

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**Feminism and  
the Marxist movement**

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## Clinton plan would end welfare to legal residents

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The Clinton administration is floating the idea of cutting social benefits to legal U.S. residents who are not citizens as part of a plan to slash welfare. Such a move would be a blow to immigrant rights and would intensify divisions among working people. This is just the latest step in attempts by capitalist politicians and the big-business media to blame workers born outside U.S. borders for the economic crisis.

The *Washington Post* reported December 19 that "administration sources said that reducing benefits paid to noncitizens has been discussed extensively" among members of the task force assigned by U.S. president Bill Clinton to prepare a welfare reform package. The cuts would supposedly help fund other aspects of the welfare plan, such as forcing recipients to accept low-paying jobs after two years on public assistance. The White House has not yet formally announced any of its plans.

Republican legislators proposed slashing aid to immigrants in their own welfare reform bill, which was introduced in the House of Representatives in November. Under that plan most noncitizens under age 75 would be denied access to 61 various welfare programs. The main exception would be emergency Medicaid services.

This would substantially increase the gap in rights between workers who have U.S. citizenship and those who don't. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants and refugees who have legal residence in the United

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## Clinton's new defense chief strengthens bipartisan gov't

BY SARA LOBMAN

U.S. president Bill Clinton's decision to nominate Bob Inman as secretary of defense is another step in his course of putting together the most genuinely bipartisan government of any Democratic administration since before the regime of Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal in the 1930s. Inman will replace Les Aspin, who resigned as Defense Secretary on December 15.

Clinton's new nomination comes on the heels of major policy decisions in 1993 that clearly indicate the course the White House is on. In August, despite the Republican show of opposition to some tax hikes, Congress adopted Clinton's austerity budget to the relief of most of the big-business press. In November, the president sailed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) through Congress with broad support from a majority of Republicans and many Democrats. There is also bipartisan backing for Clinton's "health care reform," which is more loaded to the benefit of giant insurance companies and big business and to the detriment of working people than any universal health care plan previously proposed by the Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, or even Richard Nixon administrations.

Both Democrats and Republicans, the parties of the ruling rich, support Clinton's foreign policy course as well. The U.S.

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## 'Peace' talks aim to uphold British rule in N. Ireland

Immediate withdrawal of British troops is only road to peace

BY TONY HUNT

AND MARCELLA FITZGERALD

LONDON — Amid worldwide media attention, John Major and Albert Reynolds — the prime ministers of Britain and the Republic of Ireland — signed a joint declaration December 15. They claimed it signaled "a new beginning" in a "peace process" in Northern Ireland, where more than 3,000 people have been killed since 1968. The declaration talks of overcoming "the legacy of history" and healing the divisions in Ireland.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

What the capitalist rulers of Britain and Ireland actually hope to achieve is a more stable constitutional arrangement for maintaining domination over the working class in Ireland. A central aim of the declaration is to force the nationalist party Sinn Féin to the bargaining table on terms favorable to the governments in London and Dublin.

With a few exceptions, other capitalist politicians in Britain, Ireland, and around the world have welcomed the declaration. Both Major and Reynolds received praise from all sides in their respective parliaments. The Ulster Unionist Party — the main capitalist party in Northern Ireland — gave the declaration "tentative approval," while British Labour Party leader John Smith welcomed it enthusiastically. U.S. president Bill Clinton talked of "an historic opportunity to end the tragic cycle of bloodshed."

The politicians' enthusiasm, however, is not shared by most working people, Catholic and Protestant, in Northern Ireland.

Major and Reynolds failed to address the real "legacy of history" and the actual source of the violence in Northern Ireland: Britain's imperialist domination of the country and the continued presence of 19,000 heavily armed



British soldier on patrol in Belfast. There are 19,000 heavily armed British troops in the six counties of Northern Ireland. More than 3,000 people have been killed since 1968.

troops in the six counties. The immediate withdrawal of those troops is the only road to peace.

Nor did Major and Reynolds tackle the underlying cause of the conflict in Northern Ireland — the systematic and institutionalized discrimination against working people who are Catholic.

The background to this declaration is the crisis of British rule in Ireland and the disastrous economic fortunes of the capitalists of Dublin and Belfast. London and Dublin hope that the declaration will break the stalemate between the British government and the Irish Republican Army (IRA), which is waging a military campaign for British withdrawal and the unification of Ireland.

London and Dublin want Sinn Féin —

which gives critical support to the IRA campaign — involved in these negotiations, but on *their* terms.

The joint statement offers nothing except that "parties which establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and which have shown that they abide by the democratic process are free to... join in dialogue in due course between the governments and the political parties on the way ahead." This is said to mean that Sinn Féin could join talks between the capitalist parties on the future constitutional arrangements for Northern Ireland three months after the IRA lays down its arms.

At a December 21 news conference in Belfast, Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams countered with a call for unconditional talks. British officials immediately rejected this.

Adams also stressed that any negotiated settlement would have to deal with the question of political prisoners. There are currently around 1,400 political prisoners, 700 of which are Republican and 700 Loyalist.

The British and Irish governments now hope to put maximum public pressure on the IRA to call a permanent cease-fire and agree to the condition that unification of Ireland can be vetoed by those who wish to maintain the link with Britain.

The carrot of negotiations has been accompanied by the stick of threats of stepped-up repression. "We have an option for peace. Whether that option is picked up lies with the men of violence, not with us," said Major in announcing the declaration. The next day British ministers revealed to the press that they had in place joint plans with Dublin to wage an all-out campaign against the IRA if the group rejected the terms laid down. Reynolds also warned there would be stepped-up cross-border security operations if the IRA rejected the declaration.

John Hume, of the mainly Catholic Social Democratic and Labour Party, has come out strongly in support of the declaration. Hume has been involved in talks with Adams over the past several months. Despite calling for all parties to come to the table "armed only with the strength of their convictions," Hume has not demanded the withdrawal of the British troops, even to barracks.

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## Yeltsin draws back from 'shock therapy' after vote

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In the aftermath of Russia's parliamentary elections, President Boris Yeltsin issued a number of decrees drawing back from some of the "shock therapy" measures aimed at integrating Russia's economy into the world capitalist market. In addition, the Russian president ordered new anti-immigrant rules in an effort to steal the thunder from some of his opponents.

Infighting has risen within Yeltsin's cabinet over who is to blame for the poor showing of his supporters at the polls.

In the December 12 electoral contest the Liberal Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy won 24 percent of the nationwide vote, outpolling the pro-Yeltsin Russia's Choice ticket, which won 15 percent.

In public comments December 18, Russian prime minister Viktor Chernomyrdin blasted First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaidar and Privatization Minister Anatoly Chubais for "poorly thought-out experiments," and a failure

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Russian president Boris Yeltsin





## Bonn cuts entitlements

Lawmakers in Germany made the first big reductions in the country's social programs, entitlements that working people have won in struggle since World War II.

The German parliament reduced unemployment benefits, child support payments, and job retraining programs. The legislation, effective January 1, also phases out compensation to construction workers idled by bad weather. In addition, the new law boosts gasoline taxes, making German pump prices among Europe's most expensive: \$3.23 for a gallon of unleaded regular, up from \$2.88.

The cutbacks are politically risky for conservative Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who faces reelection in 1994.

## Macedonia recognized

The governments of France, Germany, Denmark, Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands announced December 16 they would initiate diplomatic ties with the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, possibly before the end of 1993. Five other members of the European Community (EC) are expected to do the same soon. The Greek government reacted with indignation to this decision, saying that EC aid for Macedonia through Greece's northern frontier would either be blocked or delayed through stringent customs checks.

Athens has demanded that Macedonia change its name, arguing its use implies a claim on the Greek province of Macedonia. After meeting with Greek premier Andreas Papandreu, U.S. ambassador Thomas Niles reiterated Washington's position of not extending diplomatic recognition to Macedonia for now.

## Teachers strike in France

Tens of thousands of teachers in France participated in a one-day nationwide strike to protest a new law allowing more public financing for the country's mainly Roman Catholic private schools. Several thousand teachers in Paris joined a march on the



Protesters in Tokyo denounce military regime in Burma December 19. The demonstrators demanded freedom for opposition figure Aung San Suu Kyi (in portrait), who is under house arrest.

Education Ministry. Scores of demonstrations were scheduled in other cities and towns. An 1850 law limited public funding for private schools to 10 percent. The new law removes the ceiling, allowing local districts to fund both private and public schools.

## Kazakhstan signs arms pact

Government officials in Kazakhstan signed an agreement with Washington to dismantle the Central Asian republic's nuclear weapons in exchange for \$84 million in aid. Kazakhstan has about 1,400 nuclear warheads and 40 nuclear-equipped bombers, the third-largest nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet republics, behind Russia and Ukraine.

## New U.S. penalties on Iraq

Hardening its position toward the government of Saddam Hussein, the Bill Clinton administration announced it wants to impose tough new requirements for lifting the United Nations ban on Iraqi oil exports. The UN imposed sanctions on Iraq have been enforced by the U.S. Navy since the Persian

Gulf War in 1991.

Baghdad has taken steps to comply with earlier UN demands to dismantle heavy weaponry and allow inspections of its military manufacturing facilities. In addition, Washington now demands the Iraqi government recognize Kuwait as an independent country and stop persecuting dissidents before the embargo on oil exports is lifted.

## S. Korean prime minister fired

South Korea's president Kim Young Sam dismissed Prime Minister Hwang In Sung December 16 over demonstrations against Seoul's decision to open South Korea's rice market. Rice accounts for 22 percent of South Korea's total farm produce. Wealthy farmers make a killing in the protected market where rice prices are far higher than elsewhere. Hwang said he was being sacrificed in an effort to quiet public outcry over the rice issue. The new prime minister, Lee Hoi Chang, is a former Supreme Court justice who led an investigation into government corruption.

## Manila restores death penalty

Philippine president Fidel Ramos restored the death penalty December 13 after approval from both houses of congress. People convicted for any of 13 crimes including treason, rape, murder, kidnapping, piracy, and plundering the treasury can be put to death by electrocution. The death penalty was abolished in that country in 1987.

## 2,500 U.S. troops leave Somalia

The Pentagon began pulling combat troops out of Somalia in mid-December. About 2,500 soldiers are to depart before Christmas. Clinton had announced plans to withdraw virtually all the U.S. troops by March 31. In the southern port city of Kismayo, Indian troops shot and killed two Somalis shortly after taking command of the

city from departing Belgian troops. About 100 people protested at the Kismayo airport against the arrival of the Indian soldiers.

