

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Washington aims to strangle socialist revolution in Cuba

— PAGES 8-9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 57/NO. 45 December 20, 1993

UMWA, coal bosses reach tentative agreement

BY DAVID MARSHALL
AND MARY ZINS

PERCY, Illinois — United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Richard Trumka announced December 7 that the union had reached a tentative agreement with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

"There is a tentative agreement. It is in writing," said Illinois strike coordinator Jim Thomas. Thomas said he did not know the details except that it is a five-year contract proposal. Mines will remain shut down until a contract is approved by union members. Picket lines were pulled down November 22 as part of an amnesty agreement for more than 300 workers fired or threatened with discipline for strike activity.

According to Trumka, the contract would "guarantee better wages and pensions." The union "finally drew the line at double-breasting," he added.

Throughout the coalfields, miners plan to carefully review the terms of the proposed contract. Dave Duffy is strike coordinator for UMWA Local 1392 at Arch Mineral's Captain mine in Percy, Illinois. "We've been out way too long to take anything that doesn't suit us," he said.

"I want to see what's written down," Duffy continued. "You have to look at it before you make any rash statements for or against. I'm told there's some good terms. I'll make my decision when I see it," he said.

UMWA locals will meet December 12 so that members can receive copies of the proposal and discuss its terms. Two days later UMWA members covered by the BCOA contract will cast their ballots. "This is not over till the miners vote," said

Continued on Page 11

Washington strikes blows against rivals in GATT talks

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Washington struck new blows to its competitors in Japan and Europe as the December 15 deadline for concluding world trade talks approached. The Clinton administration forced French prime minister Edouard Balladur to accept a slightly modified deal on agricultural trade that will benefit U.S. farm exports, and won formal agreement from Tokyo to open its rice market to imports.

As the world's dominant economic and military power, Washington will most likely coerce Paris into signing the pact, even as the French government assumes a victorious posture. Balladur had threatened to veto the Blair House agricultural agreement and collapse the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). This could threaten a cross-Atlantic trade war.

"If the Uruguay Round fails, all the ingredients for a rapid deterioration in world trade will thus be in place," said the December 4 *Economist*. "There can be little doubt about the far-reaching effects that a trade war might eventually have."

Under the terms of the Blair House agree-
Continued on Page 12

New governing council in S. Africa assumes powers

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) comprising representatives from 19 political parties took office in Cape Town December 7 to oversee preparations for South Africa's first-ever democratic, non-racial elections set for April 27, 1994.

"This is a victory for all the people of South Africa without exceptions," stated African National Congress (ANC) president Nelson Mandela upon his arrival in Oslo, Norway. Mandela will receive the Nobel Peace Prize along with South African president F.W. de Klerk on December 10. "We are confident that there is no force in South Africa that can prevent the movement towards the greater South Africa of our dreams."

"This day marks the beginning of the end of minority rule," commented ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa shortly before the inauguration of the TEC.

The TEC will have seven sub-councils with decision-making or veto powers over a range of affairs including law and order, defense, intelligence, finance, regional and local government, foreign affairs, and the status of women.

"Technically, although the South African government will remain in power until after the multiparty elections next year, it cannot take decisions in seven key areas of government without an agreement with the Transitional Executive Council," stated ANC spokesperson Carl Niehaus.

"The government must not only consult



ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa (left) and Colin Englin, his Democratic Party counterpart, prepare for first meeting of Transitional Executive Council (TEC). The assumption of powers by the TEC "is a victory for all the people of South Africa," stated Mandela.

the TEC in areas affecting a smooth transition to democracy and free and fair elections, they must agree with the TEC," Niehaus said. "For example, although they will still control security and law and order departments, they cannot deploy police and soldiers into trouble-torn areas" without the consent of the TEC.

National Party leader de Klerk continues

to insist that his government is still in charge and that the TEC will function primarily as an advisory body. "The supposition that the TEC will actually take over from the government... has no credible basis," he stated.

However, the bill approved by both the multiparty negotiators and the white minor-

Continued on Page 3

White House threatens North Korea

BY PAT SMITH

To counter new alleged threats from governments in Third World countries, the Pentagon announced December 7 it plans to spend hundreds of millions of dollars to develop new bombs and pro-

duce more powerful munitions. "We're looking at improved non-nuclear munitions to deal with underground installations," said Defense Secretary Les Aspin in a speech at the National Academy of Sciences.



U.S. military policeman at zone dividing North and South Korea. Washington maintains 35,000 troops stationed in the southern half of the peninsula.

One of the main targets of the Pentagon is North Korea. The White House accuses Pyongyang of developing nuclear weapons. U.S. government officials are even considering "preemptive strikes" against the country's nuclear installations if the North Korean government does not allow inspections of its nuclear sites.

Washington rejected proposals made by the North Korean delegation at a December 3 meeting with mid-level State Department officials and reiterated its threat to use force against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

Pyongyang offered to allow inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) unlimited access to most of the sites they had requested. The degree of access to two other locations would have to be negotiated. The North Korean government said it will permit the IAEA to replace batteries and film in cameras used to monitor nuclear sites, but the agency has refused.

The White House says it also demands broader dialogue between the governments of North and South Korea. If negotiators don't reach an agreement, the U.S. government plans to push for economic sanctions against the DPRK in the United Nations in the coming months. Pyongyang said it will consider sanctions to be an act of war.

Gen. Gary Luck, the commander of U.S.
Continued on Page 11

What is behind debate on date rape? — page 4



Protesters mark Bhopal disaster

Demonstrators rallied in Bhopal, India, December 3 to mark the ninth anniversary of the leakage of poison gas from the Union Carbide pesticide plant there, which killed more than 4,000 people and maimed 20,000. Protesters shouted "Down with Carbide!" as they burned an effigy of Warren Anderson, who was Union Carbide chairman at the time.

Many of the victims of the leak are penniless. They have received little compensation, even after 17 courts have heard thousands of claims. Hospitals are still overcrowded with people suffering from the effects of this disaster, and widows of the victims have not received the houses the government promised them.

Rightists set back in India vote

Both the rightist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and ruling Congress Party suffered setbacks in six state elections held in India November 28. Three years ago, the BJP won control of four northern states—Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh—and became the largest opposition party in the national parliament. In the recent election, the BJP lost the majority in three of the states. It retains control of Rajasthan, and remains the largest party in Uttar Pradesh. The BJP also captured New Delhi.

The Congress Party won elections in the two smallest states. In Uttar Pradesh, India's most populous state with 140 million people, Congress won just 28 seats in a 425-member assembly.

The BJP led the campaign culminating in the destruction of a 16th century mosque at Ayodhya last December. In subsequent rioting and police violence, more than 3,000 people were killed.

Blast kills 61 workers in China

A blast ripped through a chemical plant in south China's Hunan province November 26, killing 61 workers and injuring 21, according to the official *China Daily*. The explosion at the Nanling Chemical Works tore through a workshop producing explosives and caused severe damage to nearby buildings. Earlier in November, 82 workers were killed in a toy factory fire that may have been triggered by a faulty electrical system.

N. Korea invites foreign banks

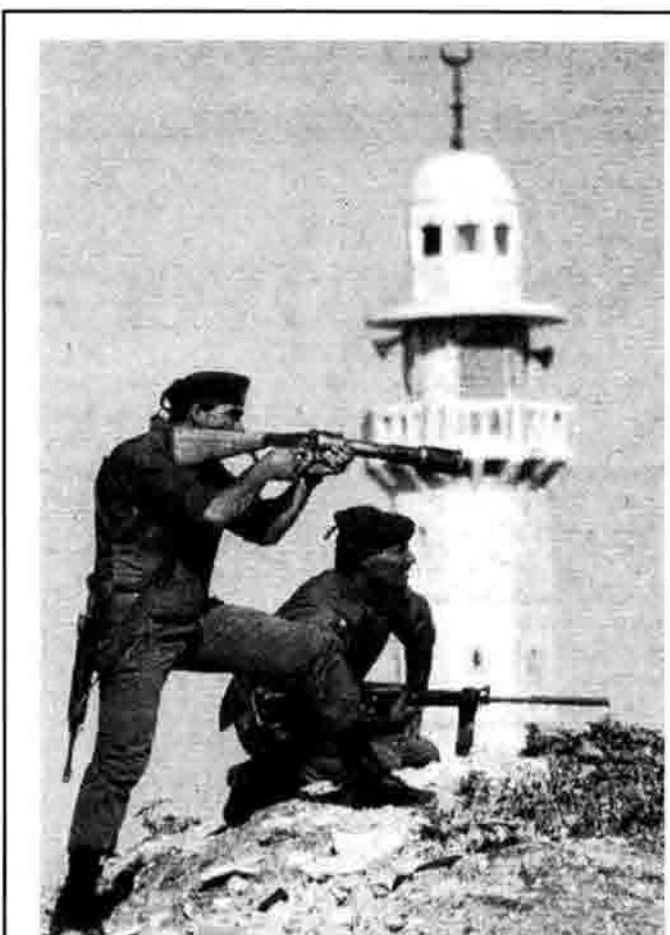
The North Korean government for the first time will allow foreign banks to operate in the country. The banks, which will be situated in special free-trade zones, will be offered special incentives. Those promising to stay in North Korea for 10 years will be exempt from corporate taxes for their first year of profitability, and their taxes in the two subsequent years will be halved. Earlier in November the government adopted a law allowing foreign corporations and individuals to lease and use its land.

Philippine wage rates protested

Thousands of people rallied in the Philippines to protest government wage restraint policies. On the annual holiday honoring 19th century revolutionary leader Andres Bonifacio, demonstrators appealed for an across-the-board pay raise for workers in the public and private sectors. President Fidel Ramos opposes this demand. Many businesses in the Philippines pay workers less than the minimum wage.

Talks on Somalia under way

Nearly two months after the United States government ended a hunt for him, Somali leader Gen. Mohammed Farah Aidid was brought to Ethiopia December 2 on a U.S. military plane so that he could take part in talks about Somalia. The talks, which are being held under the auspices of the Ethiopian



Israeli police threaten Palestinian youth December 5 near refugee camp. The next day, undercover soldiers shot and killed Abdel Rahman al-Aruri as he sat in front of his house in the West Bank. Under terms of the accord signed between Tel Aviv and the PLO, Israeli troops are supposed to begin withdrawal from Gaza and Jericho on December 13, but Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin said the pullout could be delayed for two or three weeks.

government, are to include representatives from 15 different Somali organizations. Washington hopes through these talks to put in place a political regime to its liking.

Union demands raise in Germany

The NGG union, which negotiates on behalf of the 590,000 food industry workers and 600,000 hotel and restaurant workers, is demanding a wage increase that at least matches inflation, currently 3.7 percent in western Germany. The DAG union, representing insurance workers, agreed to a 2 percent wage increase, beginning in February, for 230,000 workers. This is the first major labor agreement in Germany for 1994. The HBV union, representing other insurance workers, had declared its negotiations at an impasse.

Colombian troops kill Escobar

Pablo Escobar, a leader of the Medellín drug cartel, was shot to death by police and soldiers in Colombia December 2.

Colombian authorities had accused Escobar of ordering the assassination of presidential candidates, judges, journalists, and police. At least 200 members of an elite force that had hunted Escobar since his escape from prison in July 1992 cordoned

off the area, then stormed the building where he was hiding.

Authorities tracked Escobar through a phone call he made to a radio station complaining about his family's treatment by the German government. Escobar's wife and two children had been refused asylum by Germany earlier in the week. Washington supplied electronic eavesdropping equipment to assist in the operation. After the shooting, President Bill Clinton sent a congratulatory telegram to the Colombian president.

Teachers win strike in Ecuador

Unionized teachers in Ecuador ended a two-month strike after the government agreed to their demand for a 50 percent wage increase. The government had only offered 15 percent. Teachers are paid an average of \$100 a month.

The government had imposed a state of emergency at the end of November in an effort to force an end to the strike. The 120,000 primary and secondary school teachers were threatened with immediate dismissal if they did not return to work. The armed forces were mobilized to enforce the emergency decree, which included press censorship and the banning of demonstrations.

St. Kitts election dispute

The governor of the two-island Caribbean nation of St. Kitts and Nevis declared a three-week state of emergency December 2, after hundreds of demonstrators demanded new elections. Voters chose 11 new National Assembly members November 29, but no party emerged with a majority to form a new government.

The governor general, Clement Arindell, then appointed a minority government consisting of the four elected candidates of the governing Peoples Action Movement and the sole representative of the Nevis Reformation Party. Supporters of the Labor Party objected to this move and took to the streets in protest. They argued that the election results indicated that voters had clearly rejected the Peoples Action Movement. Police fired tear gas to disperse the demonstrators.

Shots fired at leader of teachers union in Puerto Rico

Shots were fired November 18 at the president of the teachers union in Puerto Rico, Renán Soto, while he was riding in his car on a highway between the cities of Salinas and Cayey. The union leader is blaming the government for this incident. In early November thousands of teachers conducted a one-day strike in opposition to attacks on seniority and transfer rights.

The vice-president of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives has urged the police chief to investigate the incident. The president of the Electrical and Irrigation Workers union (UTIER), Samuel Trujillo, warned that this attempt on the life of the teachers union leader signifies a possible return to open repression against the labor movement.

—BRIAN WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Worldwide labor coverage

How can workers defend themselves from employer and government attack? The 'Militant' provides working-class answers. Don't miss a single issue!



SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

\$10 for 12 issues ☐

☐ **\$15 for 12 weeks**

RENEWAL

☐ **\$27 for 6 months**

☐ **\$45 for 1 year**

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

PHONE

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £6 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £10 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,300 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

The Militant

Closing news date: December 8, 1993

Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Managing Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Sara Lobman, Greg Rosenberg, Stu Singer, Pat Smith, Brian Williams. Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040; Modem, 924-6048.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant.

Internet email: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address.

By first-class (airmail), send \$80. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. France: Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. Belgium: BF 2,600 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of IMei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box 79, Railway Square Post Office, Railway Square, Sydney 2000, Australia. Philippines, Pacific Islands: Send Australian \$75 or New Zealand \$100 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Capitalist investment increases in China

BY PAT SMITH

"The market system says someone has to survive and someone has to die," Ge Yali, a former city planner in Anshan, China, said. "In 1991 this factory faced closing, but I fired 1,500 workers and we rescued this place." Ge took over management of a money-losing state-owned bicycle factory, which he now runs for profit. If workers — many from distant provinces — produce their quota of bicycles each day they get to sleep on a cot Ge provides. If they don't, they are fired.

"I am a capitalist," Ge said. The factory will earn almost \$20 million in profit in 1993, but Ge will pay little or no taxes. Instead, he will be able to put all his profits back into the business to expand production and win new markets. Ge told the *New York Times* that his role models are Mao Tse-tung and Adolph Hitler because they understood that to win you have to hire soldiers who are hungry and from the countryside. About 25 percent of the 4,000 workers in the plant are peasants from interior China who have recently traveled to the booming coastal provinces.

The market-oriented reforms, first introduced by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1978, have increasingly opened China's economy to the world capitalist market. Beijing has welcomed foreign banks and investment to "special economic zones" in the coastal provinces where capitalist investment is less restricted than in the rest of China, has opened two stock markets, and has allowed the privatization of some land. Foreign investment has also soared.

The government reports more than 15 million farmers have recently moved to the cities to take jobs. Urban train stations are filled with traveling peasants sleeping on the floor. Workers who leave the countryside for the cities without official permission, called "muddy legs," do not receive grain rations, housing, or medical care. There are more than 60 million Chinese working people in this position.

This influx of labor to the cities has helped make possible China's growing gross na-

tional product, which is currently expanding at a rate of 14 percent. Foreign-funded companies doing business in China totaled a record 150,000 in October, topping the previous high of 130,000 in June. This was up 54 percent from a year earlier.

Actual investment was \$50 billion from 50,000 enterprises in the first 10 months of 1993. These firms were responsible for a third of China's \$69.3 billion in exports. An additional \$150 billion has been pledged for investment.

"There are two almost independent economies here," an economist in China said. "The non-state economy is incredible. It is doubling its output every year and doing it profitably and competitively. There is no comparison in modern times with what is happening here. At the same time," he continued, "you have a basically bankrupt state sector supported by various methods of subsidy."

The majority of industries in China remain in the hands of the state, and two-thirds of them are not making a profit.

Wang Shizhou, a senior executive at the state-owned Anshan Iron and Steel Works, said that until July, when Beijing — fearful of the impact of such rapid economic shifts — temporarily imposed a 16-point austerity plan, restricted credit, and made cuts in social spending, "we had no idea, no concept of debt."

"In fact," he added, "we have just recently come across this word and have begun to research what our debt is."

The steel mill is one of the largest in the world. It has 218,000 employees and 100,000 retirees.

In mid-November a CCP Central Committee plenum adopted a 50-point outline



Workers make household appliances in Chinese plant that is majority-owned by a U.S. firm. Foreign investment in China was \$50 billion in the first 10 months of 1993.

called "a program of action to restructure the economy." Officials announced they would stop trying to limit the share of private enterprise in the economy. The plan calls for turning certain state enterprises into stock corporations and allowing others to go out of business. Resistance is expected since shutting down some of the giant state factories will cause massive unemployment.

The plan also projects reforming the tax system and regulating central banking operations.

In the meantime, foreign investment is continuing to pour into China. The meeting between U.S. president Bill Clinton and Chinese president Jiang Zemin at the recent Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum summit in Seattle illustrated the readiness of

the U.S. rulers to profit from China's expanding markets, which are growing faster than any other in the world.

Washington is the recipient of one-quarter of Chinese exports. Aircraft giant Boeing does 14 percent of its business in the country. And Coca-Cola announced in its third-quarter reports that China is one of its fastest growing markets.

On December 5 Beijing announced that to speed up the development of aviation it will allow foreign-run joint-venture airlines in 1994. Chinese foreign trade official Lin Kun said similar investment will be permitted in other parts of the country's transportation system and infrastructure.

German chancellor Helmut Kohl and 40 businessmen left China with \$4 billion worth of contracts and letters of intent from their hosts shortly after the CCP meeting.

Officials in China continue to debate how fast to proceed with these policies. Some fear opposition from Chinese workers and peasants. The *Beijing Youth News* reported that workers at joint-venture factories in the port city of Tianjin have struck more than 10 times this year over low wages and unsafe working conditions. Workers have also struck in plants in Zhuhai over wages too low to keep up with the 20 percent inflation rate.

