

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Do workers have a stake
in bosses' trade conflicts?

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Clinton will use NAFTA against capitalist rivals Labor must reject 'America First' framework

BY NAOMI CRAINE

By a solid majority of 234-200, the U.S. House of Representatives approved the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) November 17. The accord is aimed both at deepening the penetration of Mexico

NEWS ANALYSIS

by U.S. and Canadian capital and at creating a trade bloc against competing imperialist powers. The Senate is expected to give its stamp of approval within days.

During the months of national debate leading up to the vote, neither supporters nor opponents of NAFTA pointed any way forward for working people. The Clinton administration and the majority of the capitalist class argued in nationalist terms that the trade agreement would put the U.S. bosses in a stronger position to compete in trade wars against their rivals abroad. The AFL-CIO officialdom and some right-wing politicians countered with protectionist arguments that pit workers in the United States against those in Mexico and other countries. They tried to outdo Clinton with a higher "America First" pitch.

In a speech immediately following the vote



Rice harvest in California. Clinton administration aims to use his victory in congressional passage of NAFTA to hammer open markets in Asia and Europe for U.S.-based monopolies, while maintaining trade barriers at home.

in Congress, President Bill Clinton crowed, "We will take this new world head-on, compete, and win." He vowed to "continue to fight to lower foreign trade barriers."

The NAFTA vote in Congress was one of the most bipartisan agreements in decades. In a statement preceding the vote, Democratic representative Robert Matsui of California declared, "Those of us who support the

NAFTA, Democrats and Republicans, feel we've reached a new beginning with each other." At the final tally 132 Republicans and 102 Democrats voted for the accord.

Despite its name, NAFTA is far from being a free trade agreement. The accord calls for gradually easing customs duties between Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

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Court denies defendant right to lawyer of his choice in N.Y. bombing frame-up

BY GREG ROSENBERG

A federal judge has denied Omar Abdel Rahman the right to choose his own attorney in an order released November 10.

The government claims that Abdel Rahman, who leads a mosque in Jersey City, New Jersey, and 14 other men conspired to "levy a war of urban terrorism against the United States." Charges include the assassination of ultrarightist Meir Kahane in 1990; an alleged plot to bomb the United Nations and the Lincoln and Holland tunnels; and

another plot to kill Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak. No evidence has been offered to connect the men to any specific illegal act.

Citing supposed conflicts of interest, Judge Michael Mukasey told Rahman that the lawyers of his choice — prominent civil liberties attorney William Kunstler and his partner Ronald Kuby — could not represent him because they are already providing counsel for two other defendants in the case.

Mukasey's order came in response to a

government motion that the lawyers be disqualified from representing more than one client. But Kunstler and Kuby pointed out that Abdel Rahman, Ibrahim Elgabrowni, and Siddig Ibrahim Siddig Ali had selected a joint defense in opposition to the "sordid frame-up" being organized by the government.

Abdel Rahman has now said he will represent himself because he doesn't want a government-appointed lawyer. He told a *New York Times* reporter, "Sometimes we disagree or criticize the policy of the American government. But we don't conspire against America. The only conspiracy is a government-made conspiracy. They just accused me of doing things without proof."

Government informer/provocateur

Meanwhile, New York's *Daily Challenge*, revealed evidence that the government's main witness and accuser, Emad Salem, a former Egyptian military officer and paid FBI agent, played an active role as a provocateur.

A May 23 tape, the *Challenge* reports, captures a conversation between Salem and Abdel Rahman. Salem says, "As far as the United Nations is concerned, I want to know, do we consider it a house of the devil? Because when I strike, I strike to destroy, not to scratch. . . . Do we do it or . . . ?" Abdel Rahman replies, "No." After another attempt by Salem, the cleric again replies, "No."

In a related development, two defendants accused in the bombing of the World Trade Center, Ahmad Ajaj and Bilal Alkai, unsuccessfully attempted suicide in their cells.

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Omar Abdel Rahman (left) with attorney Ronald Kuby. Judge denied the Muslim cleric right to have Kuby and William Kunstler represent him in conspiracy frame-up case.

Washington reaffirms 'cold war' on Cuba

BY SARA LOBMAN

White House officials have reaffirmed in recent speeches the U.S. government's determination to continue its "cold war" against the Cuban revolution.

"I would now like to turn to a misconception that has emerged . . . that the Clinton administration intends to soften its policy towards the Cuban regime," U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs Alexander Watson said October 26. "This is false. . . . There will be no upgrade in relations."

Watson was speaking in Washington, D.C., at a meeting of the Miami-based Cuban American National Foundation, an organization led by right-wing Cuban-Americans dedicated to the destruction of the Cuban revolution.

"I do not believe the United States can have a normal relationship with any country that has abandoned democracy, including Cuba," Clinton said in a February 1993 letter to Congressperson Charles Rangel. Quoting Clinton, Watson repeated this demagogic accusation of "abandoning democracy," which has been the standard rallying

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As we go to press

South Africa negotiators
approve new constitution

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Electronic mail service aids coverage in 'Militant'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The *Militant* is taking advantage of developments in computer technology over the past decade, particularly the widespread use of electronic mail, to facilitate timely and cheaper communication with its hundreds of worker-correspondents in the United States and around the world.

Up to two-thirds of the *Militant's* articles are reports by workers, farmers, students, and young people who provide eyewitness accounts as participants in labor struggles and other political events. This firsthand coverage makes the paper an invaluable source of information to working-class fighters and revolutionary-minded young people.

To make the communication process easier, the *Militant* is pleased to announce it can now be reached through electronic mail (E-mail), which is available to anyone who has access to a computer with a telephone line hookup called a modem. This service is now accessible to millions in virtually every corner of the globe.

Worker-correspondents can reach the *Militant* through the Peacenet and CompuServe information services, which are available around the world for a minimal monthly rate. An additional advantage of these services is that an article can be sent to the

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Clinton bars Irish leader

U.S. president Bill Clinton denied Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams a visa to visit the United States. In a letter to New York mayor David Dinkins, who had requested permission to invite Adams to the city, Clinton accused the Irish activist of "devising strategy" for the Irish Republican Army. The White House had refused Adams a visa for a book promotion tour of the United States earlier this year.

Polish gov't wins confidence vote

Poland's parliament approved a vote of confidence in the recently elected coalition government led by Waldemar Pawlak. The government is Poland's fifth since the 1989 collapse of the Stalinist regime there and the first of these that does not include parties rooted in the Solidarity trade union.

Italy hard hit by unemployment

Amid fears that workers in Italy will face the highest unemployment levels of their lives Fiat announced temporary layoffs of more than 42,000 workers in December. The Turin group, which controls about 45 percent of the domestic market, has been cutting jobs every month since 1992.

German jobless rate rises

Daimler-Benz, the German aerospace giant, plans to slash another 11,000 jobs on top of the 16,000 cuts already announced. Unemployment in Germany rose above 3.5 million in October, the highest level since World War II. Official unemployment stands at 7.6 percent in the west and 15.3 percent in the east.

Bonn's blood scandal

German health minister Horst Seehofer announced Bonn's plan to deal with the infection of at least 373 patients who received blood tainted with HIV because of inadequate testing. The government will pay people infected with HIV, the virus that causes AIDS, \$588 a month. Those who have already developed AIDS will receive double that amount. Two companies have been charged with ignoring testing requirements. Seehofer said the health ministry would begin testing blood products starting next July.

Bosnia carnage goes on

U.S. president Bill Clinton warned November 9 that if Sarajevo, Bosnia's capital, is "seriously shelled" the United Nations should permit U.S.-led NATO forces to have the "live option" of launching air strikes against Serb forces led by Radovan Karadzic. Heavy fighting continues in Bosnia's capital. Mortar attacks on the city November 9-10 killed 17 people including 4 school children and their teacher.

Civilian evacuations from Sarajevo were allowed to resume after rightist Serb forces released two bodyguards who had been abducted while riding with the capital's Roman Catholic archbishop. Some 350 civilians had been evacuated before the operation was suspended.

U.S. officials rejected proposals from the French and German governments to ease sanctions on Serbia in exchange for territorial concessions by Karadzic's forces that control a majority of the country.

Kuwait, U.S. troops in maneuvers

Kuwaiti and U.S. troops began a month of military exercises November 15. U.S. officials said the joint maneuvers were not in response to the November 2 shooting of two Iraqi policemen by Kuwaitis in the demilitarized border zone. The United Nations redrew the border between Iraq and Kuwait after the 1991 Gulf War. The Iraqi government objects to the new demarcation, which made part of the Rumailah oil field and most of the port of Umm Qasr — Iraq's only outlet to the Persian Gulf — part of Kuwait.

Arafat condemns killing

Negotiations on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank and Gaza Strip resumed in Cairo, Egypt, November 15 despite the killing of an Israeli settler. Israeli cabinet ministers said that Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) head Yasir Arafat's condemnation of the October 29 killing of



Some 2,000 students marched in Athens, Greece, November 12 against a recent attack on a teenage girl by a neo-Nazi group. The youths, chanting "Down with fascism" and "Never, never, never," marched along central Stadiou Street. At the end of the march, police used tear gas and attacked dozens of youth who allegedly hurled stones and set a fire engine ablaze.

a Jewish settler, Haim Mizrahi, in the Israeli-occupied territories was insufficient. Environment Minister Yossi Sarid called Arafat's statement "good, but it is not enough." Along with other ministers Sarid asked for signs that the PLO can "govern the area." Israeli police arrested five Palestinians who said they were members of Al Fatah, the biggest group in the PLO, on suspicion of killing Mizrahi.

Workers protest in Bangladesh

Hundreds of workers closed stores and stopped traffic November 13 as they marched through the streets of Dhaka, Bangladesh, in a general strike. The demonstration was called by the country's two biggest opposition parties, the Awami League and the Jatiya Party. The demonstrators demanded the release of 113 people arrested in anti-government protests November 10. The opposition activists can face death sentences.

U.S.-S. Korean military exercises

Washington and Seoul began 10 days of joint military exercises in South Korea November 15. North Korean government representatives said it sees the maneuvers as a threat to its sovereignty and an obstacle to negotiations to resolve Clinton's allegations that Pyongyang is building nuclear weapons. The exercises involve most of the 36,000 U.S. troops stationed there, 1,500 additional U.S. military personnel from overseas, and 650,000 South Korean soldiers.

Beijing to lay off miners

The Chinese government announced plans to lift most price controls on coal by 1994 and lay off 400,000 miners by 1995 to make the industry more profitable. Last year, the Chinese government lifted price controls on 20 percent of the 1 billion tons of coal produced, closed 19 mines, and

laid off 280,000 employees.

Motorola board meets in China

Motorola Inc. held its annual board meeting in Beijing, according to the Chinese *People's Daily*. Chinese president Jiang Zemin thanked board members for their cooperation in joint ventures and asked for further expansion.

Vietnam gets aid pledges

Some 20 countries and a dozen international agencies have pledged \$1.86 billion in aid for Vietnam next year. This move places increased pressure on Washington to lift its 29-year embargo that prevents U.S. companies from doing business there. The Vietnamese government normalized relations in October with the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank after the White House eased some of its trade restrictions.

Crime rate down, jailings up

A study by University of Michigan economists reported that the Uniform Crime Reports' Crime Index, covering major crimes ranging from larceny to murder, increased only 7 percent from 1979 to 1991. The departments twice-a-year National Crime Survey showed rates falling 27 percent for crimes against people and 31 percent for those involving property.

At the same time the number of people imprisoned for more than one year in federal and state prisons rose by 126 percent. The researchers found that more than four-fifths of the overall growth in incarcerations was due to the greater likelihood of being sentenced to a prison term rather than to an increase in arrests.

— PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

Working-class view on NAFTA debate

As Clinton pushes the so-called free trade pact, top bureaucrats in the AFL-CIO try to mobilize workers behind reactionary, protectionist demands. Why is the NAFTA debate about foreign policy? How can workers in North America and elsewhere defend themselves from employer and government attacks? The 'Militant' provides working-class answers. Don't miss a single issue!



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S. Africa negotiators set new constitution

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Negotiators involved in multiparty talks agreed on an interim constitution for a democratic South Africa November 17. This accord, the fruit of hard-fought struggles by the democratic movement and months of negotiations, will set the legal framework for the most profound change in the history of South Africa.

"We have reached the end of an era," stated African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela. "Millions who were not allowed to vote will do so. I too, for the first time in my short life, will vote."

The 21-party negotiating council has agreed to the formation of a government of national unity for a period of five years following the country's first-ever democratic, nonracial election set for April 27, 1994. All parties winning at least 5 percent of the vote will be represented in both the legislature and the cabinet on a proportional basis.

The majority party will choose the next president, widely expected to be Mandela. In addition, the executive branch will include two deputy presidents. Parties holding at least 80 seats in the 450-member national assembly will be entitled to designate a representative to this post.

The new president will be empowered to appoint an 11-member constitutional court. A majority of its members could be drawn from outside the present judiciary.

The country will be divided into nine new regions, which will replace the four provinces of the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal, as well as the ten so-called Black homelands created by Pretoria under apartheid rule. Regional parliaments will be elected at the same time as voting for the national constituent assembly.

Repressive legislation scrapped

On November 11 the negotiating council agreed to scrap the last vestiges of the apartheid regime's most repressive legislation still on South Africa's statute books. Among the provisions proposed for repeal are detention without trial, banishment of "undesirable" persons, legislation prohibiting foreign funding for political parties, and the banning of publications by the government.

Despite opposition from the National Party-led government and the right-wing Afrikaner Volksunie, the council also called for revoking legislation hampering free political activity in the Bantustan areas of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

In what is regarded as a mere formality, the white-minority parliament is expected to convene November 22 to pass the interim constitution and thus legislate itself out of existence.

An agreement worked out between the South African government and ANC negotiators persuaded the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) to call off its one-day general strike, which was scheduled for November 15.

COSATU had called the action to protest a constitutional provision giving employers the

right to lock out striking workers. Associated Press reported that under the compromise the newly drawn up bill of rights will include the right to strike. A separate clause will say no legislation will preclude lockouts.

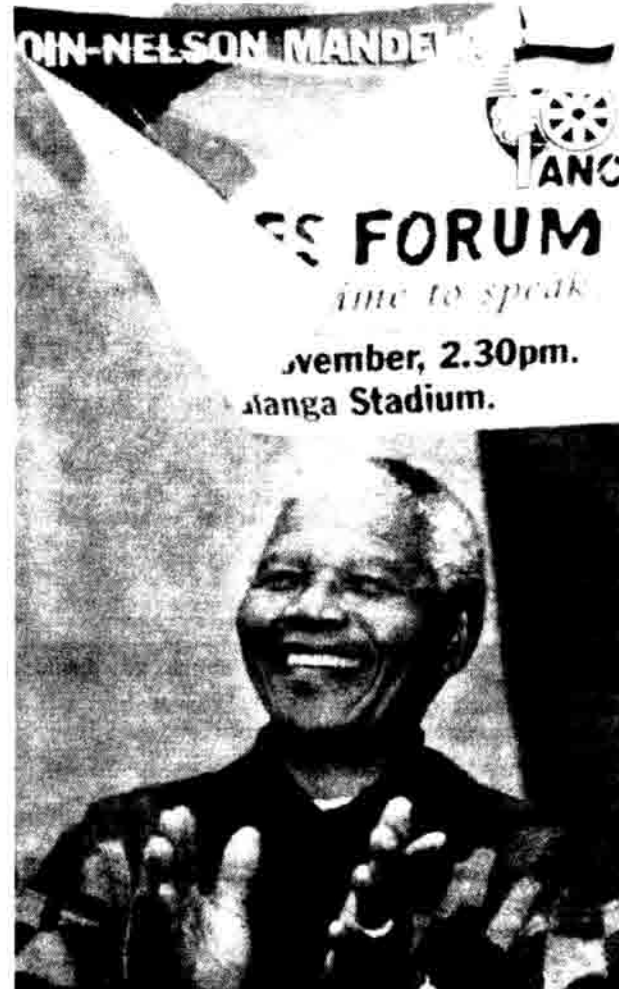
ANC opens nominations

Meanwhile, the ANC is proceeding with its plans to draw up its election slate and organize campaign activities throughout South Africa. From November 10-28, the ANC is taking nominations for a total of 1,050 candidates to contest seats for the national constituent assembly and regional parliaments.

According to an ANC statement, "The key considerations and criteria that will guide nominations will include ensuring that no less than one-third are women, that the list is representative of all races, regions and social groups... and that people being nominated have a track record of service to the people."

The ANC's list of candidates will be finalized at a national nominations conference set for December 18.

At the fourth annual conference of the ANC's Pretoria, Witwatersrand, and Vereeniging region held at the end of October, Mandela warned participants not to be complacent about polls predicting a big ANC election victory. "People of South Africa must make sure that a victory comes to us," stated Mandela, "and it will come



ANC president Nelson Mandela addressing a people's forum rally in Natal province November 13.

through hard work. Victory can't come simply from predictions."

During November the ANC is organizing a series of "people's forums" throughout the country to increase communication between

the organization's top leadership and its supporters. Mandela and COSATU leader Jay Naidoo attended the first of these sessions November 6 at the Volkswagen factory in Uitenhage.

Mandela also addressed several thousand supporters November 13 in the town of Mupumalanga in Natal province. "We are your servants, we will do what you want us to do," he stated.

Addressing the tremendous housing shortage throughout the country, Mandela said, "We understand the anger of the people... One of the top priorities of the ANC will be to ensure that all of you will have houses to live in."

As many as 10 million people, mostly Blacks, have no formal shelter in South Africa. On November 1, Black squatters laid claim to some 800 tiny cottages built for Indian families in the Cato Manor section of Durban, the country's second-largest city. Some 15,000 people are now encamped in areas around Durban.

In the 1950s, the apartheid regime proclaimed Cato Manor a white area and forcibly removed Blacks to the townships outside of Durban. The state then expropriated the Indians' land and expelled them too.

The ANC has defended the squatters' claims to the land while calling for a crash program to build housing for all. "I would disagree that this is theft of land," ANC representative Michael Sutchiff told the *New York Times*. "Some of it is reclaiming land that was stolen earlier."

At a rally in Ohlange, also on November 13, Mandela reiterated the ANC's demand that the police Internal Stability Unit (ISU) be withdrawn from the Black townships. "[This] is a unit which wages war against our people. The purpose of the ISU is to frighten blacks and Indians away from the poll," the ANC leader said.