Indian and Pakistani troops are replacing the departing U.S., French, and Belgians. Sweden ended its operation in Somalia December 16, sending home the 144 members from the Swedish field hospital. The same day a mortar exploded during a training exercise south of Mogadishu, killing a U.S. Marine and wounding two others.

## Argentines protest

At least 4 people were killed by police and 50 injured in northern Argentina December 16 when hundreds of state employees protested because they had not been paid. The workers reportedly looted the homes and offices of government officials after

Governor Fernando Lobo of Santiago del Estero Province announced plans to cut jobs as part of an economic reform program. This is the second, and most serious, recent outbreak of violent protest in Argentina.

## U.S. aided Salvador death squads

U.S. military officers in El Salvador trained wealthy Salvadorans linked to right-wing death squads as recently as 1990, according to State Department documents. The recently declassified reports said the group dubbed the "BMW Brigade" was affiliated with rightist politician Roberto d'Aubuisson. A United Nations investigation identified d'Aubuisson as the mastermind of the country's death squads, which killed thousands of civilians during the 12-year civil war.

José López, Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) candidate in the March elections, was killed December 9 in a resurgence of death squad activity. López was the third former high-ranking FMLN leader assassinated in the last six weeks.

## U.S. gov't exposed civilians to high levels of radiation

For three decades following World War II, U.S. government scientists conducted experiments that exposed hundreds of civilians to high levels of radiation, officials of the Energy Department now admit.

One experiment involved injecting 18 patients with plutonium often without their knowledge. Plutonium is a dangerous radioactive material used in atomic bombs. Close to 800 pregnant women were exposed to radiation at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. Their children suffered a higher than normal cancer rate. More than 130 inmates in prisons in Oregon and Washington were also subjects of these experiments.

— PAT SMITH

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# Events in London, Toronto celebrate new Mandela book

BY PHIL WATERHOUSE

LONDON — Nearly 100 people gathered at the School of Oriental and African Studies here December 11 to celebrate the launching of the new Pathfinder book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*.

"Don't just listen to us talking about this book," said Kevin Hussey, a representative of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU). "Go and buy it. It's a good read. It unfolds like a novel and takes you through the whole history of the last three years. And Mandela does not talk down to you."

Hussey was sacked from the docks where he was a shop steward. "A democratic revolution in South Africa is a big prize for internationalists," he said. "The same way as we saw with the victory in Cuba, this will lift people internationally." The unionist said he hoped a new ANC-led government will assist the Cuban revolution. "Places like Cuba need helping. They helped a lot since 1959 and I'm looking for them to be given assistance. Mandela says in the book they will not be forgotten."

The TGWU is currently raising £100,000 (US \$150,000) for the ANC election campaign. Hussey's own union branch raised £1,000 towards the national sum at a recent social event. "So for me in April I'm looking forward to the election of an ANC government with Nelson Mandela as president," he said. "Above all I'm looking for an election win for our class."

Helen Jackson, Labour Party member of Parliament, also spoke and praised the book.

Kumar Murshid, a representative of the

Tower Hamlets Anti-Racist Committee, has led protests by Bengali immigrants in east London against racist attacks. This antiracist struggle has common features with the South African revolution, he said. "The creation of the apartheid state in South Africa is part and parcel of the legacy of colonialism and imperialism that emerged from the western world. Struggles against racism in Britain, the rest of Europe, and the U.S.A. are very much part of the same phenomenon."

Facing "a poverty of ideas and ideology, we have to respond to racism in face of a growing crisis," Murshid concluded. "Among many other things that might help us to do this is actually taking on board some of the lessons we can find in the pages of this book."

Mandla Langa, deputy chief representative of the ANC in the United Kingdom and Ireland, gave the keynote speech. He outlined the current situation in South Africa and the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council.

Addressing the upcoming elections, Langa said that "simply allowing people to vote and making Nelson Mandela president will not reflect the true spirit of democracy that we have fought for all these long hard years. The vote itself will not free the people, or house them, or give them jobs." The vote, he said, will merely give the ANC "a mandate in respect to the process of reconstruction we will embark upon as the leading participant in the new government."

Other speakers included South African writer and broadcaster Donald Woods, Pathfinder representative Peter Clifford,



Militant/A. Pastadis

Pathfinder literature table at December 11 meeting in London to celebrate Pathfinder's newest book — *Nelson Mandela Speaks*.

and Glenroy Watson of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Participants at the meeting purchased 23 copies of *Nelson Mandela Speaks*.

BY HEIDI ROSE

TORONTO — Leaders of the anti-apartheid movement gave high praise to *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* at a meeting here December 4 to celebrate the publication of the newest book by Pathfinder Press.

"I would like first of all to express my deep appreciation to Pathfinder Press for bringing out this volume," said Anglican Archbishop Edward Scott, a member of the Eminent Persons Group on South Africa set up by the British Commonwealth countries in 1985. This was the first international group allowed to visit Mandela in prison. Scott recounted the deep impression made on him by the experience of meeting Mandela. "I think history is going to show one of the most outstanding world leaders is Nelson Mandela," he said.

Scott explained that Mandela had been offered the opportunity to leave prison on certain conditions a number of times before his release, but that the African National Congress leader would only accept release that "left him free to carry out the struggle that led to him going to prison in the first place — and that's exactly what he's done."

Scott encouraged people to read *Nelson Mandela Speaks* along with *The Struggle is My Life* (an earlier book of speeches and writings by Mandela also published by Pathfinder), especially the speeches at his trial in the early 1960s. "I think you'll discover there an incredible integrity," he said.

Jabu Dube, African National Congress Information Officer in Canada, told the gathering of 50 people, "The book *Nelson Mandela Speaks* is the most accurate account of the man's mission."

The meeting also saw a video presentation by Nelson Mandela calling for support to a voter education campaign in South Africa. "Forty years of National Party rule has been like 40 years of civil war," Mandela explained. "The government can't carry out voter education, neither is it in their interests."

Participants in the meeting were urged to visit the voter education table to pledge their support.

Duncan MacDonald of the Ontario Federation of Labour pointed to the role played by the union movement in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. "The publication of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* by Pathfinder is an important political event," he said. "It allows everyone to read the words of one of the giants of the 20th century, Nelson Mandela. The speeches have a 'you are there' quality to them. The book also puts the events in a historical context and makes the links with struggles in other countries. Reading this book both inspires and reinforces our commitment."

Speaking for the ANC-Mandela Support Coalition, Karen Kaija contrasted the misleading analysis of "factional fighting" in *Time* magazine to Mandela's speeches exposing the source of the current violence in South Africa and the ANC's fight against it. "I encourage school teachers and public libraries to get this book," she said.

Nicholas Davis, a student at York University and editor of the campus newspaper, *Excalibur*, gave a personal account of how he came to learn about apartheid. "*Nelson Mandela Speaks* highlights in Mandela's own words the importance of all people in helping overcome the evils of racism... it captures the essence of a man who refuses to let his people down," he told the meeting.

## ANC attempts to defuse right-wing opponents

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

"The time has indeed come... to assume the role of the shield of the nation... with other democratic formations to defend the democratic values which we cherish and aim to uphold," said African National Congress president Nelson Mandela at a December 16 rally marking the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). The Day of Heroes celebration drew some 15,000 people to a Soweto soccer stadium, according to the Associated Press.

"We must invite all our compatriots to join us in an all-around commitment to peace," Mandela continued, "by effectively closing the era of armed conflict and concentrate on the reconstruction and development of the country." Umkhonto we Sizwe is to be disbanded after the April 27 elections. Its approximately 10,000 members are expected to join the new national defense force.

Mandela told the crowd that the "ignoble intentions" of right-wing opposition to South Africa's transition to multiparty democracy must be thwarted. He stated that the government of F. W. de Klerk, now overseen by the multiracial Transitional Executive Council (TEC), must deal firmly with "the far right," which is "coalescing into a potential source of internal destabilization and conflict."

However, Mandela added, "We must continuously engage in frank and open discussion even with those who seek to put the clock back."

That same day both the Inkatha Freedom Party led by Mangosuthu Buthelezi and right-wing Afrikaners organized their own separate commemorative rallies to express opposition to a democratic, nonracial South Africa.

Some 10,000 supporters of Buthelezi, mostly Zulus, massed at Isandlwana, the site where natives defeated the British colonizers in an 1879 battle. "We will not be ruled over by a constitution that we spurn," stated Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, who is Buthelezi's nephew.

The loyalties of the country's 9 million Zulus are sharply divided between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Hundreds of miles to the north, 10,000 Afrikaners commemorated the 1838 Battle of Blood River, in which the white settlers triumphed over a Zulu army in Natal. At the event, the Afrikaner People's Front (APF) announced plans to create a white "people's state." The APF distributed pamphlets stating, "Our people face an emergency. Our continued existence is threatened. We may have no place on Earth."

"If Mandela wants war, he'll get it," said Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the rightist Afrikaner Resistance Movement. "Mr. TerreBlanche has a loud bark," responded Mandela, "but he has no teeth, and he cannot bite." Meanwhile, the proapartheid Conservative Party vowed it would fight attempts to include the Orange Free State in the new South Africa.

The day following these rallies, the white-minority parliament opened debate on the interim constitution. Passage is considered a mere formality as the National Party, which controls the majority of seats, voted to approve this document as part of the multiparty talks in November.

"We, who were responsible for apartheid, are now saying that we want to leave that wrong behind," stated Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer. "But we are also saying that we are now determined to rectify what went wrong." An ANC delegation led by its general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, watched the debate from the galleries. A vote to pass the constitution will essentially also put the all-white parliament out of business.

Cop hit squad in KwaZulu

On December 8 a commission on violence chaired by judge Richard Goldstone implicated South African Defense Force (SADF)-trained KwaZulu police (KZP) members in a political death squad.

"The evidence establishes the high probability that a hit squad consisting of five KZP policemen has been responsible during 1992 and 1993 for the murder of no less than nine people including leaders and members of the ANC," the report said.

These revelations confirm the ANC's contention that the violence in South Africa is part of a "systematic destabilization policy emanating from elements of the security

forces," responded the ANC. The ANC Natal branch called for the TEC to assume immediate control of both the KZP and the finances of the KwaZulu homeland government.