Workers at a former nuclear plant in northwest China shut down a neighboring chemical factory that was poisoning their water supply earlier this year. Some 200 factory workers presented a petition to the provincial government in June and as many as 300 workers protested. As a result, the factory was forced to close. It reopened a few weeks later and the workers continued to demonstrate.

A scandal over reused hypodermic needles broke out in May after two dozen peasants were paid to simply rinse used needles under a hand pump, lay them outside to dry, and seal them in plastic bags with Red Cross Blood Center labels. Lui Hansheng, the entrepreneur who ran the operation, admitted to having sold more than 1 million repackaged needles. He was not punished.

New multiracial council in South Africa marks 'beginning of end of minority rule'

Continued from front page

ity parliament clearly provides the TEC with real decision-making powers over the next five months.

Negotiators also agreed December 2 to reincorporate the four so-called independent Black homelands — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei, and Venda. No nation other than South Africa ever recognized the sovereignty of these homelands, which were established in the 1960s as part of the apartheid regime's policy of forcing Blacks and whites to live in separate areas. A total of 10 such Black homelands were created; the other six had remained part of South Africa.

The homeland bill is expected to be approved by the South African parliament later this month. This will clear the way for all residents of these areas to receive South African citizenship January 1 and to vote in the April elections.

Corruption rampant in 'homelands'

Speaking to a rally of 8,000 people in the KwaNdebele homeland December 5, Mandela blasted the rampant corruption throughout these apartheid-created homelands. "[This] corruption is a reflection of the National Party government itself," he stated. "What we must worry about now is to prepare for the elections of April 27th and to bury the National Party for good."

Rightist forces grouped in the so-called Freedom Alliance, which includes the Inkatha Freedom Party, Conservative Party, and Afrikaner Peoples Front (APF), have expressed opposition to the interim constitution and the holding of democratic elections in April.

To counter the Transitional Executive Council, right-wing Afrikaners announced November 29 they were setting up their own transitional administration. A statement signed by APF leader Gen. Constand Viljoen and Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said that an Afrikaner homeland would be demarcated and founded by

March 1994. They pledged a whites-only election in this hypothetical homeland.

"There are formations in the extreme right, and here I include both white and black, who cannot face the test of the electorate," stated Mandela November 24 to a meeting of the Patriotic Front, a coalition of groups backing the ANC election campaign.

The rightists "pose a serious threat... they have the capacity to create all sorts of destabilization," continued Mandela. "We must find the correct political answers which will leave them as an isolated tiny minority."

Speaking in Cape Town November 30, the ANC president characterized the Freedom Alliance as "a group of men who want to maintain minority rule. If they continue along these lines we will have no alternative but to call for the formation of an antifascist front."

At an ANC fund-raising dinner December 2 in the town of Rustenburg in the western Transvaal, Mandela elaborated further on why the demands by the right-wingers for a white state must be rejected. "The ANC has set itself the task of destroying the apartheid system, we have rejected any ethnic solution," he stated. "The problem with a volkstaat [white homeland] is that it reopens the whole ethnic question, and we are not going to do that."

Dissension within Inkatha

In recent weeks the Inkatha Freedom Party has been thrown into a state of disarray as dissension within the group has become public. An Inkatha member of parliament, Jurie Mentz, who is white, told the legislators December 3 that his party plans to field candidates in the April elections. Several days earlier, Inkatha's chief executive officer, Joe Matthews, made the same point to business leaders, saying that he had been authorized to spend the equivalent of \$600,000 on Inkatha campaign ads.

In a statement released the evening of

December 3, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi reacted angrily to these comments. He reiterated the party's current position that it will not be participating in the elections.

That same evening, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, in criticism partially aimed at Buthelezi, his uncle, said that parties that walked out of South Africa's multiparty talks had missed a golden opportunity to negotiate an all-inclusive political settlement. Buthelezi had led the Inkatha Freedom Party and the KwaZulu homeland out of the talks last July after negotiators set the April 27 election date.

Inkatha leaders from the Johannesburg area held a joint march November 27 in Vereeniging with the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance League (AWB) and then signed a nonaggression pact with the group at the end of the demonstration. AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche chanted, "Long live the Zulu nation!" Some Inkatha marchers responded "Viva AWB." The national Inkatha leadership has refused to recognize the agreement.

New from Pathfinder NELSON MANDELA SPEAKS

Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa

Tells the story of the struggles that have brought South Africa to the threshold of a political and social transformation. The president of the African National Congress charts a course to lead the national, democratic revolution in South Africa to a successful conclusion. \$18.95



Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax: (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 for the first title and \$0.50 for each additional book to cover postage and handling. Write for a free catalog.

What's behind the debate on date rape?

BY ESTELLE DeBATES

Over the past few decades the issue of violence against women has come to public attention as never before. This is due to the gains won in the fight for women's rights as a result of the growing number of women in the workforce and the resulting change in consciousness among working people, youth, and others. The fight for women's rights also stands on other struggles, most importantly the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s.

Growing numbers of people recognize that there exists a specific violence directed

AS I SEE IT

at women — ranging from rape and beatings to sexual harassment on and off the job.

Rape has not always been illegal in the United States. In fact, not until after the Civil War was it considered a crime to rape women who were Black. But it was the second wave of feminism in the late 1960s and early 1970s that brought about widespread public knowledge about sexist violence and the opposition to it that we see today. That movement resulted in some progressive legal reforms that codify victories won in the fight for women's rights. These include restrictions on questioning a woman's sex life at rape trials and broadening the legal definition of rape to make it a crime for a husband to rape his wife.

The trials of William Kennedy Smith and Mike Tyson brought the issue of date rape into the spotlight. Those trials also pointed to a dangerous trend among some who say they are fighting violence against women.

At the center of this debate today is the sexual offense policy at Antioch College in Ohio and a book by 25-year-old Princeton University student Katie Roiphe entitled *The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus*.

The Antioch code, a 13-page list of rules regarding sexual conduct, is a policy requiring "willing and verbal consent" for each individual sexual act.

In the mandatory workshops on the code held separately for incoming male and female freshmen, counselors explain the rules. According to a September 21 *New York Times* article, counselors caution students: "Each step of the way you have to ask. If you want to take her blouse off, you have to ask. If you want to touch her breast, you have to ask. If you want to move your hand down to her genitals, you have to ask. If you want to put your finger inside her, you have to ask." According to the rules, "consent is not meaningful" if given while under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

It's not hard to see why the code has been the brunt of many jokes of late night television hosts and comics. On the face of it, it is absurd. And it has nothing to do with defending the rights of women.

Roiphe correctly argues that the "rape-crisis feminism" dominating the campuses today portrays women primarily as victims who need protection. "There are fliers and counselors and videotapes telling us how not



Entry of women into workforce has strengthened fight for women's rights

... to get raped, where not to wander and what signals not to send," she says. "By the end of freshman week, we know exactly what not to do."

"Today's definition of date or acquaintance rape," writes Roiphe, "stretches beyond acts of violence or physical force. According to common definitions of date rape, even verbal coercion or manipulation constitutes rape. Verbal coercion is defined as 'a woman's consenting to unwanted sexual activity because of a man's verbal arguments not including verbal threats of force ...'"

Roiphe draws attention to the denial of democratic rights, of presumption of innocence, and due process that are carried out in the name of fighting against rape.

She recounts the story of one woman at Princeton who accused a man of raping her. He was able to get the administration to check the facts and the woman eventually recanted her story. "I have never met this individual or spoke to him," she said. "I made my statements in the *Daily Princetonian* and at the Take Back the Night March in order to raise awareness for the plight of

the campus rape victims." She quotes the authors of a book entitled *The Lecherous Professor*, who argue that due process and the presumption of innocence are tools to protect "the old boy network."

Roiphe is dead-on in her concerns. The presumption of innocence and due process are important democratic gains for the working class won in struggle. They should be jealously guarded by all fighters for social justice. These rights strengthen our ability to organize ourselves and make it more difficult to frame up fighting workers and others. The argument that, regardless of lack of evidence, every rape prosecution is a victory for women is horrifying.

Are men the problem?

Rape "is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear," writes Susan Brownmiller in her book *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*.

This belief is not rooted in scientific fact — it rips human beings out of their social setting and historical development. The fact

is that for the majority of humanity's time on earth, before the advent of private property, men and women were equals and sexism and sexist violence did not exist. Violence was necessary only as women were forced into second-class status, necessary for the maintenance of class society.

The logical conclusion of arguing that sexism is rooted in human nature and "verbal coercion" is equal to rape, is to argue that rape and sex are the same thing and that men are the problem.

Catharine MacKinnon, a law professor, writes, "The major distinction between intercourse (normal) and rape (abnormal) is that the normal happens so often that one cannot get anyone to see anything wrong with it."

In the name of preventing date rape, the Antioch code seeks to define how sex should be for all people. It is an exercise in social engineering aimed at modifying the behavior of men through the threat of expulsion from school.

Roiphe's book makes an error by downplaying the prevalence of violence against women and reducing the issue of rape into the violence of society as a whole.

But there is a specific violence directed against women. Rapes on dates or by acquaintances do happen. These instances of rape, like all others, should be considered crimes and should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.

But the Antioch code has nothing to do with rape. Instead it serves to weaken the very real fight needed to confront rape and other forms of violence against women. It takes away from what women fought so hard to explain: that rape is about violence — violence in which sex is the weapon.

The root of this violence is not men, it is capitalism, a system which thrives on the oppression of women.

The road forward does not lie in the social engineering guidebooks of Antioch, but in the tens of thousands of young people — men and women — who continue to organize to defend abortion rights at clinics across this country; who join picket lines of striking coal miners or flight attendants; and participate in activities to defend the Cuban revolution.

Framed-up unionist's appeal enters new stage

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — A federal district court judge notified Iowa officials on November 29 that they must respond within 30 days to the appeal petition filed by union and political activist Mark Curtis.

The court will make a final decision on whether to hear the case after receiving these materials. Curtis, 34, was convicted in 1988 on a trumped-up charge of raping a 15-year-old Black high school student. A burglary charge for "illegally" entering the house where the assault allegedly took place was tacked on several weeks after the arrest. Under Iowa law the burglary charge carries a mandatory 25-year sentence. Curtis has completed the required sentence on the rape frame-up charge and is now being held on the burglary conviction.

At the time of his arrest Curtis was involved in a struggle at the Swift meat-packing plant here in defense of 17 Mexican and Salvadoran coworkers who had been taken from the plant in handcuffs during a raid by immigration cops a few days earlier.

Curtis was severely beaten by the police while being held in the city jail after his arrest. He later sued the Des Moines police and in 1992 was awarded \$64,000 in attorney's fees and damages.

Attorney William Kutmus filed Curtis's appeal — called a habeas corpus petition — in October arguing that the state of Iowa is holding Curtis in violation of basic constitutional guarantees of a fair trial and due process of law.

In the petition Kutmus cited several violations of Curtis's rights that occurred in his original trial, including not allowing Curtis to present evidence that challenged the credibility of arresting officer Joseph Gonzalez; failure by the judge to instruct

the jury that the Iowa unionist's alibi during the alleged assault — witnesses identified Curtis as having been at a local bar and restaurant at the time the young woman claims the rape took place — was grounds for acquittal; and refusal by the court to allow Curtis's attorney's to present evidence and a legal case that the Des Moines cops framed up Curtis because of their institutional bias against him.

"This is an important step in the appeal process," said John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee. "With the Supreme Court's narrowing the right to appeal by prisoners, many habeas corpus petitions are rejected out of hand by the federal courts."

"The Iowa attorney general will now have to respond to the writ," continued Studer. "Curtis's attorneys are also readying a brief that supplements the arguments about Curtis not receiving a fair trial that were presented in the habeas corpus petition."

for further reading

Communist Continuity and the Fight for Women's Liberation

DOCUMENTS OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY 1971-86

Edited with an introduction by Mary-Alice Waters
How did the oppression of women begin? Who benefits? What social forces have the power to end the second-class status of women and have common interests in the fight for women's liberation?

Three-part series makes available documents, reports, and resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party that answer these and similar questions. 3 vols., 226 pp.

8 x 11 format set \$30.00

Women's Liberation and the Line of March of the Working Class Part 1, \$10.00

Women, Leadership, and the Proletarian Norms of the Communist Movement

Part 2, \$9.00

Abortion Rights, the ERA, and the Rebirth of a Feminist Movement Part 3, \$11.00

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women

Joseph Hansen, Evelyn Reed, and Mary-Alice Waters

How big business uses women's second-class status to generate profits for a few and perpetuate the oppression of the female sex and the exploitation of working people. 138 pp. \$12.95

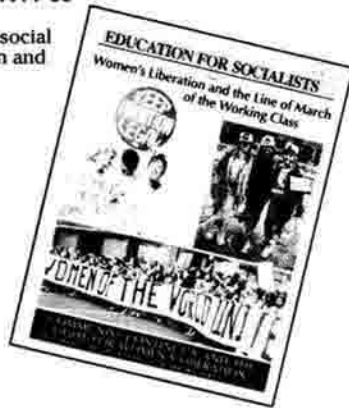
The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State

Frederick Engels, introduction by Evelyn Reed

Traces the original forms and institutions of private property, how they arose, and their consequences for women—from then until today. \$16.95

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or at the address below. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 for the first title and \$0.50 for each additional book to cover postage and handling.

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



Mark Curtis, left, testifies at 1988 trial. Iowa officials must respond now to appeal.

Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Parole campaign for union activist helps expose cop frame-up

BY NAOMI CRAINE

(Eighth in a series)

"As a concerned unionist I am writing you in behalf of the request of Mark Curtis for immediate parole consideration," began a letter from George Lach, fifth vice-president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2203 in Baltimore.

"Please release Mark Curtis from jail as soon as possible. He did not rape or rob anyone, but was a victim of a police frame-up for his defense of the rights of immigrant workers," wrote Arthur Walters, an associate professor at the University of Medicine and Dentistry of New Jersey.

"If Mark Curtis admitted his guilt, would he be free now?" asked David Osterberg, a representative to the Iowa state legislature. "I understand Mr. Curtis has served enough time (five years) to be released from his ten year sexual abuse charge."

"I write not only to show my solidarity with a fellow political prisoner but to support his request for an early parole," wrote Brendan Donaghy, an Irish independence fighter incarcerated in Northern Ireland.

These letters were among hundreds presented to the Iowa Board of Parole on behalf of Mark Curtis in September and October of this year. During the five years he has been imprisoned, thousands of people around the world have called on the parole board to release Curtis.

Those who have supported Curtis's parole over the years include civil rights activist Coretta Scott King, Detroit mayor Coleman Young, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union international vice-president Joan Suarez, civil liberties attorney William Kunstler, Peruvian political activist and politician Hugo Blanco, South African activist and former political prisoner Fred Dube, the General Confederation of Labor in France, and numerous others.

As time goes by, Curtis's case for parole becomes more compelling. New people are drawn to support his fight for freedom as it becomes obvious that his continued incarceration is a violation of basic democratic rights. Many of these people are also won to support the political fight to exonerate Curtis when they examine the facts of his case.

Curtis, a socialist and union activist in Des Moines, Iowa, was framed up on false charges of attempting to rape a Black high school student in March 1988. At the time, Curtis was involved in a fight against the victimization of 17 Latino workers by the immigration cops at the meatpacking plant where he worked. Weeks after his arrest, police tacked on a burglary charge that more than doubled the potential sentence. No one claimed Curtis stole anything; the burglary count was based entirely on his presence at the house of the young woman he allegedly assaulted.

The judge at Curtis's trial excluded key evidence. The jury wasn't told that the FBI had kept files on Curtis for political activities, that the cops had beaten him bloody the

night they arrested him, and that one of the arresting officers had a known record of brutalizing suspects and lying to cover it up. Curtis was convicted in September 1988 and sentenced to 10 years for third-degree sexual abuse and 25 years on the burglary charge.

Parole Now! campaigns

The political campaign to press for parole is an important part of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's efforts to politically expose the frame-up and win justice in the case. The aim of the defense work is both to break the frame-up politically and to get Curtis out of prison, so he can participate more fully in political activity.

While Curtis is pursuing his appeal in federal court, parole offers the best chance for him to get out of jail. More importantly, it is a way for Curtis supporters to reach out broadly in the labor movement, to young people, among supporters of democratic rights, and to others to explain the facts of the frame-up and win new support.

In addition to the letters, a delegation of Curtis supporters has attended each parole hearing on his case. The prison authorities and parole board have made clear they do not like this political defense.

"You have made this case a political circus," a parole board member said at one of the hearings. "You have done everything possible to make this appear a political issue and it's not."

Supporters of Curtis who attended his hearings in 1990 and 1991 were searched by the prison's Correctional Emergency Response Team — something that was not done to those attending other inmates' hearings.

Those who support the frame-up and want to keep Curtis in jail have put a focus on the parole board as well. Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the woman Curtis supposedly attacked, have attended the hearings, arguing vigorously against his release.



Militant/Shirley Peña

Delegation urging parole for Mark Curtis submits more than 200 letters in September 1993. From left: longtime civil rights fighter Edna Griffin, defense committee treasurer Hazel Zimmerman, Julia Terrell, defense committee coordinator John Studer, and United Auto Workers Local 270 Vice-president Harold Ruggless.

The jailed unionist has a strong case for parole. He meets the state's usual criteria — good behavior in prison, strong support outside, and several job offers. He has already served out the required time on the sexual abuse charge. (Under Iowa law a prisoner is automatically released after serving half the time they are sentenced for.)

Nevertheless, the Iowa Board of Parole this year refused to even give Curtis a hearing. The obstacles he faces in winning parole reflect both the political nature of the case and the curtailment of democratic rights of prisoners in general.

Sexual Offenders Treatment Program

One of the most blatantly undemocratic demands put forward by the parole board has been that Curtis participate in a Sexual Offenders Treatment Program (SOTP) that requires admission of guilt.

This issue was first raised at Curtis's third parole hearing in November 1991. "Until you have been to the Sexual Offenders Treatment Program, you will get no consideration from this board," Barbara Binnie, one of three parole board members at that

hearing, told Curtis. Chairman Walter Saur made similar statements, which were not contested by the third board member present.

Curtis has consistently explained that he cannot submit to the SOTP because he is innocent and has an appeal pending. The first item in the "criteria for program participation" reads, "Admit guilt — take responsibility for own crime."

At his 1992 hearing, parole board member Joanne Lorence asked, "Are you willing to go through this program?"

Curtis replied, "I'm not able to as I maintain my innocence and I'm pursuing an appeal in federal court." He asked whether there was an actual rule requiring prisoners to undergo the SOTP.

"I don't know that it's a rule," Lorence said. "It is a policy, and we certainly recommend people engage in it."