U.S. government approves welfare cuts

BY SARA LOBMAN

U.S. president Bill Clinton gave his stamp of approval to the welfare reform plan the state of Wisconsin passed November 1. Clinton's support for the Wisconsin plan and a similar proposal unveiled before Congress by the Republican Party a week later show the true face of the bipartisan assault on social services working people have won in struggle.

The Republican proposal, referred to by its supporters as "tough love," would eliminate all welfare payments to unemployed workers after three years. It would force welfare recipients after two years into 35-hour-a-week "community service" or private jobs — at or below minimum wage. Employers, whether at public agencies or private businesses, would receive a government subsidy but would pay no wage other than the continuation of welfare benefits.

Individuals who did not comply with the terms of the plan would have their benefits

reduced. After three infractions, all cash assistance would end.

The plan would also deny financial assistance to any woman who is unwilling or unable to identify the father of her children.

Supporters of the plan say it will cost approximately \$6 billion dollars a year. A November 11 *New York Times* article reports that Republicans propose the money be raised by "cutting food programs and barring immigrant workers from welfare assistance."

The term "tough love" is taken from a theory on how to discipline "difficult" children, one indication of the utter contempt in which the employers and their parties hold working people.

"Some women on welfare are more consumed with the feeding of their drug habit than the gut instinct to feed their children," Rep. Nancy Johnson of Connecticut said in defending the proposal.

"You can't maintain civilization with 12-year-olds having babies, and 15-year-olds killing each other, and 17-year-olds dying of AIDS," Rep. Newt Gingrich, a Republican from Georgia, commented.

According to the *New York Times*, the

handouts explaining the proposal claim "out-of-wedlock births" and "failure of welfare recipients to seek jobs" as the "fundamental causes of welfare."

E. Clay Shaw, a congressperson from Florida, argued that high unemployment "doesn't mean that you don't have jobs."

The Republican Party proposal is essentially a page out of Clinton's program. "Time limits are a pivotal part of our plan," Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala said in July, explaining how Clinton intended to fulfill his campaign plan to "end welfare as we know it."

On November 1, Clinton gave the governor of Wisconsin permission to impose a two-year limit on welfare benefits for families with children. The plan also requires individuals who receive benefits to pay for them by working "community service" jobs at minimum wage.

Special waivers from both the Health and Human Services Department and the Agriculture Department were necessary since the plan violates federal policy. The Health and Human Services Department oversees welfare and the Agriculture Department oversees food stamps.

New report exposes CIA's role in promoting 'political terror' in Haiti

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

New revelations have surfaced about the CIA's role in backing and funding Haiti's current military rulers.

Shortly after Haitian working people succeeded in overthrowing the Duvalier dictatorship in 1986, the CIA created the Haitian intelligence service SIN. "The unit evolved into an instrument of political terror whose officers at times engaged in drug trafficking," reported an article in the November 14 *New York Times*.

SIN received up to \$1 million a year in equipment, training, and financial support from the CIA. The money was sent even when Congress for a period of time was withholding about \$1.5 million in aid to the Haitian military regime.

"Senior members" of this unit, according to the *Times*, "committed acts of political terror against Aristide supporters, including interrogations that included torture." President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted in a 1991 military coup.

Haiti's military rulers have been profiting immensely through participation in the drug trade, reports an article in the November 1 *Christian Science Monitor*. "Two to four tons

of cocaine pass through Haiti each month with the blessings of some military leaders," stated the *Monitor*. "Analysts believe they earn \$100 million or more in bribes annually."

While continuing to forcibly repatriate Haitian refugees fleeing repression in their homeland, the Clinton administration also requires some children of Haitians already resident in the United States to return to Haiti in order to apply for entry visas. According to current U.S. law, children of permanent residents who were granted residency under the "alien amnesty act" must seek papers in the country where they were born allowing them to have "permanent status" in the United States.

In a number of instances these children are forced to live in Haiti away from their families for months as the legal process drags on. There are more than 13,000 visa applications of all kinds submitted for minors to the U.S. consulate in Port-Au-Prince, the capital.

After consultation with United Nations Security Council members in New York in early November, Dante Caputo, the UN envoy to Haiti, stated that there are no plans to expand the oil and arms embargo imposed on Haiti in mid-October.

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'Militant' has a proud record defending Cuban revolution

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

One of the outstanding features of the *Militant* over the years has been its coverage of the Cuban revolution. From the first days of the popular uprising in January 1959 through today, the *Militant* has told the truth about advances being made by workers and peasants there and has campaigned against Washington's slander campaign and military threats against the Cuban people.

"State Dept. Opens Economic War on Cuban People: Oil, Sugar Interests Seek Overthrow of Castro Gov't" was the headline of the July 11, 1960, issue of the *Militant*. At the time, President Dwight Eisenhower had drastically cut imports of Cuban sugar into the United States. Washington's economic sanctions were aimed at thwarting moves by the Cuban government to take control of oil refineries owned by several U.S. companies.

An accompanying editorial entitled "Let's Hear Cuba's Side!" explained, "Wall Street has organized a lynching bee against the Cuban people. The lynch mob includes the State Department, the White House, every Democrat and Republican in Congress, and the gangsters now here who ruled Cuba with machine guns under dictator Batista."

The following month, *Militant* correspondent Harry Ring in an article entitled "We Shall Never Forget Cuba's Hospitality" provided a graphic eyewitness account of the gains being won by the Cuban people through the course of their revolution.

"Stop the War Drive — Hands Off Cuba!" was the headline of the Oct. 29, 1962, issue, which con-

demned the imposition of a naval blockade against Cuba by President John F. Kennedy.

Last December, the *Militant* featured a special six-page *International Socialist Review* supplement entitled "October 1962 'missile' crisis: The U.S. war to crush Cuba." The article coincided with numerous documentaries marking the 30th anniversary of a confrontation in which the Kennedy administration brought the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

This article, like the *Militant's* coverage 30 years earlier, detailed Washington's preparations at the time for a full-scale military invasion of Cuba.

From the 1960s through today, Washington has continued its unrelenting "cold war" against the Cuban people. This has included maintaining an economic embargo against Cuba for the past 33 years. Through the years the *Militant* has answered Washington's slanders, defending the Cuban revolution and getting out the truth about its example for the world's toilers.

In coming weeks, the *Militant* will continue to feature developments in Cuba and report on efforts in the United States and other countries to win more working people to oppose Washington's economic embargo and travel ban.

Fund rallies to close the gap

Last week the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Fund received \$3,897, bringing the drive to 22 percent of the \$75,000 goal. Supporters in Philadelphia made the biggest leap in the Fund chart over the past week. They sent in \$1,355 to reach 49 percent of their goal.

While fund collections are still

substantially behind schedule, supporters in a number of areas are organizing Fund rallies over the next several weeks to close the gap.

These meetings offer a valuable opportunity to involve a broad panel of speakers, which include long-term readers of the paper as well as some of the most recent subscribers.

A November 20 event in Philadelphia built around the theme "Washington's Drive to War" provides a good example of the broad array of speakers open to participating in *Militant* Fund rallies.

The panel of speakers included Godfrey Sithole, coordinator of the African National Congress in the Philadelphia area; Denis Stephano, president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-234 and a long-term *Militant* reader; Bob Simpson, Philadelphia coordinator of the Cuba Friendship caravan; and Melinda Neal, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 402C in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, an activist in recent struggles against concession contract demands by Greif Co.; and *Militant* staff writer Brian Williams.

Among the contributions received in the business office recently was a donation of \$40 from an individual living in Marietta, Georgia. He wrote, "I am a person who is totally blind and want you to know how much I appreciate receiving the *Militant* on tape each week."

Recordings of the *Militant* for the visually impaired are available thanks to the efforts of Jim Miller, a supporter living in Pittsburgh.

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Twin Cities, MN*	\$5,500	\$2,590	47%	
Salt Lake City, UT	\$2,500	\$900	36%	58,300
Detroit	\$3,500	\$1,180	34%	
Newark, NJ	\$4,000	\$1,268	32%	
Seattle	\$2,500	\$575	23%	
New York	\$4,000	\$830	21%	50,000
Miami	\$2,000	\$401	20%	
Cincinnati	\$300	\$60	20%	
Morgantown, WV	\$1,250	\$225	18%	
Greensboro, NC	\$2,000	\$335	17%	41,700
Los Angeles	\$6,500	\$1,070	16%	
San Francisco	\$6,500	\$1,016	16%	
Washington, D.C.	\$2,400	\$330	14%	
Atlanta	\$2,750	\$365	13%	33,300
Brooklyn	\$3,000	\$395	13%	
Birmingham, AL	\$2,000	\$235	12%	
Cleveland	\$2,750	\$302	11%	
Houston	\$3,000	\$325	11%	25,000
Boston	\$3,000	\$310	10%	
St. Louis	\$3,425	\$235	7%	
Chicago	\$5,000	\$100	2%	16,700
Baltimore	\$2,000	\$0	0%	
Des Moines, IA	\$2,000	\$0	0%	
New Haven, CT	\$500	\$0	0%	
Other		\$189		8,300
TOTAL	\$78,375	\$16,346	22%	
SHOULD BE	\$75,000	\$41,700	56%	
*Raised goal				

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

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZIP _____ COUNTRY _____

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

United Airlines workers protest sale of kitchens

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — After several months of negotiations the latest attempt by the officialdom of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA) to give concessions and cash in exchange for a majority share of United Airlines stock came to an end November 12.

United's management rejected the unions' offer, totaling \$3.4 billion in wage and benefit cuts and \$600 million in cash, as inadequate and announced it was carrying out its threat to sell off 15 of its 17 flight kitchens. The IAM had tried to stop the sale of the kitchens where some 5,000 of its members work.

Just hours before the buyout talks broke off up to 800 members of the IAM demonstrated in front of United's North Terminal at the San Francisco International Airport. While the focus of the protest was against the sale of the kitchens many in the crowd saw the transaction as the first of many attacks on the unions at United. One worker carried a hand-lettered sign saying "The flight kitchens are just the appetizer." Other flight kitchen workers carried a coffin symbolizing the end of United Airlines as they knew it.

The protesters were mostly IAM ramp workers, mechanics, and kitchen workers from United. Other airline workers, including a group of ramp workers from Northwest Airlines, participated as well.

The size and spirit of the demonstration slowed traffic at the terminal as union members clapped and cheered for bus drivers, passengers, and commuters who drove by and honked their horns in support.

The company has been on a drive since the early part of this year to cut jobs, wages, and benefits citing stiff competition from lower-cost carriers like Southwest Airlines. In January, the three unions that organize the ground service workers, flight attendants, and pilots rejected the company's proposal to contribute to a "comprehensive cost reduction program" by reopening their contracts. United then imposed wage cuts on



Unionists picket at Dulles International Airport near Washington, D.C., in May to protest announcement of sale of flight kitchens by United. Wolf is United's chairman.

nonunion workers, began layoffs, and moved to contract out janitorial work.

A November 5 letter from management to Ken Thiede, head of the IAM at United, stated, "Having failed to obtain a commitment from our major U.S. labor organizations to participate in an effort to reduce our labor costs... we are now in the process of implementing a wide variety of actions aimed at reducing our costs wherever we can in order to remain a viable entity."

The letter went on to outline an offer the company would accept in exchange for selling off less of the kitchens than originally planned. The offer called for a separate contract for the food service workers that included a 15 percent pay cut, starting pay for new hires at \$5 an hour and topping out at \$9 after 10 years, and cuts in vacations, paid holidays, medical benefits and pension benefits, as well as work rule changes.

After the unions rejected this offer the

company finalized its sale of the flight kitchens. United management also announced that it is looking to contract out the work of at least 2,800 mechanics in the San Francisco engine shop and the jobs of ramp workers at the New York and Newark airports.

In addition, the company is considering creating a separate low-cost carrier within United that would service shorter domestic routes and pay wages comparable or lower than Southwest Airlines.

The airline bosses are worried about what they face in the industry today. An article in the November 15 issue of the *Wall Street Journal* expressed these fears when it stated, "The strife at United, combined with a strike threat by flight attendants at AMR Corp.'s American Airlines just before the busy Thanksgiving holiday, plunge airline labor relations to their lowest point since striking employees forced Eastern Airlines out of business three years ago."

This situation has led to heated discussions among workers at United. While most IAM members hoped that the unions' attempt to gain control of the company would succeed, many didn't agree with the staggering amount of concessions offered by union officials. Some questioned the whole idea of the buyout strategy as going in the opposite direction from waging a fight to defend workers' livelihood threatened by company cutbacks.

Miguel Torenté, an IAM member and food service worker in Miami, said that maybe the union could have accepted some of the concessions. "But the company wouldn't accept that," he said, after thinking the whole thing over. "They just want to break the union."

Ron Peete, another IAM member in the Miami flight kitchen and a former Greyhound striker, said that "concessions haven't helped us at all."

Peete, like other airline workers, said he felt good about television reports he saw on the recent successful union fight at Air France that pushed back government plans to layoff 4,000 workers and impose other takebacks. "At Air France they did what's necessary to do. People have to take a stand. At United it's all a big plan to get rid of the unions," he said.

Many United Airlines IAM members around the country are supporting the American Airlines flight attendants, who have been preparing for strike action. They see that the fight to defend the rights and living standards of workers at American can only help those in other airlines or anywhere else who are facing company attacks themselves.

Ernie Mailhot is a member of IAM Local 368 at United in Miami. Emily Fitzsimmons, a member of IAM Local 1759 at United in Washington, D.C., and Kathleen Denny, member of IAM Local 1781 in San Francisco also contributed to this article.

Distributors win 3,300 new subscribers to 'Militant'

BY GREG ROSENBERG

We would like to welcome the thousands of people who have recently subscribed to the *Militant* in countries around the world. We think you will find the paper an irreplaceable source of information and a tool to advance the struggles of working people internationally.

In the last stretch of the international effort to win thousands of new readers to the socialist press, distributors went over the top on *Militant* subscriptions. A total of 3,318 subscriptions came into the business office for the final scoreboard, 111 percent of the goal of 3,000.

Supporters fell 6 short on the goal of selling 700 subscriptions to the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva*

Mundial, and 87 short of the goal of selling 1,200 copies of the magazine of Marxist politics, *New International*.

The response in the past two weeks from union members, farmers, young people on campuses, and at political meetings shows the interest in the working-class analysis presented in the socialist periodicals.

Along with *Perspectiva Mundial* and *New International*, fighting workers and youth need the material contained in these publications to understand and act in a world marked by capitalism's degeneration. From the rightward shift of the two parties in the United States and the fight against Washington's wars abroad, to the place of the Cuban revolution and the battle for a democratic South Africa, no other paper compares.

The last two weeks of the effort were outstanding. As supporters mobilized around the world to take advantage of every

last hour before the final scoreboard went to press, nearly 900 *Militant* and 225 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions poured into the business office, along

Boston to Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia to Manhattan, Newark, and Baltimore.

Of the international total, 690 industrial union members purchased



Winning new readers at a street table in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

with reports of 424 *New International* sold.

These facts alone indicate that by kicking into gear a little earlier, it would have been possible to make all three goals.

In 14 cities, distributors who were substantially behind on their *Militant* goals were able to organize to reach out and join in political activity, take time off work to join regional sales efforts to campuses and plant gates, and do what it took to make their goals for the *Militant*.

One example is in Brooklyn, where supporters of the *Militant* completely turned the drive around, selling 60 subscriptions in two weeks.

Readers who were laid-off from their jobs or in a position to take a few days off volunteered to travel to other cities that were further behind to help make the international effort. Volunteers traveled from Los Angeles to Brooklyn, Miami to Des Moines,

subscriptions to the *Militant*.

A reader in Germany sent a fax that came in as the final scoreboard was being prepared. "Very late, but maybe not too late?" he wrote. "This morning a woman I met at a meeting for [Cuban author] Carlos Tablada faxed me an order for both a *Militant* and a *Perspectiva Mundial* sub and some books, including *New International* no. 6, so I thought I should report that. With the *Militant* sub I sold to a student on Tuesday night, this makes a total of 2 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 1 to *PM* this week."

The challenge in front of distributors now is to use the momentum from the last few weeks to continue to take the socialist periodicals to working people and youth and to join in political activities with other fighters — from striking American Airlines flight attendants to those demanding that Washington drop its embargo against the Cuban revolution.

Caterpillar workers strike for 3 days

BY JAMES HARRIS

DECATUR, Illinois — Thousands of members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) struck Caterpillar Corp. plants across the United States for three days November 11-13. The strike action began at the heavy equipment company's Mossville, Illinois, plant. Workers there were protesting the firing of George Boze, a union committeeman who was working through a grievance procedure.

The strike took place against the backdrop of harassment and provocations against workers by Caterpillar since the end of a 163-day strike in April 1992. Since then, Caterpillar has refused to negotiate a contract with the union.

UAW members have resisted the company's attacks and its refusal to negotiate a contract by holding demonstrations, work stoppages, and a "work-to-rule campaign" in the plants.

The day after Boze's firing, UAW members in Mossville met to discuss the dismissal. They decided to call a strike. That evening communications were faxed to all UAW locals at Caterpillar around the country. By 11:30 p.m. pickets were up at the Mapleton and Pontiac, Illinois, and York, Pennsylvania, plants. By Friday, November 12,

pickets were up at factories in East Peoria, Decatur, and Aurora, Illinois, and Denver.

Harassment of union officials is not unusual at Caterpillar. Dave Spratt, a UAW Local 2096 skilled trades committeeman in Pontiac, explained, "Since the strike, tensions have been high. We've had safety problems, contractual problems — you name it, we've had it. I've been suspended twice. Terry Ragle, our president, was suspended over a safety complaint that was filed. The vice-president, John Hamill, was suspended. Two weeks ago I was suspended. This was supposed to be my first day back to work."

"This was not organized," said Jerry Biros, a shop steward for Local 2096. "We heard that one of our union reps was illegally let go and we came to his aid with our solidarity. People were furious. Inside the plant people are treated like dogs. There's a total disregard for safety on the part of the company."

This was the first nationwide strike against Caterpillar since workers returned to work after UAW officials called off the five-month-long strike in the face of the company's threat to hire scabs.