The TEC in turn ordered deployment of the South African police into this northern Natal area, and demanded that KZP chief Roy During turn over files on the operations of these hit squads. So far, During has refused.

The ANC — in response to the December 7 massacre of nine of its members and supporters in the Bhambayi squatter camp, north of Durban — reiterated its demand for the withdrawal of the Internal Stability Unit (ISU) from the Black townships. This specialized cop unit instigated numerous instances of brutality against township residents.

The TEC instructed a delegation to investigate the ISU's activities and open its secret files. Under growing pressure, South Africa's police minister Hernius Kriel reversed his position and agreed to withdraw all but a token ISU force from Bhambayi and to reevaluate future operations of this controversial force.

The TEC also forced suspension of a \$65 million loan from the Development Bank of Southern Africa to the Bophuthatswana

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# Cuban gov't hopes farm cooperatives will ease food crisis

BY SARA LOBMAN

The Cuban government is creating hundreds of agricultural cooperatives out of land that has previously been organized into large state farms. The government hopes this step, first announced in September, will help alleviate the massive food shortages confronting the country.

"We hope that the creation of the Basic Units of Cooperative Production (UBPC) will encourage a greater presence of permanent workers linked to agricultural tasks, and will promote less costly production and increase production in some areas," Carlos Lage said in an interview in the November 10 issue of *Granma Internacional*. Lage is a member of the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party and secretary of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers.

"The stimulus that is provided by allowing personal and family self-sufficiency, profit sharing, and state support for the construction of low-cost housing, should eventually promote and encourage progressively better production yields," he added. Lage and other Cuban officials have also said that they hope the new cooperatives will encourage unemployed workers from the cities to move to the countryside.

"The biggest problem for Cuban agriculture is the labor force," Lage stated. "How could we resolve the phenomenon of people leaving the countryside for the cities, fueled by the opportunities afforded by the Revolution."

According to Lage, while joining the co-

operatives is voluntary, if an unemployed worker "does not want to join them or, because of his or her personal characteristics is rejected... it is not the state's but the individual's responsibility to find a new job." In these cases, Lage said, the worker would only continue receiving his or her salary for one month.

Cuban president Fidel Castro, speaking November 7 to members of the Cuban Communist Party in Havana, called the move "the best and most appropriate step under the present circumstances." Castro said the decision to transform many of the state farms to cooperatives was based on the observation that it was the co-ops that had the lowest consumption of fuel, herbicides, and other products. "There was," he said, "greater direct interest on the part of the worker in the agricultural cooperatives."

Under the program, many of the state farms will be broken up into smaller units. Farm workers will become cooperative members and instead of receiving a wage will share in the earnings of the cooperative. While the Cuban government will maintain the right to buy and sell the land, cooperative members, including both former workers from the state farms and others who join the UBPC, will own the crops they harvest. The more they produce and the more efficiently they operate the greater the income of each member.

Until this change, farm workers on state farms had been responsible for cultivating 82 percent of Cuba's arable land. Farmers



Today there is widespread use of oxen in Cuban agriculture, due to scarcity of fuel to power tractors. Government plans to transform many state farms into cooperatives.

belonging to voluntarily-formed cooperatives worked 10 percent of the land and the remaining 8 percent was cultivated by individual farmers. According to Castro, 80 percent of the sugar cane produced in Cuba and almost 100 percent of the rice, pork, eggs, milk, and beef has been produced on state farms.

The government will purchase the basic crops produced by the cooperatives for general sale and distribution to the population. Co-op members will be able to use any land not needed for these crops to grow food for their own consumption.

According to some government officials, the cooperatives will not be allowed to sell surplus crops on the market. In 1986, the revolutionary government, under pressure from workers and farmers, shut down markets where such individual trade was al-

lowed. The so-called free peasants markets, initiated several years earlier, had become a breeding ground for massive speculation and price gouging, which threatened the worker-farmer alliance that is the bedrock of the revolution.

Cooperative members will also be responsible for hiring and firing workers; taking out loans to purchase fertilizer, seed, and machinery; controlling their own bank accounts; and renting the services of agronomists and other specialists they may need to consult.

In the few months since the plan was announced, more than 1,000 new co-ops have been created in the sugar industry alone. While this accounts for just a small percentage of sugar production, cooperatives are also being set up to produce rice, citrus, vegetables, tobacco, coffee, potatoes, and other crops. Dairy, pig, and chicken farms, as well as cattle ranches, are also being turned into co-ops.

In the interview with *Granma*, Lage argued that the mobilizations of city residents "were always considered of a temporary nature... Agriculture cannot forever be backed by mobilizations of large numbers of workers from the cities," he said. However, "we haven't done away with mobilizations because... feeding the population can't wait for the future results from the UBPCs. As practice shows us that mobilizations are unnecessary they will be reduced."

In his speech, however, Castro pointed to the important role played by the agricultural contingents. The workers who volunteer in these contingents, originally formed in the construction industry, are in the forefront of trying to transform how labor is organized in Cuba. "The contingents and the groups mobilized for 15-day periods have done a tremendous job in agriculture, a tremendous job," Castro said. The workers themselves set their own work rules and schedule and take pride in meeting production goals for the benefit of society as a whole.

"Many thousands of contingent members, the overwhelming majority," are joining the Basic Units of Cooperative Production, Castro said.

## Cuba caravan group holds event in Miami

BY SETH GALINSKY

MIAMI — One hundred people attended the first public meeting of the newly formed Miami-Cuba Friendship Committee December 19, which was held at the Christian Church for Family Reunification.

Ernie Mailhot, an activist in the committee, chaired the meeting. He explained that the Miami-Cuba Friendship Committee was formed to bring together groups and individuals who want to organize opposition to the U.S. embargo of Cuba and promote the upcoming third Friendship to Cuba.

The caravan, organized by Pastors for Peace, will challenge the embargo by delivering humanitarian aid to Cuba in February and March.

Among the groups participating in the Miami committee are the Antonio Maceo Brigade, Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community, Cuban-American Professionals and Businessmen, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Cuban-American Organization for Dignity, Socialist Workers Party, and others.

"We know that sending humanitarian aid

will not solve Cuba's needs," stated Andrés Gómez, a leader of the Antonio Maceo Brigade. "But it can help meet some of the pressing needs."

"Most important," he explained, is what the caravan and other actions achieve in "influencing public opinion" in the debate over the embargo.

Jack Lieberman, an activist in Jewish Solidarity, which sends aid to the Jewish community in Cuba, talked about the success this new group has had working with a broad range of organizations in the Jewish community in Miami. He noted that many people, including a considerable number who disagree with the Cuban revolution, have contributed aid and oppose the embargo. They can be won to a broad solidarity movement, Lieberman said.

The pastors of two churches with mostly Cuban congregations, Rev. Jose Reyes from the Christian Church for Family Reunification and Rev. Nelson Avila from the Church of the One Single Heart, also spoke. "Right now in Miami we are the only two small churches" that are speaking out for humani-

tarian aid, Avila said. "But I will be sending letters to other churches to try and get them involved."

The success of the December 19 meeting showed the growing opportunities to broaden opposition to the U.S. embargo. It further underlined the feasibility of holding public events against the embargo in Miami.

Raymundo del Toro from the Cuban-American Coalition of New Jersey also addressed the gathering. He reported that he was invited to a meeting in Washington, D.C., with officials of the U.S. State Department.

"One State Department representative told me that all Cubans in Miami are for the blockade," Del Toro said. "I told him you must never have been in Miami or you are a liar. In Miami there are many people who have a heart and are against the blockade."

Spanish-language TV stations 23 and 51, TV channel 7, as well as the *Miami Herald* and its Spanish-Language edition *El Nuevo Herald*, reported on the events.

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

### FURTHER READING

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## Funds are needed to send Pathfinder books to Havana fair, Cuban libraries

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Supporters of the Cuban revolution have a new opportunity to help put books on working-class politics in the hands of youth and working people in Cuba who are thirsty for such literature. The Sixth Havana Book Fair will take place in February; among the participants will be an international team of volunteers from Pathfinder Press.

Having a Pathfinder exhibit at the Havana Book Fair, one of the most important cultural events in Cuba, will cost thousands of dollars. Expenses include the books themselves plus shipping costs, air fare, and the cost of the booth. Just shipping the books to Cuba will cost around \$500.

Partisans of Pathfinder publications in several countries are planning fund-raising activities to ensure these books will be available at the fair. Contributions will go to the Books for Cuba Fund, launched several

months ago for exactly this kind of purpose.

The upcoming Havana Book Fair is expected to draw large numbers of people. The last such fair, held in February 1992, attracted tens of thousands of people who saw exhibitions from 25 countries. One of the most popular was Pathfinder's exhibition. Visitors eagerly looked through the array of books by Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, Ernesto Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, Leon Trotsky, Nelson Mandela, and other revolutionary leaders.

The crumbling of the Stalinist regimes in the former Soviet bloc — which had stifled working-class politics around the world for decades — has opened up wide-ranging political debates all across Cuba. These discussions take on even more importance as working people there strive to defend their revolution and overcome the country's cur-

Continued on Page 5



# Israeli regime stalls on troop withdrawal

BY GREG ROSENBERG

As the December 13 deadline for the start of Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories passed, Tel Aviv deployed record numbers of troops throughout the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

Negotiations between the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) over implementation of the accord they signed September 13 are at an impasse. The agreement was supposed to lead to limited Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho.

Negotiations are stalled due to Tel Aviv's insistence that it control the borders of Jericho and Gaza, disagreements over the size of the area around Jericho to be under Palestinian administration, and the Israeli government's determination to maintain its settlements on Palestinian land.

"There is a basic gap in positions," said Israeli housing minister Benjamin Eliezer. "Yasir Arafat thinks that this is a process to establish a Palestinian state. We are talking only about a transitional period of autonomy to test whether coexistence is possible."

Protests continue throughout Gaza, with youth throwing stones at Israeli soldiers, strikes by store owners to demand the removal of the troops, and shootings by the Israeli army.

There is widespread anger among Palestinians throughout the occupied territories over the lack of progress in the talks. As a result, the number of Palestinians and Israelis who say they are in favor of the September agreement is declining rapidly. "I say all of them are liars," Mohammed Safi, a farmer near Jericho, told the *New York Times*, referring to the Israelis. "They delayed for 10 days. Who knows what will happen? Maybe after 10 days, they will delay for a month and then keep delaying."

