the several hundred people who volunteer to drive the donated aid to Cuba, but literally thousands of individuals and organizations who collect the aid and host programs for the caravan members as they pass through dozens of towns in Canada, the United States, and Mexico.

Some 65 Cuban-Americans participated in the second Friendship caravan, Walker said. Their presence exposes "the myth that [Jorge] Mas Canosa and the Cuban American National Foundation and the right-wing Cuban community really represent the dominant will of the Cuban-American population." Mas Canosa, and the Cuban-American National Foundation, which he heads, actively support the embargo against Cuba.

"We also want to internationalize this caravan by significantly increasing Canadian participation and by building on what has been extremely strong support from the solidarity community in Mexico," Walker said. Va Por Cuba — a Mexican organization that opposes the embargo — "facilitated our travel through Mexico and collected 50 tons of humanitarian aid, which complimented our 100 tons."

Activists from Canada have participated in the Friendship caravan in the past as well, Walker noted. The upcoming caravan was discussed at a recent trade union conference in solidarity with Cuba held in Toronto. The October 1-3 conference drew 260 unionists and activists from the United States and Canada to discuss the fight against the U.S. embargo of Cuba with three leaders of the Central Federation of Cuban Workers.

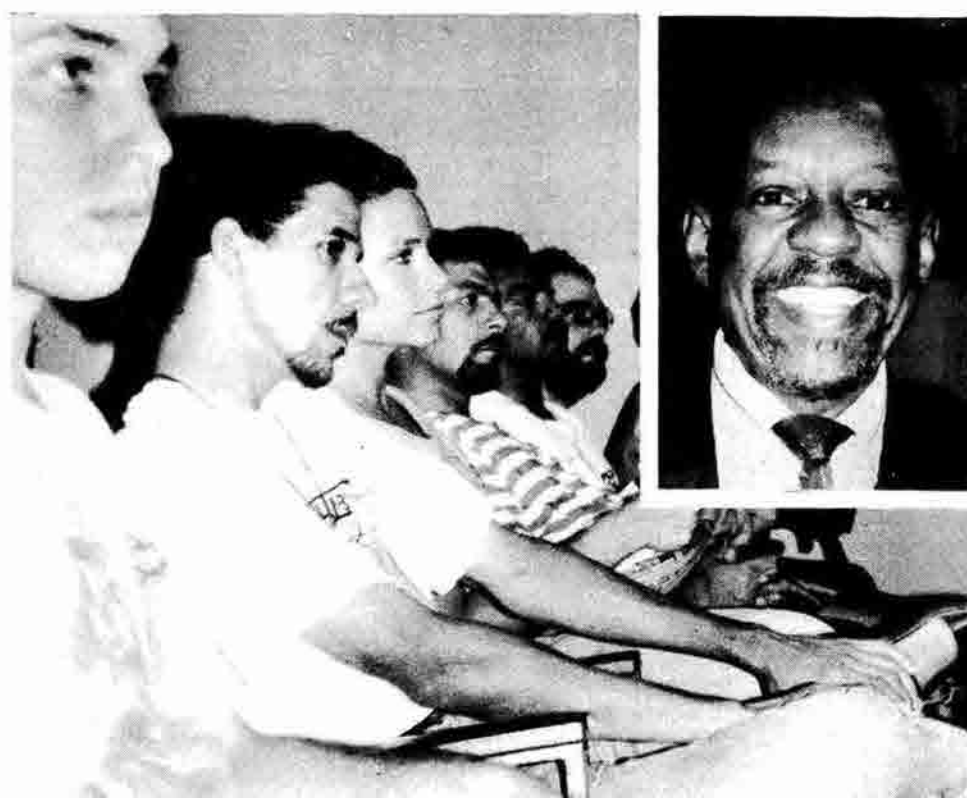
The success of past caravans has stimulated interest among activists and organizations in other parts of the world as well. Gail Walker, a leader of the Friendship caravan, recently returned from a tour of England and Italy, where she spoke on the activities being organized in the United States to oppose the embargo. "We have interest coming not only from Europe, but from Latin American countries and the Caribbean," said Lucius Walker. Pastors for Peace has been invited to attend a meeting of European solidarity organizations that will be held in Havana in December.

"The dominant face of the caravan must be from U.S. citizens because we are the citizens of the world who bear the primary responsibility for the onerous behavior of our government," said Walker. "But we think that [it] gives an appropriate signal to our government about their international isolation on this issue if we have citizens from other countries participate."

### Special opportunity for young people

The Friendship caravan offers a special opportunity for young people, "who are hopeful for a society that takes an interest in its people," to see for themselves an experiment "in social development and human rights in the social, cultural, and economic arena," Walker said. "You should not be denied that right by a government that is afraid to allow you to become exposed to such an experiment lest that exposure would convince people we are doing some things wrong in our own country."

Regarding the kind of aid that will be delivered to Cuba, Walker said, "We will take everything we took before, but we are thinking about what new items to take so as to meet needs which are increasing, but also



Militant/Selva Nebbia and Pat Smith (inset)

Young participants in the July/August U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan. The solidarity caravan is a special opportunity for youth to get involved in fight against U.S. trade ban, said Lucius Walker (inset).

to broaden the range of the challenge to find ways to alert the public about the absurdity of the embargo by helping them see how many things which the U.S. public takes for granted are prohibited."

Among the items included in the Friendship caravan will be medicines, school supplies, powdered milk, bicycles, computers, sewing supplies, and school buses with diesel engines.

Walker also appealed for contributions of newsprint and items that can be used to help offset the shortage of printing materials in Cuba. "We want to ask a number of churches to send paper supplies and printing equipment to help church presses" that have not been able to function due to lack of resources.

### School buses

The school buses are very significant, explained Walker, because a yellow school bus became a symbol of the Friendship caravan after being detained in July by U.S. Customs in Laredo, Texas. Customs officials claimed it might be destined for military purposes. U.S. officials were forced to back down after activists on the bus staged a 23-day hunger strike and a public campaign was mounted on their behalf. "The federal government was forced by public pressure to make a 180-degree reversal in its position and the bus was released with the understanding that it was going to Cuba. It is now in Cuba."

Pastors for Peace has already contacted activists in some 130 U.S. cities, encouraging them to begin organizing for the third caravan. "This is really a movement that is growing and in some ways taking on a life of its own," Walker pointed out. As an example of some of the creative things being done to oppose the embargo against Cuba, Walker mentioned the example of several U.S. cities that have "mounted successful efforts to develop sis-

ter-city relations with cities in Cuba.

"I just returned from Mobile, Alabama, and we were pleasantly surprised to learn that Mobile has a sister-city relationship with Havana that was enacted by the City Council," said Walker. "Pittsburgh and Chicago have also established sister-city relationships with Havana."

This opens up "a wide range of opportunities for these cities to share culturally, socially, vocationally," explained Walker. "Children from a city such as Mobile might for a period go to study and visit in homes and places in Cuba and kids from Cuba would spend time in the U.S."

"It means that these cities would take a special responsibility for being an advocate for change in the law so that this relationship can be more normal and open."

As part of its efforts against Washington's embargo, Pastors for Peace itself has sponsored various delegations of Cubans to tour the United States. "Last May we toured 10 religious leaders," said Walker. Next year, he said, "we will bring young people from the churches in Cuba" to tour this country.

Tom Hansen, coordinator of Pastors for Peace, and some 40 other activists will form a construction brigade that will help rebuild housing in Cuba from November 19 to December 6.

The Friendship project is open to all organizations and individuals who oppose Washington's economic embargo of Cuba. To find out more information on how to get involved in your area or to get a speaker contact Pastors for Peace, 331 17th Ave. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. Tel. (612) 378-0062 or Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization (IFCO), 402 W. 145th St., New York, NY 10031. Tel. (212) 926-5757.

## 'Democracy and Revolution'

Continued from Page 8

nomic foundations and different combinations of social forces.

Ancient democracy was rooted in small-scale commodity production, trade and slavery, medieval democracy in the feudal commercial and craft community, bourgeois democracy in capitalist property relations, and workers' democracy in nationalized property, centralized planning and the state monopoly of foreign trade.

They have likewise been dominated by different ruling classes. Greek democracy was the instrument of large and small slaveholders, the medieval communes of the merchant and craft guilds. Parliamentary democracy has been the instrument of big and little businessmen and those in their tow, while socialist democracy is the product of an anticapitalist revolution headed by the industrial wage workers.

The connection between the political and sociological aspects of state power acquires great practical importance when the demo-

cratic structure is shaken and imperiled and has to give way to another type of rule.

The preservation of the property of the capitalists in the shift from one to the other demonstrates how the same ruling class and its mode of production can exercise its domination in very different ways at different points in its evolution, as the Italian and German capitalists have done.

The capitalist class, which originally made use of the monarchy to further its economic interests and then adapted to parliamentary democracy, is more and more impelled in its twilight years to resort to authoritarian methods of rule to save its property and power from confiscation.

Yet, through all the substitutions of one political regime for another, the economic foundation of its rule in the private ownership of the means of production persists. That is why the principal objective of the socialist movement in its struggle for democracy is the expropriation of the capitalist owners.



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# Flight attendants at American Airlines set date for a strike

BY JANET POST

MIAMI — American Airlines flight attendants have moved their tentative national strike date up from November 22 to November 18.

Officials of the Association of Professional Flight Attendants (APFA) in Dallas reported that attendants across the country pressed for an earlier date after American began implementing many of its latest contract concessions October 31.