The workers went back to work facing many unresolved questions and no contract. The return to work

with no agreements on work rules, conditions, or seniority rights guaranteed that these issues would have to be fought out on the job.

Since returning to work Caterpillar workers have struck at three locations, staged demonstrations at different Cat distributors, and held rallies at various Cat plants.

Jerry Brown, UAW Local 974 president in Peoria and Mossville, is quoted in the *Star* as saying, "One incident, one time, with one guy, is not enough to spark a job action by thousands of people. This is about a continued pattern of illegal activity by Caterpillar."

On Sunday, November 14, UAW locals that organize workers at Caterpillar plants throughout the country held meetings, during which union officials called off the strike.

Larry Solomon, president of the UAW local in Decatur said, "We feel we've made our point. We've laid the groundwork to let Cat know we consider this very serious."

As the unionists return to work it is clear that the issues confronting them since the end of the first national strike have not been settled. Workers expressed the conviction that they would continue struggling until they received a contract from Caterpillar.

WHERE WE STAND

SOLD: 111% 3,318

SHOULD BE: 100% 3,000

END OF DRIVE

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL

UNITED STATES

Albuquerque, NM	4	2	200%	1	1	0	—
Albany, NY	7	5	140%	0	2	0	0
Cincinnati*	19	14	136%	2	2	2	3
San Francisco	148	120	123%	35	35	62	70
Pittsburgh*	103	85	121%	12	10	26	20
Philadelphia*	124	105	118%	34	32	28	25
Los Angeles*	223	190	117%	104	95	96	95
St. Louis	88	75	117%	8	8	20	30
Detroit	98	85	115%	10	10	31	30
Boston*	132	115	115%	32	30	48	50
Salt Lake City, UT	97	85	114%	15	15	36	35
New Haven, CT	17	15	113%	2	3	1	10
Houston*	79	70	113%	17	15	21	15
Denver	11	10	110%	1	2	5	5
Des Moines, IA	98	90	109%	40	40	40	40
Miami*	129	120	108%	52	50	59	60
Birmingham, AL	80	75	107%	4	10	20	20
Twin Cities, MN	118	110	107%	20	18	27	30
Greensboro, NC	79	75	105%	11	10	21	20
Atlanta	84	80	105%	13	10	27	20
Cleveland*	89	85	105%	12	5	18	25
Morgantown, WV	68	65	105%	3	3	15	15
Washington, DC	78	75	104%	21	15	19	20
Chicago	135	130	104%	32	30	34	35
Seattle*	77	75	103%	15	15	25	25
Brooklyn, NY	133	130	102%	34	40	48	50
Newark, NJ	131	130	101%	25	40	29	70
New York	136	135	101%	28	45	23	55
Baltimore	60	70	86%	8	10	15	20
Portland, OR	10	15	67%	2	2	9	10
U.S. Total	2,655	2,436	108%	593	601	800	903

AUSTRALIA

	26	35	74%	8	10	19	20
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BELGIUM

	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
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BRITAIN

Manchester*	59	50	118%	3	1	22	20
Sheffield	37	35	106%	0	3	6	15
London	68	65	105%	5	5	33	25
Britain Total	164	150	109%	8	9	61	60

CANADA

Vancouver	92	70	131%	12	10	35	30
Montreal	77	70	110%	18	12	48	40
Toronto	88	85	104%	9	15	35	45
Canada Total	257	225	114%	39	37	118	115

FRANCE*

	10	10	100%	1	3	14	15
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GERMANY

	3	—	—	1	—	5	—
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GREECE*

	13	11	118%	1	1	8	5
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ICELAND

	8	10	80%	1	1	1	3
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NEW ZEALAND

Auckland*	78	70	111%	9	9	14	15
Christchurch*	40	40	100%	1	1	2	5
New Zealand Total	118	110	107%	10	10	16	20

PUERTO RICO*

	2	2	100%	10	7	9	12
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SWEDEN

	60	60	100%	29	20	67	50
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OTHER INT'L

	1	—	—	0	—	0	—
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DRIVE GOALS

	3,318	3,049	111%	694	699	1,113	1,203
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IN THE UNIONS

	The MILITANT		PERSPECTIVA MUNDIAL		NEW INTERNATIONAL	
	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL	SOLD	GOAL

UNITED STATES

ACTWU	41	32	128%	13	12	14	16
ILGWU	21	20	105%	24	25	9	15
USWA	88	85	104%	4	3	7	25
IAM	89	90	99%	7	25	11	20
UFCW	54	55	98%	25	38	6	22
UMWA	54	60	90%	0	2	12	10
OCAW	67	75	89%	4	—	9	20
UTU	68	86	79%	6	2	7	27
UAW*	113	150	75%	10	10	8	25
U.S. Total	595	653	91%	93	117	83	180

AUSTRALIA

AMEU	3	3	100%	0	—	1	1
FPU	2	3	67%	0	—	1	1
NUW	0	2	0%	0	—	1	1
Australia Total	5	8	63%	0	—	2	3

BRITAIN

TGWU	8	7	114%	0	—	0	3
RMT*	24	28	86%	0	—	3	6
AEU*	5	6	83%	0	—	2	3
NUM	1	—	0%	0	—	—	—
Britain Total	38	41	93%	0	—	3	12

CANADA

IAM	12	11	109%	0	2	2	4
CAW	16	15	107%	3	1	6	4
ACTWU	2	2	100%	0	—	1	1
USWA	5	13	38%	0	1	4	5
Canada Total	35	41	85%	3	4	13	14

NEW ZEALAND

EU	5	7	71%	0	—	0	2
UFBGWU	5	8	63%	0	—	2	1
MWU	1	2	50%	0	—	0	0
New Zealand Total	11	17	65%	0	—	2	3

SWEDEN

Metal workers	4	5	80%	0	—	4	2
Food workers	2	3	67%	0	—	5	5
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	—	1	2
Sweden Total	6	10	60%	0	—	10	9

*Raised goal

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

Clinton will use trade pact against rivals

Continued from front page

States on some 10,000 products. At the same time it throws up protectionist barriers to prevent capitalists from Japan and Europe with plants in Mexico from benefiting from the lower tariffs. These companies won't be able to ship to the United States duty free. NAFTA also opens Mexican banking, insurance, securities, and state-owned firms to U.S. and Canadian investors.

Washington does not pretend NAFTA is an accord among equals. In the days leading up to the vote, the Clinton administration promised a slew of adjustments to the agreement to protect profits in various sectors of U.S. agriculture. These measures ranged from threatening limits on imports of wheat and peanut butter from Canada to imposing sharp tariffs on orange juice from Mexico if the price falls in the United States. At the same time, Washington is demanding the Mexican government end its import tax on wine faster than previously agreed to.

The accord is expected to be easily passed by Mexico's Senate. The Canadian Parliament approved NAFTA in a close vote in May, but the new prime minister of Canada, Jean Chrétien, has threatened to demand the pact be renegotiated.

Nationalist demagoguery

Some right-wing politicians in the United States, most notably columnist Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot, argued loudly against the trade agreement.

In numerous newspaper columns, many bearing titles like "It's time we started putting America first," Buchanan rails against NAFTA as "a loss of American sovereignty."

Attacks on immigrant workers are a big part of the nationalist demagoguery put forward by Buchanan. In August he wrote that "NAFTA is the economic equivalent of 40 million Mexicans, whose average wage is \$60 a week, pouring across the border to compete with American jobs."

Perot took a similar tack. He claimed hundreds of thousands of workers in the United States will see their jobs lost in a "giant sucking sound" south of the border. While feigning concern for the welfare of working people, the Texas billionaire pits workers in Mexico and the United States against each other.

Both Perot and Buchanan refer to NAFTA as a "Mexican trade agreement."

The November 15 *Wall Street Journal*

described another anti-NAFTA organization, the No-Name Group, which is bankrolled by billionaire textile boss Roger Milliken. "At No-Name dinners, imported wine is banned and, at times, the atmosphere turns xenophobic with anti-Mexican slurs," wrote the *Journal* reporters.

Clinton and others have termed Buchanan's position isolationism. But that is false.

There's nothing isolationist about Buchanan's proposals. His main argument is that the capitalist rulers of the United States should maintain protectionist barriers while driving down the working class at home — through scapegoating immigrants, slashing social services, gutting public education, taking away democratic rights, and stepping up police repression. This, he believes, will put the bosses in the strongest position to carry out trade wars and shooting wars abroad to defend "vital U.S. interests."

In an October 19 column Buchanan made clear his dispute is not over whether to battle with capitalist competitors around the world, but rather how best to do it. "In the trade wars for world markets, control of which translates into national power, GOP [Republican] policy amounts to unilateral disarmament," he said, referring to those politicians who support NAFTA.

Buchanan argues that Washington should pick its wars and organize to win them. And Clinton agrees. In fact, the U.S. president has converged with Buchanan on foreign policy, which is an extension of a rightward domestic policy, not vice-versa.

Clinton and the bipartisan coalition in Congress have been carrying out Perot's and Buchanan's domestic policy: defending the dollar, slashing the budget, and attacking social programs. Clinton's decisions to forcibly return thousands of Haitian and Chinese refugees through acts of piracy on the high seas are simply an extension of attacks at home against the standard of living and democratic rights of working people.

Attempt to break down human solidarity

Whatever their differences over this trade pact, capitalist politicians — from Clinton to Buchanan — agree on the need to break down workers' human solidarity around the world, making it easier to assault their living standards and democratic rights. A large aspect of the debate on NAFTA was aimed at precisely this — pitting "Mexican jobs"

against "American" and "Canadian" jobs.

The Clinton administration countered the anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican demagoguery of NAFTA's opponents by arguing that the trade agreement will slow "illegal" immigration to the United States by Mexican workers.

This framework makes it impossible for workers in Mexico, the United States, Canada, Japan, and elsewhere to look to one another as allies in a struggle to defend common interests. It carves up the toilers of the world into those who are more human and less human, narrowing the circle of those you see as brothers and sisters. Attacks on the rights of immigrant workers, as well as the scapegoating of Blacks, women, gays, the unemployed, or other layers of society for the social and economic disasters caused by capitalism, are designed to accomplish the same thing.

The trade union officialdom, as well as others who claim to speak for the working class such as the Communist Party U.S.A., argue fervently against NAFTA, calling for protecting jobs for workers in the United States. Their statements range from blatant chauvinism to a supposed desire to protect Mexican workers from being exploited by U.S. bosses.

NAFTA will actually have little, if any, impact on the number of jobs in the United States. An article in the November 14 *New York Times* noted that the figures given on both sides of the debate are estimates based on widely varying assumptions.

The ups and downs of employment levels in the United States — and in Mexico, Canada, and every other country — in the coming months and years will be determined by a myriad of political and economic factors, not any one trade agreement. The world capitalist system is in a depression not seen since the 1930s. In this context unemployment tends to be higher, even during upturns in the business cycle, than at most points in the preceding decades.

Foreign policy is behind NAFTA debate

U.S. foreign policy, not jobs or economic considerations by the Chamber of Commerce, is the driving force behind Clinton's insistence on implementing NAFTA.

The capitalist class in the United States is locked in bitter competition with the ruling rich in other imperialist countries around the world. Clinton hopes that binding the economy of Mexico, a large, semi-industrialized

country, to that of the United States will increase the leverage of U.S. capital against the bourgeoisie in Japan, Europe, and elsewhere.

In a November 15 article in the *Wall Street Journal*, Alan Murray wrote, "The symbolic power of the Nafta vote will be evident just two days after it occurs, when President Clinton meets in Seattle with the leaders of more than a dozen Asian nations."

The Pacific Rim trade conference, scheduled to begin November 19, will involve top officials from Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, the United States, and 10 other countries. Washington will use the meeting to pressure these governments to open their markets to U.S. companies, while maintaining protectionist barriers against many imports to the United States.

Tokyo and the other governments involved have openly complained about this pressure. Kazuo Ogura, a high official in Japan's Foreign Ministry, told the *New York Times*, "If there is any reservation [about the conference], it is that Asians don't want to see Asia used as a means for American ambition."

U.S. imperialism hopes that its success in asserting dominance over North America will put it in a stronger position to force open markets in Asia.

The same holds true in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) negotiations. The seven-year Uruguay Round of the GATT talks, which involve 116 governments, is supposed to conclude by December 15.

One of Washington's main demands in the GATT negotiations is for deep cuts in agricultural subsidies in an attempt to open new markets for U.S.-based traders in grain and other farm products. The government of France is bitterly opposed to such measures. Clinton will use the momentum from the NAFTA victory to deal further devastating blows to Washington's rivals in France.

Virtually all imperialist governments pay subsidies to protect domestic agricultural production. The big bulk of the money goes to large capitalist farmers and trade monopolies, not working farmers. But both Tokyo and the governments in the European Community countries have price support systems that are proportionally much larger than those in the United States. Lowering subsidies across the board would therefore give U.S. monopolies a competitive edge.

"Our moral authority to persuade other countries to support freer trade would most certainly be eroded if NAFTA fails, and therefore our ability to secure expanded markets for our exports would decline," commented Robert Hormatas, vice-chairman of Goldman Sachs International.

Working-class interests

As long as capitalism exists, working people the world over will face attacks from the bosses and their governments on our wages, living standards, and dignity. This is true regardless of the rulers' trade policies — whether protectionist, free trade, or a concoction of tariffs with a "free trade" mantle like NAFTA.

Breaking all barriers to capitalist trade is in the interests of workers, not because it means the bosses will ease up in their drive to squeeze more out of the labor power of workers and farmers. Rather, free trade can hasten the expansion of capitalism around the globe and therefore bring closer the moment of its overthrow through a social revolution led by the working class. Free trade policies are more likely to be accompanied by less restrictions on travel and immigration, demands that labor should champion.

Of course, NAFTA is not about free trade. The debate on the trade agreement is entirely a dispute over how the capitalist rulers can best drive down the working class in North America and compete with other capitalists abroad.

Workers and working farmers have no stake in any of the arguments for or against NAFTA, whether those of Clinton, Perot, Buchanan, or the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. All of them lead to seeing workers in other countries as people to be feared or combated, who are out to "take American jobs."

Instead, working people need to reject the "America First" framework and fight for international solidarity with fellow toilers, who can be allies in charting a course to rid the world of capitalism and its horrors of unemployment, war, and alienation.

Washington reaffirms 'cold war' on Cuba

Continued from front page

cry of politicians in Washington since Cuban workers and peasants overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1959. "Our relations will not improve and the embargo will not be lifted until such time as there are democratic reforms and respect for human rights in Cuba," he said.

Goal is to squeeze revolution to death

At the heart of Washington's 34-year campaign against Cuba is an economic, commercial, and financial embargo aimed at crippling the island's economy. This, more than the direct threat of military intervention, is the current weapon of choice of the U.S. government in its war against Cuba. "We have no intention of invading or dominating the island," Watson said in his presentation.

In May 1993, Deputy Secretary Clifton Wharton made a similar point. "We oppose attempts to bring change through violence," he said. "But our policy — through the Cuban Democracy Act — is to refuse support for the Castro dictatorship."

The Cuban Democracy Act, or Torricelli bill, was signed into law by then-president George Bush in late 1992. It adds to the 34-year-old trade embargo by explicitly forbidding foreign subsidiaries of U.S. firms from trading with Cuba and closing U.S. ports to ships that have docked at the Caribbean island within the previous six months. It also allows somewhat easier communication between individuals in the United States and Cuba by providing for direct mail delivery.

Watson pointed to the severe economic crisis confronting Cuba, the loss of military aid and trade with the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and the claim that "communism has been discredited worldwide" as reasons why opponents of the Cu-

ban revolution should be optimistic that economic pressure will eventually bring down the government in Havana.

Watson demanded "adequate compensation" for the millions of dollars of land, oil refineries, hotels, factories, and other property confiscated from U.S. corporations and individual wealthy owners by the Cuban toilers in the early years of the revolution. This has long been a sore spot for the wealthy capitalist families that rule the United States, who claim the Cuban government owes Washington \$5 billion.

The State Department official reminded his audience of Clinton's ongoing support for Radio and TV Martí, which illegally broadcasts U.S. government propaganda into Cuba. "I am very grateful that Congress heeded President Clinton's appeal and voted to provide funding for fiscal year 1994 for this invaluable program," he said.

Thirty-five years of U.S. aggression

In his relentless opposition to the Cuban revolution, Clinton follows in the footsteps of eight previous U.S. presidents — from Dwight Eisenhower to George Bush. With no exceptions, every U.S. administration since 1959 has been committed to punishing the Cuban people for daring to break free of imperialism, establishing a government of workers and farmers, overturning capitalist economic relations, and providing an example through steadfast internationalism to the oppressed and exploited in Latin America and around the world. Clinton, like his predecessors, hopes to wipe this example off the face of the earth.

The U.S. president has consistently followed through on his campaign pledge to implement measures aimed at strangling the Cuban revolution. It was candidate Clinton, not Bush, who first demanded the Cuban Democracy Act be approved.

Although most governments have spoken

out against the U.S.-organized trade embargo, Washington has succeeded in using its tremendous economic and military muscle to discourage many companies around the world from developing commercial relations with Cuba.

'Our policy has not changed'

A week after Watson spoke to the Cuban American National Foundation meeting, Victor Marrero, U.S. alternate representative to the United Nations, again defended the Clinton administration's continued support for the trade embargo before the UN General Assembly. The assembly had just approved by an 88-4 vote a resolution condemning the embargo.

"Our embargo policy has not changed in over thirty years because repression in Cuba has not changed," Marrero stated.

On October 17-18, U.S. Customs officials seized the passports of 60 of the 175 participants in a Freedom to Travel Campaign trip to Cuba. Under U.S. law, it is illegal for U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba. The only exceptions are journalists, individuals participating in approved academic or scientific research, and Cuban-Americans visiting relatives on the island. Individuals convicted of violating the travel ban face up to 10 years in prison and \$250,000 in fines.

The U.S. government has recently shut down several phone services that offer to place calls to Cuba through 800 numbers in Canada. The White House has also threatened to investigate an Israeli firm that is offering direct dial service between Miami and Havana. These actions fly in the face of claims Watson made in his October 26 speech that Washington has "taken steps to improve the ability of the Cuban people and American people to communicate freely."

Do workers have a stake in bosses' trade conflicts?

Frederick Engels on free trade and protectionism

In this issue of *International Socialist Review* we reprint "Protection and Free Trade," a preface by Frederick Engels to Karl Marx's pamphlet "Speech on the Question of Free Trade."