Representatives of Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and the PLO have met off and on in Cairo, Egypt, to try to iron out the disputes. Planned meetings between PLO chairman Yasir Arafat and Rabin have now been postponed until early January or later. A negotiating session in Norway December 18-19 broke off with no results.

More than 40 Palestinians and 18 Israelis have been killed since the accord was signed.

On December 13, Israeli troops shot dead two Palestinians alleged to be members of the Red Eagles group of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

## Palestinian prisoners remain in jail

Some 10,000 Palestinian prisoners remain in Israeli jails. "The Palestinian political prisoners should have been freed directly after the signing of the agreement," said Haidar Abdel Shafi in a December interview with the Israeli magazine *News From Within*. "But the agreement makes no mention of them. Instead, the occupation forces continued to arrest Palestinians in clear violation of human rights stipulated in the Geneva Convention." Abdel Shafi is the head of the Red Crescent Society in Gaza and was one of the main negotiators for the PLO during the negotiations in Washington.

On December 10,

three Palestinians sitting in a parked car were murdered near Hebron in the West Bank. The rightist Kach movement claimed responsibility for the attack, saying it was to avenge the shooting death of two Jews earlier that week. Several killings of Israeli settlers have been attributed to supporters of Hamas, an organization of Palestinians opposed to the accord.

About 130,000 Jews live in 144 Israeli settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. The leaders of these enclaves are virulent opponents of returning any of the stolen Palestinian land, and in many cases have organized their followers to carry out violent assaults on Palestinians. As part of their campaign against the accord, settlers have rioted in Israeli-occupied areas, burned down houses and stores, and shot Arabs to death.

## Favoritism for settlers

Under pressure for its blatant favoritism toward the settlers, the Israeli Army ordered its troops December 12 to take "strong action" against those breaking the law. The week leading up to this order was filled with instances of the kid gloves treatment accorded to settlers by the Israeli military.

After two Jews were killed in the West Bank, the 70,000 Arab residents of Hebron were put under curfew for more than



Palestinian youth throw stones at troops occupying Gaza Strip on December 13, the day set for Israeli withdrawal.

a week. Two days later, after an Israeli was shot and wounded in Bethlehem, the army clamped a curfew on whole neighborhoods and rounded up hundreds of Palestinians.

When a Palestinian farmer was killed the next day, there were no comparable actions in the Jewish settlements.

When Palestinians set up roadblocks with burning tires, Tel Aviv generally reacts with live ammunition and rubber bullets. Settlers' roadblocks are mostly tolerated.

Shlomo Goren, the former chief rabbi of Israel, who is now a major general in the

army reserves, drew fire from the Rabin administration December 19 for saying that Israeli soldiers should disobey any order to evacuate settlements in the occupied territories. "The command to settle the land of Israel is greater than all the commandments put together," he said on national television.

## Debate among Palestinians

Tel Aviv's refusal to begin the troop withdrawal is contributing to growing debate among Palestinians on the way forward. "The Gaza-Jericho agreement in no way contradicts Israeli claims to the occupied territories. It is simply an assertion of the status quo," said Abdel Shafi. "For example, the agreement is silent on the issue of settlements."

"I have my doubts as to whether this agreement will achieve our objectives — an independent state and the rights of the refugees," he continued. "I told Arafat that in my opinion this is a bad agreement."

On December 10, Hanan Ashrawi, who was the spokesperson for the Palestinian negotiators in Washington, resigned from the delegation and said she will refuse any role in a governing authority set up under the accord. She reportedly turned down a proposal by Arafat to become the Palestinian envoy in Washington.

"I do not want to be involved in any official capacity," Ashrawi told the *London Times* in an interview. "I entered the public arena in order to serve and contribute. Now I feel that in the new phase what is required is to consolidate the principles of human rights and democracy," she said. "It is not an escapist move but a corrective one."

Ashrawi has begun setting up an independent human rights commission to defend Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails and guard against possible violations of democratic rights under the new Palestinian authority.

# Yeltsin draws back from 'shock therapy'

Continued from front page  
"to think about the people."

Chernomyrdin was referring to the austerity measures implemented as part of a program of capitalist market reforms. These measures have led to plummeting living standards for the vast majority of working people in Russia. "Naturally," said Chernomyrdin, "any 'shock' methods must be precluded in the future."

"The election defeat is a personal evaluation of Gaidar's work," continued Chernomyrdin. "The same goes for Chubais. It's his personal defeat."

The various wings of the privileged bureaucratic layer that rules the Russian workers state favor the introduction of capitalist market moves. They simply differ over how quickly to proceed in this effort, which protects their own material well-being, while inflicting new hardships on working people.

At a meeting December 17 in France with

representatives of the leading imperialist powers, known as the Group of Seven, Russian finance minister Boris Fyodorov insisted that his government will maintain its program of austerity measures at its current pace.

Yeltsin, on the other hand, reacted to the election results by issuing a series of decrees that once again back off from previously announced government policies. Some of these measures had been unveiled in the past but never implemented.

On December 17, Yeltsin reintroduced subsidized loans to farm machinery enterprises worth \$120 million. The loans will be dispensed at a 25 percent annual interest rate, far below the central bank's discount rate of 210 percent.

A few days earlier, the Russian president issued a decree cutting taxes for people in lower-income brackets, although his finance ministry had been planning to raise taxes. The government also passed a revised privatization program for 1994 that reportedly gives regional officials more control over how and whether to carry these measures out.

In addition, Central Bank chairman Viktor Gerashchenko announced plans to issue new credits to help companies pay off their debts to one another.

## Tough new anti-immigrant policy

Yeltsin issued a decree promising tough new border controls, and announced rules aimed at reducing the rights of people from other former Soviet republics to live and work in Russia. Employees without work permits will now be deported.

In an effort to shore up Yeltsin's standing, U.S. vice-president Al Gore arrived in Moscow immediately following the election. Gore urged the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to make loans more easily available to the Russian government.

"Every country with representatives on the IMF board has been slow to recognize the hardship caused by some of what has been done in the past," stated Gore.

# Funds needed to send books to Cuba

Continued from Page 4  
rent economic crisis.

In response to widespread interest in Pathfinder's books in Cuba, supporters of the Cuban revolution, from New Zealand to the United States, have contributed \$5,000 to the Books for Cuba Fund since it was launched in early 1993. Thanks to this fund libraries in Matanzas, Holguín, and other Cuban cities have received generous donations of Pathfinder books.

Raúl Troya García, a teacher in Holguín and avid reader of Pathfinder books, recently reported that the Festival of Ibero-American Culture, held last October in that city, was an example of the tremendous hunger for ideas among Cubans today. "Poets, writers, painters, engravers, theater artists, historians, dancers, and musicians gathered here," he wrote. A workshop on the ideas of Cuban anti-imperialist leader José Martí "was another notable center of debates and polemics" at the event, he said. Participants also "commented on the shortages of paper, typewriter ribbons, pens, and other needed supplies... which is one more

reason to lift the U.S. government's economic blockade against Cuba," Troya pointed out.

Librarians in Britain organized a meeting November 6 in Hackney, East London, to oppose the U.S.-led embargo against Cuba and to appeal for books and other materials to be sent to Cuban libraries. The meeting was addressed by a range of speakers, including Stephen King, director of the Royal National Institute for the Blind, who since visiting Cuba in February has helped raise funds to set up facilities in Havana for producing "talking books" and other library materials for Cubans who are blind.

Following an appeal by Martin Marriot of the London Pathfinder bookstore, a number of librarians, teachers, and other participants at the meeting pledged to go back to their organizations to raise money for the Books for Cuba Fund.

Contributions to the fund can be sent to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

The IMF has so far provided \$2.5 billion in loans to Russia. However, an additional \$1.5 billion promised earlier this year has not been disbursed because of the failure of the Russian government to proceed more rapidly in slashing social benefits.

While expressing political support for Yeltsin, Gore made clear that there would be no significant infusion of capital from Washington. Among the 22 accords signed with Moscow are agreements for joint cooperation in space, a treaty to limit taxes paid by U.S. investors, and a plan to build about 25 privately financed gas stations in Russia.

On his way back to the United States, Gore paid a visit to Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany to urge him to speed up aid to Russia. The German government has sent nearly \$50 billion to Russia and other former Soviet republics since 1989. Economic problems resulting from unification and a deep-going recession are contributing to Bonn's hesitancy in sending capital investment to Russia.

Commenting on this dispute with Bonn, a U.S. official traveling with Gore explained, "There is no question that Germany is going through the same... intense analysis that we're going through." Kohl gave no indication after the two-hour meeting what he thought of Washington's request.

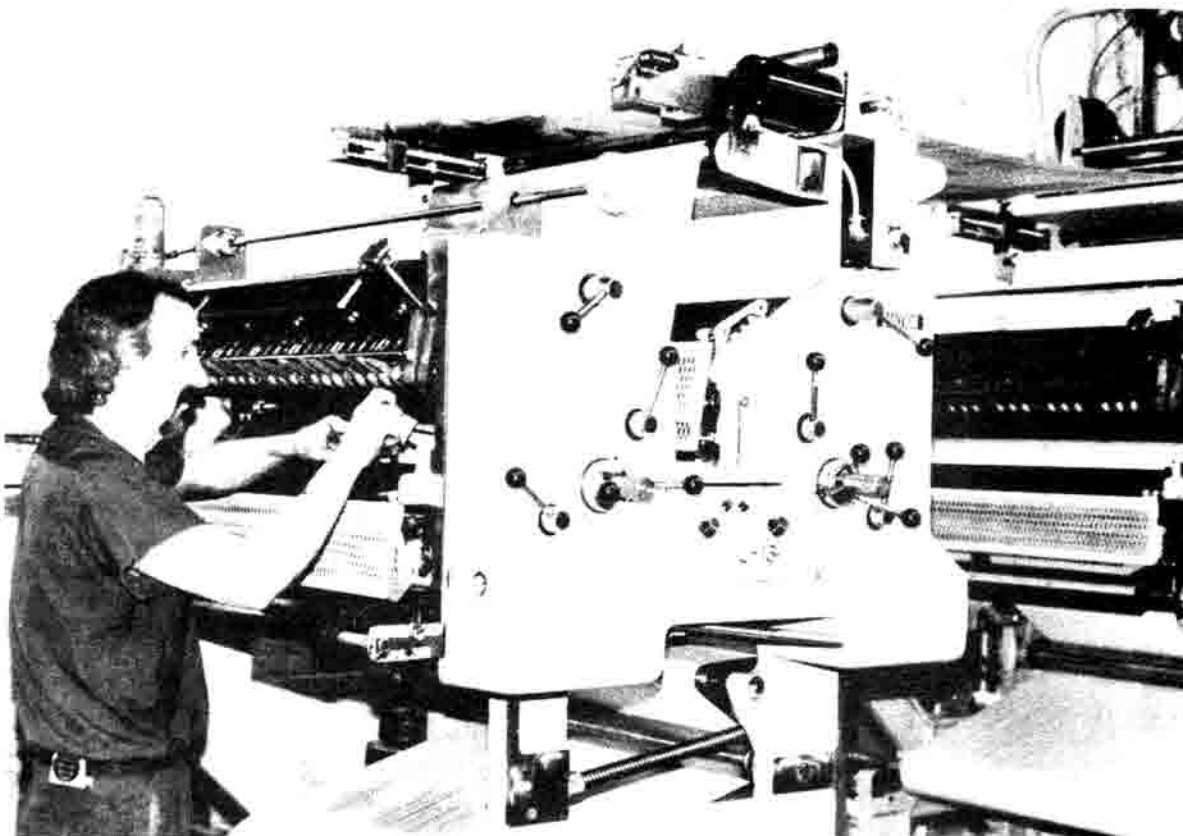
Reacting to the election results, Strobe Talbott, the State Department's Ambassador at Large for Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union, stated December 20 that the Clinton administration has begun "intensive deliberations," which involve establishing contact with other political figures in Russia in addition to Yeltsin, even if they are opponents of the Russian president.