Sentiment for strike action was reinforced when the Federal Aviation Administration gave permission to the carrier to drastically shorten training time for replacement flight attendants. The standard six-week training program was reduced to an eight-day requirement.

"One week ago," said APFA president Denise Hedges in a statement issued November 8, "shortly after talks broke down between our union and our company, I announced that the APFA negotiating team would visit our base cities to conduct an assessment of strike strength and advise me on whether to advance our November 22 strike deadline."

"We were in the midst of this evaluation," the statement said, "when the Clinton Administration made our decision easy by granting the company the right to shorten flight attendant training... to just eight days."

"We will not play a waiting game that allows the company time to train quickie replacements to carry out their threat to permanently replace us when we strike," Hedges continued.

"Therefore we will strike November 18 if a tentative contract settlement has not been reached by then."

American is the largest airline in the United States, employing 21,000 flight attendants.

Randy Edwards, national spokesperson for APFA, said in an interview that the company has already put into effect four of its main concession proposals — reduction of crew size; maintenance of a nine-year two-tier wage structure; copayment for medical insurance; and demanding workers prepay for their retirement medical coverage.

The company has not yet moved to implement vacation benefit cuts or a radical change in job bidding procedures — two very "hot" issues, Edwards said.

Late in the APFA contract negotiations, American Airlines chairperson Robert Crandall sent a letter to all of American's employees stating, "We must all agree to work a bit harder, we must assign some less complex tasks to people outside the company, and we must operate with fewer employees."



Militant/Janet Post

American Airlines flight attendants at informational picket in Miami October 28 receive solidarity from pilots. Union members hold daily pickets to reach out for more support.

In October American sent pamphlets to flight attendants warning it might permanently replace those who strike. "If that's what we have to do, that's what we're going to have to do," Robert Baker, American's operations head, told *Business Week*.

APFA members have set up daily informational picket lines at 15 U.S. airports. Pickets in Miami said they were outraged that the company has gone ahead to implement some of its contract demands.

"I really don't care what the company says. I can't work under this contract and

I'll strike. It's the only way we'll get a decent contract," said one attendant.

"I can't wait to get out on the informational picket line tomorrow to explain the union position because I'm finding out there are more people on our side," said another.

Ramp workers at American belong to the Transport Workers Union (TWU). TWU Local 568 in Miami has recently experienced layoffs. "I think we should join them," said a ramp worker about the possible strike by flight attendants.

## Textile workers in New Jersey resist concessions



Militant/Martha Pettit

Northern New Jersey textile workers rally November 4 for better contract, job safety.

BY MARTHA PETTIT AND CANDACE WAGNER

PATERSON, New Jersey — About 1,800 members of four locals of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) struck 20 dyeing and finishing textile shops located in northern New Jersey October 23. Their contract expired October 1. Six other companies settled with the union without a strike.

The companies forced workers on strike by demanding widespread concessions. The owners insist on a higher copayment for reduced medical coverage; overtime pay after 40 hours per week instead of 8 hours daily; taking away two holidays; ending free access to the plant by union representatives; and a no-strike pledge during the life of the contract. The employers are also trying to implement a deeper two-tier wage system. Starting hourly wages would be reduced to \$8.00 from \$9.25 and it would take five years instead of one to reach the top pay rate of \$13.00 per hour.

Angelo Zappiteeli, shop chairperson at Poughkeepsie Finishing Co., said the owners there have a special twist. They picked 30 "key" workers to receive a 50 cents an hour raise and the remaining 60 would get a \$3.00 an hour pay cut.

In addition, the owners demand a clause in the contract that would permit them to lower wages during the life of the agreement if a finishing and dyeing plant opens up with a lower wage scale within a 250-mile radius of Paterson City Hall.

The union has organized a series of mobilizations to resist concessions. On October 26, 200 strikers marched on city hall to demand a meeting with Mayor William Pascrell to protest the arrest of three strikers and the police escort of replacement workers. Some 500 workers from all 20 plants rallied and marched on eight struck companies in Passaic and Paterson November 4 chanting, "What do we want? A contract!" Another 500 workers rallied in the pouring rain the morning of November 5 at Poughkeepsie Finishing in Paterson. The owners of this plant have outfitted a school bus with armor plating and steel mesh over the windows to transport scabs.

In interviews on picket lines at the Sunbrite, Interstate, and Baltic plants, ACTWU members explained the conditions workers face. They work 10 to 12 hours a day, 5 to 6 days a week. There are no lunchrooms or refrigerators and one plant has only two drinking fountains and two toilet stalls without doors for 54 men.

Naum Veljanoski, the shop chairperson at Interstate, and other union members said the majority of grievances concern safety conditions. Workers are forced to handle chemicals without protective gear and with insufficient ventilation.

At Sunbrite a camera is trained on each machine to watch workers.

Several workers said they have struck for every contract in the last 20 years. Most walkouts have lasted less than a week. This is the first time the companies have tried to run production during a strike.

The previous president and vice-president of ACTWU Local 1733, the largest local on strike, were indicted in June on federal charges of extortion. "The companies thought that the union was weak because of these indictments," said a worker at Poughkeepsie Finishing. "But we're the union and we have to fight this."

## British Rail cuts undermine workers' safety

BY TONY HUNT

SHEFFIELD, England — Rail management statistics reveal that 300 freight workers were involved in accidents across Britain in the period from April to June 1993. These included 20 multiple injuries, 44 head and neck injuries, and 72 hand injuries.

The drive by British Rail management to privatize the main rail lines has meant cost cutting and a further reduction of safety standards. Members of the National Union of Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers (RMT) have noted a serious lag in safety conditions for track maintenance.

Delegates at an RMT conference in September for workers in the lowest grades discussed the effect of long hours on safety. Several crossing keepers described average work days of seventeen and a half hours and the elimination of many relief workers' jobs. These conditions imposed by management lead to accidents because of exhaustion.

British Rail is slashing jobs throughout the country. Crew reductions are one of the main reasons behind accidents.

Two contract workers repairing track at Faversham in Kent were killed when struck by a passenger express train July 15.

The issue of who is responsible for accidents at work is surfacing in the *Trans-*

*port Review*, journal of the RMT, and *Locomotive Journal* of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen (ASLEF). Both have reported incidents of rail workers' deaths caused by company negligence. But in every case British Rail blamed the workers.

The September issue of *Locomotive Journal*, for example, carried an article on a Railway Inspectorate report about a 1989 accident, which led to the death of driver Clive Brooker. It took the government three and a quarter years to produce the report that put the blame on three rail workers. The *Journal* article, however, emphasizes that "this accident happened because of a system which allowed trains to be standing on a line without track-circuiting." The circuiting system detects trains on tracks and controls signals that warn approaching trains to stop.

An article in the August issue of *Rail News*, British Rail's newspaper, attempted to blame rail workers for all accidents. It claimed workers had a "casual attitude to safety," which it described as "a kind of virus in the railway culture." The article was written after British Rail was fined by the courts for negligence that killed Thomas McCole in August 1992. McCole normally worked in a drawing office but because of staff shortages he was put on track maintenance duties.

After the RMT complained about the article, British Rail's solicitor (attorney) admitted that a series of failures in the company's safety system had led to McCole's death. In other words, management was responsible.

As part of the privatization scheme, management is distributing glossy safety brochures and sending rail workers to attend courses that all convey the same message: safety is the responsibility of the individual worker.

Management has also embarked on a cosmetic campaign to clean up its image with regard to safety. Outside the premises owned by Yorkshire Freight, large signs have appeared saying "Think safety." But as one worker at Tinsley Freight terminal said, "If I thought safety I would go home as soon as I got here."

In February, Jo Hillgrove, a shunter (brakeperson), was almost killed in an accident because of lack of radios needed for communication between shunters. Management had not replaced missing radios.

In September, six and a half months after the accident, management brought radios into the yard, for only one week — to coincide with a health and safety check there.

Rose Knight, a member of the RMT in Sheffield, contributed to this article.



# Miners are resolved to fight frame-up

Continued from front page

cause of his role in the union. Lowe is chairperson of the Mine Safety Committee, a member of the Grievance Committee, and "has been adamant in having his constitutional rights protected," as Bartram put it.

The federal indictment alleges that Lowe called Woods to come to the picket line to conspire to stop the convoy. However, Horton pointed out that the union president was already on the picket line that day due to an unrelated union matter.

## How frame-up unfolded

Horton and Bartram explained in an interview how the frame-up was put together.

Arch hired some 80 guards from Elite Security Co., a North Carolina-based firm, to join the 25 regular security personnel Arch already employed at the Ruffner mine. The striking local has had 150 to 180 members actively serving on the picket lines, according to Horton.

"The Elite guards were intimidating, bold, and aggressive from the start of the strike," Horton recalled. "They were trained to believe that the UMWA is hell-bent on destroying the coal companies. For a time we tried to communicate with the Elite men to tell them we were not their enemies and we wanted no problems or provocation."

The guards' attempts to intimidate the strikers included numerous cases of throwing rocks down the hill at the pickets, firing guns in the air, videotaping striking miners, brandishing night sticks and stun guns, and shining high-powered floodlights at the picket shacks at night.

According to Horton, one guard waved a revolver in the face of a striker and threatened him, saying, "I'm going to f--- you up." The union reported this to the state police but the cops refused to investigate. In another incident shortly before the shooting, Arch's guards attacked the picket shack, driving the miners out with tear gas and destroying equipment.