Readers will find Engels's preface valuable for its working-class stance on the trading policies of capitalist regimes. The current debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the threat of new trade wars erupting out of disputes among the imperialist powers in Washington, Paris, Bonn, and Tokyo highlight the importance of this approach.

Marx and Engels, the founders of the modern communist movement, were both young revolutionaries when Marx delivered his speech to a public meeting of the Democratic Association of Brussels in Brussels, Belgium, in January 1848.

Just one month later, Paris, then Vienna and Berlin, and soon much of Europe were convulsed in revolutionary upheaval. Marx and Engels rapidly made their way to Cologne, an emerging industrial city on Germany's Rhine River, where they threw themselves into revolutionary activity. They joined the revolutionary democratic movement against the rule of the nobility. They published a daily newspaper, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (New Rhineland Gazette), which pointed the way forward for revolutionary-minded workers and argued against the compromising strategy of the bourgeois leaders of the movement.

Capitalism had bloomed in England at the end of the 18th century. Massive gains in industrial production were registered with the advent of steam-driven machinery and transport.

The place of England's capitalist class as the world's most dominant was ensured by a system of protective tariffs, coupled with wars against competitors to cut them off from colonial markets.

The newly born working class, rooted out of the countryside and driven into the cities, lived and toiled in horrendous conditions for a pittance.

In the second quarter of the 19th century, England's capitalist class began to agitate for free trade. Since industrialists in England were already beating out their rivals abroad, protectionist tariffs did them harm. Taxes on raw materials only raised the price of commodities their companies produced.

The Corn Laws introduced high grain tariffs with the aim of restricting or prohibiting grain imports. Such tariffs were only a help to landed interests, while hurting manufacturers. The Corn Laws were repealed in 1846.

The repeal of these laws resulted in lower grain prices, dealing a blow to the landed aristocrats and accelerating the development of capitalism in England.

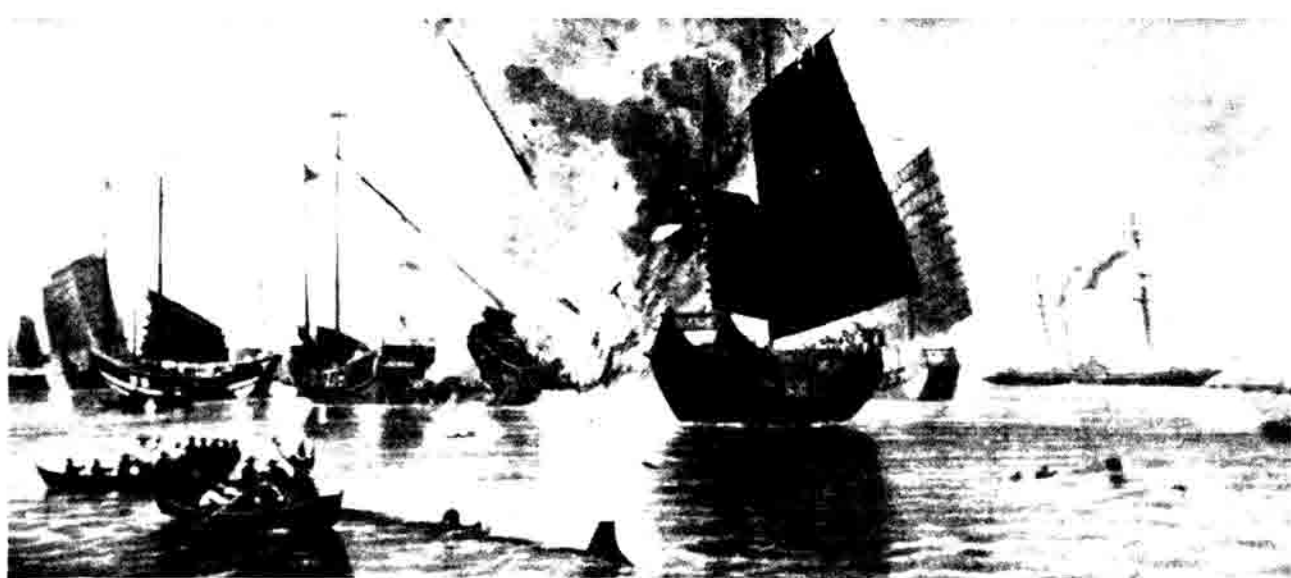
Marx and Engels explained they had one reason only for supporting free trade over protectionism, a debate otherwise completely in the framework of capitalist trade rivalries.

In his Brussels speech, Marx explained that conditions are more favorable for workers when capital grows. When manufacturing declines, workers are the first victim. "[The worker] goes to the wall before the capitalist," said Marx.

However, when capitalism is booming, workers are also the victims. "[The worker] will go to the wall just the same." As long as capital hires wage labor, "No matter how favorable the conditions under which you accomplish the exchange of commodities, there will always be a class which exploits and a class which is exploited," Marx stated.

Marx and Engels explained that free trade hastened the development of capitalism, which initially played a revolutionary role by sweeping away feudalism, revolutionizing industry, drawing all countries into a world market, and creating the working class — the class that would dig the grave of the capitalists. "In a word," said Marx, "the Free Trade system hastens the Social Revolution. In this revolutionary sense alone, gentlemen, I am in favor of Free Trade."

With the rise of imperialism, however, capitalism exhausted its progressive capacities and has been the main obstacle to human progress since the dawn of the 20th century. In reality, today there are no true free traders among the capitalist class. While striking a demagogic



Ascendancy of capitalism in England was built on colonial expansion of British empire. Above, British navy attacks Chinese vessels in 1841 during the first Opium War, when China was opened to colonial exploitation. After cutting off their rivals from colonial markets, British rulers pushed for free trade to sell their goods.

pose in favor of free trade, the White House, and most capitalist politicians and businesspeople, are staunch defenders of thousands of tariffs and other measures aimed at restricting the flow of products made by Washington's competitors in order to keep the profits of U.S. employers at a maximum.

Engels wrote the preface printed below in 1888 for the English edition of Marx's pamphlet. This preface has appeared in various pamphlets and other publications since then. It can be found in volume 26 of the *Collected Works* of Marx and Engels.

Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

* * *

BY FREDERICK ENGELS

Towards the end of 1847, a Free Trade Congress was held at Brussels. It was a strategic move in the Free Trade campaign then carried on by the English manufacturers. Victorious at home, by the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, they now invaded the continent in order to demand, in return for the free admission of continental corn into England, the free admission of English manufactured goods to the continental markets. At this Congress, Marx inscribed himself on the list of speakers; but, as might have been expected, things were so managed that before his turn came on, the Congress was closed. Thus, what Marx had to say on the Free Trade question, he was compelled to say before the Democratic Association of Brussels, an international body of which he was one of the vice-presidents.

The question of Free Trade or Protection being at present on the order of the day in America, it has been thought useful to publish an English translation of Marx's speech, to which I have been asked to write an introductory preface.

"The system of protection," says Marx, "was an artificial means of manufacturing manufacturers, of expropriating independent laborers, of capitalizing the national means of production and subsistence, and of forcibly abbreviating the transition from the medieval to the modern mode of production." Such was protection at its origin in the seventeenth century, such it remained well into the nineteenth century. It was then held to be the normal policy of every civilized state in western Europe. The only exceptions were the smaller states of Germany and Switzerland — not from dislike of the system, but from the impossibility of applying it to such small territories.

It was under the fostering wing of protection that the system of modern industry — production by steam-moved machinery — was hatched and developed in England during the last third of the eighteenth century. And, as if tariff protection was not sufficient, the wars against the French Revolution helped to secure to England the monopoly of the new industrial methods. For more than twenty years English men-of-war cut off the industrial rivals of England from their

respective colonial markets, while they forcibly opened these markets to English commerce. The secession of the South American colonies from the rule of their European mother countries, the conquest by England of all French and Dutch colonies worth having, the progressive subjugation of India turned the people of all these immense territories into customers for English goods. England thus supplemented the protection she practiced at home by the Free Trade she forced upon her possible customers abroad; and, thanks to this happy mixture of both systems, at the end of the wars, in 1815, she found herself, with regard to all important branches of industry, in possession of the virtual monopoly of the trade of the world.

This monopoly was further extended and strengthened during the ensuing years of peace. The start, which England had obtained during the war, was increased from year to year; she seemed to distance more and more all her possible rivals. The exports of manufactured goods in ever growing quantities became indeed a question of life and death to that country. And there seemed but two obstacles in the way: the prohibitive or protective legislation of other countries, and the taxes upon the import of raw materials and articles of food in England.

Then the Free Trade doctrines of classical political economy — of the French physiocrats¹ and their English successors, Adam Smith and Ricardo — became popular in the land of John Bull.

Capitalist free traders vs. landed protectionists

Protection at home was needless to manufacturers who beat all their foreign rivals, and whose very existence was staked on the expansion of their exports. Protection at home was of advantage to none but the producers of articles of food and other raw materials, to the agricultural interest, which, under then existing circumstances in England, meant the receivers of rent, the landed aristocracy. And this kind of protection was hurtful to the manufacturers. By taxing raw materials it raised the price of the articles manufactured from them; by taxing food, it raised the price of labor; in both ways, it placed the British manufacturer at a disadvantage as compared with his foreign competitor. And, as all other countries sent to England chiefly agricultural products, and drew from England chiefly manufactured goods, repeal of the English protective duties on corn and raw materials generally, was at the same time an appeal to foreign countries, to do away with, or at least, to reduce, in return, the import duties levied by them on English manufactures.

After a long and violent struggle, the English industrial capitalists, already in reality the leading class of the nation, that class whose interests were then the chief national interests, were victorious. The landed aristocracy had to give in. The duties on corn and other raw materials were

repealed. Free Trade became the watchword of the day. To convert all other countries to the gospel of Free Trade, and thus to create a world in which England was the great manufacturing center, with all other countries for its dependent agricultural districts, that was the next task before the English manufacturers and their mouthpieces, the political economists.

That was the time of the Brussels Congress, the time when Marx prepared the speech in question. While recognizing that protection may still, under certain circumstances, for instance in the Germany of 1847, be of advantage to the manufacturing capitalists; while proving that Free Trade was not the panacea for all the evils under which the working class suffered, and might even aggravate them; he pronounces, ultimately and on principle, in favor of Free Trade.

To him, Free Trade is the normal condition of modern capitalistic production. Only under Free Trade can the immense productive powers of steam, of electricity, of machinery, be fully developed; and the quicker the pace of this development, the sooner and the more fully will be realized its inevitable results: society splits up into two classes, capitalists here, wage-laborers there; hereditary wealth on one side, hereditary poverty on the other; supply outstripping demand, the markets being unable to absorb the ever growing mass of the productions of industry; an ever recurring cycle of prosperity, glut, crisis, panic, chronic depression and gradual revival of trade, the harbinger not of permanent improvement but of renewed overproduction and crisis; in short, productive forces expanding to such a degree that they rebel, as against unbearable fetters, against the social institutions under which they are put in motion; the only possible solution: a social revolution, freeing the social productive forces from the fetters of an antiquated social order, and the actual producers, the great mass of the people, from wage slavery. And because Free Trade is the natural, the normal atmosphere for this historical evolution, the economic medium in which the conditions for the inevitable social revolution will be the soonest created — for this reason, and for this alone, did Marx declare in favor of Free Trade.

Expansion of British capitalism

Anyhow, the years immediately following the victory of Free Trade in England seemed to verify the most extravagant expectations of prosperity founded upon that event. British commerce rose to a fabulous amount; the industrial monopoly of England on the market of the world seemed more firmly established than ever; new iron works, new textile factories arose by wholesale; new branches of industry grew up on every side. There was, indeed, a severe crisis in 1857, but that was overcome, and the onward movement in trade and manufactures soon was in full swing again, until in 1866 a fresh panic occurred, a panic, this time, which seems to mark a new departure in the economic history of the world.

The unparalleled expansion of British manufactures and commerce between 1848 and 1866 was no doubt due, to a great extent, to the removal of the protective duties on food and raw materials. But not entirely. Other important changes took place simultaneously and helped it on. The above years comprise the discovery and working of the Californian and Australian goldfields which increased so immensely the circulating medium of the world; they mark the final victory of steam over all other means of transports; on the ocean, steamers now superseded sailing vessels; on land, in all civilized countries, the railroad took the first place, the macadamized road the second; transport now became four times quicker and four times cheaper. No wonder that under such favorable circumstances British manufactures worked by steam should extend their sway at the expense of foreign domestic industries based upon manual labor. But were the other countries to sit still and to submit in humility to this

change, which degraded them to be mere agricultural appendages of England, the "workshop of the world"?

The foreign countries did nothing of the kind. France, for nearly two hundred years, had screened her manufactures behind a perfect Chinese wall of protection and prohibition, and had attained in all articles of luxury and of taste a supremacy which England did not even pretend to dispute. Switzerland, under perfect Free Trade, possessed relatively important manufactures, which English competition could not touch. Germany, with a tariff far more liberal than that of any other large continental country, was developing its manufactures at a rate relatively more rapid than even England. And America was, by the Civil War of 1861, all at once thrown upon her own resources, had to find means how to meet a sudden demand for manufactured goods of all sorts, and could only do so by creating manufactures of her own at home. The war demand ceased with the war; but the new manufactures were there, and had to meet British competition. And the war had ripened, in America, the insight that a nation of thirty-five million, doubling its numbers in forty years at most, with such immense re-

Productive forces rebel against the social institutions under which they are put in motion; the only possible solution: a social revolution . . .

sources, and surrounded by neighbors that must be for years to come chiefly agriculturalists, that such a nation had the "manifest destiny" to be independent of foreign manufactures for its chief articles of consumption, and to be so in time of peace as well as in time of war. And then America turned protectionist.

'Artificially manufacturing manufacturers'

It may now be fifteen years ago, I traveled in a railway carriage with an intelligent Glasgow merchant, interested, probably, in the iron trade. Talking about America, he treated me to the old Free Trade lucubrations: "Was it not inconceivable that a nation of sharp businessmen like the Americans should pay tribute to indigenous ironmasters and manufacturers, when they could buy the same, if not a better article, ever so much cheaper in this country?" And then he gave me examples as to how much the Americans taxed themselves in order to enrich a few greedy ironmasters.

"Well," I replied, "I think there is another side to the question. You know that in coal, waterpower, iron and other



Scene from a slum in Newcastle, England, in the 19th century. Capitalists drove millions of working people out of the countryside and into the cities to become wage laborers. In his book *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*, Engels describes the poverty and disease-ridden slums created by the bourgeoisie.

have got nearly a hundred years start; or else to shut out, by protective duties, English manufactures, for say twenty-five years, with the almost absolute certainty that at the end of the twenty-five years she will be able to hold her own in the open market of the world. Which of the two will be the cheapest and the shortest? That is the question. If you want to go from Glasgow to London, you can take the parliamentary train at a penny a mile and travel at the rate of twelve miles an hour. But you do not; your time is too valuable, you take the express, pay twopence a mile and do forty miles an hour. Very well, the Americans prefer to pay express fare and to go express speed." My Scotch Free Trader had not a word in reply.

Protection, being a means of artificially manufacturing manufacturers, may, therefore, appear useful not only to an incompletely developed capitalist class still struggling with feudalism; it may also give a lift to the rising capitalist class of a country which, like America, has never known feudalism, but which has arrived at that stage of development where the passage from agriculture to manufactures becomes a necessity. America, placed in that situation, decided in favor of protection. Since that decision was carried out, the five and twenty years of which I spoke to my fellow traveler have about passed, and, if I was not wrong, protection ought to have done its task for America, and ought to be now becoming a nuisance.

That has been my opinion for some time. Nearly two years ago, I said to a protectionist American: "I am convinced that if America goes in for Free Trade she will in ten years have beaten England in the market of the world."

Protectionism 'an endless screw'

Protection is at best an endless screw, and you never know when you have done with it. By protecting one industry, you directly or indirectly hurt all others, and have therefore to protect them too. By so doing you again damage the industry that you first protected, and have to compensate it; but this compensation reacts, as before, on all other trades, and entitles them to redress, and so on *in infinitum*. America, in this respect, offers us a striking example of the best way to kill an important industry by protection. In 1856, the total imports and exports by sea of the United States amounted to \$641,604,850. Of this amount, 75.2 per cent were carried in American, and only 24.8 per cent in foreign vessels. British ocean steamers were already then encroaching upon American sailing vessels; yet, in 1860, of a total seagoing trade of \$762,288,550, American vessels still carried 66.5 per cent.

The Civil War came on, and protection to American shipbuilding; and the latter plan was so successful that it has nearly completely driven the American flag from the high seas. In 1887 the total seagoing trade of the United States amounted to \$1,408,502,979, but of this total only 13.8 per cent were carried in American, and 86.2 per cent in foreign bottoms. The goods carried by American ships amounted, in 1856, to \$482,268,274; in 1860 to \$507,247,757. In 1887 they had sunk to \$194,356,746. Forty years ago, the American flag was the most dangerous rival of the British flag, and bade fair to outstrip it on the ocean; now it is nowhere. Protection to shipbuilding has killed both shipping and shipbuilding.

Another point. Improvements in the methods of production nowadays follow each other so rapidly, and change the character of entire branches of industry so suddenly and so completely, that what may have been yesterday a fairly balanced protective tariff is no longer so today. Let us take another example from the Report of the Secretary

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of the Treasury for 1887:

Improvement in recent years in the machinery employed in combing wool has so changed the character of what are commercially known as worsted cloths that the latter have largely superseded woolen cloths for use as men's wearing apparel. This change... has operated to the serious injury of our domestic manufacturers of these (worsted) goods, because the duty on the wool which they must use is the same as that upon wool used in making woolen cloths, while the rates of duty imposed upon the latter when valued at not exceeding 80 cents per pound are 35 cents per pound and 35 percent *ad valorem*, whereas the duty on worsted cloths valued at not exceeding 80 cents ranges from 10 to 24 cents per pound and 35 per cent *ad valorem*. In some cases the duty on the wool used in making worsted cloths exceeds the duty imposed on the finished article.

Thus what was protection to home industry yesterday, turns out today to be a premium to the foreign importer; and well may the Secretary of the Treasury say:

There is much reason to believe that the manufacture of worsted cloths must soon cease in this country unless the tariff law in this regard is amended.