"I can't say we absolutely have never paroled anyone who didn't go through the program," she added.

Requiring prisoners to go through such a program as a condition of parole is an attack

Continued on Page 14

Defend rights of immigrant workers!

BY MARK CURTIS

The campaign to blame "illegal aliens" for job losses and cuts in social programs has made immigration a central political issue today. Police have organized massive raids at our workplaces — surrounding factories, holding all workers inside, and then selecting some for arrest and deportation. One of the largest such raids happened last year in Grand Island, Nebraska, when 307 meatpackers were arrested. We will see more raids like this as President Bill Clinton pushes for additional restrictions on immigration and the right to political asylum.

In California, Republican governor Pete Wilson and Democratic senator Dianne Feinstein are blaming immigrants for the state's financial crisis. They promote laws limiting the rights to travel and to citizen-

ship, including of those born in the United States to immigrant parents. Right-wing demagogue Patrick Buchanan is calling for a Berlin Wall-style barrier between the United States and Mexico and for using the U.S. Army to patrol the border.

Around the world, from Europe to the Pacific, immigrants are becoming the scapegoats for the worldwide recession. This has encouraged violent attacks on immigrants by rightists in Germany and racist thugs in Hampton, Iowa.

The question must be addressed head-on: Do immigrant workers steal jobs from those born here? Do they come here to get on welfare, commit crimes, or become a "drain on the economy"? The Socialist Workers Party explains the answer is "No!"

Immigrants come to this country to work. Many are fleeing persecution and the devastating conditions of the growing world depression. These workers do not bring the economic crisis with them. Today even large and profitable corporations are slashing wages, laying off workers, using more overtime, and cutting safety and health care.

The economic stagnation afflicting millions around the world is caused by capitalism — a system of exploitation of labor for the profit of the owners of industry, big business, and banking.

Because they live under constant threat of jail and deportation, most immigrant workers are driven into jobs with the worst conditions and wages. Like other workers they suffer heavy taxation on their income and purchases. At the same time their illegal status denies them access to welfare, unemployment, and health-care benefits. They are superexploited.

The bosses and their government try to convince us to accept sacrifices to make "our" company or country "globally competitive." They point the finger of blame at immigrants, hoping to keep us divided,

weak, and unable to resist further attacks on our standard of living or even see who is really responsible.

This scapegoating campaign is really an attack on all workers. Police raids at work, requiring a national identification card to apply for a job, and using the army on the border will seriously maul our liberties and democratic rights, which we need now more than ever.

What is the solution to unemployment?

Only united action by workers, organized into unions, can defend our rights and standard of living. The more-than-six-month-long strike by mine workers is such an example. Unity and solidarity — not division and scapegoating — are the way forward.

A good precedent exists in Des Moines, Iowa. In March 1988 immigration and local cops raided the Swift/Monfort packing-house there. Seventeen workers from Mexico and El Salvador were jailed and threatened with deportation. In response to the raid and the company's collaboration with the police, immigrant workers still in the plant staged a walkout. The next week they and hundreds of others marched in the city, demanding release of the men. Eventually all charges were dropped against the Swift 17, as they were known.

Working people should demand:

- End police raids of our workplaces, schools, and communities.
- Stop all deportations!
- Support bilingual education.
- Punish those who carry out violent attacks on immigrants.

The article above was adapted from a statement issued by Mark Curtis in the name of the 1993 Iowa Socialist Workers Campaign. Curtis was framed up on false rape and burglary charges in 1988 and is incarcerated in Ft. Madison, Iowa.

Mark Curtis Defense Committee

Sticker. "Justice for Mark Curtis — Parole Now!" One for 25 cents/five for \$1.

Who is Mark Curtis? The basic informational flyer on Curtis's fight for justice. Single copies free, including copies that can be used for reproduction. Available in English, Spanish, and French.

The Stakes in the Worldwide Political Campaign to Defend Mark Curtis. Pamphlet. \$2.

Freedom and Justice for Mark Curtis: An Answer to a Slander Campaign. Pamphlet. \$2.

The Frame-up of Mark Curtis. 49-minute video produced by Hollywood director Nick Castle. \$15.

For information or to order: Mark Curtis Defense Committee, Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311. (515) 246-1695.



Contributions pour into office as fund enters its final week!

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Workers, students, and political activists from across the United States sent in more than \$20,000 this week, giving a big boost to the \$75,000 fund for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. With one week to go, supporters from Seattle to Brooklyn are confidently making the final effort to bring in the remaining \$22,125 by the December 14 deadline.

In fact, if supporters organize to collect all the pledges that have been made to the fund, which celebrates the 65th year of publishing the *Militant* as a tribune of the working class, we could go well over the \$75,000 goal. This would be a big help to the socialist newspaper's publishing program and its efforts to bring readers news and analysis of the unfolding capitalist breakdown, the rulers' march to new wars, strike actions from Europe to the United States, the fight against racism, the battle to defend abortion rights, the class struggle in China, and much more.

"Sorry that my tight budget only allows for an \$8 check. But I want to be sure to contribute something! It's a great paper!!" wrote a reader from Geneva, New York.

Special forums to celebrate the *Militant*'s accomplishments were an important spur to this week's increased collection. The meetings featured talks by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and drew audiences nationwide.

Greensboro fund-raisers reported their meeting was "an overwhelming success." Twenty-six

people attended a forum entitled "The economic crisis, NAFTA, and the fight for jobs," presented by Maggie Trowe. Participants included two students from the University of North Carolina (UNC) at Asheville, two from UNC Chapel Hill, two from Guilford College in Greensboro, and a high school student from the local area.

All these young people were introduced to the *Militant* over the past several months as distributors fanned out to participate in political protests, meetings, and other activities. Those at the meeting kicked in \$755 in pledges and contributions.

Readers in San Diego took on a goal of their own — \$500 — and already went over the top, organizing a special fund raiser for workers and political activists in the area who read the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

A rally in Chicago brought in \$1,500. Supporters are confident they can make their goal of \$5,000. A meeting in the Twin Cities, Minnesota, also collected \$1,500. In Salt Lake City, participants in a November 20 meeting featuring Chris Hoepfner speaking on the Cuban revolution made nearly \$1,000 in new pledges to the fund. Special classes that weekend by Harry Ring, a long-time staff writer for the paper, drew more than 30 youth, working people, and political activists. A student from Logan, Utah, drove down to kick in \$20.

'Reliable, in depth, accurate'

"In this region," wrote Mike Bodily from Salt Lake, "the *Militant* has a reputation for being at the picket lines of striking coal miners in Wyoming, Colorado, New Mex-

ico, Arizona, and Utah." At the meeting, one message read to the audience came from Lawrence Oliver, president of United Mine Workers of America Local 1332 in Window Rock, New Mexico. "We were first exposed to the *Militant* during our three month strike of 1987 and have found it to be a reliable, in depth, and most accurate of the media in this area about the struggles of the working class across this nation... without deception or distortion."

Philadelphia supporters are continuing an effort to win new pledges from working people throughout the area. Several of those who have already made contributions were inspired to donate even more. As a result, Philadelphia supporters have already topped their goal, and are going for more.

In Houston, a *Militant* reader who works in an oil refinery and belongs to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union pledged \$50 to the fund, saying, "I'm sorry that I can't give more, because this paper tells the truth and deserves our support." A meeting featuring Joanne Kuniansky speaking on the defense of the Cuban revolution raised \$700.

In six cities — Boston, Brooklyn, Cleveland, Miami, Manhattan, and San Francisco — supporters are holding fund-raising meetings on the final weekend of the drive. These will help propel the campaign over the top.

Readers who can make a contribution, whether it's \$5 or \$500, can help make a difference. Send in your money now.

All contributions received in the business office by Tuesday, December 14 at 12 noon EST will be counted in the final scoreboard.

	Goal	Paid	Percentage	
San Diego	\$500	\$625	125%	66,700
Atlanta	\$2,750	\$3,034	110%	
Philadelphia	\$4,000	\$4,110	103%	
Newark, NJ	\$4,000	\$3,721	93%	
Twin Cities, MN	\$5,500	\$5,003	91%	58,300
Pittsburgh	\$3,000	\$2,640	88%	
Salt Lake City	\$2,500	\$2,152	86%	
Houston	\$3,000	\$2,440	81%	
Brooklyn	\$3,000	\$2,335	78%	50,000
Seattle	\$3,500	\$2,700	77%	
Detroit	\$3,500	\$2,684	77%	
Albany, NY	\$200	\$153	77%	
Washington, D.C.	\$3,200	\$2,312	72%	41,700
Morgantown, WV	\$1,250	\$842	67%	
Manhattan	\$4,000	\$2,446	61%	
Miami	\$2,000	\$1,191	60%	
Des Moines, IA	\$2,000	\$1,155	58%	33,300
Chicago	\$5,000	\$2,710	54%	
Boston	\$3,000	\$1,525	51%	
Los Angeles	\$6,500	\$3,183	49%	
Greensboro, NC	\$2,000	\$970	49%	25,000
New Haven, CT	\$500	\$230	46%	
Birmingham, AL	\$2,000	\$815	41%	
San Francisco	\$6,500	\$2,351	36%	
Cincinnati	\$300	\$80	27%	16,700
St. Louis	\$3,350	\$535	16%	
Cleveland	\$2,750	\$402	15%	
other		\$528		
TOTAL	\$79,800	\$52,875	71%	8,300
SHOULD BE	\$75,000	\$66,500	89%	
*Raised goal				

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

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZIP _____

COUNTRY _____

PHONE _____

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

Get the 'Militant' in bound volumes!
 Order from the Militant
 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

Clinton's welfare plan is attack on workers' rights

BY HILDA CUZCO

Fleshing out President Bill Clinton's campaign to "end welfare as we know it," the administration's task force on welfare reform has prepared draft legislation that will force most recipients to work at low wages after two years. The program will be financed by cuts in welfare and other social services.

The task force document, which has not been formally released, states that its proposals will reinforce "the traditional values of work, family support, and responsibility."

It outlines two options for those who exceed the two-year limit. The first places welfare recipients in private business jobs for 35 hours a week at minimum wage. Under the second, recipients must enroll in a "community work experience program" — again at minimum wage — to receive their benefits. In either case those receiving benefits will be required to sign a contract with a social worker that "would detail the obligations of both the recipient and the state."

Employers in both the private and public sector will receive government subsidies as part of the program.

David Ellwood, an assistant secretary of health and human services who helped lead the task force, declared that the reform would transform welfare offices from places that mail checks to offices that find people jobs.

But the employment offered through the program will be temporary. "We see these as transitional jobs, not permanent jobs," said Bruce Reed, cochairman of the task force.

The plan claims to provide for a significant expansion of child care and education. Day care will supposedly be offered to recipients who are forced to enroll in job skills training or take minimum wage jobs.

The administration has not yet said how much the programs will cost and where the money will come from. "We have not fully thought through the financing because we are not sure how much the president wants to do," said Donna Shalala, secretary of health and human services. She did state that the program could be financed by cutting current human services.

A similar proposal, already introduced in the House of Representatives by Republican legislators, would impose even stricter time limits. It too would force recipients into 35-hour-a-week "community service" or private jobs, at or below minimum wage. Despite receiving government subsidies, the employers would pay only the continuation of welfare benefits instead of wages. The legislation would be funded by slashing up to \$6 billion a year from food programs and welfare benefits for immigrants.

The administration's plan scapegoats teenagers who become pregnant. One option proposed by the task force is forcing underage mothers to live with their parents, whose



Clinton's proposal to force welfare recipients into low-wage, temporary jobs will do nothing to solve the unemployment crisis.

income would be counted in considering eligibility for benefits. "We cannot afford not to get aggressive in this field," said William Galston, who has been involved in working up formal proposals on how to change welfare.

The document also calls for "dramatic improvements in the child support enforcement system." This translates into pressuring women to identify the father of their children so the government can more aggressively pursue the collecting of support payments. Absent fathers will supposedly receive job training so that they can pay more. The task force has not specified whether the government will pay uncollected child support. It has suggested limiting additional benefits for children conceived while on welfare.

These proposals are similar to legislation

soon to be signed by Wisconsin governor Tommy Thompson. That reform plan, dubbed "Work Not Welfare," has the backing of President Clinton. It will require welfare recipients to work for their benefits for two years, at which point cash payments will end.

Likewise, the state of Virginia has received approval from the Clinton administration to test a similar plan. Participating employers will receive a rebate of 20 percent of the worker's gross salary. This will drop to 10 percent in the second year and be eliminated after that. The state says the jobs will pay at least \$7 an hour, with the government providing training or paying businesses to do so.

A similar waiver has also been given to Illinois, bringing to seven the number of states authorized to engage in test welfare revisions.

An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis

Edited by Doug Jenness

ACTION PROGRAM TO CONFRONT THE COMING ECONOMIC CRISIS

How a program to fight for jobs, cancellation of the Third World debt, and for affirmative action, is crucial to uniting working people internationally in face of employer and government attacks. Booklet. \$3.00

Cancel the Third World debt!
 Shorten the workweek!
 Enforce affirmative action!

Available at bookstores, listed on page 12 or at the address below. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling. Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150

New composition room, printing press will upgrade quality of communist publications

BY NAOMI CRAINE

"We're about to carry out the next stage in upgrading the production of communist books, pamphlets, and newspapers," declared Ove Aspoy, the plant manager of the printshop that produces Pathfinder books and pamphlets, the *Militant*, and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*. He was referring to the shop's plans to take some major steps forward in quality and efficiency.

More than 100 volunteers will pour into the Pathfinder Building in New York for a three-and-a-half-day mobilization December 10-13 from as far away as Albany, New York; Boston; Detroit; Philadelphia; and Washington, D.C.

The mobilization will stand on the shoulders of several previous ones that involved volunteers from around the world and completely transformed the building.

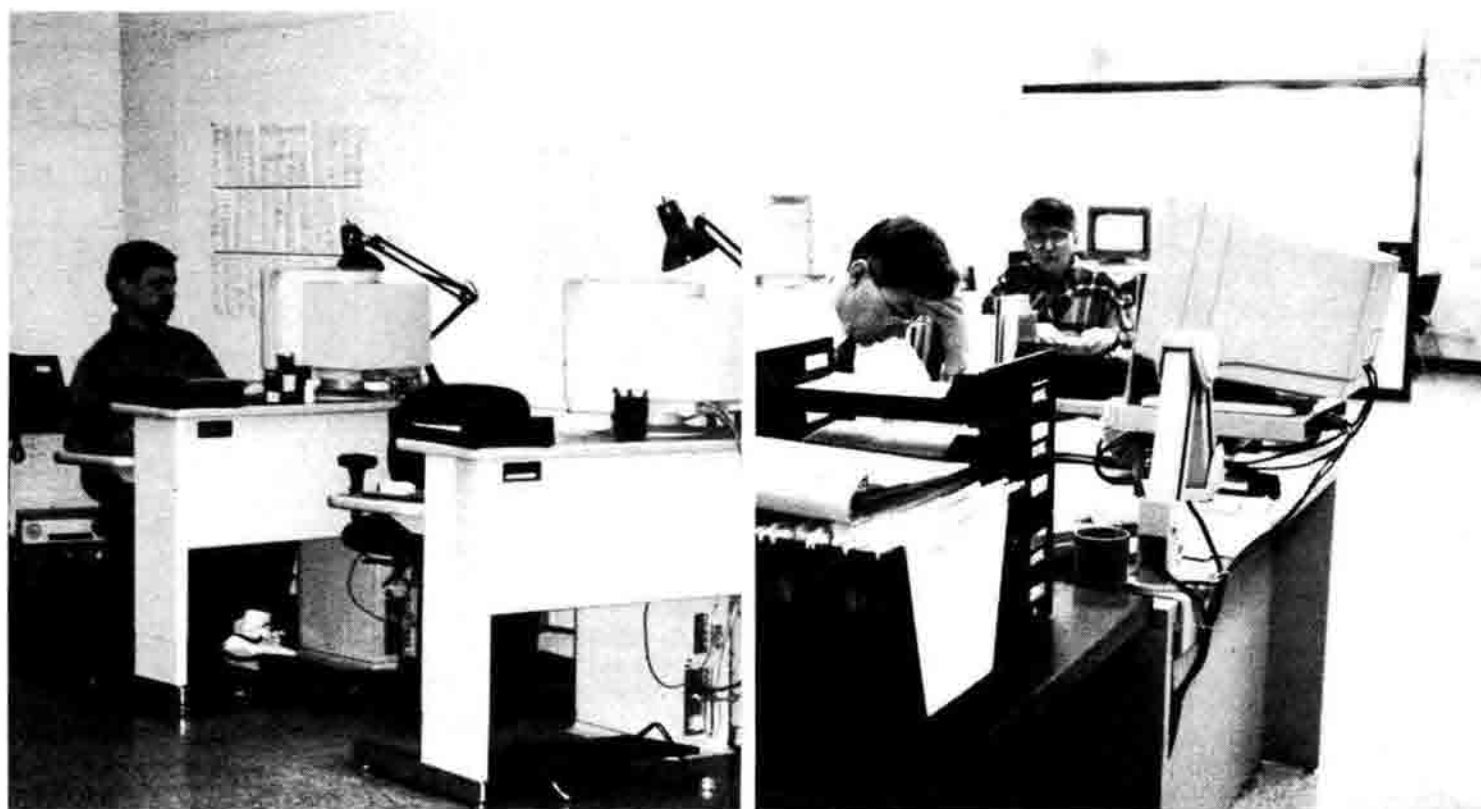
One of the volunteers' primary tasks will be moving the composition room — where the socialist publications are typeset, proofread, and prepared to be shot onto film — from the third floor of the Pathfinder Building to newly renovated offices on the first floor.

The composition department is where all the books, periodicals, and promotional materials first come into the printshop. Moving it down two flights of stairs will put it at the heart of the shop. It will be the first department you see when you enter the factory and will share the floor with the printing presses and bindery. This will make it easier for the printshop to focus on upgrading skills and efficiency in the composition room, thereby improving the quality and presentation of Pathfinder titles and the socialist periodicals.

Keeping revolutionary books in print

Moving the composition room goes hand in hand with Pathfinder reaffirming its decision to keep its full range of books and pamphlets in print. There is increasing interest in Pathfinder publications, especially in the fundamental Marxist works, which workers and young people need in order to learn from working-class struggles through history and prepare for coming battles. Because of this interest, valuable titles — from Leon Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* to *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* by Joseph Hansen — are now out of print or will be soon. They must be rapidly put back on the presses.