"The security guards were antagonizing the whole community, not just the union," Joyce Jones, a member of Local 5958's Ladies' Auxiliary and the Coal Employment Project, said.

## The shooting

The July 22 shooting, on which the indictments are based, occurred at Slab Fork, a road that leads to several other mines and to a back entrance to the Ruffner mine.

Eddie York worked for Deskins Contracting, cleaning sediment ponds at the Ruffner mine. Horton pointed out that the union was not attempting to prevent him or others from doing this work. York had used the Slab Fork entrance before.

Around 5:00 p.m. on July 22, York was shot in the back of the head as he left the mine, driving down the road toward the picket shack in a convoy of four vehicles, including Elite Security cars. At the time, all the strikers were in front of the convoy, said Horton. "Eddie York wasn't killed at the picket line," he said. "He never made it to the picket line."

After the shooting, Elite Security personnel, some of whom had been deputized, assisted local police in the preliminary investigation. Horton described arriving two hours later to find the company's lawyers already on the scene. A police cordon was in place that prevented union members from entering the area. "Elite men were going over the whole area picking up anything they could find — trash, empty bottles, rags — anything they could claim was evidence, and locking it in the trunks of their vehicles," he said.

According to Horton and Bartram, 19 Elite Security guards quit and returned to North Carolina that night.

## Management campaign against UMWA

Immediately, Arch management began a campaign to convict the UMWA in the press. At 2:00 a.m. the day after the shooting, Arch Minerals vice-president Blair Gardner issued a press release stating, "This ends the pretense of a peaceful UMWA strike. The circumstances of this tragedy point to a conspiracy to commit murder conceived in a UMWA picket shack."

Arch immediately offered a \$100,000 reward for any information on the shooting and the BCOA matched this.

Two days after the shooting, West Virginia state police sought an indictment for murder, stating that a UMWA member was among their leading suspects. But, according to Bartram, the county prosecutor refused the cops' request for a warrant against any of the strikers, saying there was insufficient evidence.

On July 29, Arch filed a suit against the UMWA under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations (RICO) Act. The company's 36-page suit charged the union with conspiring to commit murder, arson, violence, and extortion against 30 coal companies in six states over a 10-year period.

A week earlier, Eastern Associated Coal Corp. had also filed a RICO suit against the UMWA. Both coal companies are represented by the Washington-based firm of



Militant/Steve Craine

Striking miners attempt to prevent hauling of coal October 16 at nonunion Bailey mine, owned by Consolidated Coal, in Finley, Pennsylvania. BCOA companies are running coal in several struck facilities and organizing provocations against workers on picket lines. The frame-up of eight miners in Yohyn, West Virginia, is the most blatant attack against the UMWA by the coal bosses.

Smith, Heenan and Althen, which Horton described as a union-busting outfit that "would love to smother the UMWA."

Darrell Mutters and Jerry Barker, along with other striking Ruffner miners, have been raising money for the strike relief fund from passing motorists in the town of Logan ever since the shooting incident.

Flanked by "Support UMWA Local 5958" signs, they stood November 6 in the middle of River Street in front of a Wendy's restaurant. Many drivers rolled down their windows and dropped a dollar or two in their collection buckets.

"We've collected as much as \$900 in a week this way," Mutters said. "Usually the collections are best at the beginning of the month, since more people have money." They also pointed out that, while most donations are small, for months many people have been giving money every time they pass.

Joyce Jones said the coverage in the *Williamson Daily News* "makes the union out to be thugs. We don't have any voice."

She also wondered why there was no videotape from the afternoon of the shooting, even though Elite Security had been videotaping the picket line constantly throughout the strike.

Miners in the area expressed concern about the impact of the frame-up on their strike. "It's definitely been a negative for morale," Horton said, "but we are doing what we can to overcome that. We are helping each other as best we can."

"We've been set back," Mutters said. "They've mined more coal and we're under more injunctions."

Bartram feels that "the community is wholeheartedly behind the miners." The front yards of coal camp houses situated along Rum Creek Road, which goes to the Ruffner mine, remain filled with "Support UMWA" signs.

Steve Craine is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6191 in Pittsburgh.

# Locked-out Staley workers' rally draws 1,000

BY DAVID MARSHALL

DECATUR, Illinois — Hundreds of A.E. Staley workers and their supporters gathered here November 5-6 for a weekend of activities in solidarity with their struggle, the coal miners' strike, and other union fights in the area.

Nearly 800 members of Allied Industrial Workers (AIW) Local 837 have been locked out since June 27 by A. E. Staley Mfg. Co., a corn processing giant, after working seven months under a company-imposed contract.

Local 837 bargaining committee chairman Jim Shinnall calls the contract "nothing but a management rights clause." The company agreement gutted the grievance procedure, eliminated most seniority rights, and forced workers onto 12-hour rotating shifts.

"We'll fight 'til hell freezes over before we'll sign that contract," said Larry Bagley, who has worked for Staley for 25 years, at the November 5 rally of 400 AIW members and supporters in front of the Staley plant.

While locked out, Local 837 members have been reaching out for solidarity from other unions. More than 50 rank-and-file "Road Warriors" have traveled the country explaining their fight, raising money to assist members, and calling on unionists to boycott State Farm Insurance Co. and other businesses and banks that have ties to Staley.

Lorrell Patterson worked at Staley for three years before the lockout. "Everybody's got to be involved," she concluded after spending time on the road to garner support for her union. "You can't just sit back and let others make the decisions. We're fighting for our rights. We've all got to stand up."

Local 837 hosted an outdoor rally of 1,000 on November 6 to show support for its struggle as well as for striking coal miners, Caterpillar Corp. workers, and other unionists who are fighting against the employers' drive for concessions.

Participants huddled together under several large canvas tents that provided some protection against the cold and snow.

Welcoming unionists who had come to Decatur to "deal with corporate violence and corporate greed," Local 837 president Dave Watts introduced a number of Staley workers who spoke about their struggle and its meaning for the labor movement.

Other speakers at the rally included leaders of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), United Paperworkers International Union, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and United Auto Workers (UAW).

A dozen unionists took the microphone to present financial contributions to Local 837. A representative from American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Council 31 presented the local

with checks for \$15,550 that AFSCME members had raised, and explained that the union was giving a similar amount to striking Illinois coal miners.

Dave Griffith, a member of UMWA Local 1602 in Shawneetown, Illinois, was one of 45 coal miners who attended the rally. "It's great to see different unions sticking together," he said as the crowd began to assemble. "That's what it's going to take for organized labor to survive." Griffith stood behind a table selling camouflage T-shirts to raise money for his striking local's food bank.

"I've traveled to Seattle and on up to Alaska to tell people about our strike," said Dan Spinnie of UMWA Local 2250, "and you see the same problem everywhere — companies sticking it to union people. If these Staley workers lose we all lose. No way around it."

Nearly 40 UAW members who work at Caterpillar in Peoria, Illinois, carpooled to the rally to join Caterpillar workers from the plant in Decatur. Some 14,000 Caterpillar workers are working without a contract after a bitter five-month strike in 1992.

"Caterpillar has eliminated 1,000 jobs since the strike," said John Grayned, a member of UAW Local 751 in Decatur. "The astounding thing is that they get more work out of us now and still they refuse to give us a decent contract."

A number of students and other young people came to the rally. "We are here to increase our awareness of struggles of the working class and to bring that awareness to the campuses," said Brock Satter, a student at the University of Minnesota. "We're fighting against cuts in spending for education, and it's the same as attacks on the unions — part of an overall attack against working people in this country."

David Marshall is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1345 in St. Louis. Kate Kaku from Chicago also contributed to this article.

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## CALIFORNIA

### San Francisco

**NAFTA: What Stand Should Working People Take?** Speakers: Jim Gotesky, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Steelworkers Local 1440; Others to be announced. Sat., Nov. 20, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

## FLORIDA

### Miami

**South Africa Advances toward Democracy: Celebrate the Publication of Nelson Mandela Speaks.** Panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

**The Israeli-PLO accord: An eyewitness report.** Speaker: Argris Malapanis, managing editor of *Militant*; recently visited Israel, West Bank and Gaza on reporting trip. Sat., Nov. 20, dinner 6:30 p.m., program 7:30 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation \$8; \$4 program only. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

**Nelson Mandela and the Fight to Forge a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa.** Celebrate the publication of Pathfinder's *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. Speakers: Rafael Dausa, Third Secretary, Cuban Interests Section, Washington, D.C.; Ricky Brown, member, United Auto Workers Local 879; Paul Harris, member International Association of Machinists Local 1833; August Nimtz, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. Donation: \$3. Unemployed: \$1. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

**Washington's Drive to War.** Speaker: Brian Williams, staff writer for the *Militant* newspaper. Celebrate 65 Years of the *Militant*. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**NAFTA: Victory or Defeat for Working People?** Panel discussion. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite #250. Donation: \$4. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

**The Economic Crisis, NAFTA, and the Fight for Jobs.** Speaker: Doug Jenness, former editor of the *Militant*, member United Steelworkers of America Local 15199. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. Reception: 7 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Tel: (206) 323-1755. **Marxism and the Fight to Protect the Environment.** Special class by Doug Jenness: Sun., Nov. 21, 11 a.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation \$7 for the weekend or \$4 for each event. Tel: (206) 323-1755

## CANADA

### Montreal

**What's Behind the Biggest Shake-up in Cana-**

**dian Politics Since the 1930s Depression?**

Speaker: Steve Penner, Communist League Central Committee member. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 4581 St. Denis (metro Mont-Royal). Donation: \$4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

**Classes: The Deepening Revolution in South Africa and the ANC's Strategy for Power.** Speaker: Patricia O'Beirne, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; anti-apartheid activist. Sun., Nov. 21, 12:30 p.m. **Challenges Facing the Cuban Revolution Today.** Speaker: Guy Tremblay, Student at the University of Quebec at Montreal, recent participant in volunteer labor brigade to Cuba. Sun., Nov. 21, 3 p.m. 4581 St. Denis (metro Mont-Royal). Tel: (514) 284-7369.