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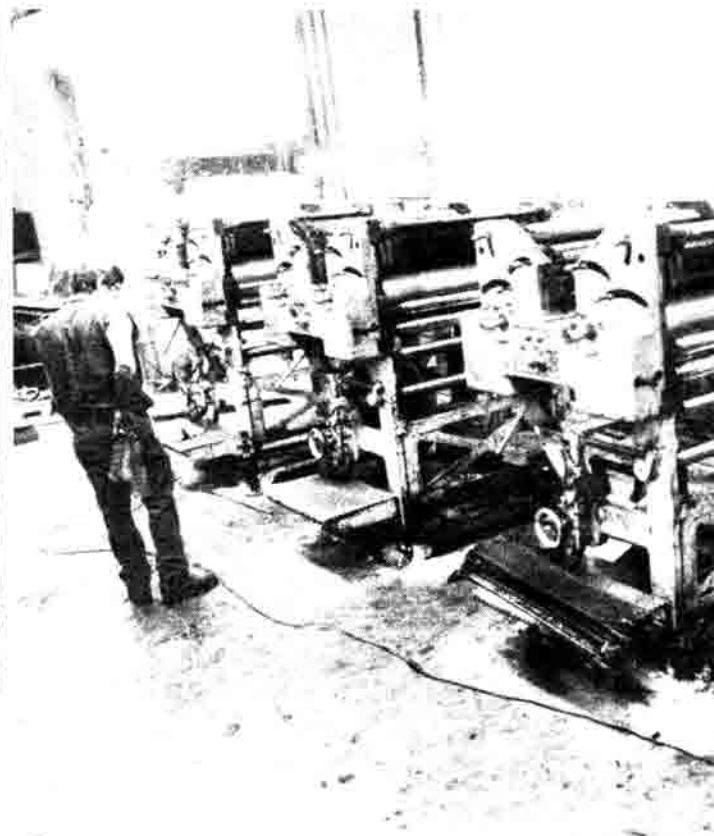
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# 'Militant' is now printed on new web press



This issue of the *Militant* is the first one printed on a remanufactured web press installed December 18. The new press is pictured at left, with operator Larry Lukecart adjusting water rollers. At right is the old press, which Jay Ressler is preparing to remove from the shop. The new web is a key component of the work done to upgrade the printshop since 1991 to meet the demand for revolu-



tionary literature worldwide. The shop took another big step forward December 11-12, when its composition department moved to new first floor offices in the heart of the factory. The net effect of these renovations will be to improve the ability to produce the *Militant* and Pathfinder books in better quality and at a lower cost.

Militant photos by Greg Rosenberg

## Socialist debates Peru's Shining Path in Miami

BY ROGER BLAND

MIAMI — A lively discussion and debate took place here at the Militant Labor Forum December 11 when Martín Koppel spoke about the Peruvian guerrilla group Shining Path. Koppel, editor of the monthly Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, is the author of the new Pathfinder pamphlet *Peru's Shining Path: Anatomy of a Reactionary Sect*.

"Shining Path is a rural-based sect with a middle-class radical leadership, drawing its recruits from some of the most isolated areas of Peru and among those with the least class-struggle experience," Koppel said. "Founded by a group of intellectuals and professors using Stalinist rhetoric, and stressing Maoism, it is politically hostile to working people."

A debate took place during the discussion that followed Koppel's presentation.

"The Shining Path doesn't say it will do the job for Peruvian workers and farmers, it mobilizes them to free themselves," said a supporter of the U.S. Revolutionary Communist Party and of the Shining Path who, from the audience, argued that Koppel's presentation only repeated accusations in the big-business media.

"And there is no reliance on foreign powers like the USSR [Soviet Union] — the collapse there hasn't hurt Shining Path, it

has only hurt the Cubans and other regimes that did rely on the USSR. Fidel is going door-to-door asking capitalists for money, Mandela asked Congress to fund the ANC [African National Congress]. Lifting the South African embargo only reinforces the idea that the new world order is all right. Guzmán is not looking to keep the peace," he asserted.

Koppel responded by quoting from a recent issue of *El Diario*, a publication produced by Shining Path supporters abroad. The paper quoted Abimael Guzmán, Shining Path's central leader, as saying the group would build a "Party of a new type, to take power for the working class, for the masses of Peru," and that "those who have the most guns have the most power."

"What's decisive is a political perspective," Koppel said. "In spite of extreme repression workers can win, and that's happening in South Africa today, not by outgunning the capitalists but by using the social, economic, and political power of the working class through mass mobilizations and political education. There's only one force that can change things in Peru: the workers and farmers. Only through experience will workers develop the leadership they deserve. The Cubans were the first to do this in Latin America, following the course of the Russian revolution of 1917."

A Cuban-American in the audience commented that the Peruvian workers were "between a rock and a hard place."

"Shining Path is separated in word and deed from a mass line," he said. The Cuban revolution had very few weapons, but it had the most important one — the sentiments and aspirations of the Cuban people. They never imposed what the peasants didn't want."

The arrest of Guzmán and other Shining Path leaders last year struck a political blow and caused confusion among the member-

ship because of the reactionary nature of Shining Path, which is not a democratic organization open to discussion, Koppel said in the discussion. Guzmán recently called for negotiations. Koppel contrasted this to the 27-year imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and the broad, public campaign for his release, based on the mass movement in South Africa.

Koppel visited South Florida for three days, speaking at Florida International University in Miami and in Tampa.



## PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

**Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes the works of working-class and communist leaders of the worldwide struggles against exploitation and oppression. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.**

Some young workers, farmers, and students first learn about the titles published by Pathfinder when they find themselves behind bars.

Hearing about a book and actually getting your hands on it, however, can be two different things.

A fellow inmate may briefly lend you a copy. You may hear about a title that was once in the prison library. But getting a copy you can read and study is often not so easy, especially when funds are limited by the miserable wages paid for prison labor.

To help readers behind bars get the books they want and need — books by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Castro, Guevara, Malcolm X, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Evelyn Reed, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack — Pathfinder provides books to inmates at half price.

A contribution to books for prisoners can help Pathfinder respond to requests like the three that follow.

A prisoner in Texas writes that he is "striving to read and learn on my own," and that a few Pathfinder books he has heard about would be a great help. Among the titles he requests are *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, *Understanding History* by

George Novack, and *Background to the Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by James P. Cannon.

A reader behind bars in Arizona writes, "I'm confined in my cell 24 hours a day. All that's available from the jail library is capitalist literature. I need Marxist literature and would very much like the following: recent speeches by Fidel Castro and *Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution*."

"I am writing from a small town jail in Virginia," another says, inquiring about books and pamphlets. "We are a very small group of inmates with very little funds. We find it very difficult to pool our monies together for purchasing purposes because of lack of funds and because this jail is basically for transitory use only."

If you can help Pathfinder meet these and many other requests for books and pamphlets by revolutionary leaders, fill out the coupon at the end of the column and send in a check earmarked Pathfinder Books for Prisoners.

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### from Pathfinder

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

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

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

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.

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## Feminism and the Marxist movement

We are reproducing below excerpts from the newly reprinted Pathfinder pamphlet *Feminism and the Marxist Movement*. Author Mary-Alice Waters examines how winning the liberation of women is inseparably linked to the struggle of the working class to transform all economic and social relations. Waters is the editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*.

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BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

The following article is based on a speech given at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio, August 13-20, 1972. The conference, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, was attended by 1,150 people.

In her book, *Woman's Estate*, Juliet Mitchell, the British women's liberation activist and author, puts forward the thesis that "If socialism is to regain its status as the revolutionary politics . . . it has to make good its practical sins of commission against women and its huge sin of omission — the absence of an adequate place for them in its theory."

In this she is echoing an opinion that is far from original. Everyone who is active in the women's liberation struggle or familiar with the literature of the movement has heard the same arguments in one form or another. Often we hear the charges: "The Marxist movement has always ignored the problem of women's liberation." "The socialist movement played no significant role in the struggle for women's suffrage, which proves you don't really care about women." Or, "Historically, Marxism hasn't recognized the oppression of women as a sex. It is only concerned with the oppression of women as workers."

We have heard such charges repeated so often, either from ignorance or ill will, that sometimes, even unconsciously, we begin to accept the fraudulent version of Marxism and the history of women's struggles that has been concocted to buttress such assertions. The purpose of this talk is to begin to cut through the lies in order to restore the true history of Marxism and women's liberation.

As the new stage of the struggle for women's liberation began to unfold in the late 1960s, the Marxist movement in this country — the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance — responded in a revolutionary fashion. We recognized the profound importance of the fact that women as women were beginning to move into action. We threw ourselves into the movement, to learn from it, to better understand it, to help lead it in an independent and fighting direction, and win the most conscious feminists to an understanding that only a social-

**Only a socialist revolution can provide the necessary material foundations for the complete liberation of women . . .**

ist revolution could provide the necessary material foundations for the complete liberation of women.