But to amend it, you will have to fight the manufacturers of woolen cloths who profit by this state of things; you will have to open a regular campaign to bring the majority of both Houses of Congress, and eventually the public opinion of the country round to your views, and the question is, Will that pay?



Dock workers strike in London in 1889. As British capitalism expanded rapidly after repeal of Corn Laws, so did a vastly strengthened working-class movement. Engels later wrote that "the struggle of the two great classes [bourgeoisie and proletariat], which, apart from England, existed in 1848 only in Paris and, at the most, a few big industrial centers, has been spread over the whole of Europe."

But the worst of protection is, that when you once have got it you cannot easily get rid of it. Difficult as is the process of adjustment of an equitable tariff, the return to Free Trade is immensely more difficult. The circumstances that permitted England to accomplish the change in a few years will not occur again. And even there the struggle dated from 1823 (Huskisson), commenced to be successful in 1842 (Peel's tariff),⁴ and was continued for several years after the repeal of the Corn Laws. Thus protection to the silk manufacture (the only one which had still to fear foreign competition) was prolonged for a series of years and then granted in another, positively infamous form; while the other textile industries were subjected to the Factory Act, which limited the hours of labor of women, young persons and children,⁵ the silk trade was favored with considerable exceptions to the general rule, enabling them to work younger children, and to work the children and young persons longer hours, than the other textile trades. The monopoly that the hypocritical Free Traders repealed with regard to the foreign competitors, that monopoly they created anew at the expense of the health and lives of English children.

Without expansion, bosses face ruin

But no country will again be able to pass from Protection to Free Trade at a time when all, or nearly all branches of its manufactures can defy foreign competition in the open market. The necessity of the change will come long before such a happy state may be even hoped for. That necessity will make itself evident in different trades at different times; and from the conflicting interests of these trades, the most edifying squabbles, lobby intrigues, and parliamentary conspiracies will arise. The machinist, engineer, and shipbuilder may find that the protection granted to the iron master raises the price of his goods so much that his export trade is thereby, and thereby alone, prevented. The cotton cloth manufacturer might see his way to driving English cloth out of the Chinese and Indian markets, but for the high price he has to pay for the yarn, on account of protection to spinners, and so forth.

The moment a branch of national industry has completely conquered the home market, that moment exportation becomes a necessity to it. Under capitalistic conditions, an industry either expands or wanes. A trade cannot

remain stationary; stoppage of expansion is incipient ruin; the progress of mechanical and chemical invention, by constantly superseding human labor and ever more rapidly increasing and concentrating capital, creates in every stagnant industry a glut both of workers and of capital, a glut which finds no vent everywhere, because the same process is taking place in all other industries.

Thus the passage from a home to an export trade becomes a question of life and death for the industries concerned. But they are met by the established rights, the vested interests of others who as yet find protection either safer or more profitable than Free Trade. Then ensues a long and obstinate fight between Free Traders and Protectionists; a fight where, on both sides, the leadership soon passes out of the hands of the people directly interested into those of professional politicians, the wire-pullers of the traditional political parties, whose interest is, not a settlement of the question, but its being kept open forever; and the result of an immense loss of time, energy, and money is a series of compromises, favoring now one, now the other side, and drifting slowly though not majestically in the direction of Free Trade — unless Protection manages, in the meantime, to make itself utterly insupportable to the nation, which is just now likely to be the case in America.

Protectionism in Germany

There is, however, another kind of protection, the worst of all, and that is exhibited in Germany. Germany, too, began to feel, soon after 1815, the necessity of a quicker development

of her manufactures. But the first condition of that was the creation of a home market by the removal of the innumerable customs lines and varieties of fiscal legislation formed by the small German states, in other words, the formation of a German Customs Union or Zollverein.⁶ That could only be done on the basis of a liberal tariff, calculated rather to raise a common revenue than to protect home production. On no other condition could the small states have been induced to join.

Thus the new German tariff, though slightly protective to some trades, was, at the time of its introduction, a model of Free Trade legislation; and it remained so, although, ever since 1830, the majority of German manufacturers kept clamoring for protection. Yet, under this extremely liberal tariff, and in spite of German domestic in-

dustries based on hand labor being mercilessly crushed out by the competition of English factories worked by steam, the transition from manual labor to machinery was gradually accomplished in Germany too, and is now nearly complete. The transformation of Germany from an agricultural to a manufacturing country went on at the same pace, and was, since 1866, assisted by favorable political events: the establishment of a strong central government, and federal legislation, ensuring uniformity in the laws regulating trade, as well as in currency, weights and measures, and, finally, the flood of the French billions. Thus, about 1874, German trade on the market of the world ranked next to that of Great Britain, and Germany employed more steam power in manufactures and locomotion than any Continental European country. The proof has thus been furnished that even nowadays, in spite of the enormous start that English industry has got, a large country can work its way up to successful competition, in the open market, with England.

Then, all at once, a change of front was made: Germany turned protectionist, at a moment when more than ever Free Trade seemed a necessity for her. The change was no doubt absurd; but it may be explained. While Germany had been a corn-exporting country, the whole agricultural interest, not less than the whole shipping trade, had been ardent Free Traders. But in 1874, instead of exporting, Germany required large supplies of corn from abroad. About that time, America began to flood Europe with enor-

mous supplies of cheap corn; wherever they went, they brought down the money revenue yielded by the land, and consequently its rent; and from that moment, the agricultural interest, all over Europe, began to clamor for protection.

At the same time, manufacturers in Germany were suffering from the effect of the reckless overtrading brought on by the influx of the French billions, while England, whose trade ever since the crisis of 1866 had been in a state of chronic depression, inundated all accessible markets with goods unsalable at home and offered abroad at ruinously low prices. Thus it happened that German manufacturers, though depending above all upon export, began to see in protection a means of se-

The question of Free Trade or Protection moves entirely within the bounds of the present system of capitalist production . . .

curing to themselves the exclusive supply of the home market. And the government, entirely in the hands of the landed aristocracy and squirearchy, was only too glad to profit by this circumstance in order to benefit the receivers of the rent of land by offering protective duties to both landlords and manufacturers. In 1878, a highly protective tariff was enacted both for agricultural products and for manufactured goods.

Monopolies

The consequence was that henceforth the exportation of German manufactures was carried on at the direct cost of the home consumers. Wherever possible, "rings" or "trusts" were formed to regulate the export trade and even production itself. The German iron trade is in the hands of a few large firms, mostly joint stock companies, who, betwixt them, can produce about four times as much iron as the average consumption of the country can absorb. To avoid unnecessary competition with one another, these firms have formed a trust which divides amongst them all foreign contracts and determines in each case the firm that is to make the real tender. This "trust," some years ago had even come to an agreement with the English iron masters, but this no longer subsists. Similarly, the Westphalian coal mines (producing about thirty million tons annually) had formed a trust to regulate production, tenders for contracts, and prices. And, altogether, any German manufacturer will tell you that the only thing the protective duties do for him is to enable him to recoup himself in the home market for the ruinous prices he has to take abroad.

And this is not all. This absurd system of protection to manufacturers is nothing but the sop thrown to industrial capitalists to induce them to support a still more outrageous monopoly given to the landed interest. Not only is all agricultural produce subjected to heavy import duties which are increased from year to year, but certain rural industries, carried on large estates for account of the proprietor, are positively endowed out of the public purse. The beet-root sugar manufacture is not only protected, but receives enormous sums in the shape of export premiums. One who ought to know is of opinion that if the exported sugar was all thrown into the sea, the manufacturer would still clear a profit out of the government premium. Similarly, the potato-spirit distilleries receive, in consequence of recent legislation, a present

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out of the pockets of the public of about nine million dollars a year. And as almost every large landowner in northeastern Germany is either a beet-root sugar manufacturer or a potato-spirit distiller, or both, no wonder the world is literally deluged with their productions.

This policy, ruinous under any circumstances, is doubly so in a country whose manufactures keep up their standing in neutral markets chiefly through the cheapness of labor. Wages in Germany, kept near starvation point at the best of times, through redundancy of population (which increases rapidly, in spite of emigration), must rise in consequence of the rise in all necessities caused by protection; the German manufacturer will then no longer be able, as he too often is now, to make up for a ruinous price of his articles by a deduction from the normal wages of his hands and will be driven out of the market. Protection, in Germany, is killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

Protectionism in France

France, too, suffers from the consequences of protection. The system in that country has become, by its two centuries of undisputed sway, almost part and parcel of the life of the nation. Nevertheless, it is more and more becoming an obstacle. Constant changes in the methods of manufacture are the order of the day; but protection bars the road. Silk velvets have their backs nowadays made of fine cotton thread; the French manufacturer has either to pay protection price for that, or to submit to such interminable official chicanery as fully makes up for the difference between that price and the government drawback on exportation; and so the velvet trade goes from Lyons to Crefeld, where the protection price for fine cotton thread is considerably lower.

French exports, as said before, consist chiefly of articles of luxury where French taste cannot, as yet, be beaten; but the chief consumers all over the world of such articles are our modern upstart capitalists who have no education and no taste, and who are suited quite as well by cheap and clumsy German or English imitations, and often have these foisted upon them for the real French article at more than fancy prices. The market for those specialties which cannot be made out of France is constantly getting narrower. French exports of manufactures are barely kept up, and must soon decline; by what new articles can France replace those whose export is dying out? If anything can help here, it is a bold measure of Free Trade, taking the French manufacturer out of his accustomed hothouse atmosphere and placing him once more in the open air of competition with foreign rivals. Indeed, French general trade would have long since begun shrinking were it not for the slight and vacillating step in the direction of Free Trade made by the Cobden treaty of 1860,⁷ but that has well-nigh exhausted itself and a stronger dose of the same tonic is wanted.

It is hardly worthwhile to speak of Russia. There, the protective tariff — the duties having to be paid in gold, instead of in the depreciated paper currency of the country — serves above all things to supply the pauper government with the hard cash indispensable for transactions with foreign creditors. On the very day on which that tariff fulfills its protective mission by totally excluding foreign goods, on that day the Russian government is bankrupt. And yet that same government amuses its subjects by dangling before their eyes the prospect of making Russia, by means of this tariff, an entirely self-sufficient country, requiring from the foreigner neither food, nor raw material, nor manufactured articles, nor works of art. The people who believe in this vision of a Russian Empire, secluded and isolated from the rest of the world, are on a level with the patriotic Prussian lieutenant who went into a shop and asked for a globe, not a terrestrial or a celestial one, but a globe of Prussia.

Development of U.S. monopolies

To return to America. There are plenty of symptoms that Protection has done all it could for the United States, and that the sooner it receives notice to quit, the better for all parties. One of these symptoms is the formation of "rings" and "trusts" within the protected industries for the more thorough exploitation of the monopoly granted to them. Now "rings" and "trusts" are truly American institutions, and, where they exploit natural advantages, they are generally though grudgingly submitted to. The transformation of the Pennsylvania oil supply into a monopoly by the Standard Oil Company is a proceeding entirely in keeping with the rules of capitalist production. But if the sugar refiners attempt to transform the protection granted them, by the nation, against foreign competition, into a monopoly against the home consumer, that is to say against the same nation that granted the protection, that is quite a different thing. Yet the large sugar refiners have formed a "trust" which aims at nothing else. And the sugar trust is not the only one of its kind.

Now, the formation of such trusts in protected industries is the surest sign that protection has done its work and is changing its character; that it protects the manufacturer no longer against the foreign importer, but against the home consumer; that it has manufactured, at least in the special branch concerned, quite enough, if not too many manufacturers; that the money it puts into the purse of these manufacturers is money thrown away, exactly as in Germany.

In America, as elsewhere, Protection is bolstered up by the argument that Free Trade will only benefit England. The best proof to the contrary is that in England not only the agriculturists and landlords but even the manufacturers

are turning protectionist. In the home of the "Manchester school" of Free Traders,⁸ on Nov. 1, 1886, the Manchester chamber of commerce discussed a resolution

that, having waited in vain forty years for other nations to follow the Free Trade example of England, the chamber thinks the time has arrived to reconsider that position.

The resolution was indeed rejected, but by 22 votes against 21! And that happened in the center of the cotton manufacture, i.e., the only branch of English manufacture whose superiority in the open market seems still undisputed! But, then, even in that special branch inventive genius has passed from England to America. The latest improvements in machinery for spinning and weaving cotton have come, almost all, from America, and Manchester has to adopt them. In industrial inventions of all kinds, America has distinctly taken the lead, while Germany runs England very close for second place.

The consciousness is gaining ground in England that that country's industrial monopoly is irretrievably lost, that she is still relatively losing ground, while her rivals are making progress, and that she is drifting into a position where she will have to be content with being one manufacturing nation among many, instead of, as she once dreamt, "the workshop of the world." It is to stave off this impending fate that Protection, scarcely disguised under the veil of "fair trade" and retaliatory tariffs, is now invoked with such fervor by the sons of the very men who, forty years ago, knew no salvation but in Free Trade. And when English manufacturers begin to find that Free Trade is ruining them, and ask the government to protect them against their foreign competitors, then, surely, the moment has come for these competitors to retaliate by throwing overboard a protective system henceforth useless, to fight the fading industrial monopoly of England with its own weapon, Free Trade.

But, as I said before, you may easily introduce Protection, but you cannot get rid of it again so easily. The legislature, by adopting the protective plan, has created vast interests, for which it is responsible. And not every one of these interests — the various branches of industry — is equally ready, at a given moment, to face open competition. Some will be lagging behind, while others have no longer need of protective nursing. This difference

Marx pronounced, in principle, in favor of Free Trade as the more progressive plan . . . the plan which would soonest bring capitalist society to a deadlock . . .

of position will give rise to the usual lobby-plotting, and is in itself a sure guarantee that the protected industries, if Free Trade is resolved upon, will be let down very easy indeed as was the silk manufacture in England after 1846. That is unavoidable under present circumstances, and will have to be submitted to by the Free Trade party so long as the change is resolved upon in principle.

Attitude of socialists

The question of Free Trade or Protection moves entirely within the bounds of the present system of capitalist production, and has, therefore, no direct interest for us socialists who want to do away with that system.

Indirectly, however, it interests us inasmuch as we must desire the present system of production to develop and expand as freely and as quickly as possible; because along with it will develop also those economic phenomena which are its necessary consequences, and which must destroy the whole system: misery of the great mass of the people, in consequence of overproduction. This overproduction engendering either periodical gluts and revulsions, accompanied by panic, or else a chronic stagnation of trade; division of society into a small class of large capitalists, and a large one of practically hereditary wage slaves, proletarians, who, while their numbers increase constantly, are at the same time constantly being superseded by new laborsaving machinery; in short, society brought to a deadlock, out of which there is no escaping but by a complete remodeling of the economic structure which forms its basis.

From this point of view, forty years ago Marx pronounced, in principle, in favor of Free Trade as the more progressive plan, and therefore the plan which would soonest bring capitalist society to that deadlock. But if Marx declared in favor of Free Trade on that ground, is that not a reason for every supporter of the present order of society to declare against Free Trade? If Free Trade is stated to be revolutionary, must not all good citizens vote for Protection as a conservative plan?

If a country nowadays accepts Free Trade, it will certainly not do so to please the socialists. It will do so because Free Trade has become a necessity for the industrial capitalists.



Frederick Engels, 1850.

But if it should reject Free Trade and stick to Protection, in order to cheat the socialists out of the expected social catastrophe, that will not hurt the prospects of socialism in the least. Protection is a plan for artificially manufacturing manufacturers, and therefore also a plan for artificially manufacturing wage laborers. You cannot breed the one without breeding the other.

The wage laborer everywhere follows in the footsteps of the manufacturer; he is like the "gloomy care" of Horace, that sits behind the rider, and that he cannot shake off wherever he goes. You cannot escape fate; in other words you cannot escape the necessary consequences of your own actions. A system of production based upon the exploitation of wage labor, in which wealth increases in proportion to the number of laborers employed and exploited, such a system is bound to increase the class of wage laborers, that is to say, the class which is fated one day to destroy the system itself. In the meantime, there is no help for it: you must go on developing the capitalist system, you must accelerate the production, accumulation, and centralization of capitalist wealth, and, along with it, the production of a revolutionary class of laborers. Whether you try the Protectionist or the Free Trade plan will make no difference in the end, and hardly any in the length of the respite left to you until the day when that end will come. For long before that day will protection have become an unbearable shackle to any country aspiring, with a chance of success, to hold its own in the world market.

1. *Physiocrats* — A school of 18th century bourgeois economists who viewed capitalist agriculture, and not industry or commerce, the only source of wealth and the only sphere of the economy where value was created.

2. *"Manifest destiny"* — An expression widely used in the 19th century by the ideologists of the expansionist policy pursued by the US ruling circles to vindicate this policy.

3. *Parliamentary train* — a name for third-class trains in England which, under the law of 1844, each railway company was obliged to run once a day at a speed of 12 miles per hour, fares not exceeding one penny per mile.

4. In 1823, William Huskisson became president of the Board of Trade. On his initiative, a series of measures were introduced in the 1820s to reorganise the obsolete customs system. The prohibitive duties on corn were replaced by a sliding tariff scale, under which import duties rose or fell depending on the fall or rise in grain prices inside the country.

The tariff reform of 1842 lowered customs duties on corn and other imported goods, but introduced income tax as a compensation for the treasury.

5. The reference is to the Ten Hours' Bill of 1847, which came into force on May 1, 1848. In August 1850, Parliament introduced an additional factory act which prolonged the working day for women and adolescents to ten and a half hours on the first five days of the week and reduced it to seven and a half hours on Saturday.

6. The *Customs Union* (Zollverein) of German states (initially embracing 18 states), which established a common customs frontier, was founded in 1834 and headed by Prussia. By the 1840s, the Union embraced all German states with the exception of Austria, the Hanseatic towns (Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg) and some of the smaller states. Formed due to the need for a single German market, the Customs Union subsequently promoted Germany's political unification. It ceased to exist in 1871.

7. The reference is to the trade agreement between Britain and France signed on Jan. 23, 1860. The principal figure on the British side was Free Trader Richard Cobden. Under the agreement, France renounced its prohibitive customs policy and introduced duties that could not exceed 30, and later 25 percent of the cost of the goods. The agreement granted France the right to export the bulk of its goods to England tax-free. One consequence of the agreement was mounting competition on the home market caused by the influx of English goods, which provoked displeasure among the French manufacturers and industrialists.