### Vancouver

**The Fight to Protect the Environment — A Marxist View.** Speaker: Doug Jenness, former editor of the *Militant*; member of United Steelworkers of America Local 15199. Fri., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

# Thousands protest murder of Haitian activist

Continued from front page

police officers around Gen. Raoul Cédras.

At one point dozens of angry mourners surrounded TV reporters who came to film the events. "You never report what we really say," one man complained to reporters from Channel 7.

"If St. Plite was a white tourist you would already have someone in jail for the crime," another man shouted at the TV camera. "But because he is Haitian and Black, all of a sudden no killers can be found."

"We want justice," one woman said. "Haiti does not belong to the U.S. government or the CIA, it belongs to the Haitian people and we will fight for our freedom."

Following the church service 1,000 people, in hundreds of cars, traveled in a funeral procession to the cemetery where they held a march and demonstration. "Miami police, justice for Haitians. FBI, justice for Haitians," they chanted on their way to the grave site.

At an interview before the funeral, Lavaris Gaudin noted that "We know the system will never give us justice. We will have to do what is necessary to win it."

Gaudin, a leader of the Haitian group

Veye-Yo, is one of the activists whose name is on the hit lists. "We will keep struggling," he said. "We will have a picket line at the Federal Building. We will picket at the police headquarters until we win justice."

Two assailants fired at another Haitian radio talk show host the evening of November 1. Saens Dorcelly, 26, was not injured. He had fired his own gun in the air to scare off the attackers. Dorcelly's air name, Sizonad, also appears on one of the hit lists circulating in Miami.

Meanwhile, talks in Haiti to discuss restoring Aristide to power collapsed November 5

when military representatives failed to attend a meeting called by United Nations envoy Dante Caputo. Five envoys of Aristide's transitional government team in Haiti left for Washington, D.C., November 8 for further consultations with the exiled Haitian president.

As U.S. warships continue to patrol the waters surrounding Haiti, U.S. president Bill Clinton reiterated November 7 that he does not rule out the possibility of a U.S. military invasion of the island.

Aristide stated November 9 that while the Haitian constitution prohibits him from asking for military intervention, the Haitian

people "would be delighted" by such a move aimed at restoring him to power.

Washington continues to forcibly return all Haitians that take to the high seas fleeing military repression in their homeland. However, a number of refugees have successfully reached the Bahamas as a stop off point on their way to the United States.

Miami authorities detained 37 Haitians who reached the South Florida shores November 3 after making the three-hour trip from the Bahamas. One Bahamian official said that Haitians now make up almost one-fifth of that island's 260,000 residents.

# N.Y. forum discusses U.S. gov't role in Haiti

BY IKE NAHEM

BROOKLYN, New York — More than 80 people, including 20 Haitians, filled the Pathfinder bookstore here November 6 to participate in a discussion on the current situation in Haiti.

The event, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, featured talks by Ben Dupuy, coeditor of the weekly *Haiti Progrès*, and *Militant* staff writer Brian Williams. Dupuy was an ambassador-at-large for the exiled government of Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. He resigned this summer over differences with the negotiations between Aristide's representatives and the military junta.

A video taped interview with Antoine Izméry was also shown. Izméry was assassinated September 11 by rightists backing Haiti's military coup leaders.

Dupuy said the situation today is marked by pressure from Washington and the United Nations "to force President Aristide to make a

deal with the putschists so that if he returns he will have no power and have to implement the program that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have for Haiti."

Pointing to the fabrications peddled by the CIA against Aristide, which "embarrassed President Clinton," Dupuy said, "Even though we can see those kinds of contradictions, fundamentally whether it's the Democrats or the Republicans, in the final analysis, they disagree on tactics, but they have the same goal, to maintain Haiti, and all the Third World countries, in their proper place, which means as sources of raw material, cheap labor, and where they can export their products."

Williams pointed out that since the collapse of the Governors Island Accord, with its promise that Aristide would return to the country October 30, "there's been a stepped-up campaign of repression by the military rulers and their armed thugs," the worst since the first days after the 1991 military

coup that ousted Aristide.

The true character of Washington's policy, Williams said, is shown by Clinton's use of the naval blockade to further implement the inhuman policy of forcibly returning refugees fleeing by sea back to Haiti where they have been promptly arrested by the military regime.

In the discussion period one Haitian participant argued that "if you go to Haiti now and you ask the people from the slum, they will tell you they can count on one force only to counteract the force of the Haitian military and that is the United States. . . . It is not easy to face the army with bare hands."

Dupuy responded that the aim of "U.S. intervention would be to protect the military and reorganize the Haitian occupation army. That is their goal. . . . Waiting for some 'international community' to fix the problem is an illusion." The solution must come from the Haitian people themselves, explained Dupuy.

# CALENDAR

## IOWA

### Des Moines

**Stop Anti-Abortion Harassment and Violence! Speakout and Educational.** Speakers: Dr. Herbert Remer, targeted doctor in Iowa; David Gunn Jr., son of doctor murdered in Florida; Dr. Sue Wicklund, abortion provider in Montana, ND; Karen Stewart, patient who got harassing letter; Lisa Strong, Minneapolis abortion rights activist; Reisha Johnson, Omaha clinic director; Gayle Sand, Emma Goldman Clinic, Iowa City. Sat., Nov. 20, 7 p.m. Drake University, Conference Room 310, 2nd floor, Olmsted Center (University Ave. and 29th St.) For more information call The Coalition Against Clinic Violence and Harassment (515) 255-5445.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

**Fridays with Cuba. Video Festival.** Fri., Nov. 19, 8 p.m. Casa de las Américas, 104 West 14th Street (corner of 6th Ave.). Tel: (212) 675-2584.

## TEXAS

### Houston

**Hear Lindiwe Mabuza, African National Congress Chief Representative to the United States.** Thurs., Nov. 18, 2-4 p.m. University of Houston, Cougar Den, University Center. Sponsored by: Black Student Union, International Student Organization, Committee for a Free South Africa. **Party.** Fri., Nov. 19, 9 p.m. Location to be announced. For more information call Charlotte (UH campus) (713) 465-0541; Tom (TSU campus) (713) 527-7355; Mike (713) 862-3754, or Laura (713) 864-9657. **Labor Breakfast.** Sat., Nov. 20, 8-11 a.m. Seafarers International, 1221 Pierce. Sponsored by: Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Harris County AFL-CIO. Donation: \$5.

## OREGON

### Ashland

**1994 West Coast Ancient Forest Activists Conference.** Annual conference that focuses on battle to save ancient forests of Pacific Northwest. February 3-6, 1994. Southern Oregon State College. Sponsored by Headwaters. For more information, call (503) 482-4459.

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## AUSTRALIA

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The company is 'us'? — So far this year, McDonnell Douglas has booted out 14,000 aircraft workers, with pink slips still com-



Harry Ring

ing. Also, in nine months, the company racked up a profit of \$528 million. Chairman John McDonnell declared the company "has become a leaner and fitter competitor."

**Racist pig of the week** — "In

the military skills, we find that the minority officers do not shoot as well as the non-minorities. . . . They don't swim as well. And when you give them a compass and send them across the terrain at night . . . they don't do as well at that sort of thing." — Marine Corps commandant Gen. Carl Mundy explaining the scarcity of nonwhite officers in the corps.

**Their feet's too big** — The Barefoot winery is changing its slogan from "The Chateau La Feet of California" to "The Chateau La Foot of California." The retreat resulted from a threatened lawsuit by Lafite-Rothschild of Paris. They were concerned that the \$3.99-a-bottle La Feet might

be confused with the \$100-a-bottle Lafite.

**The Open Society** — A poll of airline pilots by the *Condé Nast Traveler* found that nearly half considered the Airbus A230 unsafe. Two U.S. airlines, Northwest and America West, use the A230. Northwest responded to pilot concern promptly and incisively. A memo to station managers instructed: "Please have your employees remove this [issue of the] magazine from all of our aircraft."

**Take a spin for privatization** — In conjunction with the Russian aerospace industry, MIGS etc., Inc. of Moscow is offering to put you behind the controls of one of the

supersonic war jets. No need to be a pilot. You'll be accompanied by "a top Russian test pilot." Flight packages from \$6,000.

**But consider the services** — A "typical" two-earner family with a median income (half above, half below) of \$51,883 shelled out 40.4 percent in federal, state, and local taxes, more than they spent on food, housing, and medical care combined. That's according to the Tax Foundation, as reported by Associated Press.

**No falling rate of profit there** — A growing number of people are renting household furnishings and appliances they can't afford to buy. It's not a cheap swindle.

Rent a TV for \$11.70 a week. If you can meet the payments for 78 weeks, it's yours. You've paid a mere \$920 for a \$300 TV. The industry biggie, Rent-A-Center, is currently grossing some \$700 million a year.