At the same time, we began the process of arming ourselves theoretically. We studied the relevant Marxist classics more deeply than before and tried to apply them to the current reality. We grounded our practice and political orientation in the fundamentals of Marxism.

Now, in addition to action and theory there is a third step we must take. That is to go back and retrace the true lines of our history in order to establish the continuity of Marxist theory and practice.

We have a doubly difficult job, however. Not only do



Abortion clinic defenders in Washington, D.C., January 1993. A new generation of women has taken to the streets to defend women's rights. A fighting layer of the working class is learning to see defense of these rights as inseparable from defending the democratic rights of all and the class interests of workers.

we have to contend with the now familiar problems of discovering the true history of women and of writing ourselves as women back into the historical record. We must also cut through the problems created by the fact that most authors who are concerned with women's history are anti-Marxist. They are not interested in discovering what role socialist women played or accurately portraying the political positions taken by revolutionary Marxists. That is a job only we can do.

**Is our theory adequate?**

I want to begin by stating what I consider to be the most important generalization we must draw from the record of revolutionary Marxism in relation to the struggle against the oppression of women. It is this: From the inception of the Marxist movement to today, for nearly 125 years, revolutionary Marxists have waged an unremitting struggle within the broad working-class movement in order to establish a revolutionary attitude toward the struggle for women's liberation. They have fought to place it on a sound historical and materialist basis; and to educate the entire vanguard of the working class to an understanding of the significance of the struggles by women for full equality and for liberation from the centuries-old degradation of domestic slavery.

This battle has always been one of the dividing lines between revolutionary and reformist currents within the working-class movement; between those committed to a class-struggle perspective and those following a line of class collaboration. Women's oppression and how to struggle against it has been an issue at every turning point in the history of the revolutionary movement. Our ideological and political forebears, the revolutionary Marxists, both

male and female, have led the fight against all those who refused to inscribe women's liberation on the banner of socialism, or who supported it in words but refused to fight for it in practice.

This is very important. Our opponents often try to saddle us with responsibility for the positions taken, not by the revolutionaries within the working-class movement, but by the reformists — by the right wing of the pre-World War I American Socialist Party, by the Stalinists, or else by the sectarians and ultralefts who refused to recognize the complexity of the class struggle or the need to fight for democratic rights. But those tendencies do not represent our tradition. It is precisely against such forces that revolutionary Marxists have battled over the decades.

The first dividing line came as early as the founding of the Marxist movement itself. The *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 boldly proclaimed:

"On what foundations is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. . . . The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instruments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women."

"He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production."

The line of division established here and in all the subsequent writings of Marx and Engels on this subject was that between utopian and scientific socialism. The pre-Marxian utopian socialists — such as Fourier and Owen — were also fervent champions of the emancipation



of women. But their socialism, as well as their theories on the family and women, rested on moral principles and abstract desires — not on an understanding of the laws of history and the class struggle rooted in the growth of humanity's productive capacities. Marxism for the first time provided a scientific materialist foundation, not only for socialism but also for women's liberation. It laid bare the roots of women's oppression, its relationship to a system of production based on private property and a society divided between a class that owned the wealth and a class that produced it. Marxism explained the *role* of the family within class society, and the *function* of the family in perpetuating the oppression of women.

More than that, Marxism pointed out the road to achieving women's liberation. It explained how the abolition of private property would provide a material basis for transferring to society as a whole all those onerous social responsibilities today borne by the individual family — the care of the old and sick; the feeding, clothing, and education of the young. Relieved of these burdens, Marx pointed out, the masses of women would be able to break the bonds of domestic servitude, they would be able to exercise their full capacities as creative and productive — not just reproductive — members of society. Freed from the economic compulsion on which it necessarily rests, the bourgeois family would disappear. Human relationships themselves would be transformed into free relations of free people.

And finally, Marxism took socialism and women's liberation out of the sphere of utopian yearning by proving that capitalism itself produces a force — the working class — strong enough to destroy it, capable of carrying through the momentous task of abolishing the tyranny of the possessing few over the overwhelming majority of human-kind. For the first time, socialists could stop wishing for the new and better society and begin to organize to bring it about.

The struggle for women's liberation was thus lifted out of the realm of the personal, the "impossible dream," and unbreakably linked to the victory of the progressive forces of our epoch. It became a social task in the interests of all humanity. Thus, Marxism provided a materialist analysis and a scientific perspective for women's liberation.

Those women like Juliet Mitchell who charge that Marxism does not have an adequate place in its theory for women are being dishonest. It is not the degree of adequacy in Marxism's theory that they really question. They fundamentally disagree with its materialist analysis of women's oppression and all that flows from it, including the need for a revolutionary Marxist party to lead the working class and its allies to power.

#### Record of the First and Second Internationals

When the First International was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864, socialist theory was put into large-scale organizational practice for the first time. In a radical departure from the laws and customs of the time, the International Workingmen's Association elected a British woman trade-union organizer, Henrietta Law, to its General Council. How far in advance this step was from the practice of other political organizations of the day can be judged from the fact that Marx tells of receiving letters asking if women would even be allowed to join the International. Marx himself made a motion in the General Council that special working women's branches be organized in factories, industries, and cities where



**Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, who died at the age of 100 in 1930, was a tireless fighter for the working class alongside coal miners and others.**

there were large concentrations of women workers, adding that this should in no way cut across the building of mixed branches as well.

A year after the founding of the First International a fight erupted within the German socialist movement between the Marxists and non-Marxists. In the decades ahead the German working class would create the largest, strongest, and most influential socialist party in the pre-World War I era. But from 1865 until well into the 1880s the movement was divided between the followers of the late Ferdinand Lassalle on one hand and the Marxists under the leadership of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel on the other. In 1875 the two groups united in a single party, the SPD (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — Social Democratic Party of Germany), but maintained sharp differences within the organization. A perspective for women's liberation was one question that divided them. The Lassalleans were opposed to demanding equal rights for women as part of the party's program. They believed that women were inferior creatures whose preordained place was in the home and that the victory of socialism would return them to their natural habitat by assuring the husband an adequate wage to provide for his entire family. Thus women would not be forced to work for a wage.

The early programs of the German Social Democrats demanded only "full political rights for adults" — leaving purposely ambiguous the question of whether or not women were considered adults. It was not until the class-struggle left wing succeeded in passing a basically Marxist program in 1891 that the party demanded political rights for all, regardless of sex, and the abolition of every law which discriminated against women in any way.

A decisive element in the victory of the Marxists on this question was the book by August Bebel entitled *Woman and Socialism*, published in 1883. Although it came out a year before Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, it is basically a development of the ideas outlined by Engels, a powerful explanation of the roots of women's oppression, the forms it has taken over the centuries, the historically progressive effect of the integration of women into industrial production, and the need for a socialist revolution to clear the way for women's liberation. *Woman and Socialism* created a sensation not only in Germany but throughout Europe and was instrumental in the edu-

cation of several generations of Marxists.

The adoption of a Marxist program, however, was not the end of the struggle within the SPD for a revolutionary position on women's oppression. After the Lassalleans had ceased to exist as a distinct tendency, a new reformist current arose in the party pressing for adaptation to the capitalist status quo on a variety of fronts. Clara Zetkin, one of the staunchest supporters of the Marxist left wing, led the socialist women's movement throughout the entire prewar period and fought within the SPD to develop a revolutionary perspective on the struggle for women's emancipation. Nor was Zetkin's leadership limited to this one question. In 1914, when the majority of the SPD leaders capitulated to German imperialism and voted to support their "own" ruling class in the First World War, Clara Zetkin was one of the tiny handful of German Social Democrats along with Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who broke with the SPD and maintained a revolutionary internationalist position.

#### Special organizations among women

Throughout the early 1890s the SPD concentrated primarily on the trade-union organization of women and made some important gains. Then, in 1896, under Zetkin's urging, the SPD adopted a motion to begin developing special organizations for more extensive political activity among women. In addition to working for the general aims of the party, they were to concentrate on a whole range of issues of special concern to women: political equality, insurance for childbirth, protective legislation for women workers, education and security for children, and political education for women.

Until 1908 it was illegal for women in most of Germany even to join a political group of any kind. The SPD got around this by setting up dozens of "societies for the self-education of women workers," loose associations which were partly outside the boundaries of the party but closely linked to it. From 1900 on, biannual Socialist Women's conferences were held to unite these groups and provide leadership for them.

But the reason for these special working women's organizations was not just to solve the legal problem. Revolutionary leaders of the women's movement in Germany argued for the need to have separate women's organizations on the basis of the special needs of women, their isolation within the family, their fear of speaking out with

### One of the most dynamic revolutionary figures of the early years of the century, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, was a Wobbly organizer . . .

men around, and the need to develop the leadership capacities of women.

After 1908, women were legally able to join the SPD directly and those in the special SPD women's organizations did. But the women continued to maintain their own newspaper, *Gleichheit* (Equality), edited by Clara Zetkin, which reached a circulation of more than 100,000 by 1912.

They also functioned in a somewhat special way within the SPD. For example, after 1908 women received proportional representation on all the standing committees of the party, and the women members of the committees were elected by meetings of the women comrades. This is interesting, not as a final organizational model, but as an attempt by the SPD to work out difficult problems posed by the need for both independent women's organizations and a single revolutionary party of the working class within which there are no second-class citizens and all members have equal rights and responsibilities.

With sixty or seventy additional years of revolutionary experience behind us, and the examples of the Second and Third Internationals to draw on, revolutionary Marxists have worked out different, and better, solutions to these same problems. There is no separate women's section or caucus within the SWP or YSA. Everyone has equal voice and vote in reaching all decisions on all questions. At the same time, we have special subgroups — we call them "fractions" — to organize and carry out the decisions once they are made and to help lead and direct the work. The Bolsheviks, who had to solve the same problem, likewise drew on these experiences of the German Social Democrats before them and developed an organizational form on which ours is basically modeled.

We should take note of two important points here. First is the realization that questions such as the relationship between a revolutionary party and an independent women's movement and how the leadership of this work within the party should be organized are not new problems that suddenly emerged in 1970. The Marxist movement does have a history and tradition on these questions that is worth studying and learning from.