8. The *Manchester School* — a trend in economic thinking which reflected the interests of industrial bourgeoisie. Its adherents, known as Free Traders, advocated freedom of trade and noninterference by the government in economic life. The center of the Free Traders' activities was Manchester, where the movement was headed by two textile manufacturers, Richard Cobden and John Bright, who founded the Anti-Corn Law League in 1838. In the 1840s and 1850s, the Free Traders formed a separate political group which later constituted the left wing of the Liberal Party.

American Airlines flight attendants strike

BY JANET POST

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — At 7:00 a.m. November 18, some 21,000 flight attendants struck American Airlines, the largest U.S. carrier. "We are in the process of shutting it down," said Association of Professional Flight Attendants (APFA) spokesperson Ray Abernathy.

American Airlines' operations were paralyzed in the opening hours of the strike, according to flight attendant Kelly McGreen, who answered the phone at APFA's strike headquarters in Miami. "They have flights going out, but with cargo only. They are empty," she said. McGreen said that flights out of New York were grounded and that workers at the Ogden service company, which fuels the planes, refused to cross picket lines at Newark, halting traffic.

At Chicago's O'Hare airport, 500 flight attendants held a spirited picket line the night before the strike, chanting "We want a contract!"

APFA officials say the strike will last 11 days, through Thanksgiving, and a decision will be made at that time whether to continue. On November 19, tallies from a vote by American pilots on whether to join a solidarity strike will be released. Many pilots have joined picket lines leading up to the work stoppage.

A few days before the strike, workers at Luis Muñoz Marín Airport in San Juan explained the issues in their fight.

"Already 250 of the 340 American [Airlines] attendants in Puerto Rico have picketed," said Pedro Riviera, chairperson of the APFA San Juan Council. He explained that when pickets were forced out of the terminal here by the Ports Authority, they set up on the highway.

Passing drivers frequently wave or honk including highway department, utility, and airport workers. American Eagle pilots and unionized Budget-Rent-A-Car workers have joined the picket line.

Some American Eagle pilots voluntarily fly private planes to the Puerto Rican islands of Vieques and Culebra to pick up flight attendants for picket duty. Housing is then provided by San Juan flight attendants.

American Eagle is a commuter airline owned by AMR, American Airlines' parent company. Some Eagle flight attendants are organized by APFA in the United States and Puerto Rico.

"The important thing now is that attendants and other airport workers come by and talk to us instead of just reading the company's mailings," Riviera said.

The carrier is flooding workers with threatening letters. One such threat is the layoff of all American Airlines employees in Puerto Rico if APFA strikes.

"This threat comes from Luis Ferré, on the airlines' board of directors, who happens to live in Puerto Rico," said Steve Meador, vice-chairperson of APFA San Juan Council. Ferré, former governor of Puerto Rico, founded the pro-U.S. statehood New Progressive Party. He also owns *El Nuevo Día*, one of the three most prominent dailies on the island.

Meador says he will lose \$4,000 a year with the contract proposed by American. This is due to a cut in flight hours, crew-size



American Airlines flight attendants picket at San Juan airport in Puerto Rico November 13. Signs read "After November 18 — Inexperience aboard — Don't fly." More than 20,000 flight attendants of American went on strike November 18.

reduction, co-payment for health insurance, and inflation.

"American has already put more flight attendants on 'reserve,'" he said. "The cutoff for reserve positions has gone from 4 to 12

years seniority this year in San Juan." Reserve attendants are not entitled to all the guaranteed flight hours of regular attendants.

Attendant Marie Tavárez said that the number of workers on "standby" status has

also increased. "On standby we wait at the airport for up to six hours to see if we are on the flight," she explained.

To underline APFA's concern over wages, three Puerto Rican attendants took their paycheck stubs to management and asked the company to prove its claim of a wage increase.

Miguel Mejias said this is the first time many of the flight attendants, including himself, have faced a possible strike. "But this is something I really believe in," he said.

The AFL-CIO, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which organizes ramp workers at American, have called the San Juan Council to offer their support, Riviera said.

Meanwhile the Federal Aviation Administration bumped up by two days the training time for replacement workers: from 8 to 10 days at 15 hours a day as opposed to 6-7 weeks of normal training.

On November 12 the first replacement workers out of the training center in Dallas began flying on work trips side-by-side with attendants preparing to strike.

A nationally taped APFA message informed union members, "You are not on-board as replacement attendants' instructors. You can refer them to manuals or their supervisors."

Janet Post is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 368 at United Airlines in Miami.

Coal bosses refuse to budge in talks

BY MARY ZINS

MARISSA, Illinois — Negotiations between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) resumed November 3. There is no indication, however, of any movement toward resolution of the strike by 18,000 coal miners on the part of the BCOA.

An ad appeared in area coalfield newspapers October 27 seeking replacement workers.

Coal companies are feeling the pinch. Earnings for Hanson PLC, the parent company of Peabody Coal Co., the largest mine company in the United States, fell 48 percent in the third quarter.

In an October 20 memo to all employees, Arch Mineral Corp. president Steve Leer said that "the strike continues beyond what anyone would have predicted (and) we must now take measures to conserve cash." Among other measures Leer asked employees to "voluntarily defer non-essential dental or medical visits."

On October 1, Consol Energy, Inc. began mining coal with supervisory personnel at its Burning Star no. 4 mine near Cutler, Illinois. Arch Minerals has been mining coal at the Captain and Conant mines with foremen, and Ziegler Holding Co. is mining coal similarly in the West Frankfort, Illinois area. This is the first Consol mine to resume operations during

the strike in this state.

John May, strike coordinator for UMWA Local 1825 at the Burning Star no. 4 mine, said this move by Consol has only served to make members of the local more determined. "At the beginning of the strike," May said, "Consol CEO [Chief Executive Officer] Bobby Brown bragged that they didn't need to run any of their union mines, that they had enough non-union operations to get the coal they need. We knew this wasn't going to be an easy fight, and with Consol opening up production at the mine, they've opened up a new avenue of attack."

Arch Minerals brought a busload of scabs from Kentucky to Benton, Illinois, to get state certification to work in Illinois mines. The UMWA organized a picket line; the state mining board members honored the picket line; and the bus of scabs went back to Kentucky without their certification.

Many UMWA strikers are expecting this to be a long fight. On the road leading into Percy, Illinois, near the Captain mine, a sign says "Happy holidays from the UMWA." Miners explain they want Arch Minerals and other BCOA companies to know they are determined to stay out as long as it takes.

Bob Stein, president of UMWA Local 1820 at Peabody's Baldwin mine in Marissa, said they had just winterized the picket shacks. Baldwin miners have been on strike for more than 190 days.

"When you make the companies the kind of money we made for them, and they turn around and treat you like shit, it just makes you angry," he said. "Peabody's taken this many days away from us already. Each additional day that passes, we're just that much more determined."

Mary Zins is a laid-off coal miner and member of United Transportation Union Local 1405 in St. Louis.

ings, unionists stayed to buy T-shirts, exchange experiences with the miners, and offer their support. "We've got to start sticking together," some steelworkers said.

Over the next few weeks the coal miners returned to shake hands and solicit donations for the UMWA Strikers' Relief Fund at early morning plant gate collections organized by the three union locals. Close to \$5,000 was raised, the bulk in donations from rank-and-file steelworkers. The strikers were also invited to address the annual conference of Steelworkers District 31, representing all the locals in the Chicago/Gary, Indiana region.

"This strike is going into its sixth month now and people are really hurting," Phillips said. "We've got seven weeks until Christmas, and nobody expects these coal companies to budge between now and the holidays." The Relief Fund helps striking families cope with mortgage payments, illnesses, and other emergencies.

Many steelworkers asked whether the coal operators would use replacement workers to break the strike. "I tell people that's an issue we've got in front of us right now," Phillips noted. "The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Belleville paper*, and the *Southern Illinoisan* have all run big ads for scabs and we believe it's for Peabody Coal." Strikers are reproducing these ads on a leaflet to alert other unionists to the threat they face. "I'm telling folks, the United Mine Workers have been around for 103 years. If we go down the tubes, they'll be coming after everyone else tomorrow."

Johanna Ryan is a member of USWA Local 1011 at LTV Steel in East Chicago, Indiana.

Miners request aid

BY KATHY RETTIG

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) District 17 in southern West Virginia launched Operation Joy at a press conference in Madison November 5. The drive will ask other union locals, retirees, and businesses to adopt families of UMWA members on strike. In addition, striking miners will raise funds and collect toys for Christmas at intersections in Logan, Boone, and Wyoming counties. UMWA District 17 international executive board member Howard Green said the union wants to involve union locals and strike supporters from other states and from as far away as Britain and Australia. To adopt a family call (304) 369-4545, (304) 346-4721, or (304) 752-8060.

Steelworkers aid coal strikers

BY JOHANNA RYAN

CHICAGO — Striking coal miners from southern Illinois toured the steel mills of northwest Indiana in October. The response was "overwhelming... just fantastic," said striker Russ Phillips. "Steelworkers understand what we're fighting for and they back us all the way."

Phillips and two fellow members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 1545, on strike against Consolidation Coal, spoke to union meetings of workers from the large Inland Steel, LTV, and Bethlehem Steel mills just east of Chicago. At all three meet-

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N.Y. bombing frame-up trial

Continued from front page

at the Metropolitan Correctional Center November 11. The men detained in both cases have complained of inhumane jail conditions, including 23 hours a day in solitary confinement, dirty cells, restrictions on prayer, delayed calls to their lawyers, and the serving of pork, which they do not eat.

In response to a comment by Elgabrowni that the men had not been convicted of anything, jail spokesperson Sandra Burks said the special confinement was dictated by "the magnitude and scope of the charges."

Terror charges to blur facts

The government has tried to tie the conspiracy charges to the trial, currently underway in federal court, of four men accused of bombing the World Trade Center in Lower Manhattan in February. The defendants in the World Trade Center trial have been named as unindicted co-conspirators in the so-called conspiracy case. In both trials sweeping warnings of "Arab terror" and "Islamic fundamentalism" have been used to blur the facts and clamp down on democratic rights.

It took four weeks of testimony in the World Trade Center trial before the prosecution finally mentioned the name of one of the defendants, Mohammed Salameh. Government lawyers offered proof that Salameh had rented a yellow Ryder van, a fact he had already explained was true and which had never been disputed. The *New York Times* called this "a dramatic high point" in the trial. Other prosecution testimony included evidence that several of the defendants had joint bank accounts and that one, Ajaj, had traveled to the United States in 1992 using a false passport. Meanwhile, no evidence linking any of the defendants to the bombing has been produced.

The city's big-business press has been utterly complicit in whipping up the terror scare and junking the presumption of innocence. Lurid stories fill the dailies. "Trade Center Mysteries Deepen," ran a headline in the November 15 *Times*, with a subhead reading "Trial Raises Tantalizing Issues but Leaves Them Unresolved."

In the latest twist, prosecutors have attempted to bring the Iraqi government into the blast picture. The *Times* claims this points to "the existence of a kind of penumbra of terrorism far larger than the four men accused."

— CALENDAR —

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Hear Lucius Walker, founder of Pastors for Peace, which organized two successful humanitarian aid caravans to Cuba and are planning a third one for February 1994 in direct challenge to the U.S. trade embargo of Cuba. Wed., Dec. 1, 7 p.m. St. Vincent's, 109 E. Price, Germantown (off Germantown Ave., 1 block north of Germantown and Chelton). Sponsored by Cuba Support Coalition. For more information call (215) 729-8057.

BRITAIN

Sheffield

Meeting to celebrate the publication of the new Pathfinder book *Nelson Mandela Speaks, Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. Speakers: Representative, African National Congress; Helen Jackson, member of Parliament; representative of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Sat., Nov. 27, 7 p.m. (Doors open 6:30 p.m.). Friends Meeting House, off the High Street in Sheffield City Centre. For more information call 0742-765070.

CORRECTIONS

An article in the November 22 issue of the *Militant* entitled "Was racism behind Republican victory in N.Y.?" erroneously stated that Giuliani "was endorsed by most of the city's organizations." It should have said Giuliani was endorsed by most of the city's cop organizations.

An article entitled "Important referendum in Nov. 2 U.S. elections" in the same issue stated, "Voters in Cincinnati repealed an ordinance outlawing discrimination based on race, religion, 'Appalachian heritage,' or sexual orientation." What was repealed was not the entire ordinance but a specific provision of that city's Human Rights Ordinance prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation.

Electronic mail service aids 'Militant'

Continued from front page

Militant for the cost of a local phone call — many times less than the cost of international and other long-distance faxes and calls.

Valuable resource on South Africa

One of the important weekly features in the *Militant* is its coverage of the unfolding democratic revolution in South Africa. This has included news about the election campaign of the African National Congress (ANC) and speeches by ANC president Nelson Mandela. Helping to make this possible is the resource material available on Peacenet, which includes statements released by the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity in Johannesburg.

Until earlier this year, the *Militant* was running up unnecessarily large phone bills to South Africa to request press statements or comments by the ANC on major political developments. Staff members at the Department of Information and Publicity called our attention to the greater ease, quickness, and inexpensiveness of the ANC's electronic mail service, which the *Militant* has been using ever since.

Stories and documents received in recent weeks through E-mail have helped improve the scope and quality of the paper's coverage. These items have included information on developments ranging from union activities by rail workers in upstate New York to events in Israel and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, western Europe, the former Yugoslavia, and Russia.

We now encourage all supporters around the world to send contributions to the paper using this new technology.

A variety of articles posted within the Peacenet system have enhanced the *Militant's* coverage of other issues as well, especially stories about developments in Haiti and Cuba.

Militant staff members can also review through CompuServe the latest news stories carried by news agencies such as Associated Press and Reuters. A special service enables staff writers to preselect all articles about South Africa or other topics without having to search through the long daily lists of news dispatches.

Both Peacenet and CompuServe have E-mail connections to the Internet, which is an amalgamation of thousands of individual computer networks through which messages can be exchanged and data shared. More than 15 million computer users are connected to the Internet. About 1 million new users are joining each month. E-mail to or from another Internet user is free.

Items sent through electronic mail can be easily transferred to computer discs, which can be conveniently formatted to assist in the editing process.

Most articles currently sent to the *Militant* arrive by fax or mail. These have to be either retyped or scanned to be typeset for publication. Articles on discs or arriving by E-mail do not require retyping, saving both

time and money.

Using E-mail will also enable the socialist newspaper to save on equipment. Currently the *Militant* maintains one computer permanently connected and waiting for phone calls so that stories sent by modem can be received 24 hours a day. Such a setup becomes unnecessary when stories are sent directly to the *Militant's* electronic mailbox.

We hope most readers will be able to take advantage of this new technology.

The *Militant* can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720[.] We can also be reached via Peacenet at: themilitant[.] To reach us through the Internet use either: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org[.] These E-mail addresses are now listed in the business information box on page 2.

To join CompuServe in the United States

or Canada, call: (800) 848-8199. Basic membership costs \$9 a month. To join Peacenet, call: (415) 442-0220. Membership costs \$10 a month.

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To join Peacenet in Canada, contact the Web at (416) 597-0212; in Britain and France, contact Green Net at 44-71-608-3040; in Australia and New Zealand, contact Pegasus Networks at 61-66-8-56789; in Sweden and Iceland, contact Nord Net at 46-8-6000-331; in Germany, contact Com Link at 49-511-350-1573.

If you have any questions on how to use these services, don't hesitate to call the business office at the number listed on page 2 or contact us by mail or fax.



Militant/Derek Jeffers

More than 1,000 workers rallied November 5 at the GEC-Alsthom factory complex in Saint Ouen, France. The demonstrators were protesting the company's latest reorganization plan, which eliminates 650 jobs at the Le Havre factory.

— MILITANT LABOR FORUMS —

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... all the way to the bank' — "Twelve months from now, it'll double or triple our business. Unfortunately, we're going to benefit from



Harry Ring

this misery." — A southern California contractor who builds multimillion-dollar homes in the mountain and beach areas hit by the recent fires.

Hurts their pride — The *New York Times*, which sees easing the embargo and travel ban against

Cuba as a "better" way to topple the revolution, pointed to the recent UN resolution favoring an end to the embargo. Noting that only Washington and the governments of Israel, Albania, and Paraguay had voted no, the *Times* observed: "It is hard to recall a comparable humiliation for American diplomacy."

Even in death — Looking for a conversation piece? Check out the New York shop that features human skeletons. Currently available, the skeleton, less than 20 years old, of a person from India, \$3,700. Another, from China, much older, \$2,800. Asked how some folks get to be specimens and others don't, the owner of a similar store shrugged, "It's like having rich people and

poor people. As long as the remains are ethically obtained, I have no problem."

Because he can't spell? — A motorist is suing the state of Virginia for cancelling his vanity license plate, which declared: "GOV'T SUX." Officials said they cancelled after receiving a complaint, the nature of which was murky.

And a greasy palm — In Little Rock, James McDougal, ex-owner of the failed Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan, recalled that in 1984, Bill Clinton came to his home "whimpering" for him to throw some legal business to spouse Hillary because they needed bread. McDougal recalled the incident, he said, because Clinton, in his jog-

ging suit and sweated up, sat in a new leather chair, an expensive gift from McDougal's wife.

New law needed — The Philadelphia Phillies may have made it into the World Series, but to some Philadelphians they look scruffy. Like Walter Annenberg, who's almost as cultivated as he's rich. He grouches: "The endless spitting. It's annoying to me. ... But in a constitutional democracy, if anyone wants to dress and be unshaven and look, shall we say, unkempt, it's not a jailable offense."

Stocking stuffers — A genuine bull's scrotum, cured. Great conversation piece. Fill it with matches, gum, mints, etc. \$49.50. A companion piece, a sturdy cane

made from "the reproductive organ of a big bull." Also only \$49.50.

Green news — The Pentagon is looking to dismantle and, hopefully, recycle some 690 million pounds of surplus bombs and other weapons — enough to fill a trailer convoy stretching from New York to St. Louis. That doesn't include obsolete chemical and nuclear weapons.

Beating swords into plowshares — "The government believes it will cost about \$500 a ton to demilitarize these [bomb and artillery] shells and make them into bathroom fixtures." — Spokesman for a manufacturer of cluster bombs, torpedoes, and bullets now looking for a piece of the recycling action.