**The 'Golden Years'** — According to the Census Bureau, real income in the U.S. slipped by nearly 1 percent last year, but among those over 65, it was 1.9 percent. The biggest hit was taken by those over 75, whose median income dropped 5.1 percent to \$13,622.

**P.S.** — It wasn't just seniors who took it on the chin last year. The income of families headed by folks 15 to 24 dropped 5.8 percent.

## Canadian workers discuss recent election results

BY SUSAN BERMAN

TORONTO — The precipitous fall of the Progressive Conservative and New Democratic (NDP) parties in Canada's federal elections, along with the rise of the right-wing Reform Party and Bloc Quebecois, has sparked a widespread discussion among working people.

The backdrop for this is continued unemployment of 11.6 percent nationally and cutbacks in social programs.

"We'll pay more taxes, but at least we'll get more jobs," said Rod, a worker on the chassis line at the Chrysler Corp. Bramalea assembly plant outside Toronto. This theme was repeated by several Chrysler workers who saw the Liberal Party victory in the elections as a way forward.

Anika, a Canadian Auto Worker (CAW) member at Weiser Lock in Vancouver, British Columbia, commented, "I'm glad the Liberals won because lots of people are depending on them with their plan for jobs. So now we'll see if they keep their promises."

Many workers expressed their distrust and skepticism of all the capitalist politicians. Mui, who works at Chrysler, said, "I voted for the Liberals. But none of them are good."

The large vote for the right-wing Reform Party provoked varying responses from workers. Reform Party leader Preston Manning campaigned for slashing social services to end the federal government deficit within three years and scapegoated youth and immigrants for unemployment, crime, and other problems.

He also ran an aggressive campaign against the rights of the Quebecois, French-speaking people who comprise the majority of Quebec and face systematic discrimination on the basis of their language. This has meant less access to high-paying jobs, as well as inferior health and education services. Through decades of struggle, Quebecois have won certain important affirmative action gains, enabling them to make progress in combating discrimination. Manning opposes these measures, dubbing them privileges of Quebec regionalism that take money away from the western provinces.

Reform got its biggest votes in Alberta and British Columbia. Tony Dvorak, a steelworker at Westlitt in Vancouver, said, "The

Liberals won't be any better [than the Conservatives]. For the first time we're going to have representatives from western Canada that I can trust."

But many other workers reject the Reform program. Ken Akrigg at Westlitt argued that "the rise of the Reform Party and the decline of the NDP is a disaster."

Rudy Linton, a member of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at Gabriel Industries in Toronto, commented, "The Reform Party position on immigrants is wrong because this country was made by immigrants."

NDP support among working people has plummeted. This is most striking in Ontario and British Columbia, where the NDP forms the provincial governments. The social democratic governments have carried out massive assaults on social programs and public sector workers' contracts. Last week the Ontario NDP ordered 500 striking teachers in Sarnia back to work.

The Ontario NDP has also been in the forefront of the reactionary Canadian nationalist campaign against Quebec. While arguing against the Bloc Quebecois becoming the official parliamentary opposition, Ontario premier Bob Rae claimed that the Bloc's stance for sovereignty will cost Quebec tens of thousands of jobs and damage the economies of Ontario and Canada.

This chauvinist campaign against Quebec was a theme of Liberal, Conservative, Reform, and NDP alike. All four parties use Canadian nationalism to pit English-speaking workers against Quebecois, making it harder to wage a united fight. They try to convince workers to support the Canadian bosses' campaign to limit ceding new powers to Quebec capitalists.

The anti-Quebec propaganda found an echo among working people. "We had no choice but to vote Liberal. They will stand up to Quebec," expressed one steelworker in British Columbia.

Hong, who works at Chrysler, asked whether it would be better for the economic security of Canada to block the separation of Quebec.

The Bloc Quebecois waged an equally reactionary campaign to convince Quebecois workers that their interests will be

served by backing Quebec capitalists in their bid to win more powers for themselves.

"We're going to go back to [what it was] like in my father's day when English and French fought each other in the street. We're not progressing — we're regressing," remarked Norman, a steelworker at Wolverine in Montreal.

Yvan, who also works there, said, "I'm happy if it can make sovereignty come faster. That's the only solution — the rest is garbage."

Commenting on the elections, Tony DeFelice, an IAM member at Gabriel Industries and Communist League candidate in the federal elections, said, "There was no working-class voice" among the major contending parties. So a layer of workers both in Quebec and elsewhere in Canada got drawn to backing the nationalist program of various capitalist parties, DeFelice said. "But that's a dead end. Working people need to unify to defend ourselves from the economic crisis. We have to fight discrimination against immigrants and Quebecois at home and attacks against our brothers and sisters in Haiti and Somalia who are



Reform Party leader Preston Manning campaigned for slashing social services and for "standing up to Quebec." He scapegoated immigrants for unemployment and crime. The right-wing party jumped from 1 to 52 seats in Parliament.

suffering from imperialist superexploitation."

Susan Berman is a member of CAW Local 1285. She was a candidate of the Communist League in the federal elections.

## — 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

### THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

November 22, 1968

Canada's French-speaking province of Quebec last month experienced the biggest student-power struggle yet in North America. At the height of the massive two-week student strike, 22 of the 28 post-secondary colleges and universities were paralyzed by occupations or "study sessions" (a term used by workers for illegal strikes), and at least six high schools in the Montreal area were the scene of solidarity actions and, in some cases, occupations. It is estimated that 50,000 students were at one time or another on strike or occupying their schools.

The students were protesting inadequate facilities in the technical section of the CEGEPs (junior colleges) and the restricted opportunities for university entrance.

The education crisis flows from the oppression of the French-speaking nation in Canada. In Quebec, its national homeland, 80 percent of business and industry is owned by English-Canadian and U.S. capital. Most of the key management posts are held by English Canadians. The educational system reflects the semicolonized situation of French Canadians. For example, although two thirds of Montreal's population is French speaking, three of its four universities and a majority of the university students are English.

### THE MILITANT

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November 20, 1943

Whenever election time draws near capitalist politicians pretend to suffer a change of heart about Negroes and their struggle for equality. Politicians who overlook the existence of Jim Crow the rest of the year discover the Negro problem around election time.

There was one campaign this year in which Negroes were promised nothing by either candidate for office. As a matter of fact they were the target for vile racial mudslinging by both sides. This took place in the mayoralty campaign in Detroit between Edward J. Jeffries and Frank Fitzgerald. Another reason this campaign deserves the attention of Negroes is the fact that Mayor Jeffries, the candidate running on an open anti-Negro, anti-labor program was elected to office.

Jeffries won because his "progressive" rival, Fitzgerald, fished for the support of Big Business and, the votes of the anti-Negro elements. Although he was backed by the unions, Fitzgerald criticized the Mayor for raising the pay of city employees. And in order to win the votes of the anti-Negro elements, this so-called "liberal" condemned bi-racial housing in these words: "it was the mayor who invaded a white neighborhood with a Negro housing project and he can't deny it. . . . I never have taken a stand in favor of bi-racial housing. I do not do so now."

There is no doubt that the combined vote of the Negroes and the progressive workers could have put Fitzgerald into office had he advanced a pro-labor, pro-Negro program. But since Fitzgerald vied with Jeffries in attacking the labor movement and the Negro people, a great many Negroes and trade unionists stayed away from the polls on Nov. 2.

## Los Angeles judge refuses to lower bail for defendant in Denny trial

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — In a continuing display of naked judicial bias, Judge John Ouderkirk refused to lower the \$580,000 bail for Damian Williams even though a jury had exonerated him of the charges that had been the original justification for the outrageously high bail.

Williams had been charged with attempted murder and aggravated mayhem in the beating of truck driver Reginald Denny. Conviction on either count could have meant a life sentence.

Williams was convicted instead of simple mayhem against Denny during attacks on motorists in the first hours of the antipolice riot that exploded when a Simi Valley jury cleared the four cops who beat Rodney King.

Williams is scheduled to be sentenced next month and faces a maximum eight-year term on the mayhem charge and a possible additional two years on four misdemeanor

assault charges on which he was convicted.

In rejecting a motion to lower Williams's bail to \$35,000, Ouderkirk branded the youth "a danger to the community."

Calling the refusal to reduce bail "a political ruling to keep him in jail," Edi Faal, attorney for Williams charged that Williams had been singled out from the outset for "special treatment" and "continues to see this harsh special treatment."

Meanwhile, in a plea bargain, codefendant Henry Watson pleaded guilty to a felonious assault charge on which the jury had deadlocked 9-3 in his favor. Under the agreement he will be sentenced to a three-year probation and a possible fine.

Watson had been convicted on a single misdemeanor assault charge against Denny, which carries a maximum six-month sentence. Watson was released since he had already been held in jail for 17 months.



# Fight frame-up of coal miners

Violence and lies are the stock-in-trade of the employing class. In the strike by 18,000 coal miners in seven states the bosses are exposing their true face.

The frame-up is a trusted method of the coal operators. The mine owners, along with the FBI, West Virginia state cops, Clinton Justice Department, and Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms are trying to send eight coal miners to jail on trumped-up charges stemming from the shooting death of Eddie York.

Coal miners on the picket line outside Arch Mineral Corp.'s Ruffner mine point out an important fact: York was shot in the back of the head as he was leaving the mine, before he even reached the picket shack.