Pathfinder reprints these books in quantities that will last only a year or two. Every reprint contains new ads for other Pathfinder titles, so readers can find their way to the broad range of political ideas available from the publisher. In some cases other improvements are made, such as designing a new cover or adding an index.



Volunteers will help move the composition room, (left) where revolutionary publications are typeset and proofread, to the newly renovated offices on the first floor of the Pathfinder Building (right).

In fitting with Pathfinder's reprint policy, the printshop purchased two new state-of-the-art sheetfed presses earlier this year. They make it possible to efficiently print small runs ranging from a few hundred to a few thousand copies.

Upgrading the composition department will allow the reprint schedule to move ahead more smoothly. It will especially help Pathfinder increase the number of books where the type can be reset, making them more readable. Many titles were last typeset in the 1970s or earlier.

"Already we have ambitious plans for this month," said Chris Horner, who is responsible for making sure Pathfinder's publication schedules are met. Three book reprints, three pamphlet reprints, and Pathfinder's 1994 catalog will come off the presses in December.

New web printing press

While one crew of volunteers is beginning to move the composition department into its new home, many others will be literally laying the groundwork for installing a completely remanufactured web press on the main factory floor. The new press "is going to mean much higher productivity," said Juliette Montauk, one of the web operators.

The *Militant* and the text for many Path-

finder books are printed on the web press, which the printshop first acquired in 1970. Even then it was not new, and the 23 years since have taken a toll.

A new motor, motor controller, and rebuilt folder replaced the old ones a couple months ago, and four printing units will arrive December 18.

"The units themselves will help us," Montauk said. "They are easier to learn to operate" and have a number of features the old press lacked that will save time and paper. For example, "we used to have to stop the press to adjust the timing between the press and the folder," she explained. "We will now be able to do this with the press running."

Just as important, Montauk said, is that the web operators are using this as an opportunity "to take a fresh look at how we work. We've spent hours thinking through every aspect of the department — from reorganizing the tools and parts we need to improving regular maintenance procedures."

A lot of work must be completed before the new printing units come through the door, Aspoy noted. "The biggest job will be repairing large sections of the concrete floor around the web," he said.

"A number of volunteers will get a turn at using 90-pound air-driven jackhammers

to remove the old, damaged areas. Others will be organized in wheelbarrow brigades to haul out the rubble and bring in fresh concrete.

"We will mix and pour more than 11 cubic yards of concrete," he said. "That's more than a full truckload."

At the same time a smaller crew will upgrade the plumbing and electrical circuits that service the press. "The new sinks and drain lines will make it easier to maintain a clean and safe work area," Aspoy explained. "We will have totally new electrical lines and piping, as well as a new water heater."

In addition, the walls in the web area will get a fresh coat of paint.

One other special project will be taking place Sunday, December 12, in the printshop bindery just a few yards from where the concrete is being poured.

A crew of volunteers will sort, collate, and pack 14 sets of books to be used by participants in the Socialist Workers Party leadership school. The heart of the study program at the school is the *Collected Works* of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Many other titles used for background reading are out of print.

But as a result of the enthusiastic response of *Militant* readers to an appeal several months ago, there will now be enough copies of every book for students at the next session of the school.

Volunteers will sort through the books and box them up during the weekend mobilization.

Work will knock off early December 11 so all the volunteers can participate in special forums planned in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and Newark, New Jersey. All three programs will celebrate 65 years of the *Militant* and raise money for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* Fund.

— CALENDAR —

NEW YORK

Manhattan

With Pablo Milanés. Video. Fri., Dec. 17, 8 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W. 14th Street. Tel: (212) 675-2584.

New Year's Eve Dance. Celebrate the 35th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Fri., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. Dinner served. 235 W. 23rd Street (between 7th and 8th Ave.) Sponsored by Casa de las Americas. Donation: \$15. Tel: (212) 675-2584.

TEXAS

Houston

The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation. Two Classes by Norton Sandler, national leader of the Socialist Workers Party. **Class 1:** Sat., Dec. 18, 7:30 p.m. **Class 2:** Sun., Dec. 19, 1 p.m. Sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party 6969 Gulf Freeway #250 (In the Woodridge Plaza, Woodridge exit off I-45) Donation: \$4 per class or \$7 for both. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

Witness unable to identify defendants in World Trade Center bombing trial

BY PAT SMITH

One of the prosecution's key witnesses in the trial of four men accused of bombing the World Trade Center failed December 7 to identify any of the defendants. Instead, the witness pointed to two jurors. The witness claimed to have seen the men driving a yellow Ryder van and a blue Lincoln Town Car hours before the blast. Investigators claim a Ryder van rented by one of the defendants was used to transport the bomb that exploded beneath the building Feb. 26, 1993.

The prosecution does not claim to have witnesses who saw any of the four defendants actually at the World Trade Center. But they had implied that Willie Moosh, a gas station attendant in Jersey City, New Jersey, would identify Mohammed Salameh and Mahmud Abouhalima as the individuals who came by the station where he worked to buy gas nine hours before the explosion.

The government, lacking any real facts to back up its accusations, has tried build a case with implications and insinuations based on bits and pieces of circumstantial evidence, peppered with warnings of "Arab terror" and "Islamic fundamentalism."

After the prosecutor, Gilmore Childers,

instructed Moosh to pick out the defendants, the witness stepped down, looked around the room, including at Abouhalima, who has conspicuous orange-red hair, and identified a juror with light red hair. "The record should reflect that the witness is pointing to Juror No. 6," Judge Kevin Duffy said. Then the witness pointed to a second juror, "Identifying Juror No. 5," the judge said.

The court then allowed prosecutors to present evidence that the witness had identified the defendants in photographs shown him by the FBI in March.

Another witness, testifying on November 8, had been unable to identify defendant Ahmad Ajaj. After attempts to paint Ajaj as an "Islamic militant," the government called Susan Betham, the immigration inspector who interviewed Ajaj at Kennedy Airport upon his return from Pakistan. Because the defendant had applied for political asylum in the United States he could only reenter the country using a false passport. Betham said she singled him out for arrest because he was traveling with a Swedish passport but did not look like a Swede and spoke with an accent. He remained in jail until after the explosion. In court Betham identified Salameh, not Ajaj, as the man she questioned at

the airport.

The government has now called more than 130 witnesses to the stand. The December 1 *New York Times* admitted, "So far inconclusive testimony was typical of the way the prosecution has been building its case, piling detail upon detail with the meaning of every detail not immediately apparent."

On December 2 prosecutors focused on a fingerprint they claimed to have identified from a trade center garage parking stub dated 10 days before the blast. New York City police detective Ronald Alongis testified that the only readable print on the stub belonged to Salameh, and that there were fingerprints on only one side of the ticket. Defense lawyers pointed out that this was suspicious since one holds a stub with a finger on one side and a thumb on the other.

"The evidence in and of itself does not prove that Mr. Salameh was responsible for the blast," the *Times* said. "Given that there are no witnesses who saw any of the defendants at the trade center at any time, any circumstantial linking of Mr. Salameh with the scene of the crime might well be the only such link in the entire case," a *Times* reporter wrote after the prosecution alluded to the fingerprint November 30.

Washington aims to strangle socialist revolution in Cuba

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Recent speeches by Alexander Watson, U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, have made it clear that the U.S. government is not preparing to abandon its almost 35-year policy of using every means available to overturn the leadership and reverse the political course of the Cuban revolution.

In fact, with Cuba facing its most severe economic conditions since January 1959, the U.S. government has the taste of blood in its mouth.

The U.S. rulers are determined to overthrow the government, headed by Cuban president Fidel Castro, that opened the so-

NEWS ANALYSIS

cialist revolution in the Americas in the early 1960s.

"Let me state from the outset that President Clinton's policy toward Cuba is to maintain our economic embargo until there is true democratic reform and respect for human rights," said Watson in a speech he delivered November 18 before the Committee on Foreign Affairs in Congress. "Cuba today is confronting the most serious economic crisis in its history."

The *Militant* reproduced the text of this speech in last week's issue. On October 26 Watson gave a similar speech at the conference of the Cuban American National Foundation (CANF), a group led by right-wing Cuban-Americans dedicated to the destruction of the Cuban revolution.

The White House is simply carrying through on Clinton's election campaign promises to implement a harsher foreign policy toward Cuba than even the Bush administration did.

Many opponents of Washington's efforts to strangle the Cuban revolution, however, who have illusions in the Democratic administration, are clearly disappointed at the recent policy statements and actions of the White House. Despite Clinton's warmongering during the 1992 election campaign, many opponents of the embargo hoped the U.S. president would relax some of the restrictions on trade and travel to Cuba. Some argue that the U.S. government's long-standing policies are mistaken vestiges of the cold war and thus irrational from the point of view of the U.S. rulers.

"The 33-year-old embargo," said a December 2 press release by Pastors for Peace, "is a relic of the cold war that causes widespread shortages of food and medicine in Cuba." Since last year, Pastors for Peace has sponsored two solidarity caravans involving hundreds of U.S. residents who carried tons of humanitarian aid to Cuba.

The view expressed in this press announcement, however, is fundamentally wrong. U.S. policy toward Cuba had, and

has, to do with the socialist revolution that broke imperialist domination of the Caribbean island — not with the cold war.

In fact, the strategy of the wealthy capitalist families that rule the United States begins with this socialist revolution, which remains alive today, not with the embargo.

A deep-going social revolution

Following the Jan. 1, 1959, overthrow of the U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista, the Cuban revolution rapidly became a central target of Washington. The new government in Cuba organized the peasants and urban and rural workers to carry out agrarian reform, dismantle the reactionary armed forces of the old Batista regime, and arm the people through militias and the revolutionary army.

With broad popular involvement and support, the new government enacted sweeping measures to slash rents and cut monopoly rates charged by U.S.-owned electricity and telephone companies.

In July 1960 Washington punitively canceled the annual quota of Cuban sugar imports, wiping out in a single blow the major market for Cuba's main export product. Cuban workers and farmers mobilized by the millions to defend their national sovereignty and their class interests against the landlords and capitalists both at home and 90 miles to their north. In the summer and fall of that year, most U.S. and Cuban capitalist landholdings were nationalized.

Cuban toilers, through their labor and political commitment, transformed social and economic conditions in that country — accomplishing feats unprecedented in the semicolonial world.

Land to till was provided to poor peasants and other rural working people, along with credit at low interest and access to needed supplies. On a voluntary basis over the subsequent 30 years, roughly half of Cuban peasants were organized in farming cooperatives. Most of the former capitalist-owned sugar plantations and many large farms and ranches were organized as state farms.

The production of sugar, Cuba's main export, was in substantial part mechanized, including the backbreaking task of harvesting. The revolution brought electrification to the big majority of the island's working people. Industry was developed and substantially diversified. Unlike Third World countries still dominated by imperialism, the benefits from economic modernization were used to improve the living and job conditions of working people, not to enrich a handful of foreign and domestic capitalist families.

A system of legal segregation and race discrimination, similar to that which existed throughout the Jim Crow South of the United States in 1959, was outlawed with the triumph of the revolution. And the new laws were enforced.

A similar commitment to advancing the social and economic equality of women has in 30 years brought about changes in wom-



Cuban volunteers in Grenada in 1982. Cuban working people have placed their government, their resources, and their skills at the service of oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world.

en's status that took 150 years or more to accomplish in what are today the most industrialized capitalist countries.

Illiteracy was virtually eliminated and universal health care, free of charge for all, was established.

Moreover, Cuban working people have placed their revolutionary government, their resources, and their skills at the service of oppressed and exploited peoples in struggle throughout the Americas, Africa, and Asia. Hundreds of thousands of Cubans have volunteered to serve as construction workers, engineers, doctors, teachers, technicians, and soldiers — from Nicaragua to Vietnam to Mozambique.

Some 300,000 Cubans went to Angola as internationalist volunteers between 1975 and 1988 to aid its government and its people in defending themselves against invading South African troops and counterrevolutionaries backed by Washington and other imperialist powers.

The victory at Cuito Cuanavale in southern Angola in 1988 by the Angolan army, Cuban volunteers, and forces of the South West Africa People's Organisation dealt a decisive military defeat to Pretoria. The apartheid regime was forced to concede the independence of Namibia. "Cuito Cuanavale has been a turning point in the struggle to free the continent and our country from the scourge of apartheid," said African National Congress president Nelson Mandela in a July 1991 speech to the Cuban people in Matanzas.

The character of this social revolution and the example it provided to millions of impoverished toilers throughout Latin America and the world was, and is, the source of Wall Street's determination to overthrow the revolutionary government in Cuba.

Economic crisis today

Despite these achievements, the leadership of the Communist Party of Cuba came to the conclusion in the mid-1980s that serious political errors had begun to accumulate during the 1970s and early 1980s. These errors stemmed from abandoning essential concepts of what socialism is and how to build it. These concepts were most clearly pronounced and implemented in the 1960s by Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution.

Methods borrowed either from the Stalinist regime in Moscow or directly from capitalism had gained increased acceptance in Cuba and undermined political consciousness.

A social layer had developed within the Communist Party and the state apparatus whose corruption and privileges collided with the interests of working people. Even the Communist Party itself "was starting to go to pot," said Fidel Castro in a speech to the party's 1986 congress.

In order to reverse this erroneous course, the party leadership launched what is known as the rectification process in 1986. At its heart was building a movement of voluntary work brigades that involved millions of workers who began to rapidly construct day care centers, build much-needed housing, and address other social needs. Measures were also taken against corrupt officials in the party apparatus and government.

The volunteer construction brigades and social advances that marked the early years of rectification, however, stalled at the opening of the 1990s as severe economic short-

ages and dislocations, precipitated by the collapse of Cuba's trade with the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, set in.

Measures to decrease dependence of industry and agriculture on the former "socialist bloc" and move toward food self-sufficiency — which Guevara advocated in the early years of the revolution — began to be implemented only after the collapse of trade with the former Soviet republics.

Severe shortages of food and other basic necessities developed more rapidly than the fight for food self-sufficiency. Electricity blackouts and a breakdown of transportation due to scarcity of fuel also spread. These conditions have taken their political and social toll as well. Social tensions are on the rise. *Granma* and other Cuban newspapers have reported an increase in violent crimes. Prostitution has reappeared around hotels and other tourist facilities. Instances of shootings by the police, rare in revolutionary Cuba, have also been reported.

The Cuban government has begun implementing a number of economic measures to deal with the shortages and scarcity of hard currency that drastically cut the country's capacity to import oil and other commodities. These include opening up nationalized enterprises to investment by foreign capitalists, creating two free-trade zones in Havana and Santiago de Cuba, decriminalizing the use of the U.S. dollar, and legalizing private self-employment in more than 100 trades and services.

Castro and other leaders of the Cuban government and Communist Party describe these measures as necessary concessions to foreign capital forced by the circumstances.

U.S. government's course

Clinton and his backers in both the Democratic and Republican parties hope the government in Cuba is similar to the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, which Washington helped bring down through decades of unremitting and debilitating military and economic pressures.

But this judgment of the core of the historic leadership of the Cuban revolution is incorrect. No other working-class leadership of a workers state has stood up to imperialism for even a third as long as that in Cuba. Today, the revolutionary consciousness, class-struggle experience, and determination of a broad layer of the Cuban working class is the true measure of the gains of the socialist revolution. The revolutionary and internationalist course of the leadership of the Communist Party, despite serious errors they have themselves acknowledged, means the capacity of working people to defend the revolution remains strong.

But the U.S. capitalist class knows that pressures are building up and that the stakes are high in Cuba today. That is why the Clinton administration has concluded that far from backing off from the U.S. rulers' 35-year policy of trying to strangle the Cuban revolution economically, now is the moment to tighten the vise as much as possible.

Washington's message to the Cuban government is simple: take the Chinese or Eastern European road — widespread use of capitalist market methods — then economic trade, investment, and other inducements are on the way; stick with communism and suffer the consequences.

Continued on next page

FURTHER READING

Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism

Exchanges from both the early 1960s and today on the relevance and historic importance of the political and economic perspectives defended by Ernesto Che Guevara. In *New International* no. 8. \$10.00

Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

CUBA CONFRONTS THE WORLD CRISIS OF THE '90s by Mary-Alice Waters

Socialism can only be built by free men and women who consciously work together to lay the foundations for a new society, transforming themselves in the process. That course, championed by Ernesto Che Guevara in the early years of the Cuban revolution, remains central for Cuban working people today. Also available in Spanish, French, and Icelandic. Booklet. \$3.50

How Far We Slaves Have Come!

SOUTH AFRICA AND CUBA IN TODAY'S WORLD

by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro

Speaking together in Cuba in 1991, Mandela and Castro discuss the unique relationship and example of the struggles of the South African and Cuban peoples. \$8.95



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

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

Cuba: more than a century of struggle

Excerpt from 'Dynamics of Cuban revolution' points to fight against imperialism

The following excerpts are taken from a series of articles written by Joseph Hansen. They first appeared in the *Militant* between May 9 and August 15, 1960, and were subsequently published in the Pathfinder book *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*, soon to be released in a new printing. The article is copyright © Pathfinder Press and reprinted by permission. Joseph Hansen went to Cuba during the first year of the revolution. A former editor of the *Militant*, he was a leader of the Socialist Workers Party until his death in 1979.

One of the things that rankle with the Cubans is a long-standing tendency in Washington to look at their country as a prize to be taken like Texas, California, and the other parts of the West which we seized from Mexico. They can quote declarations going back as far as Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams on the advisability of eventually grabbing Cuba. They cite proposals of statesmen of the Southern slavocracy to wrest Cuba from Spain and make it another slave state.

Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain began in 1868. It is the conviction of the Cubans that this struggle could have been won rather rapidly had aid been forthcoming from America. Instead, Washington's policy was to prevent Cuba from gaining her independence, the reasoning being that it was better to let the declining Spanish empire retain rule until the "fruit" became "ripe," whereupon it could be expected to drop into waiting American hands.

Cuba's freedom fighters continued to battle against the Spanish tyranny. By 1898 victory was in their hands. However, in January of that year President McKinley began open preparations for war on Spain. At the end of the month, the U.S. battleship *Maine* was sent to Havana harbor. On February 15 it blew up, with a loss of 266 lives. The true cause of the explosion was never determined, but the suspicion remains that it was a cloak-and-dagger operation plotted in Washington.

In any case, utilizing the explosion as a pretext, Congress voted \$50 million "for the national defense" and on March 25 declared that a state of war had existed with Spain for four days.