Police ban antiracist march in Stockholm

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — The police banned a march against racist violence here scheduled for November 9 — the 45th anniversary of *Kristallnacht*, when Nazis smashed in windows of Jewish-owned shops in 1938. *Kristallnacht* marked the beginning of the Nazi campaign to exterminate Jews in Germany.

The action had also been called to commemorate Jimmy Ranjbar, a student from Iran killed by a racist known as the "laser-man" two years ago.

A broad range of organizations backed the November 9 action, including the Social-Democratic Youth, Young Left, Center Party Youth, and the major trade union federation in Stockholm.

Three days earlier the racist Sweden Democrats commemorated the death of King Gustavus II Adolphus, who died at the battle of Lutzen in 1632. Less than 100 people attended this action, but they were protected by a force of more than 400 cops. The police attempted to prevent a counterdemonstration, which was announced as an action to "Stop the Nazi march."

A force of 900 cops protected a similar march Nov. 30, 1992, in Kungsträdgården at the center of Stockholm to commemorate the death of King Karl XII.

The antiracist counterdemonstrators did not get a permit to march that day, but more than 1,000 people gathered peacefully at the cops' barriers surrounding Kungsträdgården. The police broke up the counterdemonstration, claiming a bomb was found in the area where people had gathered.

In 1991 the November 30 march of Sweden Democrats had failed to reach the statue of Karl XII, as the area surrounding it was occupied by 2,000 antiracist activists.

Last year in the southern town of Lund, a march commemorating Karl XII was stopped

by a counterdemonstration. This year the police banned the Karl XII celebration there, arguing that it did not have the forces to protect it. The government overruled the cops' decision, saying this violated the constitutional right to demonstrate. A police contingent was then assigned to protect the racists' march.

The cops have refused to provide permits to either the Sweden Democrats or the antiracist coalition for the November 30 events this year.

In a November 10 interview with the newspaper *Internationalet*, police chief Smedjegården said, "There is now a general ban on demonstrations in Stockholm. A special permit can be granted and we will review it from case to case depending on the situation or threat."

While banning marches, officials say stationary rallies and meetings will be allowed.

Some 700 people gathered November 9 to protest racism. Many of the speakers at the rally condemned the demonstration ban.

So far the Swedish government has not said a word about this ban in Stockholm. But government officials intervened quickly when cops in Lund tried to ban the racists' November 30 demonstration.

Emboldened by police protection and government backing, the racists have stepped up their attacks, especially on bookstores that promote antiracist literature.

The windows of Café 44 and the bookstore Roda Rummet were smashed October 26 in Stockholm. On November 6 the windows of the Pathfinder bookstore were shot at. The hall of the Turkish socialist-democratic youth in the Tensta section of Stockholm was set on fire November 10. Antiracist fighters and other supporters of democratic rights are organizing to protest these attacks and demand that government authorities arrest and prosecute the perpetrators.



Militant/Brigitta Lagerlöf
Wife and child of Hasan, a Palestinian refugee killed in racist shooting, participate in February 1992 demonstration in suburb of Stockholm. Using the excuse of "preventing racial violence," cops in Sweden banned antiracist protest November 9.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
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The single fact that the world financial press agrees on as it attempts to explain and unravel the latest and third world capitalist monetary crisis of 1968, is that the German mark, not the U.S. dollar has become — if only temporarily — the most stable capitalist currency.

To make matters worse, two other capitalist powers, France and Britain, have been thrown into mutually reinforcing economic crises. In both nations the capitalists have resorted to frontal attacks on workers' wages in the hope of salvaging their competitive position in the world market. Their success, so far, is minimal.

French capitalism retaliated against the pay increases won by workers in the historical June general strike by raising prices. But higher prices for French products have made them less competitive in world trade.

A year ago French bankers chortled when Britain devalued the pound. Today they are faced with the necessity of implementing the same kind of "austerity program" London undertook beginning in 1965 — slashing wages and cutting government spending with resultant layoffs.

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

November 27, 1943

On the eve of vital NLRB elections at

the huge new Douglas Aircraft and Chrysler-Dodge plants here, the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, powerful mouthpiece for the most reactionary corporate and financial interests in the mid-west, this week issued a virtual declaration of war against the United Automobile Workers, CIO, and the entire Chicago movement.

In a series of front-page, banner-headlined smear pieces, Col. McCormick's *Tribune* — friend and protector of all the black, brown and silver-shirt fascist groups — has launched a scurrilous series of charges against the UAW in the Studebaker aircraft motor plant which has already given the police and FBI the pretext for invading the plant, intimidating the workers, and framing up "evidence" against loyal union men.

Instinctively recognizing the *Tribune* attack as a symptom of a general reaction against the organized labor movement of America, the members of the two largest UAW locals in Chicago — Studebaker Local 998 and Buick Local 6 — held record-breaking membership meetings last Sunday at which the implications of the attack were discussed and action proposed.

The resolution, recognizing the broader implications of the *Tribune* attack states:

"This union-busting campaign is the reflection of the fear of the most reactionary sections of the corporation and banking interests at the growing strength of industrial unionism in this once notorious open-shop town. The *Chicago Tribune*, and the forces it represents, are interested neither in efficient production or protecting the interests of the workers. As its whole anti-labor record of the past proves, it is interested in keeping Chicago the citadel of the open shop and in driving wages down to the sweatshop levels of 40 cents an hour that prevailed until the CIO fought for and won a measure of decent conditions for the industrial workers."

Defend democratic rights!

Statement by Communist League in Sweden

The following are excerpts from a statement issued November 6 in Stockholm by the Communist League of Sweden.

Demonstrations by the racist organization Sweden Democrats are not aimed at convincing people of the group's ideas, but of winning support for its ongoing campaign of violent attacks. It's a proven fact that sympathizers of the Sweden Democrats jumped on the head of a Somali immigrant and burned a mosque in Trollhättan earlier this year.

The Sweden Democrats try to take advantage of the political polarization around trials of their supporters. They've organized several demonstrations with huge police protection in Trollhättan and Gothenburg. While the racists get cop protection for their demonstrations, actions by antiracist activists are either banned or shoved onto back streets.

Racist violence and the beefing up of police power receive little media coverage, while fights provoked by the cops and the racists against young antiracist protesters get big headlines. Peaceful antiracist actions, like the march of more than 10,000 in Gothenburg a day before the demonstration called by the Sweden Democrats, are hardly even mentioned.

The cops and the government attempt to

turn the victims into criminals while they protect the real criminals. Government restrictions on the rights of immigrants fuel the racist violence.

We don't propose that racist demonstrations be banned. This would just play into the hands of the government and the police who seek to restrict the right to protest against racism, unemployment, and cuts in social security.

Fascism will not be smashed by getting into physical fights with small racist gangs of skinheads who call themselves nazis and shout *sieg heil*. A mass fascist movement in the 1990s will be led by well dressed people who come from within the established bourgeois political parties, the police, and the state bureaucracy.

To point to the Sweden Democrats' racist skinhead gangs as a fascist threat today makes one blind to the real animal when it enters the political arena.

Today the focus of our fight should be protesting and demanding government action against racist attacks, unemployment, cuts in social spending, restrictions on the right to asylum, and other attacks on democratic rights.

Defend the right to demonstrate!

Build the November 9, 30 antiracist actions!

Clinton's 'cold war' on Cuba

For almost 35 years the U.S. government has waged a relentless campaign aimed at destroying the Cuban revolution. Recent speeches by White House officials confirm — for those who had any doubts — that the Clinton administration is determined to continue this "cold war" against Cuba.

The fact is that Clinton — like eight U.S. presidents before him — has no choice. The U.S. capitalist class simply cannot coexist with the revolutionary internationalist course that working people in Cuba have charted since overthrowing the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in 1959.

Assistant Secretary of State Alexander Watson demands compensation for property taken from U.S. ruling families and from corporations like Standard Oil, AT&T, and United Fruit. But these confiscations were carried out in response to the demands of tens of thousands of Cuban working people who, in the face of mounting political, military, and economic aggression, mobilized day after day to guarantee that the imperialist-owned factories, banks, and land became the property of the Cuban people.

The Cuban toilers have earned Washington's implacable hatred by the example they set in mobilizing millions to carry out a genuine social revolution that took economic and political power away from the capitalist class and their imperialist masters. They have also won the respect of millions of toilers around the world through their selfless aid to others under attack — from Vietnam to Angola, as well as Nicaragua and Grenada.

For three and a half decades the Cuban people have defied Uncle Sam, choosing instead to advance and defend their revolution in the face of an ongoing campaign of aggression, which has included military intervention, threats of nuclear annihilation, sabotage, and a brutal trade embargo. Washington will not and cannot stop its war against Cuba as long as the revolution is alive.

Today, Cuba is facing a grave economic crisis, brought on by years of copying the economic models of Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe — a point millions of Cubans began to discuss and take initial steps to reverse in the mid-1980s. There are severe shortages of basic necessities, including food, oil, and medical supplies. Indus-

trial production has ground to a halt. This crisis is exacerbated by the brutal U.S. economic embargo and loss of trade with the former Soviet Union.

Under these conditions, Clinton and the employer class he represents have vowed to push a little harder. They are optimistic that if they are persistent, and if they apply enough pressure, the government of Cuban president Fidel Castro will meet the same fate as the ruling gangs in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

But here they make a serious error. Unlike in those countries, the Cuban revolution has not been cruelly distorted and deformed for decades by thugs masquerading as communists. The Cuban workers and farmers have a revolutionary leadership that is still capable of mobilizing the toilers to defend their interests. And the socialist consciousness and fighting spirit of the Cuban toilers that has been forged in decades of struggle is still alive. Many of the concrete gains of the revolution — universal health care and education free of charge for all, housing, even big pieces of nationalized property — can be eroded under the impact of the current crisis. But the class consciousness of working people will not simply evaporate. The Cuban working class is fighting to defend the revolution.

The determination of one U.S. administration after another to overthrow Cuba's revolutionary government is proof that the revolution — our revolution — still lives. Working people should take great pride in this.

Now, more than ever, it is both necessary and possible to reach out broadly to win fellow workers, farmers, and youth to oppose Washington's trade embargo and undemocratic travel ban. It is also important to defend those victimized for visiting the Caribbean island to offer their solidarity or simply see Cuba for themselves. The U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravans are one example of the kind of activity that can help draw new forces into this fight.

Most importantly, fighting workers and youth around the world can be won to become partisans of the Cuban revolution — seeing working people there not as victims of U.S. imperialism, but as its most implacable foes; not simply out of solidarity, but as an example that points the road forward for oppressed and exploited toilers everywhere.

Reverse ban on Gerry Adams

In the latest attack on democratic rights, the White House denied a visa to Gerry Adams, president of Sinn Féin. President Bill Clinton has thus barred Adams from entering the United States, where he had been invited by New York mayor David Dinkins at the urging of Irish-American groups.

The president's nefarious action strikes a blow above all at the rights of working people on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. This move undercuts the freedom to exchange political views and the right to travel. It's part of Washington's long-standing policy of excluding opponents of British rule in Northern Ireland and anyone else whose views are not to the liking of the U.S. rulers.

At an Irish-American presidential forum in April 1992, then-candidate Clinton pledged he would grant Adams a visa.

At the first test of this promise, Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno promptly did an about-face. In May, Adams was invited for a promotional tour at the request of Sheridan Square Press, the U.S. publisher of two of his books. The administration denied the visa.

Clinton claims that "credible evidence exists that Adams remains involved at the highest level in devising strategy" for the Irish Republican Army.

The fact is, Sinn Féin is a legal political party in Northern Ireland that opposes British occupation. Adams has never been found guilty of anything except an attempted escape from Long Kesh prison where he was jailed without charge

by the British colonial authorities.

Adams's only crime, from the standpoint of Clinton and British prime minister John Major, is fighting for the self-determination of Northern Ireland, one of the world's oldest colonial possessions.

London and Washington use travel bans to censor views critical of their policies. Both the British and Irish governments ban Adams from speaking on radio and television because they want to silence the Irish freedom struggle.

For decades, Washington has maintained a list of thousands of individuals who are excluded from the country on the basis of their political views. This policy weakens the working-class movement and all those fighting for democratic rights and social justice.

If Washington can exclude Adams on the basis of the terrorism smear, who will be next? South African trade unionists? Opponents of dictatorships in Asia or Latin America? Opponents of the capitalist Arab regimes, tarred with the brush of so-called Islamic fundamentalism?

It's worth remembering that until the democratic movement in South Africa began tearing down apartheid, similar methods were used against opponents of the white minority regime. The State Department routinely threatened to deny African National Congress (ANC) leaders and activists visas on the basis that the ANC was a terrorist organization.

The labor movement should demand that Clinton reverse the ban on Sinn Féin leaders and grant a visa to Gerry Adams.

Stop N.Y. bombing frame-ups

In denying Omar Abdel Rahman the right to choose his own lawyer, a federal judge has exposed the true nature of the government charges against 15 conspiracy defendants in New York City.

Attorneys William Kunstler and Ronald Kuby hit the nail on the head when they called the case "a sordid frame-up."

The ruling came at the government's request. The judge claimed there was conflict of interest.

The conflict of interest is on the part of the prosecution, which didn't want Kunstler, a prominent civil liberties lawyer, defending Abdel Rahman. A united defense of the accused would make the railroading attempt more difficult.

Free from the burden of providing evidence, federal prosecutors have charged the accused with bombing plots, assassinations, attempted assassinations, and other acts, all under an anti-working-class seditious conspiracy statute. The government and big-business media have worked overtime to present the accused as *guilty*, and have tried to implicate them in the February bombing of the World Trade Center as well.

As the old saying goes, if you throw enough mud against the wall, some of it is bound to stick.

This method is key to the government's case. Because

federal prosecutors have yet to present a shard of evidence that Abdel Rahman did anything illegal.

The same approach is at work in the World Trade Center bombing trial. For the first *four weeks*, the government didn't even name a defendant. When they did, it was to establish that Mohammed Salameh rented a van. That van, which Salameh reported stolen before the World Trade Center explosion, may have been destroyed in the parking lot. That's it. Leading up to that point, a majority of testimony was devoted to describing the gory details of the blast in an attempt to prejudice the jury.

Up to this moment, only circumstantial evidence against the accused has been presented. The government has thrown in a big dose of "Islamic fundamentalism-terror" lingo, questions about false passports of one defendant, banking habits of others, and now the implication that Baghdad may be involved.

Working people and all democratic-minded individuals have reason to oppose this travesty of justice. The government's trampling of democratic rights will be used increasingly against the labor movement and opponents of its criminal wars abroad.

Drop the indictments!

Should workers have supported NDP in Canada elections?

In his letter to the editor, Howard Brown refers to the sharp drop in the vote for the New Democratic Party (NDP) in the recent Canadian elections. Brown asks, "In countering the preelection tide of support among working people for the Liberals, shouldn't communists have called for a vote for 'Canada's labor party' where the [Communist] League wasn't running, while demanding that NDP leaders break from their procapitalist course?"

The challenge facing communists and other class-conscious fighters in these elections, however, was to advance a discussion with workers, working farmers, and youth on how we can defend ourselves from the ravages of the world capitalist economic crisis.

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

Today, working people face imperialist wars, attacks on democratic rights, increased unemployment, and attacks on our standard of living. While the federal Tory government has led the assault on social programs and government workers nationally, some of the biggest attacks have been carried out by NDP governments in Ontario, British Columbia, and Saskatchewan.

These experiences led many working people to reject voting NDP in the elections. One of my coworkers at Chrysler explained, "I always voted NDP, but this time, after the cutbacks, I just couldn't stomach it."

This was different from the situation in the 1991 provincial elections in British Columbia, which Brown refers to. Prior to these elections there was a series of mobilizations of working people against Social Credit Party government attacks on the unions, abortion rights, farmers, and Native land rights.

Many fighters saw electing the NDP as a means to advance these struggles. In the 1991 elections, the Communist League erred in not supporting a vote for the NDP. By not standing shoulder to shoulder with those workers who were determined to back the NDP against the conservative Social Credit government, communists were less effective in explaining that the only way to advance these fights, and change the world, is through struggle. It made it harder to explain that the NDP's anti-working-class political perspective is an obstacle to advancing these fights.

Different electoral tactics were needed in the 1993 federal elections by all those trying to advance a working-class perspective. Because of the sharp decline of support by working people for the NDP, coupled with the NDP's rightward evolution, calling for critical support for the NDP would have been an obstacle to advancing the discussion on how to move forward.

Since its inception, the NDP has been a brake on genuine independent working-class political action. Far from advancing a program aimed at forging unity between the working class and its allies in a fight against capitalism, the leadership of the social democratic NDP reduces "political action" to the ballot box and counterposes voting to struggles by working people to defend and improve our working and living conditions.

This party, along with other social democratic parties and governments around the world, from New Zealand to France and Sweden, has been in the forefront of those carrying out the rulers' assaults on wages and working conditions of working people.

Capitalist politicians used the election campaign to try to convince working people that too much spending on social programs, immigrant workers, Quebecois, and welfare recipients — not capitalism itself — is the cause of the economic crisis.

The chauvinist, anti-immigrant, and anti-Quebecois campaign was spearheaded by Reform Party leader Preston Manning. But NDP leader Audrey McLaughlin didn't say a word in opposition. Moreover, as part of its attacks, the Ontario NDP government threw refugees off Ontario's Medicare rolls, saying "foreigners" were stealing Ontario medical care and driving up the deficit, and banned Quebec construction workers from working in Ontario.

The centerpiece of the NDP federal election campaign was the fight to defeat the North American Free Trade Agreement. This campaign has been the central political axis of the Canadian Labour Congress over the past few years. It promotes the false idea that working people in Canada can fight for jobs by lining up with those capitalists who want to erect more stringent protectionist walls around Canada.

Trying to convince workers to vote for the NDP instead of the Liberals wouldn't have helped to explain that the only way to defend ourselves from the impact of the capitalist economic crisis is to join unfolding struggles and fight for demands to unify the working class. The Communist League campaign was centered on building solidarity with striking miners in Yellowknife and the United States, joining together with those opposing imperialist intervention in Somalia and Haiti, and explaining the need to fight to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay, implement affirmative action programs, and demand cancellation of the Third World debt.