The trial of the indicted miners will not be fair. The coal bosses, the cops, and the court are all part of the same team. "Thank God for the grand jury and the state police," Arch Mineral spokesperson Blair Gardner told the *Charleston Gazette*. "Eddie York has not died in vain." If they succeed in railroading the miners to prison, Arch Mineral and the other coal operators will use their victory as a potent weapon against the entire union in their drive to defeat the strike.

The labor movement must mobilize a vigorous defense for the framed strikers.

The coal operators and their hired gun thugs are the source of violence in the coalfields. Outfits like Vance Security and Elite Security are responsible for countless provocations against the UMWA. In the case of York, the cops even deputized some Elite guards to "investigate" the shooting. This is akin to making Pinkerton security guards responsible for upholding justice.

The use of federal charges of interfering with transportation involved in interstate commerce may seem obscure,

but is used to bring the federal government in on prosecuting the miners. Similar charges were used against Kentucky miners in 1987 in the wake of the UMWA's defeated strike at A.T. Massey Co. Four workers were sentenced to long jail terms on the phony charges.

These tactics were also used by the Roosevelt administration and FBI in 1939. As part of gearing up for Washington's entry into World War II, Roosevelt needed to both stifle opposition to his foreign policy and cripple the militant labor movement.

In September, 1939, FBI agents in Iowa and Nebraska conducted raids on the homes of Teamsters union leaders in Omaha, Nebraska, and in Des Moines, and Sioux City, Iowa. The unionists were arrested and falsely charged with burning a bakery truck during a strike in Sioux City more than a year earlier.

Only the Sioux City local was involved in that strike. But the other two played a crucial role in the over-the-road organizing drive that had swept the Midwest.

The cops charged that since the truck was burned near the Iowa-Minnesota border, it was a federal crime. The unionists were convicted and sent to jail.

Every worker and every young person who wants to see justice done should stand up to defend the eight framed-up workers. A broad-based union defense campaign for the Yolo miners, led by the UMWA, is what's necessary. Publicizing the facts about the case, launching speaking tours to explain the need for solidarity from tens of thousands of unionists and other fighters, and raising funds to meet legal expenses and aid the frame-up victims' families can make the difference.

Drop the charges! Hands off the Mine Workers!

# Arrest killers of Haitian activists

The October 24 murder of radio commentator Dona St. Plite in Miami is aimed at intimidating all those fighting against military rule in Haiti and for the return of the country's democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. St. Plite, a Haitian activist, was best known for his Creole-language radio broadcasts in Miami.

A few hours before he was shot, St. Plite used his weekly show to blast a CIA report that Aristide was mentally unstable. He then went to a fund-raiser for the family of Fritz Dor, another local Haitian radio commentator and political activist, who was assassinated in 1991. St. Plite was gunned down outside the event. Along with radio commentator Jean Claude Olivier, also killed in 1991, this brings to three the number of Haitian activists murdered in Miami.

The Miami cops — always quick to round-up "suspects" when tourists are killed, and unconcerned about trampling on the democratic and legal rights of anyone in their path — have been notably inactive in all three cases. Even though cops claim to have caught the lookout for the 1991 killings, they have yet to arrest anyone for the actual murders.

Many Haitian activists and their supporters see a double standard of justice at work. And they are right. But there is something deeper at work as well. The killers in Miami, and those who are circulating hit lists and calling in death threats against other Haitian activists, have been given a green light by the policies of the U.S. government.

Shortly after Aristide supporter Antoine Izmerly was yanked out of a church and shot to death in broad daylight in Port-au-Prince September 11, a U.S. Coast Guard cutter

handed 297 Haitian refugees to the country's military rulers, the largest number forcibly returned to Haiti in almost a year.

This refusal to allow Haitian refugees into the United States is criminal. The U.S. warships now patrolling off the Haitian coast effectively reinforce the Clinton administration's forced repatriation policy.

The U.S. government, which propped up the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti for 29 years and armed and trained the present military and police murderers who rule Haiti today, bears direct responsibility for the violence against the Haitian people both in the United States and in Haiti.

The latest revelations of CIA backing for Haitian military chief Raoul Cédras, even while Washington claimed support for democracy in Haiti, are just another indication of the real intentions of the U.S. rulers. They seek above all a stable regime in Haiti that will defend U.S. corporate interests.

U.S. intervention, with or without the United Nations banner, would not strengthen the fight for democracy in Haiti.

The thousands of Haitians who turned out for St. Plite's wake and funeral have made it clear with their actions that they won't be intimidated and won't give up their fight.

There is also widespread sympathy among working people in the United States for justice for Haitian refugees and for the return of Aristide. Now is the time for all supporters of democracy in Haiti to demand that the Miami police department and city officials arrest and prosecute the cowardly perpetrators of the murders of St. Plite, Dor, and Olivier. U.S. borders must be opened to Haitian refugees.

# Stop threats against N. Korea

Washington is again escalating its campaign of threats and provocations against the North Korean people.

If the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) does not allow the International Atomic Energy Agency to send its agents anywhere the U.S. and South Korean rulers please, then U.S. president Bill Clinton claims it is within his rights to demand international economic sanctions or even to send U.S. troops to invade the country. "We have our soldiers there," Clinton boasts. "They know that."

"North Korea cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb," Clinton says. But it is sheer hypocrisy for the president of the only government that has ever dropped a nuclear bomb on human beings to claim the right to decide who is allowed to have what weapons. Hundreds of thousands were killed and wounded when Washington dropped two atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

For more than four decades, 10 U.S. presidents have maintained a campaign of aggression against North Korea aimed at perpetuating the division of the country and thus weakening the ability of all working people — north and south — to fight for their rights. Tens of thousands of U.S. troops have been stationed on the North Korean border to ensure this division and to aid Seoul in suppressing strikes and other struggles in South Korea.

The fact is, Washington's accusations that Pyongyang government is secretly producing nuclear weapons are only the newest pretext and excuse. They have nothing to do with the U.S. rulers' hatred of the North Korean people, which is rooted in the decades-long struggle of the toilers there for national sovereignty and reunification.

Tokyo's defeat in World War II led to the end of colonial rule and triggered giant mobilizations of workers, peasants, and youth throughout Korea. "People's committees" assumed control in many areas and a wave of union organizing began. On Sept. 6, 1945, the Korean People's Republic was founded in Seoul. The new government called for radical land reform; nationalization of factories, railways, and mines; suffrage for all Koreans — men and women — over 18; an eight-hour work day; freedom of speech, assembly, and religion; and compulsory elementary-level education for all Koreans.

Only days later, U.S. and Soviet military forces arrived. By mutual agreement, the U.S. troops occupied the southern part of the country while Soviet troops moved into the north. Washington moved quickly to replace the government in Seoul with a puppet regime subservient to U.S. interests. Meanwhile, mines and other industries in the north were nationalized and a radical land reform carried out.

In 1950, U.S. troops invaded North Korea under the cover of the UN flag. But the massive U.S.-organized imperialist assault — while responsible for the deaths of 4 million Koreans — failed to overturn the DPRK. The war ended in a stalemate, the first war that Washington had been unable to win.

History shows it is the U.S. government and its troops that are the threat to workers and youth on the Korean peninsula and around the world. Washington's provocations against the Korean people should be rejected. Working people should instead join the thousands throughout Korea who demand the withdrawal of U.S. troops and the reunification of the country.

# NAFTA debate

Continued from front page

Ford, and Chrysler — have already won substantial gains in amendments.

When a Japanese government official complained of "sneaky protectionism," Kantor said that "they're complaining because the United States is finally, finally trying to protect the jobs of our workers and the competitiveness of our businesses."

NAFTA "has acquired an enormous significance because of the advantage it will give us in the Mexican market over our competitors in Japan and Europe and because of the leverage that it will then give us to get a worldwide trade agreement," said Clinton.

## Cutthroat competition

The NAFTA debate reveals the escalating conflict between the imperialist allies.

The new prime minister of Canada, Jean Chrétien, threatened to renegotiate NAFTA. "We intend to sit down with [Washington] to obtain satisfaction," he said. Clinton tried to back Chrétien into a corner, saying he saw "no reason to renegotiate the agreement."

The United States and Canada are the world's largest trading partners. Their relationship is characterized by trade conflicts and tariffs over everything from hogs to steel.

Looming in the background is the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), whose Uruguay Round is due to conclude December 15. Capitalist powers in Europe accuse Washington of holding up the agreements while NAFTA is under discussion. The GATT negotiations are marked by furious arguments between Paris and Washington in particular over farm trade, threatening to unravel the entire agreement and open up a new trade war.

NAFTA is widely favored by ruling families in Mexico. A layer of better off workers and many in the middle class stand to benefit from the agreement along with dozens of wealthy capitalist families. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, workers' wages in industries where there is heavy foreign investment have risen over the past five years. Meanwhile, the overall trend is for U.S. banks and manufacturers to siphon massive profits from Mexico and perpetuate superexploitation of workers and peasants.

## Working-class stance on NAFTA debate

Every worker knows that unemployment, poverty, curable disease, and homelessness are on the way up. The source of this crisis is neither barriers to capital investment nor Mexican workers who face the same employer assaults as workers in the United States. It is capitalism itself.

NAFTA's opponents, including the trade union officials, muck over the truth, which is that the bosses' efforts to squeeze more from workers will continue with or without the accord.

The politicians of both big-business parties say some form of protection for U.S. industry is needed to defend "American" jobs. They urge workers to join forces with the employers and their government in Washington to impose tariffs, quotas, and other restrictive and inflationary measures against imports of goods produced in other countries, be it Mexico or Japan.