American troops were landed in Cuba under the proclaimed aim of aiding the Cuban struggle for independence. The Spanish-American War was short. Spain signed a peace treaty on December 10 ceding the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico outright to the United States and relinquishing Cuba. But American troops did not leave the island. They stayed four years as an army of occupation.

Among the things this army did was to prevent the Cubans from forming a government of their own free choice. . . .

President McKinley sent American troops to intervene in the civil war in Cuba in 1898 ostensibly to aid the independence movement. His real reason was to make Cuba safe for American investments. That was why the troops were kept there for four years. By the time they were ready to leave, Cuba was safe for the Almighty Dollar.

By 1959 private American capital investments were listed at around \$850 million. This does not sound like very much compared, say, to the some \$2 billion which the Pentagon and State Department are reputed to take out of the public till each year for nothing but worldwide spying. But America's financial sharks are noted for their exceptionally strong parental instincts. They suffer agonies if the smallest investment is endangered; they will fight ferociously to protect it from harm; and they are fabled for their solicitude in providing it with human flesh, bones, and nerves so that it will prosper and grow.

Thus, a half century after the American troops were withdrawn, at least 40 percent of the sugar production in Cuba was held by U.S. corporations. About 90 percent of the island's mineral wealth was in the hands of Americans, and 80 percent of public utilities. Cuba's oil resources were completely owned by American and British corporations. The biggest cattle ranches were likewise listed in the investment portfolios of American coupon clippers. . . .

Even worse than the exhausting drain of profits wrung from the toil of the Cuban workers and *campesinos* were the pernicious effects on the structure of the economy. Cuba became a one-crop country.



U.S.-owned Cuban Electric company after being nationalized in 1960. Sign over entrance reads "This building is the property and is occupied by workers who are ready to give their lives for national sovereignty." U.S. rulers want to turn back revolutionary gains.

This does not mean much to American workers when they first hear about it. "So what?" they ask.

If we had a worldwide, integrated economy run according to scientific plan, a small country would very likely find it advantageous to concentrate on what its resources, climate, and skills best enable it to produce. Bolivia's tin, Venezuela's oil, and Cuba's sugar might then be regarded as the most important contributions to the satisfaction of humanity's material needs that could be produced in these countries for some time to

come. Under capitalism, however, a one-crop economy compounds and intensifies the ordinary evils of this antiquated way of producing our basic necessities. The life of an entire nation becomes subject, sometimes to a disastrous degree, to the vagaries of the market and to the whims and calculations of a handful of ruthless, profit-minded monopolists.

In Cuba, sugar customarily accounted for two-thirds of the national income and 80 percent of exports. Property holdings became so concentrated that until the agrarian reform of a year ago, 75 percent of all the

cultivated land was held by some 8 percent of the country's property owners. About 700,000 peasants held no land at all. . . .

Eight months out of each year counted as a major depression for the bulk of the working people. The misery, suffering, and hopelessness they experienced make for bleak reading. It is must reading, however, if you want to understand the reasons for the sensitivity of the Cubans to what happens in Washington and the countinghouses of Manhattan.

They ate malanga, which is something like a straight potato diet. Sugar cane was a second staple. Thus they grew up stunted and subject to vitamin deficiency diseases. They lived in huts called *bohios*. No floor, just the bare earth. A roof made of thatch from the royal palm, much appreciated by all kinds of insects.

Their clothes, more often than not, were patched rags. They went barefoot, although this is hazardous in tropical countries. They went without dental care, losing their teeth when they were still young. And they went without medical care. As for education, some two million Cubans could neither read nor write.

Tens of thousands of fertile acres, growing to weeds, were available for cultivation, but feudal-minded landlords barred this. Cuba's long-suffering victims of chronic hunger, malnutrition, and abysmal poverty had to avoid trespassing on land that really belonged to the people as a whole. To heighten their bitterness, Wall Street's propagandists made sure that they heard all about the "free world" and its wonders, particularly the prosperous "American Way of Life."

The American propagandists need not have rubbed it in. The Cuban masses were well prepared to desire a change in their way of life.

U.S. aims to strangle Cuban revolution

Continued from previous page

Watson clearly outlined this stance in his speech to the Cuban American National Foundation October 26.

The assistant secretary for inter-American affairs explicitly repudiated the "misconception that has emerged from time to time in the press and elsewhere . . . that the Clinton administration intends to soften its policy towards the Cuban regime.

"This is false," he said. "There is no question the current regime [in Cuba] is reeling from the accumulated policy failures" of more than 30 years.

He reaffirmed the Clinton administration's support for the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act and its strengthened restrictions on shipping and trade with Cuba by U.S. subsidiaries in other countries. Watson pledged continued funding for Radio and TV Marti, which broadcast Washington's propaganda to the Caribbean island. And he called for "adequate compensation" from the Cuban government for the "extensive American personal and corporate property" that was confiscated during the opening years of the revolution.

Clinton's 'humanitarian' track

At the same time, Watson said the Clinton administration would pursue those provisions of the Cuban Democracy Act that claim to encourage "humanitarian" aid to the Cuban people through "nongovernmental organizations," improve phone service with the island, and permit travel by academics, journalists, and Cuban-Americans with family members in Cuba.

Far from representing any "softening" in U.S. policy, these moves, which are in line with similar policies by prior U.S. administrations, are carefully designed to accomplish several goals.

They are crafted first and foremost to counter the charge that U.S. policy infringes on academic exchange and press freedom. Second, they aim to place the onus on Havana for the problems of communication and travel faced by Cubans in the United States and undercut growing opposition to the U.S. embargo. And third, they keep a big fat carrot dangling in front of those faint hearts in the Cuban government and party apparatus who want to reverse the course of the revolution in order to gain an accommo-

dation with U.S. imperialism.

Under the provisions of the Cuban Democracy Act, Watson said, the White House "has taken steps to improve the ability of the Cuban people to communicate freely."

In fact, this spring the State Department once again floated the idea that it is considering permitting U.S. telephone companies to expand service in Cuba and split revenues with the Cuban government. The administration, however, is refusing to unblock the \$80 million owed to Cuba by AT&T for use of existing telephone services.

This money has been accumulating since 1966 in an escrow account in the United States, and the Cuban government insists that these funds be released before service is expanded to pay for the years of telephone service already provided by Cuba.

Washington says this money must go to pay for expropriated imperialist property. Meanwhile, the U.S. government has either shut down or threatened action against companies that provide U.S.-Cuba phone service through Canada or other third countries.

"The Clinton administration has come under increasing pressure from grassroots groups, businesses wanting to invest in Cuba, editorial writers from nearly every mainstream newspaper in the country, and the United Nations to end the embargo of the island," said the December 2 press release by Pastors for Peace.

The policy of the White House and Congress toward Cuba today, however, is determined by the U.S. rulers' long-term interest in crushing the revolution, not by the limited economic interests of particular capitalists who compete with rivals in Canada, western Europe, or Japan.

The U.S. capitalist class as a whole is confident it will be able to assert its economic interests in Cuba against its competitors if the revolution is brought down. Meanwhile, U.S. capital has larger potential markets and outlets for investment in many other parts of the world.

That is why diplomatic victories for Cuba, such as Washington's isolation in UN General Assembly votes on trade policies this year and last, must not be exaggerated in terms of their weight in world politics or effects on international commerce. The UN vote condemning the embargo November 3 simply provided useful propaganda open-

ings to educate about the criminal and inhumane character of U.S. policy.

Officially, capitalist governments in Canada, Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere oppose the extraterritorial reach of the Cuban Democracy Act — trade restrictions imposed by U.S. law on companies operating on their soil.

But the fact is that most shipping companies and U.S. subsidiaries abroad make cold-blooded economic decisions to abide by the terms of the act, which requires them to curtail business with Cuba. It is not profitable for them to do otherwise. As a result, conflicts between Washington and other governments over U.S. extraterritorial penalties rarely come up in practice, and the policy sticks.

Capitalist gov'ts pressure Cuba

Moreover — despite their votes at the United Nations and other international gatherings, and despite the capital flowing into Cuba from some of these countries in limited amounts — the capitalist governments in Canada, Europe, Latin America, and elsewhere are themselves putting more pressure than ever on the Cuban leadership to back off the continuity of its revolutionary internationalist course.

For these reasons, class conscious workers and young fighters in the United States and around the world who carry out work in defense of the Cuban revolution are part of the decades-long fight by working people in Cuba to continue standing up to Washington's economic and military pressures and advance their revolution along a socialist course.

Explaining what the Cuban revolution is all about — what it has meant for humanity since 1959 and the blow that would be dealt to working people the world over by its defeat — is central to the efforts to broaden public opposition to Washington's aggressive policies and to winning new forces to organizations that can lead the fight to emulate the example of Cuban workers and peasants.

Many opponents of the embargo will embrace as their own the slogan "Socialism or death," the addition Cuban communists have made to the basic slogans of the revolution in beginning to meet the needs of the special period they are going through today.

Autobiography of Haymarket martyrs offers rich lessons for unionists today

The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs. Edited by Philip Foner. 198 pp. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1977. \$15.95 paperback edition.

BY JEFF JONES

One hundred and six years ago last month, the capitalist class in the United States murdered in cold blood five working-class leaders. Known as the Haymarket martyrs, they had been convicted on frame-up charges resulting from a bomb thrown at police who were breaking up an outdoor workers' meeting in Chicago's Haymarket Square. The rally had been called as part of an international fight for the eight-hour day. "Gentlemen of the jury," the prosecutor at the trial said at the time, "convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and you save our institutions, our society."

IN REVIEW

On Nov. 11, 1887, Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer were hanged. The youngest defendant, Louis Lingg, also sentenced to die, had committed suicide the day before.

Three other defendants, Oscar Neebe, Michael Schwab, and Samuel Fielden, were imprisoned. They received pardons in 1893 when Illinois governor John Altgeld rejected Judge Joseph Gary's ruling at the trial that it was not necessary to identify the bomb thrower, or even prove he was influenced by the defendants, for the state to show guilt.

Pathfinder Press has recently reissued *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs*, written by the eight while in prison. In their own words the convicted workers tell of their experiences in the class struggle that led each of them to commit themselves to the cause of the working class and to the fight for revolutionary change.

Albert Parsons served in the Confederate army as a teenager in Texas, then learned the trade of printer and set up a weekly newspaper in Waco. The Ku Klux Klan ran him out of Texas for supporting the political rights of freed slaves. He settled in Chicago, where he became a trade union and political activist.

Samuel Fielden worked from the age of eight in an English textile mill. "I think that if the devil had a particular enemy whom he wished to unmercifully torture the best thing for him to do would be to put his soul into the body of a Lancashire factory child," states Fielden. He recalls the discussion over slavery in the United States and how the workers, in spite of losing work due to the blockade of Southern cotton, refused to support the South. Upon reaching the age of 21 he left England for the United States.

Michael Schwab, like the five other defendants, grew up in Germany. He describes how the concentration of capital forced many small proprietors into the growing ranks of the working class. As a bookbinder he traveled from city to city, looking for



Artist's conception of cops breaking up Haymarket Square rally, May 4, 1886.

work and talking socialism with other workers. Eventually he emigrated to the United States.

From Chicago, Parsons and Spies led a current of socialists, oriented toward union struggles, who moved toward anarchism in the 1880s. With 5,000-6,000 supporters, five newspapers in German and English, the Chicago anarchists influenced the most important unions in the city.

In the early 1880s a movement for the eight-hour workday was gaining momentum; at the time workdays of 14-18 hours were not uncommon. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions fixed May 1, 1886, as the goal for achieving the eight-hour day. This became a powerful organizing weapon, with thousands of workers joining unions and preparing to strike by May 1, if necessary.

This mass movement led the Chicago

anarchists to throw themselves into the struggle, which they had originally stood apart from. Parsons explained they supported the fight "first, because it was a class movement against domination, therefore historical and revolutionary and necessary; and secondly, because we did not choose to stand aloof and be misunderstood by our fellow workers."

Across the United States, hundreds of thousands of workers went on strike May 1. Many more won their demand by the very threat of a strike. The movement was particularly strong in Chicago, with 40,000 walking off their jobs.

The bosses of the packinghouses, rail yards, and other industries in Chicago prepared to crush this working-class action with police, Pinkerton detectives, and a specially mobilized state militia. The *Chicago Mail* singled out "two dangerous ruffians"—

'Is it lawful to put innocent men to death?'

Printed below are excerpts from the "Autobiography of Albert Parsons" as contained in the newly reissued Pathfinder book *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs*. Reprinted by permission of Pathfinder.

* * *

What of the Haymarket tragedy?

It is simple enough. A large number, over 3,000 of citizens, mostly workingmen, peaceably assemble to discuss their grievances, viz: The eight-hour movement and the shooting and clubbing of the McCormick and lumber-yard strikers by the police of the previous day.

Query. Was that meeting, thus assembled, a lawful and constitutional gathering of citizens? The police, the grand jury, the verdict, the court, and the monopolists all reply: "It was not."

After 10 o'clock, when the meeting was adjourning, two hundred (200) armed police in menacing array, threatening wholesale slaughter of the people, there peaceably (the mayor of Chicago and others who were present testified so before the jury) assembled, commanded their instant dispersal, under the pains and penalties of death.

Was the act of the police lawful and constitutional? The police, the grand jury, the verdict, the court, and the monopolists all reply: "It was."

Some person (unknown and unproven) threw a dynamite bomb among the police. Whether it was thrown in self-defense or in furtherance of monopoly's conspiracy against the 8-hour movement is not known.

Was that a lawful, a constitutional act? The ruling class shout in chorus: "It was not!"

My own belief, based upon careful examination of all the conditions surrounding this Haymarket affair, is that the bomb was thrown by a man in the employ of certain monopolists, who was sent from New York city to Chicago for that purpose, to break up the eight-hour movement, thrust the active men into prison, and scare and terrify the workingmen into submission. Such a course was advocated by all the leading mouthpieces (newspapers) of monopoly in America just prior to May 1. They carried out their programme and obtained the results they desired.

Is it lawful and constitutional to put innocent men to death? Is it lawful and constitutional to punish us for the deed of a man acting in furtherance of a conspiracy of the monopolists to crush out the eight-hour movement? Every "law and order" tyrant from Chicago to St. Petersburg cries, "Yes!"

Six of the condemned men were not present at the meeting at the time of the tragedy, two of them were not present at any time. One of the latter was addressing a mass-meeting of 2,000 workingmen at Deering's Harvester works, in Lake View, five miles away. The other one was at home abed, and knew not of the affair till the next day. His verdict is fifteen years in the penitentiary. These facts stand un-

questioned and undenied before the court. There was no proof of our complicity with or knowledge of the person who threw the bomb, nor is there any proof as to who did throw it. The whole question as to who did the deed is resolved upon motive. What motive controlled the person who did the deed?

The rapid growth of the whole labor movement had, by May 1, given the monopolists of the country much cause for alarm. The organized power of labor was beginning to exhibit unexpected strength and boldness. This alarmed King money-bags, who saw in the Haymarket affair their golden opportunity to make a horrible example of the Anarchists, and by their dreadful fate give the discontented American workingmen a terrible warning!

This verdict is the suppression of free speech, free press and the assemblage of people to discuss their grievances. More than that, the verdict is the denial of the right of self-defense; it is the condemnation of the law of self-preservation in America. . . .

The trial throughout was a travesty on justice. Every law, natural and statute, was violated in response to the clamor of the capitalist class. Every capitalist newspaper in the city, with one exception, called for our blood before the trial began, demanded our lives during the trial and since. A class jury, class law, class hate, and a court blinded by prejudice against our opinions, has done its work; we are its victims. Every jurymen swore he was prejudiced against our opinions; we were tried for our opinions and convicted because of them. . . .

Mr. Jurymen Todd said he was a "clothing salesman and a Baptist." "Then," said he, "this was a picked jury, they were all gentlemen." Of course, these gentlemen, who have a profound contempt for the vulgar, dirty working classes had to bring a verdict befitting gentlemen. So highly appreciated was their verdict that Chicago millionaires proposed and so far as any one knows did contribute a purse of (\$100,000) one hundred thousand dollars to this jury as a reward for their verdict.

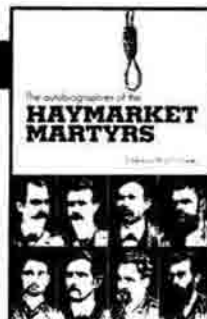
The weekly paper of the Chicago Knights of Labor solicited the autobiographies gathered in this book as part of the defense effort. They can be read today as documents in tribute to the self-sacrificing leaders who struggled to build a working-class movement in this country that can put an end to the rule of capitalist misery and injustice.

FROM PATHFINDER

The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs

EDITED BY PHILIP S. FONER

The life stories of eight working-class militants railroaded to prison or the gallows for the 1886 Haymarket bombing in Chicago. Written from prison, these accounts present a living portrait of the labor movement of the time, as well as the lives and ideas of these fighters for workers' rights. \$15.95



Revolutionary Continuity

MARXIST LEADERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES

Farrell Dobbs

(2 volumes) How successive generations of fighters took part in the struggles of the U.S. labor movement, seeking to build a leadership that could advance the interests of workers and small farmers.

Revolutionary Continuity: The Early Years, 1848-1917 \$16.95

Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922 \$16.95

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 for the first title and \$0.50 for each additional one to cover postage and handling.



Notebook of an Agitator

FROM THE WOBBLES TO THE FIGHT AGAINST THE KOREAN WAR AND McCARTHYISM

James P. Cannon

Articles spanning four decades of working-class battles defending IWW frame-up victims and Sacco and Vanzetti; 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strikes; battles on the San Francisco waterfront; labor's fight against the McCarthyite witch-hunt; and much more. \$21.95

UMWA, coal bosses reach tentative pact

Continued from front page
Thomas.

"I hope this is a legitimate offer from the coal companies," said Ty Becker, president of UMWA Local 2412 at Peabody Holding Co.'s Marissa mine. "We've been out way too long to accept anything less than a good, fair contract," Becker added.

The 1988 contract with the BCOA expired Feb. 1, 1993. Seven thousand five hundred UMWA members at Peabody Holding Co. mines went on strike during February when the companies refused to engage in serious negotiations with the union. Peabody miners returned to work as the companies gave verbal assurances regarding contract negotiations and signed an agreement to extend the expiration date of the 1988 contract.

When the extension expired in May, the UMWA resumed a selective strike against some of the BCOA companies. The strike is now entering its eighth month and involves 18,000 workers in Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia.

The companies were able to resume production at a number of the struck mines with supervisory personnel, but most facilities were shut down tight. No UMWA members crossed the picket lines.