It's only through waging these kinds of battles that working people can defend ourselves, begin to transform our unions into fighting organizations, and eventually build a working-class political party that can lead the fight for a workers and farmers government. — SUSAN BERMAN

Charges filed against bosses in Canada mine blast

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

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn

"This is a start for us, but it's a long, tough road from here on in," said Bert Marlin, whose 36-year-old son Glenn died in the blast.

Curragh itself no longer faces any criminal charges because the company has gone into receivership.

Following the court's ruling, the

ers Local 1508 held an informational picket November 10 to protest further job losses at the Bendix plant in Green Island, New York. At one time, more than 900 workers made brake liners at this location. Now 186 remain, and Bendix has announced plans to reduce the workforce to 60.

"They are putting the jobs in nonunion shops down south and in another union shop in a right-to-work shop in Tennessee," said Bill Burns, president of the bargaining committee of Local 1508. □



Independent truckers held a strike across the United States November 11-18 to protest federal tax increases on diesel fuel, which have pushed prices up 10 to 40 cents a gallon. In the Los Angeles area, the strike was successful in paralyzing a large portion of freight traffic at ports and railyards. Above, truckers demonstrate in Wilmington, California. The sign in Spanish at center reads, "Truckers united will never be defeated."

ON THE PICKET LINE

from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

New charges of manslaughter and criminal negligence causing death were filed against two former managers of the Westray mine in Nova Scotia October 26. Earlier charges were thrown out of court in July after a judge ruled they were too vague.

The case stems from a massive underground explosion at the Westray mine May 9, 1992, which killed 26 miners.

Newspaper and television reports before and after the explosion documented widespread disregard for safety procedures by the mine's owner, Curragh Inc., and by the federal and provincial governments' mine safety services. Until now, authorities had succeeded in preventing criminal proceedings or a public investigation.

Family members of the dead miners have led a fight for an inquiry and the filing of criminal charges. Some of them were in court when the latest decision was made. They applauded and embraced.

company's lawyer announced that he was withdrawing from defending the two managers. □

McDonald's workers vote in union in Ontario

Sixty-seven of 102 workers at a McDonald's restaurant in Orangeville, Ontario, voted to join the Service Employees International Union.

The owners of the local franchise are challenging the vote, claiming that 30 workers have since changed their minds. A union lawyer said the restaurant managers had used "undue pressure" in an effort to revoke the vote for unionization.

A 16-year-old high school student helped lead the organizing effort, which if successful would lead to the first unionized shop out of 13,670 McDonald's restaurants worldwide.

The restaurant workers, many of whom are teenagers, saw the union vote as a way to improve working conditions, wages, and benefits, and stop unjustified firings and threats by the boss. □

New York auto workers protest loss of jobs

Members of United Auto Work-

Monfort announces packinghouse shutdown

Monfort, Inc., announced October 22 that it is permanently closing its pork plant in St. Joseph, Missouri, axing 1,050 workers organized by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 576. Monfort, a division of agribusiness giant ConAgra, is the city's largest industrial employer.

On the Monday following the shutdown announcement, hundreds of workers wore blue T-

shirts that sported an oversized hog with the caption "I got porked by Monfort." At least one worker, Joshua Hendrix, was called into the personnel office and told not to wear the shirt. Hendrix told the *News-Press*, "[Management] said the shirt was tacky and that it would be bad to wear if there were prospective buyers in the plant. I have nothing against prospective buyers, but the shirt tells how I feel about being put out of work by Monfort."

The St. Joseph shutdown will also affect Missouri's 12,000 hog producers. When Wilson closed its

Marshall plant in Missouri in 1990, hog prices in the state dropped \$3 to \$4 a head. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Roger Annis, member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900 in Montreal; Jon Flanders, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1145 in Selkirk, New York; Mike Galati, member of UFCW Local 1149 in Marshalltown, Iowa; Bill Kalman, member of UFCW Local 431 in Des Moines, Iowa; and Craig Honts, member United Transportation Union Local 1544 in Los Angeles.

LETTERS

'Crime wave' I

I would like to add two observations to Naomi Craine's article "Is 'crime wave' media hype?" in the November 8 *Militant*.

The vicious dog-eat-dog nature of capitalism not only creates a layer of people who have lost any sense of human solidarity, but also creates the general conception that the prime source of wealth is not the human productive activity, but the taking away from other people. Hence the illusion that one needs only to be tough and vicious enough to have a greater part in the general taking away.

On the other hand, as the October 11 editorial pointed out, already the practice of working-class solidarity in struggles today, long before the victorious taking of power, creates different attitudes in the people who take part in them. This is not a perspective to wait for the greener pastures on the horizon, but a reality in all big fights for the interests of working people today.

To end in a question, what do you think of suggestions that working people organize to keep drug dealers out of their neighborhoods? I have heard something like that from a city in northern France.

Lüko Willms
Frankfurt/Main, Germany

'Crime wave' II

I read with much interest the recent exchange of views on crime in the pages of the *Militant*.

In the recent federal elections in Canada, capitalist parties all agreed that what they called "crime" is a growing problem that requires changes in the law. They all agreed, for example, that the Young Offenders Act, created in 1986, should be changed so that more youth under the age of 18 will be tried through the adult court system. One party pro-

posed that those convicted of violent crimes should be placed on lifetime parole once released from prison.

As the *Militant* article by Naomi Craine argued, proposals from capitalist politicians and parties for solving crime come down to attacks on hard-won democratic rights for working people.

I think that a part of the hype over crime is a misrepresentation of the real extent of the problem.

A recent article in the *Globe and Mail*, a capitalist daily newspaper in Canada, shed some light on this.

According to the article, the rate of crime in Canada has risen in the past 10 years. The rate of assaults and sexual assaults has doubled. But the rate of violent crime has remained constant, in fact it declined in 1992. The murder rate has remained constant over two decades.

Meanwhile, crimes of property theft have risen sharply since 1989.

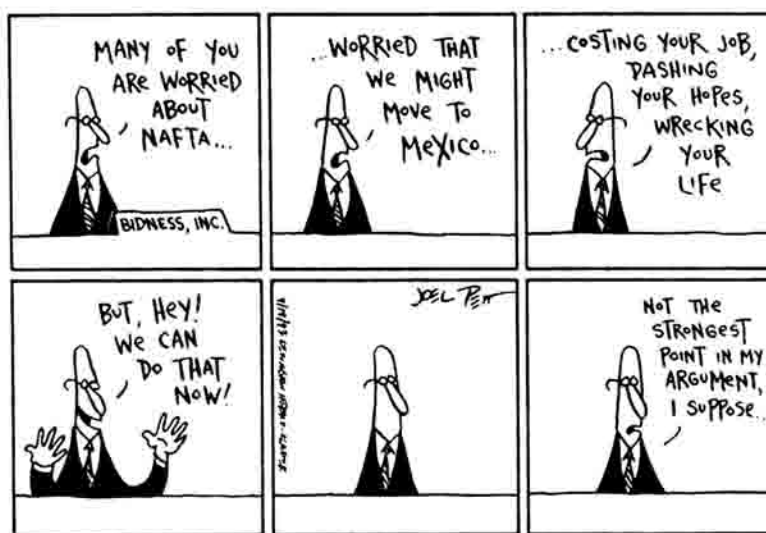
The article notes a positive trend in statistics on sexual assault, which is that victims are becoming more confident in coming forward and laying complaints, and that police and courts are acting more on these complaints.

"The picture crime statistics paint," the article suggests, "is less that of a country growing more violent than it is of a society increasingly intolerant of any level of violence."

The article presents some convincing facts for its conclusion regarding intolerance for crime. But it is unclear on one vital point — whose "intolerance" is it referring to?

There is a growing intolerance in Canada of violent crimes against women, immigrants, Native people or other workers who are victims of the economic and social system.

There is also a growing intolerance of police and judicial agencies who refuse to act on these crimes or who are guilty of committing



them. That's why victims of police violence or frame-ups win broad public support when they stand up and fight for their rights.

Another, entirely different, "intolerance" for crime is that of the "anti-crime" crusade. This has nothing to do with creating justice. It has everything to do with cynically using "rising crime" to attack the rights of those who will stand up and fight for a new and better world, free of capitalist exploitation and the antisocial behavior it breeds.

Roger Annis
Montreal, Quebec

'Crime wave' III

In reference to your article "Is 'crime wave' media hype?" I find your point of view interesting.

It is a discrepancy that the human species, which is so innately cooperative, is manipulated by systems which make us like "weasels fighting in a hole." This has alienated me, profoundly.

Nevertheless, many of us insist on our right to self-defense. Although, myself, I know that in such an incident I might lose. Yet

I (as others) would rather go down fighting than submit to evil, would rather go with our boots on than beg savages not to kill us.

Yet, thankfully, you don't say what many left-liberals say: "If you are attacked, you must be guilty." "To defend yourself is hideous!" To me, this is crazy, from groveling, sob-sister, weaklings. Self-defense is not vigilantism.

Your major point that we live in a lawless, criminal system is not lost.

As to your editorial entitled "Defend public education," I disagree. Deranged lumpen kids disrupt the whole process in public schools.

Bob Lyons
Seattle, Washington

Canada labor party

"Canada's labor party gains in elections," the *Militant* headlined a Dec. 20, 1991, article by Colleen Levis. The Communist League had been in error in failing to call for a vote for the New Democratic Party (NDP) which had won the recent British Columbia and Saskatchewan elections, Levis explained.

The NDP had campaigned in both

elections on a platform of capitalist austerity and counterposed "national unity" to the demands of the Quebecois, the article stated. But, "Despite its procapitalist program the NDP is not financed or directly controlled by Canada's capitalist rulers as are the Liberals, Conservatives, and Socreds [Social Credit Party]. Instead it is directly linked to the unions, many of which are affiliated to the NDP," Levis wrote.

"Under conditions where the election campaign was sharply polarized against a hated capitalist government like the Socreds, communists should have stood with the workers who voted NDP," the article argued, quoting League leader Margaret Manwaring.

Canada's hated conservative government was decimated in the Oct. 25, 1993 election. But the NDP saw its traditional federal voting base cut by two-thirds. Many militants have been alienated from the party by the antilabor policies of NDP governments. Many workers moved to the capitalist Liberals as "the only hope of defeating the conservatives."

In countering the preelection tide of support among working people for the Liberals, shouldn't communists have called for a vote for "Canada's labor party" where the League wasn't running, while demanding that NDP leaders break from their procapitalist course? I was disappointed the *Militant* did not directly address this question in its sparse coverage of the Canadian election.

Howard Brown
Rosetown, Saskatchewan

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.

Puerto Rico plebiscite doesn't resolve colonial status of Caribbean island

BY LAURA GARZA

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — For the second time since the U.S. government seized control of Puerto Rico in 1898, residents voted in a nonbinding plebiscite on the status of the island. The November 14 referendum was initiated by Pedro Rosselló, the current governor, whose New Progressive Party (PNP) supports turning the Caribbean island into a U.S. state.

Voters were presented with three basic choices: statehood, advocated by the PNP; maintaining the current Commonwealth status, supported by the Popular Democratic Party (PPD); and independence, as defined by the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP).

Nearly 74 percent of the island's 2.2 million eligible voters participated in the plebiscite, the first since 1967. A plurality, 48.4 percent supported Commonwealth, with 46.2 percent for statehood and 4.4 percent for independence. The vote for statehood was higher than in 1967 when the PNP won 39 percent of ballots cast.

Washington conquered Puerto Rico as a colony almost 100 years ago, following more than 400 years of Spanish rule. In 1952, Washington created the Commonwealth status, claiming this decolonized the island. In 1972, the United Nations adopted a resolution in support of the island's right to self-determination and independence from U.S. colonial rule. The UN General Assembly has

approved similar resolutions virtually every year since 1976.

The U.S. Congress, which has the ultimate power to determine Puerto Rico's legal status under the current colonial setup, was not bound to abide by the plebiscite's results. Under the current Commonwealth status Puerto Rico's 3.7 million residents are U.S. citizens, subject to U.S. military service, but with no vote in federal elections and no say over the country's foreign policy or the budget voted on by Congress. Puerto Ricans vote for a local "autonomous" government which can impose taxes on the island and manages the distribution of federal funds.

The debate on the island's status took place while the country faces an official unemployment rate of 17 percent, though widely estimated to be higher. More than half of Puerto Rico's population lives below the official poverty level. Many residents depend on food stamps. Federal welfare programs, including Medicaid, are limited at levels far below those for states.

Working people in Puerto Rico also face a government offensive aimed at lowering wages and pushing privatization of state-owned entities. Workers at the phone company beat back an attempt to privatize that company in 1990. A one-day strike by the teachers union November 3 forced the government to back down from an attempt to begin using school vouchers as a step toward privatization of education.



Militant/Janet Post
Puerto Ricans voting on the referendum November 14 in San Juan. A plurality of those who went to the polls voted to maintain the current Commonwealth status of the island.

The major parties participating in the vote each tried to portray their option as a way to resolve the economic crisis and get more federal aid.

Roselló pointed to the higher standard of living in the United States, claiming that statehood would be a way to give Puerto Ricans equal status with other U.S. citizens.

He argued it would also mean eligibility for an additional \$6 billion in federal aid and guaranteed permanent citizenship. Roselló's PNP ran an ad campaign, which included an appearance by Illinois senator Paul Simon who said that under statehood you could have two flags, preserve your language and culture, and citizenship would be irrevocable and guaranteed.

The pro-Commonwealth PPD portrayed statehood as a threat to the language and culture of Puerto Rico, pointing to the English-only proposals that have been voted on in many states. They argued that under statehood Puerto Ricans would have to begin paying federal income taxes.

PPD spokespeople proposed negotiating for full parity in all federal aid programs and ending limits recently put on Section 936 of the Internal Revenue Code, which gives U.S. companies in Puerto Rico tax-free status. They also appealed to supporters of independence to help defeat the push for statehood by voting for the Commonwealth.

The PIP proposed a formula for independence that would include negotiating with the United States to maintain social security benefits, allow dual citizenship for those who want it, the right to use the dollar or a separate currency, and free access to the U.S. market, with guarantees Puerto Rico would maintain special incentives for U.S. investment.

While Puerto Rico is underdeveloped, it's per capita income of \$6,200 a year is the highest in Latin America. The PIP pointed to countries like Malta and Singapore as examples of how independence would provide new investment opportunities and growth. They also called for the eventual removal of U.S. military bases from the island. Noel Colón Martínez, an *independentista*, joined with others in filing a lawsuit to demand other options on the ballot or cancellation of the vote. At a caravan organized to support abstention, Colón explained that he objected to the monopoly of the three parties over the ballot and debate.

Eunice Santana, another supporter of abstention, stated, "Promises for the future are being based on what the United States will do or will not do. Especially with the downward shift in the U.S. economy people are going to the polls with false expectations. This is a colonial debate. We want decolonization and self-determination, but this vote does not represent that."

A number of people interviewed said they weren't going to vote because it wouldn't make much of a difference.

Pro-choice activists meet in Birmingham

BY ELLEN WHITT

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — More than 100 activists from 11 states and 20 cities participated in "Defending Choice: A Conference for Activism," held here November 6-7. The conference was sponsored by the Birmingham Clinic Defense Team, Alabama National Organization for Women (NOW), and Alabamians for Choice. It was held in conjunction with the Alabama NOW state conference.

Participants came from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Indiana, Iowa, South Carolina, Massachusetts, and New York.

Many shared common experiences over the past year defending abortion clinics and personnel from right-wing attacks. Among these experiences was a rally of 2,000 pro-choice activists in Pensacola, Florida — held in response to the murder of Dr. David Gunn last March by an antiabortion protester — and Operation Rescue's defeated blockade attempts in Jackson, Mississippi, last summer.

David Gunn Jr., son of Dr. Gunn, gave

the keynote address. He said that a year ago he had too much confidence in the Clinton administration. Instead of support from the so-called "pro-choice government," he said there has been "complete silence from the White House while clinics are bombed." In contrast, Gunn continued, "When bombing interrupts commerce (such as the World Trade Center in New York), the government is immediately on the scene."

Government officials have in fact used the New York bombing to launch further attacks on the rights of immigrants, particularly Arabs, and other democratic rights.

During an open discussion following his talk, Gunn reported that various organizations are considering organizing a national action in commemoration of his father's death.

During this session, participants in clinic defense exchanged views about the role of the government, particularly the police. Some argued that the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances bill must be passed in order to protect clinics. The Senate voted November 16 in favor of this bill, which prohibits

blockades or violence at abortion clinics and threats against doctors and nurses who perform abortions. Others remarked that laws are already on the books but are not enforced and that further restrictions on the right to assemble near clinics are in fact a threat to democratic rights and do not advance the fight to defend women's rights.

One activist said that police cooperation could be obtained by meeting the cops before a major publicized attack and used the siege in Jackson last summer as an example. "But why are we all so surprised when the police do something to protect our rights?" another asked. "It's because it is an exception to the rule. We cheer when they simply do what they claim their job is."

"Abortion Denied," a workshop featuring five high school women active in the Birmingham Clinic Defense Team, took up the difficulties and discrimination young women who choose to have an abortion face.

Young women routinely face enormous obstacles due to parental consent laws, 24-hour waiting periods, transportation, and financial difficulties. Christy Henderson of Pro-Choice Mississippi noted that the 24-hour waiting period is being used by anti-choice activists to trace license plates, contact parents, and harass women at home just before an abortion. In Mississippi and Tennessee two parents must consent for a teenager to have an abortion.

At the conclusion of the conference, activists adopted a resolution stating, "We, the participants in the 'Defending Choice: A Conference for Activism' in Birmingham, Alabama, want to express our strong support for a national action to commemorate Dr. David Gunn and in defense of a woman's right to choose." The resolution will be sent to various national organizations involved in abortion rights activities.

Activists also pledged to help abortion rights supporters in Little Rock, Arkansas, where the next national attack on abortion clinics is scheduled April 17-23, 1994.

Ellen Whitt is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1131 at US Steel in Fairfield, Alabama, and a member of the Birmingham Clinic Defense Team.



Militant/Denise McInerney
Nicole Youngman (at podium), from Birmingham Women's Medical Clinic, addresses abortion rights conference in Birmingham, Alabama. Activists discussed plans to defend clinics and build support for a national action to commemorate Dr. David Gunn.

Laura Garza is a member of the United Steelworkers of America in Miami.