Some, like Republican senator Robert Dole and Clinton, claim they are for "free trade," but call for using U.S. government muscle to force other countries to open their doors to more exports from the United States, with various form of retaliation "if necessary."

In fact, working people do have an interest in getting rid of all restrictions on trade as well as laws limiting immigration and travel across borders. But that's not what NAFTA is about.

AFL-CIO officials top everyone in vocal support for trade barriers. This is at the heart of their anti-NAFTA pitch. To win working-class support for such measures, the labor officialdom even tries to play on our feelings of solidarity with fellow workers in Mexico, demagogically railing against U.S. companies that "export jobs" to semi-colonial countries where "slave labor" is used. They urge us to demand that employers instead "invest in America."

Capitalist politicians and union bureaucrats try to convince us that we are "Americans" not workers. And that the employers are "Americans" too, not bosses.

This entire propaganda effort is designed to prevent us from seeing and acting on the fact that we have no common interests with those who grow wealthy off our labor and who are responsible for the deteriorating conditions under which we work and live. These arguments introduce and reinforce racist and nationalist prejudices and are designed to keep us from recognizing that we are all part of an international class of workers with common problems and interests.

Instead of a multimillion-dollar advertising campaign aimed at defeating NAFTA, the labor movement should mount a campaign, uniting with workers in Mexico, to demand a 30-hour workweek with no cut in pay and much needed public works programs. Millions of workers would join such a fight for jobs. Labor should fight to unionize workers across both sides of the border.

In order to win maximum unity among working people and address the oppression that millions of workers face, the unions should demand the strengthening of affirmative action measures, and join with workers of Latin America in calling for cancellation of the debt owed by these countries to banks in the United States and other imperialist centers.



# Florida nurses organize vote to bring in union

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 readers to contribute short items as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles.

On November 17-18, nurses and other health care workers at Tampa General Hospital (TGH) will decide if Local 1992 of the Service Employees International Union will represent them. TGH is Florida's second largest public hospital. The organizing drive led by nurses began earlier this year in response to a management offensive.

hearing their voices." This is how James Quillin, secretary-treasurer of the statewide California Conference of Machinists, responded to a talk by United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) striker Ed Patterson from West Virginia.

Patterson, a member of UMWA Local 1473 on strike against Consolidation Coal, is in Los Angeles to get support from labor, religious, and community groups. "If the company is successful in winning this strike," he said, "it will back us up 40 years to when we had to live in a company house, buy from a company store, and have our children go to company schools where they taught you what they wanted to. The only way we will win this strike is through solidarity."

## ON THE PICKET LINE

When hospital administrators called security guard Andres Castro in from his day off March 18, they had two surprises for him. First, they laid him off. Next, they asked him to hang around and help escort about 210 laid-off employees to their cars in the parking lot, according to a March 19 *St. Petersburg Times* article.

A lot of nurses needed escorting to their cars that day because management was busy "cutting costs" in a low-risk pregnancy program for low-income women by decimating it. Nurses with as much as five years' seniority were called away from patients' bedsides and given exit interviews.

Patients suffered repeated instances of missed medications, abandoned blood work, and long delays for X-rays and care at clinics.

With these kind of conditions continuing, solidarity from many hospital patients and other workers in the area is on the rise. Most nurses are confident the union vote will succeed. □

### California machinists back coal miners' strike

"If they can break the UMWA, which has a militant history, look out folks. I urge you to invite miners to your locals because your membership would appreciate

Conference delegates, which represent 100,000 members in 100 locals, passed a resolution calling for financial backing, sending messages of support, inviting miners for future speaking engagements, and organizing delegations to join miners' picket lines. □

### Burlington Northern fined for derailment

Burlington Northern (BN), one of the largest railroads in the United States, was fined \$2.5 million in damages and attorneys' fees October 25 for a June 1992 derailment that sent a tanker car loaded with deadly benzene plunging into the Nemadji River near Duluth, Minnesota.

The chemical container cracked, sending cancer-causing benzene into the air and polluting the river.

Tens of thousands of residents of the neighboring cities of Duluth and Superior, Wisconsin, were evacuated from their neighborhoods to schools and churches away from danger sites.

A huge benzene cloud hovered over populated areas before it dispersed into the atmosphere.

The BN had already paid more than \$2 million in damage claims to 28,000 area residents. The railroad also faces an additional series of class action and personal damage suits.

Top spokespeople for the BN



Militant/Derek Jeffers  
General assembly of GEC-Alsthom workers held October 8 in the locomotive transformer shop in St. Ouen, France. The shop is to be transferred to Petit Quevilly. Workers at GEC are fighting layoffs.

have repeatedly dodged responsibility for the accident. But crew members working the Superior run had warned the railroad of defective track near the trestle that collapsed.

Engineers and conductors had also complained to the railroad prior to the accident that management's decision to increase speed on the grade was unsafe.

"I never liked that part of the run," one engineer said, "and when they raised the speed, you knew something was bound to happen." □

### Unionists in France fight GEC-Alsthom layoff plans

Workers at a transformer-manufacturing plant owned by GEC-Alsthom in France are organizing against company layoff plans.

Ten thousand people attended a union-sponsored open house October 16 at Alsthom's Le Havre factory where workers talked with visitors and demonstrated their skills and modern equipment. This came eight days after a demonstration in that city of 1,500 against company plans to close the facility next year.

On October 8, 350 workers walked out of the Saint Ouen plant to participate in a one-hour general assembly called by three unions: the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), and Workers Force (FO).

The train division of GEC-Alsthom announced October 14 that it will cut 660-820 jobs. The following day, 200 workers in Saint Ouen walked out of the factory again. They marched into the streets of the working-class suburb, took the Metro to Paris, and took over one of the broad avenues leading away from the Arc de Triomphe. Brushing aside efforts by a dozen riot cops to stop them, they marched to the building where the Central Company Committee (CCE) of union representatives of the Alsthom transformer division was scheduled to hear management's reorganization plan. Workers pushed their way into the building to hear reports from the CCE members.

In response to management's contention that a drop in demand and increased foreign competition

necessitated the reorganization, unions have been arguing for a bolder commercial policy or insisting that management is concealing the true figures.

One of the CCE delegates, Luc Fleurbay from the CFDT in Saint Ouen, said he had disagreed with the approach of CFDT union officials. "I told them, if you want to prove that capitalism can function without exploiting workers and without going through crises, well, you're going to have a hard time," he said. Another worker added that the question was not whether there is "a crisis or not, but who is going to pay for it, the bosses or the workers." □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Dale Younce, registered nurse in Land O Lakes, Florida; Mark Friedman, member of International Association of Machinists Local 2785 in Los Angeles; Jon Hillson, member of the United Transportation Union in St. Paul, Minnesota; Derek Jeffers, member of the CGT at GEC-Alsthom's transformer plant in Saint Ouen, France.

## LETTERS

### Debate over NAFTA

The sharpening debate over NAFTA has brought out more facts on the dispute among the billionaire bankers, industrialists, and traders that may be useful for working people in understanding what is actually at stake.

Proponents of NAFTA more openly defend it as a step to create a U.S.-dominated trading bloc to favor U.S. capitalists over their European and Japanese rivals.

"NAFTA will make sure that no non-North American goods can slip into the United States duty free," write John Avery and Rodman Rockefeller. "When NAFTA removes trade barriers, the benefits will only go to products that can be proven to be North American, thanks to NAFTA's rules of origin." Avery is chairman of the Council of the Americas and Rockefeller heads the U.S. Council of the Mexico-U.S. Business Committee.

Japan-bashing is now a large part of the Clinton administration's campaign for NAFTA. "If this [NAFTA] does not work, then what you see happen is that Mexico turns to Japan, they turn to Europe," warned Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bensten in testimony before Congress October 19. "I tell you, the Japanese and the Europeans will be just delighted if we do not approve NAFTA."

"European foes of NAFTA are

afraid it would make America too strong," ran the headline on an article in the October *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. "The United States alone exerts excessive influence on (global) economic decisions," complains Simon Joly, an economic advisor to France's conservative Republican Rally, the Gaullist party," says the *Post-Intelligencer*. "What will happen when it speaks for the entire North American continent? The United States will be at the head of a huge economic alliance and will use its power to dictate terms to Asia and Europe," says Joly.

The June 25 *Wall Street Journal* — a big-business paper that supports NAFTA — ran an expose on Perot's ties to protectionist-minded capitalists.

"The hub of Perot's anti-NAFTA cabal turns out to be Roger Milliken, head of Milliken and Co., the closely held South Carolina textile giant" the *Journal* writes. "For years he was a stalwart right-winger, helping Barry Goldwater in 1964 and supporting *National Review* magazine. Mr. Nash (a Milliken assistant) says not one of the 50-some Milliken plants has ever been unionized... Milliken, who lobbied for the 1974 Multifibre Agreement that limited apparel imports, has since fought for even tighter textile restraints and backed Pat Buchanan's protectionist



campaign in 1992. (No wonder: economist William Cline says textile protection costs Americans \$20 billion a year in higher prices.)"

Milliken's assistants meet with Perot to plan anti-NAFTA campaigning, reports the *Journal*. He also finances a think tank run by Pat Choate, the coauthor of Perot's new book attacking NAFTA.