While negotiations dragged on, many UMWA members have been frustrated by a lack of concrete information on the bosses stonewalling. The mine owners, however, have suffered substantial losses from the strike. Peabody Coal alone is estimated to have lost \$1.5 million a day during the shutdown.

A central issue in the strike was what miners termed job security. The 1988 contract re-

quired coal companies to give three out of five jobs to laid-off union members at any new mines they opened. The companies violated this provision of the contract, opening up new nonunion mines and refusing to hire laid-off union members. The bosses insisted that their "freedom" was at stake — the freedom to hire and fire as they see fit.

The BCOA also sought round-the-clock seven-day coal production, a change in job classifications, and cuts in medical benefits.

"We call the issue job security and double breasting," said Doug Hitt, a member of UMWA Local 2250 at Zeigler Holding Co.'s Old Ben No. 25 mine near Logan, Illinois. "But really it's a question of whether there will be union mines," he said.

"Whether it's ratified or not depends on what's in it," commented UMWA Local 2250 member Ken Cochrum. "I myself think that if it's a concessionary contract, it should be voted down. This union has always fought against concessionary contracts. The companies make profits year after year. To take a contract because it's a 'sign of the times' or because 'you're lucky to have a job' — I think that's a lot of bull."

Rank-and-file UMWA coal miners carried out a deepgoing struggle that democratized their union in the 1970s. One gain of these battles is that unlike virtually any other union in the United States, union miners have the right to read every detail of a proposed contract, discuss it for 48 hours, and then vote.

Mary Zins is a laid-off coal miner and member of United Transportation Union Local 1405. David Marshall is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1345.



Militant/Steve Craine (top) and Greg Rosenberg (bottom) march in Pittsburgh in May. UMWA strikers outside picket shack in southern Indiana in October.

U.S. gov't threatens North Korea

Continued from front page

forces in South Korea, is preparing for a possible military conflict on the Korean peninsula. Options under consideration range from increasing the alert status of troops to moving an aircraft carrier closer to Korea.

The Pentagon is also discussing deploying Patriot missiles and sending more air force squadrons and army troops to South Korea. "We have always been conscious of the fact that imposing sanctions runs the risk of uncertain North Korean reaction," the Pentagon said in a statement.

There have been no inspections of U.S. bases or other nuclear installations in South Korea, where Washington maintains 35,000 troops.

On November 30, U.S. president Bill Clinton ordered Defense Secretary Les Aspin and Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman John Shalikashvili to personally review with him the Pentagon's plan for war against North Korea.

"A war between the North and South would be very costly in terms of human lives," Adm. Charles Larson, commander of U.S. soldiers in the Pacific, said at a December 1 news conference in Tokyo. "But let me be very

clear that the South would win. There would not be a victory option for North Korea."

This provocation is part of Washington's decades-long campaign of aggression against the people of North Korea. It is rooted in the U.S. government's hatred of their struggle for national sovereignty and reunification. It is equally aimed at the people of South Korea who are also opposed to the peninsula's division enforced by U.S. troops.

"For 40 years the DPRK has been seeking dialogue with officials from South Korea," said Kim Jong Su, deputy permanent representative of North Korea to the United Nations in a telephone interview December 7. "We still insist on dialogue. We are prepared for both dialogue and war."

"South Korean government officials have said they want negotiations with us but their actions contradict this," Kim said. "They have said they would not rule out a 'military counter move.' They have carried out military exercises with U.S. troops, and sent spy ships to North Korea. If they want negotiations we are prepared, but if they want war we are also prepared."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY RICH STUART

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the speeches and writings of working-class and communist leaders who have made important contributions to the fight against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Pathfinder's *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' against Cuba Doesn't End*, a collection of speeches by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, was recently reviewed in the newsletter of the Defend Cuba Campaign in Britain. Reviewer John Pateman writes, "The great strength of Pathfinder publications is that they reproduce the actual words spoken by these two extraordinary revolutionaries, without gloss or distortion. Inspirational and essential reading."

The *International Review of Social History* from Amsterdam, Netherlands, reviewed *Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!* This fourth volume in the Pathfinder series *The Communist International in Lenin's Time* was also reviewed in *Working Class History*, published in Denmark, which alerted its readers to *The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power*, the second volume in the series. The Danish journal writes, "Most of these documents, which would otherwise have remained unavailable, are presented here for the first time in English translation."

Columnist Earl Caldwell featured *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* in the November 26 New York Daily News, one of the city's mass-circulation dailies. Caldwell says of the book, "What makes it so

special is that it is pure Mandela," and adds, "But know this: Mandela doesn't deliver 'just speeches.' His talks are documents, steeped in history and chockfull of facts. His speeches are the best reflection of Mandela, the teacher."

The *VVA Veteran*, a newspaper published by the Vietnam Veterans of America, included *Blacks in America's Wars* by Robert Mullen in the book section of its November-December issue. Of the book's section on the Vietnam War the paper says, "This short book reflects the military climate in the early seventies, a time when the U.S. military was mired in malaise, insubordination, widespread drug abuse, and extremely low morale."

Reviewer Marc Leeson quotes author Mullen, "During the course of the Vietnam War, the majority of Afro-Americans and most Afro-American political groups opposed the war, seeing it as a waste of black youth, a waste of resources that could be better used to ameliorate the conditions of America's poor, and often a racist war against a colored people struggling for self-determination."

A copy of *Mother Jones Speaks: Speeches and Writings of a Working-Class Fighter* was one of the raffle prizes at the Eighth Annual Mother Jones Dinner in Springfield, Illinois.

Sponsored by the United Mine Workers union, the event drew some 300 people. Two copies of the book were also sold at the dinner. Jim Goltz, secretary of Friends of Mother Jones, a research group, told staffers at the Pathfinder book table, "I've read just about everything published about Mother Jones, and I've helped other biographers of Mother Jones. This is the best and most complete work on Mother Jones published to date."

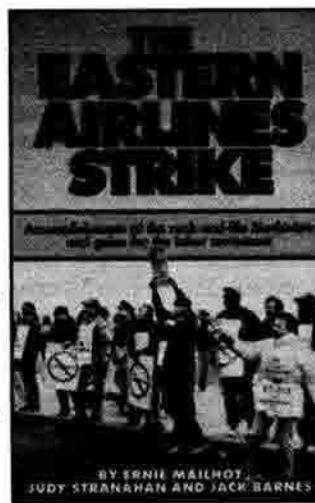
Special offer to miners and their supporters

THE EASTERN AIRLINES STRIKE

and 12 weeks of THE MILITANT

\$13

\$5.00 for book only (regular \$9.95)



This book tells the story of the 686-day strike. It explains how rank- and-file resistance by Machinists prevented Eastern's antiunion onslaught from becoming the road to a profitable nonunion airline. And it highlights the links forged between striking airline workers and coal miners during the 1989-90 strike against Pittston Coal.

Available from Pathfinder bookstores listed on page 12 or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. If ordering by mail, please add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling for the book.

Volvo merger with Renault collapses

BY ANITA ÖSTLING

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Volvo's chairman Pehr Gyllenhammar turned in his resignation here December 2 when the tentative agreement to merge Volvo and the French auto company Renault exploded into pieces. Gyllenhammar had been the leading executive officer of Volvo for 20 years and a top figure in the business world in Sweden.

His resignation was the culmination of the three-months-long battle over the Volvo-Renault merger. Gyllenhammar lost when the Volvo board decided to withdraw its proposal.

"Sweden is turning its back on Europe," Gyllenhammar said. "In the coming referendum [over Swedish membership in the European Union] the same irrational arguments will appear. Can we trust Europe? Are the Europeans trustworthy?"

Volvo and Renault started collaborating three years ago and today have joint departments for research, purchasing, planning, future design, and a joint production unit in Malaysia. The merger was seen and planned as the logical conclusion of this collaboration.

Volvo-Renault would have been the fifth-largest auto company in the world and the second-biggest in Europe, with an annual production of 2.4 million vehicles, including sedans, trucks, and buses. It would have had production plants in eight countries in Europe, and smaller units in another 17 countries in the Americas, Asia and northern Africa. Volvo-Renault would have employed 200,000 people worldwide.

Officials of the Metalworkers Union, which organizes Volvo production in Sweden, supported the merger. The shareholders of Volvo also endorsed the fusion in August. But when plans were made public in the beginning of September, a battle broke out within the ruling class in Sweden.

Over the past year, auto sales in Europe have declined 20 percent. In Germany an estimated 200,000 jobs will be axed during this decade alone. Volvo sells four out of five cars outside Sweden and is heavily dependent on markets in Europe and North America.

Opposition in Sweden centered around fears that the French government would maintain too much control over the merged company. Renault is state-owned and no date has been set for its privatization, although this is expected to take place in 1995. But even then, the French government will retain a "golden share" with which they can guarantee dominance of Volvo/Renault.

Opponents of the merger in Sweden called for intervention by Stockholm to stop the fusion.

One former Swedish ambassador to Paris wrote a contribution for the leading daily *Dagens Nyheter* titled "Stand up for Sweden, Bildt!" (Carl Bildt is the Swedish prime minister.)

"Volvo's French marriage... signals that Sweden is making common cause with the protectionist French government," stated a professor of economics in an article in another daily, *Svenska Dagbladet* (SvD).

The editor of SvD in a column titled "Does Volvo have a fatherland?" stated, "Cultural differences play an important role. Swedes are rationalistic and can see beyond high-minded nationalism. The French can't."

In its campaign against the merger, SvD has also railed against workers in France. Another editorial argued: "In France there is now a battle over the state-owned airline Air France. The company has deep economic problems. To solve these, the board with Bernard Attali at its head, suggested cuts of 4,000 jobs. This led to riot-like protests led by the communist trade union CGT. After a few days the French government caved in... That was not surprising, but very dangerous. What happens when Renault-Volvo finds itself in conflict with CGT? Have the shareholders contemplated this scenario?"

Of late the debate has concentrated more on the business aspects of the deal. Opponents have argued that Volvo is strong enough on its own, that its chance to survive is to produce quality cars for fastidious customers.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Employer Takebacks and Union Busting: How Workers Are Fighting Back. Video: *Picking Up the Torch—Immigrant Labor in Los Angeles*. Speakers: Ben Arballo, Teamsters Local 848, organizer of Fresh Start Bakery strike; Macario Camorlinga, president, International Association of Machinists Local 1910, which won organizing drive at American racing; representative, Association of Professional Flight Attendants. Sat., Dec. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Airline Industry in Crisis: How Can Workers Oppose the Bosses' Offensive and Concessions Drive? Speakers: Kathleen Denny, Socialist Workers Party, and member, International Association of Machinists Local 1781. Sat., Dec. 18, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

IOWA

Des Moines

Stop U.S. Threats against Korea. Speaker: Nell

Wheeler, Socialist Workers Party, and member, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 431. Sat., Dec. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Vietnam Today: An Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Don Gurewitz, recently returned from Vietnam and Cambodia. Sat., Dec. 18, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass. Ave.) Donation: \$3. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Incident at Oglala. Film on the frame-up of Leonard Peltier. Sun., Dec. 19, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

British Troops Out of Ireland. Speakers: Ed Shott, Irish-American activist; Pat O'Riley, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

December 31-January 2
Pittsburgh

Sessions and forums to include:

- "From Trading Wars to Shooting Wars: The Working-Class Road to Peace"
- "The U.S. Class Struggle Today and the Fight for a Workers' and Farmers' Government"
- "Why Cuba Is Not Alone — Defending the Cuban Revolution Today"
- "The Working-Class Perspective on the Fight for Women's Liberation Today"

For more information, call (412) 362-6767

Washington strikes blows to competitors

Continued from front page

ment, France, the world's second largest agricultural exporter, would have been forced to reduce the volume of its subsidized exports by 21 percent over six years thus substantially opening European markets to U.S. farm exports. The new "peace agreement" allows for a more gradual shift that would allow farmers in Europe to export an additional 8 million tons of wheat over the next six years.

An estimated 3,000 farmers from Switzerland, France, and India protested outside the GATT talks in Geneva December 4.

On December 7, French government negotiators threatened to reject the GATT agreement because it would not protect the film and television industry in France. The hue and cry over defending French culture has been part of the nationalist campaign whipped up by the ruling families in an attempt to win room for maneuver with Washington. "What is good for France," said Daniel Toscani de Plantier, president of the film association Unifrance, "is good for France because it is not good for the United States and other countries."

New fissures in European Community

France's position has irritated German government officials, who have remained largely silent in the GATT debate while favoring completion of the negotiations. Bonn's economics minister, Gunter Rexrodt, said of Paris's demands, "I think it goes too far." Bonn's actions are decisive. France's political and economic policy are built in part around its alliance with Germany, which forms the core of the European Community (EC).

In the wake of the August currency crisis in Europe, which left the EC monetary sys-

tem in ruins, the competition between rival capitalist governments on the continent has intensified. The Paris-Bonn alliance too has come under strain.

On December 7, Paris also placed new demands on its so-called partners in the EC. It demanded a guarantee that farmers in France will not have to take "one single extra hectare" out of production due to a GATT deal, and insisted on changes in the EC's Common Agricultural Policy.

France's insistence on more movement by U.S. negotiators brought demands from other EC members as well. Portugal, for example, is insisting that U.S. offers on textiles are unacceptable.

GATT bureaucrats, based in Geneva, say that signing the agreement will result in \$200 billion being added to the "world economy." The December 7 *Wall Street Journal* bluntly pointed out that "there will be losers as well as winners, a matter that negotiators prefer to play down."

World depression and growing conflict

Following World War II, Washington and other capitalist regimes established GATT to set rules on international commerce. Today, 116 governments are participating in the current Uruguay Round, named after the country where this stage of the negotiations was launched seven years ago.

The agreement covers a complex web of tariffs and other punitive trade weapons, such as antidumping laws, along with subsidies and a host of trade rules.

The sharp cleavages in the talks are the result of ferocious competition in the midst of the worldwide economic depression. The billionaire families in the United States, France, Germany, Japan, and other powers are trying to carve out markets and profits

in a period when the overall rate of profit in industrial production is falling.

Washington has a big advantage over the others in the talks. The more than decade-long offensive against the working class by the employers and government has made U.S. industry more productive than its competitors.

According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, labor costs in the United States are about 30 percent below the weighted average level of U.S. competitors. A recent study quoted in the *Washington Post* found overall U.S. labor productivity in manufacturing to be 17 percent higher than in Japan and 21 percent higher than in Germany.

The Clinton administration has used the GATT talks to slam Paris and other rivals into opening their markets. Meanwhile, the U.S. government steadfastly refuses to lay down its own trade weapons. U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor says Washington must keep the right to act unilaterally against anyone who violates U.S. trade laws. "This is a deadly serious issue," said commerce undersecretary Jeffrey Garten. "We consider these laws central to our ability to maintain an open trading system."

Talks on eliminating steel tariffs and other protectionist barriers collapsed December 6.

Meanwhile, Washington forced South Korean government officials to agree to open their market to rice imports. Pressure on Seoul mounted after Tokyo was forced to do the same. As in Japan, wealthy capitalist farmers in South Korea make a killing in the protected market where rice prices are far higher than elsewhere.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Nueva Internacional*.

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. San Francisco: 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516. Tel: (203) 688-5418.

FLORIDA: Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: 172 Trinity Ave. Zip: 30303. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

IOWA: Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: 141 Halsey. Mailing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222.

Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Brooklyn: 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217 Tel: (718) 399-7257; New York: 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 388-9346; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip: 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 221-2691. Cleveland: 1863 W. 25th St. Zip: 44113. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

OREGON: Portland: 2310 NE 8th #1. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 288-0466.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. Pittsburgh: 4905 Penn Ave. Zip: 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Houston: 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 250. Zip: 77087. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 523 8th St. SE. Zip: 20003. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN

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

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

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

CANADA

Montreal: 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

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

Vancouver: 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

FRANCE

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

ICELAND

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

NEW ZEALAND

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

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

SWEDEN

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

So tell us, Stupid, how did they shut it down? — Fuming over the flight attendants strike at American Airlines, "shock jock" Howard Stern said it was unbelievable that "a



Harry Ring

bunch of waitresses could shut down an airline. That's like the shoeshine guys shutting down Amtrak."

P.S. — Who knows, Howard, maybe the Amtrak "shoeshine guys" will be next.

Remember, a 'humanitarian' mission? — "UN Funds Yield Little in Somalia — Most of the hundreds of millions of dollars has been spent on its own troops and support services. Only a fraction has gone for projects that directly benefit the people." — Headline and sub-headline in the *Los Angeles Times*.

Short-lived too — "It was an illusion to imagine that the collapse of the Iron Curtain would lead to peace on earth." — Rainier Haberland, sales director for a German automaker now doing a brisk business in bulletproof limos, both in the capitalist world and the former Soviet bloc.

'Waste not, want not' — During an Asia lecture tour sponsored by Citibank, George Bush had supper at a Hong Kong hotel coffee shop. A U.S. reporter sitting nearby asked the waiter what kind of a tipper the ex-prez was. The waiter pulled out a lapel pin bearing the U.S. presidential seal.

He might smell better too — Now that the Queen of England has made Bush a knight of the Royal Order of the Bath, we have a suggestion. Instead of tipping folks with lifted White House lapel pins, he could carry a stash of those airline midget soap bars.

Forward to the past — "We are restoring the doctor-patient relationship. This is the vanguard right here." — Spokesman for a group of Canadian doctors who opted out of the national health care plan, apparently unhappy with the take and installed a cash register in their waiting room to symbolize the "new" relationship.

The caring society — An Oregon study of children six to eight, found that 55 percent had decay in their permanent or primary teeth. They found that among children who are Anglo, 52 percent had cavities; Black, 64 percent; Latino, 65 percent; Asian, 67 percent; Native American, 91 percent. The feds say they hope to reduce the number to 35 percent by the year 2000.

To qualify, just agree to starve your kids — The World Bank has coughed up \$2 million for "micro-level" loans as small as \$50 for the poorest of the poor. It's seed money to help establish people in such enterprises as street vending or dress-making.

Protect them from cops? — In Los Angeles-area Torrance, the police secretly taped high school students having lunch at off-campus eateries. The cops hoped to use the tapes — which contained no evidence of wrongdoing — to persuade officials to bar students from going off campus for lunch. School officials considered showing the tapes to parents, until a local paper broke the story.

Russia elections bring no prospects for stability

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Thirteen parties will stand in elections for a new Russian parliament December 12. On the same day, a referendum will be held on a draft constitution granting President Boris Yeltsin expanded powers.