Second is a word of warning. When we start to look

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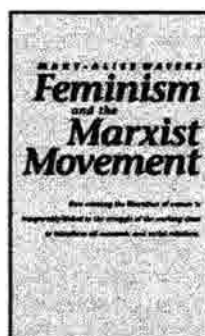
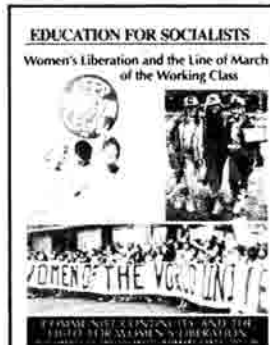
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Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis.

**Delegates at first international communist women's congress in Moscow, August 1920. Bolshevik leader V. I. Lenin and other Comintern leaders fought to extend women's emancipation through socialist revolution.**

into a historical question like the oppression of women and the struggle against it, we need to guard against the gravest error of all — one that most of our critics in the women's liberation movement make. That is the error of approaching history in an ahistorical way. We must resist the inclination to project backward in time our current level of consciousness or stage of development instead of judging the past by what was known and what was possible then. Unless we take pains at each step to place things in their concrete historical context and understand them in that light, we will not be able to learn from the past.

I want to give three more historical examples of the way in which the question of women's liberation has been an integral part of the struggle to build a revolutionary party of the working class: first, from the early years of the American Socialist Party; second, from the early years of the Third International; and lastly, from the founding of the Fourth International.

#### The American Socialist Party

The backward, reactionary, patriarchal ideas concerning women's nature which were prevalent in late nineteenth-century society found their reflections within the American socialist movement, just as they did in Germany. That is to be expected. No organization is immune to pressures from the society that surrounds it. But it was the right wing of the socialist movement that acted as the main conduit for sexist ideas. Many in the left wing of the movement fought to establish a correct line in theory and in practice.

For example, it was Daniel DeLeon, the central leader of the Socialist Labor Party and one of the founders of the IWW, the Industrial Workers of the World, who translated Bebel's work, *Woman and Socialism*, for the American public. It was published in this country for the first time in 1904.

Within the Socialist Party, which was founded in 1901, quite discernible right, center, and left wings rapidly materialized. Typical of the attitude held by right-wing elements within the party was an article printed in the April 28, 1901, issue of *The Worker*, one of the many newspapers published unofficially by SP members (the SP had no official press; all its publications were individually owned and controlled and reflected differing points of view). *The Worker* explained that capitalism was forcing women to work because men earned so little. While socialists had no intention of trying to restrict women to the home, once the economic compulsion to work was removed, it was clear that "ninety-nine women out of every hundred would choose the lot of wife and mother."

A widespread attitude within the Socialist Party was similar to the then prevalent view of the Black struggle: women's oppression, like racial oppression, would be solved in passing by the class struggle. It was not a special struggle that had its own dynamic or needed its own organizational forms or put forward its own demands.

James P. Cannon, in his study, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*, describes the left wing of the Socialist Party as a "theoretically uncertain and somewhat heterogeneous minority." It took the Bolshevik revolution and the influence of the ideas and example of Lenin, Trotsky, and the new Third (Communist) International to place this left wing on solid foundations. The young Communist Party of the 1920s brought the American socialist movement out of what Cannon calls the "theoretical wasteland of its prehistory." Cannon explains at length how this help from the Comintern was decisive in educating the young Communist Party on the importance and character of the Black struggle, of convincing the party that Blacks were exploited as Blacks in addition to being exploited as workers, that a program

of special demands for the oppressed nationality was needed.

I am sure a similar process took place on the question of women's oppression, as the resolutions of the early years of the Comintern on the organization of work directed specifically to women were far superior to anything the prewar Socialist Party had ever adopted.

However, the question was handled differently than the Black struggle. In the first place, there were several thousand women members of the Socialist Party as compared to a small handful of Black members. And second, the prewar and immediate postwar years saw a massive upsurge in the suffrage struggle, an actual movement involving tens of thousands of women in actions all over the country. These two features produced a real debate within the Socialist Party, and an articulate group of women and men who made their views known and tried to win the Socialist Party to a revolutionary position on feminism, on the importance of the suffrage struggle, and on other demands being raised by women.

#### Suffrage struggle

The *New Review*, a monthly magazine published by SP members, was one of the organs expressing the opinions of the left wing. It frequently carried articles dealing with socialism and feminism. One of the most interesting exchanges occurred in 1914, starting with the March issue. Mary White Ovington (who was also one of the founders of the NAACP) published an article entitled "Socialism and the Feminist Movement." She began by stating that

### The Comintern recognized the crucial importance of struggles by women around every question ranging from the right to divorce, to equal pay, to abortion . . .

"Socialism and Feminism are the two greatest movements of today. The one aims to abolish poverty, the other to destroy servitude among women."

She went on to explain why women were not willing to wait for socialism to begin to struggle for their rights, any more than men were; why this was a revolutionary struggle; and why the Socialist Party should pay more attention to it.

Ovington's defense of the feminist movement elicited a reply, in the May issue of the *New Review*, from British "socialist" E. Belfort Bax who informed her how ignorant she was because he, E. Belfort Bax, had conclusively proved in his book, *The Fraud of Feminism*, that things such as masculine despotism and female "slavery" did not exist. On the contrary the real problem was that of female privilege, of "women's immunity from punishment for crimes committed against men."

Bax asserted that it was unfortunate a plank in favor of female suffrage had been included in the party's program, but it was not too late to put an end to such foolishness if people would only think rationally. "Given an average intellectual, and, in certain aspects, moral inferiority of woman as against man . . . there is obvious reason for refusing to concede to woman the right to exercise, let us say, administrative and legislative functions such as have hitherto accrued to men."

Bax's bigoted and pompous opinions brought forth an indignant response. For the rest of the year, month after month, the *New Review* carried articles blasting him. In defense of the term "feminism" one author explained:

"No one doubts that women are changing. We need an appropriate word which will register this fact. The term feminism has been foisted upon us. It will do as well as any other word. . . . It means woman's struggle for freedom." In addition to demands for changes in laws and institutions, the author developed the theme that feminism "means a changed psychology, the creation of a new consciousness in women."

Louise W. Kneeland wrote in the August 1914 issue: "The Socialist who is not a Feminist lacks breadth. The

Feminist who is not a Socialist is lacking in strategy. To the narrow-minded Socialist who says: 'Socialism is a working class movement for the freedom of the working class, with woman as woman we have nothing to do,' the far-sighted Feminist will reply: 'The Socialist movement is the only means whereby woman as woman can obtain real freedom. Therefore I must work for it.'"

Another contribution argued that if women won the right to vote one of the things they must do is "repeal the law which, by penalizing the spread of information in regard to the prevention of conception, attempts to enforce upon women the tyranny of accidental and unwelcome pregnancy." The author added:

"There is certainly no kind of freedom where there is no command over one's own body. If a woman may not keep her body for her own uses as long as she wishes . . . she is certainly a slave."

And so it went, article after article explaining socialism and feminism in terms that sound like they could have been written in the 1970s. Reading such contributions, one senses the depth and breadth of the female radicalization at the beginning of the century, and realizes that there were many socialist women who understood the full significance of that radicalization, identified with it, and participated in it. The fact that they were not able to educate the entire socialist movement to the same level of understanding is attributable to three factors: Social prejudices against women were even deeper and more pervasive than today; American socialism was still in its "theoretical prehistory;" and the majority of the members of the Socialist Party were socialist reformers, not revolutionary Marxists.

Before going on to the early years of the Third International, I want to mention one more aspect of our revolutionary heritage in this country: the Industrial Workers of the World. When most of us think about the heroic battles of the Wobblies, their great free speech fights and strike battles, we don't visualize women as well as men. But one of the most dynamic revolutionary figures of the early years of the century, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, was a Wobbly organizer for some ten years. She helped lead the famous Spokane, Washington, free speech fight — despite the fact that she was visibly pregnant and, according to the customs of the time, should not even have been seen in public. She played a role in the important IWW-led Lawrence textile strike in 1912 and many others. Both the IWW and the Socialist Party helped lead the hard-fought battles to unionize the textile mills and the garment industry which often employed predominantly female, immigrant labor. Socialist Party leaders and labor organizers like Rose Pastor Stokes, Ella Reeve Bloor, and Mother Jones were women who made historic contributions to American labor and socialist history.

#### Lenin's views on female emancipation

The Third International was built on the shoulders of the victorious Bolshevik revolution. It was founded when a line of blood was being drawn between the new revolutionary international and the old Social Democracy. No quarter was given to those who wavered between the two. It was a life-and-death struggle for the young Soviet Republic, which was fighting the invading armies of fourteen countries, trying to hold power despite the devastation of war and civil war, famine and disease, in the most economically backward country of Europe.

From 1917 through 1923, the Bolsheviks and many

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others saw that the struggle for state power was on the agenda not only in Russia but in Germany and other European countries as well. In this they were not wrong. But no leadership other than the Bolsheviks proved capable of meeting the challenge and grasping the historical opportunity to bring the insurgent working masses to the conquest of power.

As the first revolutionary wave subsided, many in the young international failed to understand the meaning of the new situation, the need to readjust the tactics and strategy of the international to accord with the new objective situation, the need to adopt a united-front strategy toward the Social Democracy and other working-class parties. They didn't understand that repeated denunciations of the betrayals by Social Democracy would not by themselves convince those workers still loyal to the Second International. It was necessary to expose the reformist leaders in action.

Lenin and Trotsky together led the fight in the Third International against the ultraleft tendencies that sprang up. They recognized that ultraleftist errors could be just as disastrous for a revolutionary party as reformist ones.

It is in this general political context that Lenin's opinions about the proposed work of the International Women's Commission of the Comintern should be seen. Again, this was at a new turning point in the history of the revolutionary Marxist movement. Again, analysis of women's oppression and the struggle against it figured in the divisions. However, unlike some of the earlier debates and differences, this time many of the opponents of revolutionary Marxism were ultraleft, not reformist.

Clara Zetkin's book, *Recollections of Lenin*, contains the fullest presentation of Lenin's views at this stage. Zetkin's account is based on two meetings with Lenin in Moscow in 1920. These were preliminary discussions, part of the process of drafting the resolution on work among women for the Third Congress of the Comintern in 1921.