In his new book *Save Your Job, Save Our Country: Why NAFTA Must Be Stopped* Now Perot explicitly links protectionism to preparing for future wars. U.S.-based industrialists should get preferential treatment because "manufacturing is vitally important for this reason: with-

out the ability to manufacture, the United States cannot defend itself."

"Whether you like it or not there are going to be wars," Perot told a rally in Seattle last spring. Protectionism should be continued to guarantee Washington a domestic source of steel and other materials to wage war, he said.

Harvey McArthur  
Seattle, Washington.

### Prisoner rights

Prisoners at Pelican Bay are in struggle at this time against atrocities and human rights violations, and the *Militant* has the forum to bring the reality to the public about

the movement, and make our struggle their own.

When the public realizes that isolation and sensory deprivation will not help our current social order or deter crime in our community, then the human race can start a healing process and find new alternatives to the problems which face our communities.

But locking prisoners in Control Unit warehouses to be brutalized and kept in cells for excessive lengths of time—for months, even years—with the possibility of contracting TB or to be driven insane is in no way a solution in transforming our society.

To be victimized, tortured, and degraded will not rehabilitate or cure a prisoner with a mental disorder.

We need your support in seeing that the public is conscious of these violations. Our organized masses can change society and see equal strength in America, and its prison system. Stop Control Units!

A prisoner  
Crescent City, California

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Washington threatens North Korea

BY SARA LOBMAN

U.S. president Bill Clinton has renewed threats to use force against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

"North Korea cannot be allowed to develop a nuclear bomb," Clinton said during a November 7 interview on the NBC News program "Meet the Press." "We have to be very firm about it."

"We have our soldiers there," the president added. "They know that." Clinton refused to say whether he would consider ordering a U.S. air strike against North Korea.

Clinton's comments came just days after U.S. defense secretary Les Aspin, fresh from a meeting with South Korean president Kim Young Sam, issued a warning to the North Korean government. "Our defenses are strong," Aspin said. "It is not our intention either to be weak or to look weak."

Aspin also threatened to impose sanctions if Pyongyang does not allow inspection of sites the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) claims are used for production of nuclear weapons. The governments of the United States, South Korea, and Japan already forbid political and economic contact with North Korea.

A column by Lally Weymouth in the November 3 issue of the *New York Post* quoted Japanese foreign minister Tsutomu Hata, who accused the governments of Iran and North Korea of collaborating to test a long-range missile. Weymouth urged Clinton to "turn his attention to North Korea."

### Long history of threats

As part of its long-standing campaign of threats and provocations against the DPRK, Washington has organized an international crusade to accuse the North Korean government of secretly developing nuclear weapons. Aspin, however, acknowledged November 3 that there is no evidence that North Korea is currently producing or reprocessing plutonium, the key ingredient in nuclear weapons.

In March the DPRK government threatened to pull out of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and put the country on a mobilization footing following the resumption of the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises by U.S. and South Korean forces. These exercises, which are essentially a practice invasion of North Korea, had been called off in 1992 after the governments of North and South Korea signed an agreement calling for mutual inspection of nuclear sites.

Pyongyang allowed six inspections of its nuclear facilities, but the exercises were resumed after the IAEA demanded access to additional sites in North Korea. DPRK government officials say these are military installations that are unrelated to nuclear production.



U.S. troops at the demilitarized zone in South Korea. Washington has 35,000 troops stationed there to maintain the forced division of the country into north and south.

There have been no inspections of U.S. bases or other nuclear installations in South Korea, where 35,000 troops are stationed. Washington has maintained a large force there to ensure division of the country and aid Seoul in suppressing struggles by Korean workers and peasants. The Korean peninsula has been divided since the U.S.-led

Korean War ended in 1953.

The Japanese and South Korean governments, fearful of the instability U.S. aggression in the region could cause, have urged Washington to avoid imposing sanctions.

Within the U.S. ruling class there is also disagreement on how to proceed.

## Protests greet Queen Elizabeth in Cyprus

BY ANN HOWIE

SHEFFIELD, England — Queen Elizabeth II was greeted by demonstrations when she visited Cyprus to attend the Commonwealth heads of state meeting, which took place there in late October. She was the first English monarch to visit Cyprus since Richard the Lionhearted defeated and imprisoned the Byzantine ruler Isaac Comnenos in the 12th century.

The demonstrators, mainly young, erected a gallows in Eleftheria (Freedom) Square with a sign saying "Killer Queen." The sign referred to the hanging of nine young men in 1955 by British authorities, as the colonial army battled to defeat the Cypriot independence movement. The queen, as head of state, had the power to stop the hanging but refused. Cyprus was a British colony until August 1960.

Students also boycotted lessons. Daily demonstrations took place against plans to honor the queen by giving her the keys to

Nicosia and Limassol. Protests were also lodged against a planned meeting between the British government and Rauf Denkash, head of Turkish-occupied northern Cyprus.

The incidents in Cyprus are symptomatic of the problems facing the British monarchy today. Once, the Commonwealth reflected the power of the British empire, with the king or queen being head of state in almost every anglophone country in the world. But the Commonwealth has also reflected the meteoric decline of the empire, in particular since the end of the second world war.

India, the "jewel in the crown," became a republic in 1947. Today there is no African country of which the queen is head of state. Of the 50 members of the Commonwealth, only 16 retain the queen as head of state and 29 are republics.

Last month, Australian prime minister Paul Keating met with the queen to inform her officially of his intention to hold a ref-

Zalmay Khalilzad, director of strategy at the Rand Corporation and a former assistant undersecretary of defense in the Bush administration, argued in the November 8 issue of the *New York Times* for imposition of sanctions by the United Nations. "The time has come to impose a deadline on the North Koreans," he said. North Korean defiance of U.S. demands, he added, could "wreck our global non-proliferation policy."

Writing in the same issue of the *Times*, David McCurdy, a member of the House Armed Services Committee, said the "challenge is to avoid a showdown while holding firmly to our demand for thorough inspections." While arguing that "sanctions offer little hope of success," McCurdy said that Washington should demand other governments forbid investments in North Korea. "Given our pressing domestic issues and foreign policy missteps," McCurdy stated, "the U.S. is in no shape to play nuclear brinkmanship with North Korea."

In an article in the November 5 issue of the *Washington Post*, columnist Charles Krauthammer called "the impending nuclearization of North Korea" the "single most dangerous problem in the world."

A "nuclear North Korea," he claimed, would quickly lead Tokyo and Seoul to acquire nuclear weapons. "Attacking the nuclear sites might be necessary," Krauthammer wrote under the headline "North Korea's Coming Bomb: It's Clinton's crisis, and he's not ready to lead."

erendum on Australia becoming a republic. The queen reportedly said she has no intention of opposing Keating's move. It's hard to see that she has another option.

In a speech made at a banquet held during the Commonwealth summit, the queen reflected on her future world status. "Nowadays, I have enough experience, not least in racing, to restrain me from laying any money down on how many countries will be in the Commonwealth in 40 years' time, who they will be, and where the meeting will be held. I will certainly not be betting on how many of you will have the head of the Commonwealth as your head of state!"

The future of the monarchy has been the subject of a wide-ranging debate in Britain for months. Although some raise the complete abolition of the monarchy, the debate has focused on how to "modernize" or adjust the institution in order to make it more useful. The crown is the only institution that holds Great Britain together as a single state ruling four countries — England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland.

Anne Howie is a member of the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Workers Union in Sheffield.



Queen Elizabeth

## School teachers wage strike in Puerto Rico

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Thousands of public school teachers here conducted a one-day strike November 3. At issue are a series of school "reforms" that attack teachers' rights.

The vast majority of schools were shut down by the strike, which was called by the 27,000-member Teachers Association and the 13,000-member Teachers Federation. Gov. Pedro Rosselló threatened striking teachers with loss of their jobs and possible jail sentences. Teachers in Puerto Rico do not have the legal right to collective bargaining or to strike.

One of the issues in dispute is a plan to give parents who choose not to send their children to public schools vouchers of up to \$1,500 that can be used to attend private institutions. A similar measure was defeated in California in a November 2 referendum vote. The teachers are opposed to the privatization of the school system.

Rosselló, of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party (PNP), has called for setting up

a number of "community" schools that will be run by local boards. This year 40 such sites have been declared community schools. The teachers groups object to the fact that these boards will have the power to hire and fire teachers and pay them on criteria that would vary from school to school.

Education Secretary José Arsenio Torres has assumed powers to disregard seniority and transfer teachers to different sites. Presently, hiring criteria and pay scales are uniform throughout the system and teachers cannot be transferred against their will.

Teachers fear that their working conditions will suffer and that the political party that controls the local board would hire only its supporters. The government of Puerto Rico has a long history of using punitive transfers against people who they deem to be troublemakers.

"It is important in this country that we have less police and a better educational system," stated Roberto González, an English teacher participating in one of the picket lines.

At lunchtime, unionized workers from the government-owned telephone, electricity, and water utilities joined the teachers on the picket lines. The utility workers are the core of the Labor Organizations Committee, which organized a one-day general strike in 1990 against the proposed sale of two government-owned telephone companies.

After picket lines had been up for less than 24 hours, a settlement was reached between the teachers organizations and the Education Department. The agreement calls for the formation of a joint committee that will draw up amendments to the current school reform law and submit them to the legislature in January.

"I believe that the strike was successful," commented history teacher Juan Toledo, "because we forced the government to negotiate an amendment to the law that will guarantee the rights that we have today."

Ron Richards is a member of American Federation of Government Employees Local 1503 in San Juan.