The contestants in the race, who are portrayed with labels ranging from "reformers" to "democrats" to "Communists," all represent the interests of various sections of the privileged bureaucratic layer that rests on top of the Russian workers state. Some of the parties, such as Yeltsin's favorite, Russia's Choice, more directly proclaim their intention to speed up so-called market reforms to hasten Russia's integration into the world capitalist system.

Yeltsin annulled the old parliament at the end of September and crushed his opponents October 4 in a tank offensive in the streets of Moscow. Most working people in Russia stayed safely out of the fray, not seeing their interests identified with either gang. The Russian president has ruled by decree ever since.

The draft constitution, which will go into effect if 50 percent of those voting support it, establishes the president as the supreme authority in Russia, giving him the right to overrule decisions of the parliament and issue decrees. It provides for impeachment only after a lengthy process of voting and court proceedings. The president can dissolve parliament if it passes a no confidence vote in the government or fails to approve three of his candidates for prime minister. The document asserts the right to own private property, including the right to own land.

Yeltsin threatened to cancel television access to candidates who criticized the proposed constitution. Having said earlier that he would hold presidential elections sooner, he now plans to stay in office until 1996. In fact, the new constitution requires the president to serve the full term.

The editor of the newspaper *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* wrote, "It will be a constitution for presidents in general, and for President Yeltsin in particular."

Economic crisis

Eight parties that sought to run in the elections were disqualified by Moscow's electoral commission, which claimed they failed to collect the 100,000 signatures necessary to get on the ballot.

Among the parties appearing on the ballot are Russia's Choice, the Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, Movement for Democratic Reform, Communist Party, Dignity and Charity, Russian Unity and Accord, and the Democratic Party of Russia.

The so-called reformers call for limiting subsidies and credits to industries, and especially to agriculture; allowing buying and selling of land; and loosening the rules governing exports of some natural resources.

Owing to the economic crisis in Russia

and the growing number of impoverished workers, even the most outspoken advocates of austerity measures have tempered their stance to collect votes. They speak of the need to avoid "shock therapy."

Yegor Gaidar, Yeltsin's first deputy prime minister and leader of Russia's Choice, is the leading proponent of capitalist measures and austerity.

Gaidar visited Vorkuta, a mining area, November 6. Moscow has cut subsidies to the region, and some workers have not been paid for three months. The 25,000 miners have threatened to strike. Gaidar did not receive a very warm welcome.

He now calls for large import tariffs and "sensible protection" for Russian industry and nascent capitalists.

Gennady Zyuganov, leader of Russia's Communist Party, one of the remnants of the former ruling Stalinist apparatus, calls for "unit[ing] the patriotic forces," against Yeltsin.

The ruling bureaucracy faces a permanent crisis, with no prospect of stabilizing Russia. For the moment, industrial production appears to have stopped falling, and the ruble has become relatively stable against the dollar. *New York Times* reporter Steven Erlanger states that "together with the privatization of important parts of state industry, these are considerable achievements" of Yeltsin's government.

But this has not prevented rapid social and economic differentiation and continuing breakdowns.

The *Times* says that 7 percent of Russians are now "rich and well off," while 37 percent out of a population of 150 million are living below the official poverty line.

Official unemployment is 1 million, but counting layoffs and forced "vacations" 5 million people are out of work. There are epidemics of diphtheria, typhoid, measles, and other diseases in parts of the country.

No Russia gold rush

Despite promises of more investment and support to the Russian government by Gaidar and other proponents of more rapid austerity if they win the elections, large scale investment is unlikely to flow into the country from the United States, Germany, Japan, and other imperialist powers.

The *Economist*, a prominent voice for big business, published in Britain, recently printed a list of "risk ratings," which claims to assess "the riskiness of 82 countries on the basis of 27 factors, including debt, current account position, economic policy and political stability." Russia is number two on the list. Only Iraq is considered riskier.

Unlike China, where the transfer of millions of peasants to urban centers has created a massive, dynamic workforce that has attracted large amounts of foreign capital, there is no such development in Russia.

The imperialist powers are unhappy with the pace of moves toward capitalism and aghast over instability in the region.

Privatization of land and industry to date has been a largely formal transfer of ownership of state enterprises to workers and shareholders. About one-third of the indus-



Russian president Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Gaidar, right. Gaidar is leading candidate of "Russia's Choice," and an outspoken voice for speeding up the attempt to establish capitalism in Russia. Other parties in electoral contest also represent interests of layers of privileged bureaucracy.



trial workforce now works for nominally private companies. But the "companies" have no capital. Only the state does.

The *Washington Post* calls Russia "a political maelstrom and a constitutional void." The *Economist* warns that "whoever wins

the election on December 12th, the West faces problems."

Underlining the problem, Yeltsin banned most foreign banks licensed to do business in Russia from dealing with Russian customers until January 1996.

25 AND 50 YEARS AGO

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
December 20, 1968 Price 10¢

A week of student demonstrations in three Egyptian cities in late November left at least 20 persons dead, following assaults by Nasser's police and troops. Many more were injured and over 200 were arrested.

The demonstrations began Nov. 22 in the Nile Delta city of Mansoura, 75 miles north-east of Cairo. The students were protesting a new restrictive education law. They also demanded political freedom and the abolition of press censorship. The crowd swelled to more than 6,000. According to one report, the police fired when students began to shout, "Down with Nasser!"

On Nov. 24 demonstrations broke out in Cairo, where police and soldiers used tear gas to break up crowds of students in front of the heavily guarded Cairo University.

The *London Times* commented Nov. 27: "There is no doubt that the Egyptian student riots, especially in Alexandria where they have outgrown the dimensions of a student demonstration, have faced the regime of President Nasser with its most serious problem since it came to power in the 1952 revolution."

Nasser's first reaction was to blame right-wing religious fanatics for the outbreak. The *New York Times* defended this view in a Nov. 29 article which reported that students in Alexandria shouted, "There is no God but Allah!" The West German weekly *Der Spiegel*, on the contrary, reported Dec. 2 that the cry was meant as criticism of Nasser's pretensions.

A special congress of the ruling Arab Socialist Union was convoked Dec. 3 to discuss the student outbreak. The congress

took on a witch-hunt tone when justice Minister Mohammed Abu Nosseir claimed the Alexandria demonstrations had been "fomented" by an agent of Israel.

THE MILITANT

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

December 18, 1943

The meeting of Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt at Teheran was surrounded with an even greater secrecy than was the case when Eden, Molotov and Hull met in Moscow one month before. The Churchill-Stalin-Roosevelt declaration of Dec. 1, made public after five days' delay, is one of the vaguest and in consequence most sinister diplomatic documents that has ever issued from the mills of secret diplomacy.

Although the text of the Teheran statement declares the conferees and their "diplomatic advisers" had "surveyed the problems of the future," and although the Moscow radio, which was the first to broadcast on Dec. 4 the news about the parley, announced that "a range of political questions" had been covered, the world still knows virtually nothing about the actual political decisions reached at Teheran.

But the real reason for secrecy is that the discussions at Teheran are a continuation of the conspiracy being hatched by Churchill-Stalin-Roosevelt against the coming European revolution, above all the German revolution. At the same time, it is a conspiracy to subjugate the European peoples.

At Teheran, Churchill and Roosevelt haggled for four days with Stalin over the price for the Kremlin's hangman's services in the attempt to strangle the revolutionary German and European workers. That is the real gist of the Teheran conference.

The Revolution Betrayed

WHAT IS THE SOVIET UNION AND WHERE IS IT GOING?

by Leon Trotsky

Classic study of the degeneration of the Soviet workers' state under the domination of the privileged social caste whose spokesman was Stalin. Illuminates the roots of the crisis of the 1990s. \$19.95

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

PATHFINDER

410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014. FAX (212) 727-0150

U.S. hands off North Korea!

U.S. president Bill Clinton and his defense secretary Les Aspin displayed their imperial arrogance once again when they uttered new threats of military attacks on North Korea if Pyongyang does not submit to their demands for inspections of its nuclear sites.

Never mind that North Korean negotiators offered to allow inspections of most installations and said they are willing to discuss visits to the remaining two sites. The White House bullies want more concessions. Pyongyang says it has no nuclear weapons, although it has every right to develop or acquire them in face of decades-long aggression by Washington. In fact the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) has been proposing an agreement for a nuclear-free Korea since the 1970s.

Aspin and Pentagon officials claim the threat of nuclear war now comes from the actions of governments in Third World countries such as Iraq and North Korea. What sheer hypocrisy from scoundrels!

Washington, the biggest nuclear power on earth, has been the only government to use atomic weapons ever (against the people of Japan in 1945).

The threats by the White House today, which do pose the possibility of shooting — and maybe nuclear — war in the Korean peninsula, follow the unbroken thread of U.S. policy in the area since the Korean War.

The U.S.-organized imperialist assault on Korea in 1950 failed in its objective to overturn the DPRK, as the war ended in a stalemate at the 38th parallel. The imperialists concluded that the political price they would pay throughout Asia for again unleashing nuclear weapons in the

region precluded their use in the Korean conflict. But they came dangerously close to dropping the bomb a second time. The difficulties of maintaining a politically unpopular land war in Asia against a workers state foreshadowed the U.S. defeat in Vietnam some two decades later.

The war left a divided Korea and denied self-determination to its people after more than half a century of occupation by Tokyo and Washington. This remains the most important unresolved national division imposed by the victors of World War II.

Washington is miscalculating the explosive character of this national question when it threatens military strikes against North Korea.

The wall dividing the peninsula along the 38th parallel, built by the South Korean regime and its U.S. backers, is aimed at preventing reunification of the country. And the guns of the nuclear-armed U.S. troops in the so-called demilitarized zone and other bases in the south are in fact also aimed against the toilers in South Korea, who have risen time and again against repressive landlord-capitalist regimes in Seoul and continue to demand an end to separation from their brothers and sisters in the north.

Working people in the United States and around the world should demand that Washington stop its threats against North Korea and withdraw its troops from the peninsula.

This is the best aid to working people in Korea, north and south, fighting for national sovereignty and reunification.

Welfare plan will hurt workers

The welfare reform package being prepared by the Clinton administration is an attack on the working class and the social benefits won over the years.

It is not a jobs program, despite being touted in the big-business media as a plan that will provide training and employment to many on welfare. The temporary jobs they're talking about will leave workers well under the poverty line — 35 hours a week at \$4.25 an hour (the federal minimum wage) only comes to \$7,335 a year, and that's before taxes. The main effect of such a "jobs program" will be to push real wages down.

At the same time, under the guise of funding these jobs, the administration plans to slash other social services — programs that more and more working people must rely on as the economic depression drags out. While President Bill Clinton hasn't announced exactly where the cuts will be, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala has already assured us that she has no problem cutting deep.

All of the proposed welfare reform schemes, on both the national and state level, sow divisions among working people. They portray those receiving assistance as less than human. Immigrant workers, as well as unmarried or teenage mothers, are especially singled out for scapegoating.

Among the many proposals to come out of Clinton's task force is that unwed mothers under age 18 be forced to live with their parents, with benefits reduced accordingly. Besides being an outrageous attack on democratic

rights, this, along with the demand that women identify the father of their children so child support payments can be collected, is intended to put the responsibility for children more squarely than ever on the backs of individual families instead of society as a whole.

Welfare as it exists today is a rotten system. It's set up to degrade and humiliate working people forced to rely on it; the payments are barely enough to subsist on. But the Clinton plan isn't designed to improve conditions for the worst-off sections of the working class; instead it will increase the level of oppression.

The working class needs to wage a real fight for jobs — at good union wages. Working people can demand:

- Shorten the workweek with no cut in pay, to spread available work around;
- Raise the minimum wage and support affirmative action quotas to improve conditions for the most oppressed layers of the working class;
- Launch public works programs, at union pay, to repair and construct much-needed housing and other facilities;
- Reject all scapegoating of immigrants, which divides and weakens the working class.

Yes, these things will cost the capitalist rulers more than welfare. But that's their problem. It is the only way for the working class as a whole to defend itself against the ravages of the economic crisis and build the unity needed to bring an end to the capitalist system.

Bombing trial frame-up exposed

The government's attempted frame-up in the New York bombing trial was dealt a big blow when one of the prosecution's key witnesses identified two jurors instead of the defendants.

The witness claims the defendants, Mohammed Salameh and Mahmud Abouhalim, came into the gas station where he works to get gas for a yellow van that prosecutors say carried the bomb to the World Trade Center.

The day after this major blunder, the New Jersey gas station attendant changed his testimony and pointed to the two defendants. A little coaching works.

Prosecutors have now called more than 130 witnesses to the stand in the trial of four men accused of bombing the World Trade Center. Not one of the witnesses has been able to place the accused at the Trade Center the day of the blast.

All four defendants insist they did not carry out the bombing. The government's case is built on months of piling detail upon meaningless detail. Prosecutors have not presented any concrete evidence linking these men to the blast.

Using circumstantial evidence peppered with warnings against "Islamic fundamentalism" and "Arab terror," the government has made it clear it plans to convict the defendants through the capitalist courts with the help of the big-business media. The prosecutors have used sweeping anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant propaganda to blur the

facts and give a handle to Washington to clamp down on democratic rights.

The jailers have subjected the defendants to 23-hour-a-day solitary confinement, delayed calls to their lawyers, and restricted their right to practice their religion. The government said they imposed these conditions because of "the magnitude and scope of the charges." It is therefore denying the defendants the fundamental right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty.

The same approach is being used against 15 defendants charged under an anti-working-class seditious conspiracy statute in an alleged plot to bomb sites in New York City. No evidence has been offered to link any of these men to any illegal act. The government and big-business media have worked overtime to present the accused as bloody terrorists, and have tried to implicate them in the February bombing of the World Trade Center as well.

The labor movement and all supporters of democratic rights have a stake in opposing this travesty of justice. Working people should join the defendants in protesting the inhuman jail conditions and the trampling on democratic rights. With this trial the government hopes to set a precedent enabling them to more easily use these tactics against workers on strike, defenders of abortion rights, and opponents of Washington's wars abroad.

We should demand: Drop the indictments now!

Parole fight helps defense effort

Continued from Page 5

on the right to presumption of innocence and freedom from self-incrimination. A 1991 ruling by the Montana Supreme Court held that convicted sex offenders cannot be required to undergo therapy as a condition of staying out of prison if an essential part of the therapy is an acknowledgement of guilt.

In that case Donald Imlay maintained his innocence on charges of sexually assaulting a child. He was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison, which was suspended on the condition that he take part in a sexual therapy program. When Imlay continued to deny the charges against him, he was dropped from the program and incarcerated.

The court said that under the Fifth Amendment the state cannot increase a sentence for refusal to confess to a crime, and ordered a new sentencing. The U.S. Supreme Court allowed the ruling to stand.

Treatment programs are not really voluntary

Prison treatment programs like Iowa's SOTP are never truly voluntary. Inmates are always under pressure to go along with them in hopes of release or better treatment, whether the pressure is overt or not.

Sexual offenders' programs are becoming "very widespread, and they all seem very bad to me," said Margaret Winter, who heads the American Civil Liberties Union Prisoner Program.

She described a so-called treatment program in the state of Vermont that "they claim is voluntary. But really it's only as voluntary as in Mark's case." A person may get a sentence "of 2-20 years. They say, 'If you do the program you may get out in 2 years, otherwise you'll be in for 20,'" Winter explained.

These sexual offenders' programs attempt to demean and break prisoners. The Vermont system is a good illustration. According to Winter, participants are required to watch a range of pornographic materials while their degree of arousal is monitored. Prison officials claim information from such tests can be used to predict who is likely to commit a sex offense.

Inmates in the Vermont program are also forced to relate their "deviant fantasies" to a therapist, Winter said. Those who are paroled from the program often have to continue this treatment for years on an outpatient basis. Their parole can be, and sometimes is, revoked if the fantasies don't meet with the approval of the therapist.

"A lot of people refuse to go through the program" and instead serve the time, Winter commented. "It's so degrading."

Iowa's SOTP also relies on humiliating tactics. Inmates in the program are required to participate in group counseling consisting of "feedback" sessions where prisoners are encouraged to berate each other for the crimes they were convicted of.

"The person receiving feedback will listen and not speak until all feedback is given," reads the SOTP rules. "Eye contact will be kept at all times. . . . Retaliation for negative feedback will not be tolerated." This is supposed to help each prisoner "own your crime."

SOTP participants must also write an essay titled "Through my Victim's Eyes," detailing the "happenings of the offense as the victim experienced it, written in first person."

Change in Iowa parole law

Until this year most prisoners in Iowa were entitled by law to an annual hearing before the parole board. New legislation changed that this year, leaving it up to the board to decide which inmates will get to present their case. The parole board used the new rule to deny Curtis a hearing, along with many other prisoners.

"I should have been granted an immediate hearing," Curtis said after the board's decision in October. "Defenders of democratic rights need to insist that prisoners be allowed to argue themselves in front of the board."

He pointed out that with the completion of the rape sentence — the only crime he was really accused of — it is harder than ever for the authorities to justify keeping him in prison. "The terrain has shifted for now. The authorities earlier insinuated that I complete their Sexual Offenders Treatment Program, where you are supposed to admit guilt to the crime you are accused of," he said. But that demand appears to have subsided for the moment. "They now insist that I go through programs to determine whether I am fit to be released from prison, or claim I haven't served enough time yet."

Supporters of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee internationally are now deepening the discussions with those who wrote letters to the parole board this year and introducing new people to the case. Alongside winning support for his federal appeal, this work will lay the political basis for further campaigns calling for Curtis to be released on parole.

(To be continued)

The first seven parts of this series appeared in the April 19, May 3, May 17, June 7, June 28, September 6, and September 27 issues of the *Militant*. They can be ordered for \$1.50 each from the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Tobacco farmers assail cigarette tax hike

BY JOAN PALTRINERI

GREENSBORO, North Carolina — More than 400 farmers and their supporters converged on downtown Greensboro November 29 to protest the Clinton administration's proposed 75 cents a pack tax increase on cigarettes. U.S. president Bill Clinton claims this hefty increase is needed to help pay for his proposed national health insurance plan.

Tobacco farmers — most of whom are small family farmers — have staged other protests in the last year to draw attention to the impact a tax hike will have on them and the state's economy. Tobacco is the largest farm commodity and cash crop in North Carolina; 56 percent of all cigarettes made in the United States are made here.

"If tobacco goes under, the North Carolina economy will go too," read some of the placards taped on the sides of the more than 130 tractors, spreaders, and harvesters that drove through the downtown streets. The tobacco companies have benefited from the tripling of tobacco exports that took place in the late '80s and rose to \$5.6 billion by 1990. One out of every four cigarettes is made for sales overseas. That is more than 164 billion cigarettes. This has doubled the shipments leaving North Carolina ports. The largest customer for export tobacco continues to be Japan.

The farmers and supporters who lined the streets cheered as the tractorcade drove by. "Tobacco pays my bills," said the buttons many of them wore.

John Ashe said, "Farmers can't afford to shoulder the cost of the health plan. We can hardly afford to pay for our own health insurance." Ashe is one of the dwindling number of Black farmers who now make up about 5 percent to 10 percent of North Carolina farms.

Tobacco farmers and workers in the tobacco industry have also been angered by a recent Guilford County Health Board decision to ban smoking in most public places. Steve Troxler, a leader of the Guilford



Protest of 400 farmers and their supporters on November 29 in downtown Greensboro to oppose Clinton's "sin tax," hiking cigarettes by 75 cents a pack.

County Tobacco Growers Association said, "This smoking ban was the straw that broke the camel's back. We needed to put on a display to say we aren't going to take it anymore." One farmer said some people who support the ban tell him he should grow something else. "What else?" he asked. "I can't make money on anything else." Recent farm statistics prove his point. Tobacco generates \$3,400 per acre gross income compared to \$586 for sweet corn, \$351 for cotton, and only \$126 for wheat. Tobacco planted on 239,000 acres in North Carolina brings in \$764 million in revenues while soybean planted on 1.2 million acres yields \$177 million.

Paige Lewis has a 100-acre farm in Rock-

ingham County. He plants tobacco on 25 acres and grows soybean, wheat, and corn on the rest. In addition, he raises some cattle and hogs. "Tobacco pays for my farm," he said. Lewis also works a variety of odd jobs to maintain his farm. "My mother worked as a nurse," he said. "That is really what kept our farm going."

Ashe described the allotment system for tobacco. He plans to plant 35-40 acres of tobacco this year. This is set by the Department of Agriculture, which gets its figures from the big tobacco companies. They tell the government how much tobacco they will need. "We have to pay the prices they demand when it comes time to buy what we need to plant. But when it comes time to

sell, the tobacco companies set the prices," he explained. Ashe said farmers also work closely with the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) to devise crop rotation to conserve soil. Ashe augments his farm income by traveling to Greensboro to work as a tax consultant. "This is really just gas money," he laughed.

More than 200 workers from the giant Lorillard Tobacco plant, which makes Newport cigarettes, lined the street in front of the factory to cheer and support the tractorcade. Several tobacco workers came from the American Tobacco Co. in Reidsville. John Bethel, a worker from the Reidsville plant and member of the Bakery, Confectionary and Tobacco Workers Local 192T, said he came to back the farmers. "If it wasn't for them I wouldn't have a job. Cigarettes are taxed enough," he continued. "Our union doesn't support this tax increase."

The big tobacco companies employ thousands of workers here, with wages substantially higher than in textile and furniture — the other big industries the area. In recent years, however, the tobacco companies have laid off many workers due to automation and the general decline in the demand for cigarettes. Phillip Morris Co. recently announced plans to lay off 14,000 workers in the coming year.

A construction worker came over to join the crowd of protesters. "I'm against this tax," he said. He explained that he spends from \$1.57 to \$2.50 for a pack of cigarettes. "That's over \$30 a week for smoking. The tax will hit me pretty hard."

The farmers came to demonstrate from a few surrounding counties on short notice. Many of them had participated in a May protest in Washington, D.C.

One young woman who works for an agriculture publication in Raleigh said that farmers could take a lesson from the American Airlines flight attendants. "We could learn a lesson from them on how to fight and win something," she said.

LETTERS

Overpopulation

Sara Lobman's articles about human overpopulation and the letters from readers are a good beginning towards resolving this question of whether human beings in general are overpopulated or is it simply that capitalists are breeder reactors.

The questions surrounding overpopulation are far too big to be only answered by the ruling class who have planned structural unemployment and forced divestment of farmers and workers. However, they are also too complex and unique to be only put through a Marxist sieve to reach an accurate and satisfactory resolution.

Why is this so? The continuing ecological disasters of the last 50 years caused mainly by warmongers make for far less habitable space available. Just as the disaster at Chernobyl had far reaching consequences, so also the "minidisasters" of continuing pollution for profit are bioaccumulative and global ecosystem accumulative. Some of the eco-disasters the human species and all others must now avoid as "sacrifice areas" were not just caused by corporate greed or capitalism. Many were also caused by Stalinism and Brezhnevism.

The continuity for some of Earth's species could have been another 5-6 billion years. However, it is likely that many species on the earth will not survive till the end of the next century. If this premature disaster is to not occur, then the peoples of the earth, whatever their economics or religion, must start embracing the fact that they are only one species on the planet. The Earth and the rest of her species could survive very nicely without first and second world over-industrialized peoples and all the attendant toxic war and over-consumption. Ultimately, what is going to determine population size will either be decided by enough of

us who refuse to reproduce or by the collapse of the entire life support system and mass extinction of air breathing animals.

Robert Roethig
Dubuque, Iowa

Truthful reporting

Thank you for the complimentary copy of the *Militant*. I read several working-class papers, such as *Workers World*, *Workers Vanguard*, and *Revolutionary Worker*, all of which other prisoners receive. I thought the *Militant* was much more focused on the issues and more objective.

I feel that the worst aspect of too many leftists is to overcompensate for the propaganda and narrow-minded ways of the far right by themselves becoming enmeshed in the same. Propaganda and loss of objectiveness is bad, on their side and ours. The *Militant*, at least the issues I received, remained straightforward and never crossed the line of truth. I appreciate that.

I will be released next summer, at which time I will be subscribing. Keep up the fight.

A prisoner
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

Profits up, wages down

While production and profits are rising for capitalists in Canada, workers continue to suffer depression-like conditions.

A survey of 206 companies conducted by the *Globe and Mail* newspaper shows that in the third quarter of 1993, after-tax profits rose by 33 percent, compared to the same period in 1992. The survey forecasts continuing improvements in profits thanks to low interest rates and the low value of the Canadian dollar compared to the U.S. dollar. A large proportion of industrial production in Canada is exported, most of it to the United

States. A lower dollar means Canadian goods sell more cheaply in the U.S. market.

In February 1989 the value of factory shipments has returned to the highest level reached in history. But the number of jobs has fallen by 17 percent during that same time. This is one measure of the productivity increases that Canadian capitalists have registered in the past several years. They have significantly reduced the productivity gap with their U.S. competitors.

Real incomes for working people continue to decline. "Official" unemployment sits at 11.1 percent, a figure which does not include the hundreds of thousands of workers who no longer actively search for a job. Wage increases for the first nine months of 1993 were .6 percent while consumer prices rose 1.9 percent.

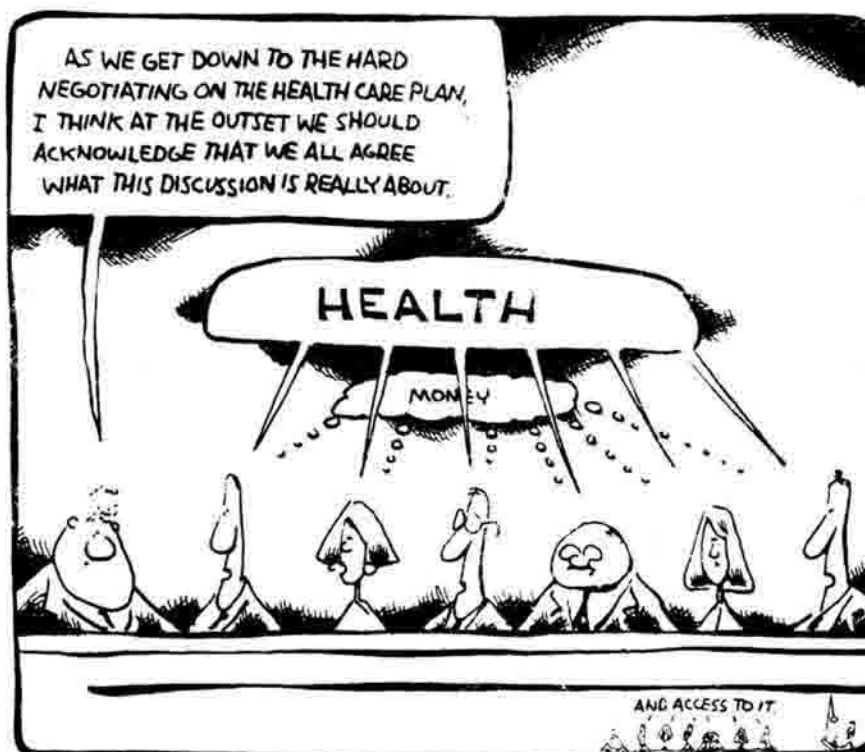
According to another study, average personal tax increases in Canada rose by 42 percent between 1986 and 1992 while the inflation rate was only 28 percent.

Meanwhile, Bell Canada, a telecommunications company and one of the largest employers in Canada, announced in mid-November a demand to reduce to four days the workweek of its 50,000 employees. The alternative, it says, is a layoff of 5,000 workers.

Roger Annis
Montreal, Quebec

Reject 'Canada First'

The front-page news analysis article in the Nov. 29 issue of the *Militant* on NAFTA signed by Naomi Craine presented, in my opinion, a correct viewpoint of the



stakes for working people in this deal among anti-working-class capitalist thieves.

Unfortunately, the title "Clinton will use NAFTA against capitalist rivals: Labor must reject 'America First' framework," could and in fact has been echoed by Canadian nationalist opponents of NAFTA, particularly in the labor movement. I am sure this was not the intent of the author, or the *Militant*, but the first coworker I approached with the issue thought it was an anti-U.S., anti-NAFTA article.

Here in Canada, both proponents and opponents of the first Canada-U.S. free trade deal and now NAFTA have been using the same arguments as their counterparts in the U.S. only with a strong "Canada first" bent.

As well as the title, the content could have been expanded to explain that U.S. capitalists and labor officials don't hold a monopoly on the "our country, our jobs" ap-

proach to trade deals. This reactionary perspective to resolving the world crisis of capitalism is being used to pit workers all over the world against each other for fewer and fewer jobs and social benefits. Sylvie Charbin
Toronto, Ontario

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.

The *Militant* prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Censorship laws target Irish struggle

BY JOYCE FAIRCHILD
AND TONY HUNT

LONDON — At a time when talks on peace proposals for Ireland between London and Dublin are the number-one news item here, the continued attempts to ban Sinn Féin and other Irish republican organizations from the media in Britain, Northern Ireland, and the Irish Republic restrict working people's right to participate in a full, democratic discussion.

In August of this year, the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC) informed the 21 independent local radio stations in the Republic of Ireland that it would be illegal to broadcast an advertisement by Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams for a book of his short stories. On October 29 the High Court in Dublin upheld the IRTC's decision. Judge Craney, in his ruling, said broadcasting the advertisement would have the de facto effect of advocating support for Sinn Féin.

The ruling provoked widespread protest. A letter on behalf of 2,600 members of PEN, a U.S. writers association — including Louis Begley, John Irving, Susan Sontag, and Allen Ginsberg — was sent to the Irish prime minister, the attorney general, and the minister for arts, culture and the *Gaeltacht* [Irish-speaking regions]. The letter protested the ban and demanded the ruling be publicly questioned and the censorship laws be abolished or redrafted. The Irish Book Publishers Association also wrote to Prime Minister Albert Reynolds and Michael Higgins, the minister with responsibility for broadcasting, to protest the decision.

Ban includes 'any words spoken'

"This second humiliation of Irish broadcasting is an inevitable consequence of the ef-

fects of political censorship," responded Niall Mehan, secretary of the Repeal Section 31 (of the Broadcasting Authority Act) campaign, in a press statement following the ruling. "Censorship spreads like a cancer. Section 31 has rendered Radio Telefís Éireann (RTE), [the state broadcasting authority], almost completely unable to objectively cover events relating to the conflict in the North of Ireland."

Mehan compared the ruling to the 1990 decision to ban Laurence O'Toole from the air. O'Toole was chairman of the strike committee during the 1990 Gateaux workers strike in Finglas Dublin. He was also a member of the National Executive Committee of the bakery union. RTE refused to broadcast interviews with him concerning the strike because he was a member of Sinn Féin. On July 31, 1992, RTE's ruling was overturned by the Supreme Court, which ruled that members of Sinn Féin could be interviewed if not acting as spokespersons for the organization.

In Britain and Northern Ireland the restrictions were introduced Oct. 19, 1988, when Home Secretary Douglas Hurd issued notices to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the Independent Broadcasting Authority requesting they "refrain at all times from sending any broadcast matter which consists of or includes any words spoken by a person who represents an organization specified below, or [when] the words support, solicit, or invite support for such an organization."

The list included five republican paramilitary groups banned under antiterrorist legislation, including the Irish Republican Army (IRA); three illegal Loyalist paramilitary groups; two legal political parties, Sinn Féin and Republican Sinn Féin; and the Ulster De-



Militant/Jonathan Silberman
Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams speaking at meeting in Dublin in 1986

fence Association. The republicans support an end to British rule in Northern Ireland and unification of Northern Ireland with the republic in the south. The Loyalists are pro-British.

In 1976 the government of the Republic of Ireland amended Section 31 to impose extensive restrictions. RTE was prohibited from broadcasting interviews, or reports of interviews, with spokespeople from any of several organizations. The list included Sinn Féin, a legal political party, and the IRA.

In September 1993 the censorship laws were effectively strengthened when the BBC not only censored Bernadette McAlis-

key, a guest speaker on its program, but also members of the audience.

McAliskey, who is not a member of any of the organizations proscribed under the broadcasting ban, was invited to participate in the BBC program *Nation* to discuss political violence. McAliskey's words were silenced and then subtitled. Members of the audience commenting on the situation in Northern Ireland were also subjected to censorship and cut off, often in mid-sentence, and their words were also subjected to subtitling. McAliskey contacted her lawyer as soon as it became clear the program was to be censored. In addition she formally complained to the BBC. McAliskey had previously spoken a number of times on British TV without incurring the censorship ban.

Protests against censorship

Protests against the censorship laws have been taking place prior to the start of a debate this January in the Dublin cabinet on renewing Section 31.

A recent *Cork Examiner* poll revealed 55 percent of those questioned said they were against the Section 31 restrictions. Only 34 percent thought the restrictions should remain. On October 23 opponents of Section 31 set up a literature table in Daunt Square, Dublin, handing out leaflets and collecting signatures for a petition against the censorship regulations.

A new organization, Let in the Light Campaign (LITL), is also helping to mobilize forces in this fight. LITL argues that Section 31 has damaged the public's right to information, affects journalistic practice, creates a culture of censorship, and inhibits a solution to the conflict in Ireland. *An Phoblacht/Republican News* reported, "Coverage of the political situation in the North of Ireland — the most serious political story in this country — is deeply affected and seriously distorted by the section 31 order," the paper said.

On November 10 The Repeal Section 31 Campaign and the Working Group Against Censorship submitted statements to Higgins condemning the censorship laws.

Two weeks later LITL organized a debate with a broad range of participants, including Sinn Féin Dublin city councillor Christy Burke, Sinn Féin Derry city councillor Mary Nellis, Sen. Joe O'Toole, Michael Farrell of the Irish Council of Civil Liberties, Kieran Rose of the Gay and Lesbian Equality Network, Clare Casey of the Ballymun Community Action Program, and a range of poets, writers, and journalists.

Joyce Fairchild is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union in London. Tony Hunt is a member of the Bakers, Food and Allied Workers' Union in Sheffield.

Florida farm workers hold conference

BY SETH GALINSKY

APOPKA, Florida — Under banners in Spanish, Haitian Creole, and English, 250 farm workers and family members attended the fifth general assembly of the Florida Farm Worker Association here December 4.

Farm workers came to the three-hour meeting from nine counties in the state. While most of those at the conference were from Mexico, there were also farm workers from El Salvador, Haiti, and other parts of Central America and the Caribbean, as well as Chicano and Black farm workers born in the United States. Simultaneous translation of the meeting into Creole and English was provided.

Many of the participants work at nurseries and tree farms. Some work picking tomatoes.

The high point of the meeting was a presentation by a small delegation from the United Farm Workers of America (UFW). The UFW represents 600 field workers at several orange groves that belong to Coca-Cola-owned Minute Maid.

Coca-Cola recently announced that it is selling the groves to Bariston Associates. The new company, while claiming it will guarantee the jobs of the unionists, has refused to grant union recognition or provide benefits mandated by the current contract.

The UFW won its first contract with Coca-Cola/Minute Maid in 1971 after a strike.

"Since then we have gone on strike four or five times," said Francisco Salinas in an interview. Salinas, who picks oranges at Minute Maid, is a founding member of the union. "The last time we went on strike was in 1984," he said. "We know that the new owners want to take away the benefits we've won."

Florida Farm Workers Association leader Tirso Moreno, told the assembly, "This UFW contract is extremely important. I know the value of a collective contract. You get a higher wage, union representation, health benefits, a pension, and most importantly you get dignity.



Militant/Seth Galinsky
Tirso Moreno speaking at December 4 conference of farm workers in Florida

"It's the only unionized farm in the state. If we lose this, it will be a big step back for all of us," he said.

After the assembly adjourned, dozens of farm workers crowded around the UFW table to send postcards to Coca-Cola opposing the sale. The UFW is planning some protest actions later in the month. The sale is supposed to become final on Jan. 1, 1994.

In the main report to the assembly Moreno said that the association has focused its efforts mostly on community organizing, including demanding better conditions for farm workers forced to live in trailer camps after their homes were destroyed by Hurricane Andrew, improving services at medical clinics that treat farm workers, expanding a credit union, and running a Mexican restaurant that provides funds for the association's projects.

In July the association organized a march of several hundred agricultural workers in Florida City and Homestead. The march

demanding telephones at the trailer camps and an increase in the price paid to workers for each bushel of tomatoes. The current price, unchanged in 14 years, is only 40 cents for a 25-pound sack.

"Farm workers don't just face problems at work," Moreno said. "But in everyday life. We face the arbitrariness of the landlords, low wages, the lack of telephone service, poor health care. On the job we suffer from the impact of pesticides. We are developing projects for all of these things."

The Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) in Florida also had a delegation at the meeting. Other organizations welcomed to the assembly by Moreno included the Haitian 10th Department, the National Farm Worker Ministry, and the Mexican Consulate.

Seth Galinsky is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 2594 in Miami.