First, Lenin urged that the document should stress "the unbreakable connection between woman's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production." To change the age-old conditions that subjugate women within the family, communists should seek to link the women's movement with "the proletarian class

## If the Communists failed in the task of mobilizing the masses of women on the side of the revolution, the reactionary political forces would try to organize women against them . . .

struggle and the revolution." (Clara Zetkin's book is not available in English. Her report of these interviews with Lenin is included in the pamphlet *Lenin On the Emancipation of Women* [Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968].)

Lenin next took up the organizational questions I referred to earlier. "We derive our organizational ideas from our ideological conception," he told Zetkin. "We want no separate organisations of communist women! She who is a Communist belongs as a member to the Party, just as he who is a Communist. They have the same rights and duties."

"However," he continued, "we must not shut our eyes to the facts. The Party must have organs — working groups, commissions, committees, sections or whatever else they may be called — with the specific purpose of rousing the broad masses of women. . . ."

Zetkin commented that many party members had been denouncing her for making similar proposals on the basis that such ideas were a return to Social Democratic traditions, and that "since the Communist Parties gave equality to women they should, consequently, carry on work without differentiation among all the working people in general."

"How," Lenin asked Zetkin, "do such guardians of the 'purity of principles' cope with the historical necessities of our revolutionary policy? All their talk collapses in the face of the inexorable necessities."

"Why are there nowhere as many women in the Party as men," he demanded, "not even in Soviet Russia? Why is the number of women in the trade unions so small?" In sharp terms he defended the need to put forward special demands for the benefit of all women, of working women and peasant women, and even women of the propertied classes who also suffer under bourgeois society.

Finally, Lenin was sharply critical of the national sections of the Comintern for not doing as much as they should. "They adopt a passive, wait-and-see attitude when it comes to creating a mass movement of working women under communist leadership." He attributed the weakness of women's work in the International to the



Militant/Ellen Lemisch

**Abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C., November 1971. As thousands of women today come to see the need to act to prevent hard-fought gains from being lost, they are rejecting the myth that the oppression of women was vanquished by the 'second wave' of the feminist movement in the 1970s.**

persistence of male chauvinist ideas which led to an underestimation of the vital importance of building a mass women's movement. For this reason he thought the resolution for the Third World Congress of the Comintern was especially important. The fact that it was on the agenda would itself give an impetus to the work of the sections.

### Winning masses of women on world scale

Zetkin's second discussion with Lenin conveys an even richer idea of how he (and Zetkin) approached the problem of winning the masses of women on a world scale. It underscored the Bolsheviks' lack of sectarianism or ultraleftism. Their discussion makes clearer than most formal resolutions exactly how they carried out their work.

Zetkin proposed that the communist women from various countries should take the initiative in calling and organizing an international congress of women to help promote the tremendous new ferment and radicalization of women of all classes and sections of society in the post-World War I period. She suggested that they contact " . . . the leaders of the organized female workers in each country, the proletarian political women's movement, bourgeois women's organisations of every trend and description, and finally the prominent female physicians, teachers, writers, etc., and to form national nonpartisan preparatory committees."

The conference, she proposed, should take up questions like the right of women to engage in trades and professions, problems of unemployment, equal pay, labor protection for women, social care for mothers, social measures to relieve housewives, and the status of women in marriage, family legislation, and legal rights. The proposal was based on similar conferences of nonparty working women being organized inside the Soviet Union at the time.

She outlined an international campaign to publicize and build such a conference, and also pointed out how it would be necessary for the communist women themselves to work together in a disciplined fashion in order to bring it off. "Needless to say, all this requires as an essential condition that women Communists work in all the committees and at the congress itself as a firm, solid body and that they act together on a lucid and unshakable plan."

Lenin's reaction was one of wholehearted approval. But he questioned whether the Communist fraction at such a congress on an international scale would be strong enough to win the leadership of the delegates, whether the bourgeois and reformist women might not be stronger. Zetkin responded that she thought it was not a great danger because the communist women would have the best program and proposals for action. And even if they did lose, it would be no disaster. Lenin agreed. "Even defeat after a stubborn struggle would be a gain," he commented.

On further reflection, Lenin pointed out that this congress of women "would foment and increase unrest, uncertainty, contradictions and conflicts in the camp of the bourgeoisie and its reformist friends. . . . The congress would add to the division and thereby weaken the forces of the counter-revolution. Every weakening of the enemy is tantamount to a strengthening of our force."

With Lenin's backing for the proposal, Zetkin set out to convince the sections of the International of its value, but due to the sectarian opposition of the German and Bulgarian parties, the two parties with the largest women's organizations, the whole project fell through.

What will be most striking to participants in the feminist movement today is the degree to which this proposed conference parallels the general way in which the SWP and YSA have approached the need to build a broad,

mass-action-oriented campaign around the abortion issue. The reason we are concentrating at this time on one specific demand out of our whole program for women's liberation is because of the objective possibilities and present level of consciousness. But the method and concept is the same — building a broad, united action front on a principled basis.

The resolution that was adopted by the Third Congress of the Comintern in June of 1921 dealt with political and organizational aspects of the International's orientation. The "Theses on Propaganda Work Among Women" began with a concise political analysis stressing both the need for a socialist revolution to achieve women's liberation, and the necessity for the Communist parties to win the support of the masses of women if they were to lead the socialist revolution to victory. Neither could be achieved without the other. The resolution pointed out that if the Communists failed in the task of mobilizing the masses of women on the side of the revolution, the reactionary political forces would try to organize women against them.

### The Third International

It stated that there were no special "female" questions. By this they did not mean that there are no issues of special concern to women or special demands around which women could be mobilized — this is clear from the demands enumerated in the resolution. This statement — which appears often in the literature of the period — simply means that there is no question of concern to women that is not also a broader social question, a question of vital interest to the revolutionary movement, for which both male and female communists must fight. It was directed not against the need to raise special demands for women, but just the opposite, to explain to the more backward male and female workers that such demands cannot be dismissed as unimportant "female concerns."

The resolution also condemned bourgeois feminism. This designation referred to the section of the women's movement that believed liberation could be achieved by reforming the capitalist system. It likewise called on women to break with the Second International and with the centrists who wavered between the Second and Third internationals and join the Comintern to fight for their liberation on a worldwide scale.

The 1921 thesis of the Comintern explained both why there could be no separate organization for women within the party; and on the other hand, why there *must* be special organs of the party for work among women. It made it obligatory, indeed almost a condition of membership in the Communist International, that every section must set up a women's commission structure that would function at every level of the party from the central national leadership to the branches or cells. It instructed the parties to assure that at least one comrade be put on full-time paid staff to direct this work on a national level. And it established an International Women's Secretariat to oversee the work and call regular six-month conferences of representatives from all the sections to discuss and coordinate their activity.

Finally, the resolution outlined the general propaganda and agitational tasks and some of the key demands to be raised in all three sectors of the world: in the Soviet Union, in the advanced capitalist countries, and in the Orient (that is, in the colonial countries that were most in ferment at the time). There was no nonsense such as we hear from ultralefts today who argue that women's liberation is of interest only to the relatively privileged women in the advanced nations or a question that concerns only middle-class women. . . .



# Framed-up miners go to trial January 24

BY KATHY RETTIG

MORGANTOWN, West Virginia — Eight members of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 5958 will stand trial January 24 in Charleston, West Virginia. The miners were framed up in the July 22 shooting death of nonunion contract worker Eddie York.

The frame-up stems from the recently concluded strike by 18,000 coal miners against selected member companies of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The mine owners and their hired guards carried out numerous violent provocations against miners on the picket lines, including at the Arch Mineral Corp.'s Ruffner mine. Elite Security employees often threw rocks at strikers, fired guns in the air, and in one instance attacked the picket shack.

York was shot in the back of the head as he drove out of a side entrance to the Ruffner mine in Yohln, West Virginia. The pickets were in front of York's car when the shooting occurred.

A federal grand jury indicted the eight miners for allegedly violating federal laws that prohibit interfering with interstate commerce. The indictment says that the miners conspired to "disable and incapacitate" York.

One miner, Jerry Lowe, is charged with illegal use of firearms, and could face 50 years in prison and a \$1 million fine if convicted. The other miners could be sentenced to 25 years in jail and \$500,000 in fines.

UMWA international representative Howard Green said that the eight miners were given leaves of absence from Arch and are currently working for the union. Should they be acquitted, they would return to work with back pay under the terms of an amnesty agreement reached between negotiators for the union and BCOA prior to the end of the recent strike.

Green estimates that \$500,000 will be needed to cover the miners' legal fees. Supporters of the framed-up miners are seeking contributions "from the public, the coalfields, and other unions across the country," Green said. The union official reported that contributions can be sent to Miners Solidarity Fund c/o Don Barnett, UMWA, 4500 MacCorkle Ave. SE, Charleston, WV 25304. Checks should be earmarked for the Ruffner miners.

UMWA Local 5958 vice-president Larry Bartram said he feels confident that the indicted miners will be acquitted. "They have not done anything and I don't foresee that they could be found anything but innocent."

"We should fight to defend these workers," said Bob Stine, UMWA Local 2412 president at Peabody's Baldwin mine in Il-

linois. "The companies and courts have produced no real evidence against them. They were just eight workers on the picket line," he continued. "Of course, the laws are written against workers on strike."

With ratification by the union membership of the 1993 UMWA contract with the BCOA, most of the 18,000 miners who had been on strike returned to work December 16.

As the strike drew to a close, newspaper reports said more than 200 miners in Indiana and West Virginia were laid off from their jobs.

Illinois miners were particularly hard hit by layoff notices as they returned to work. Ninety-one of 258 UMWA members at Ziegler Holding Co.'s Old Ben No. 25 mine near Logan, Illinois, received layoff notices December 17. UMWA Local 2250 member Doug Hitt said miners returning to work after the seven-month strike were told that the mine no longer had its contract to supply coal to Georgia Power. The company said cutting costs was essential to getting another contract.

Meanwhile, union coal miners on strike

against Buck Creek Coal Co. in Sullivan, Indiana, won a ruling before the National Labor Relations Board that they are engaged in an unfair labor practice strike. "This ruling is a big plus for us," said Luke Sligar, president of UMWA Local 4538, in a telephone interview. "It means we all go back to work when we get a contract." Federal labor laws prohibit companies from permanently replacing workers who strike over unfair labor practices.

## Buck Creek miners still on strike

"The company was maintaining we were out on an economic strike so they wouldn't have to hire us back after the strike," Sligar explained. Buck Creek is currently operating with scabs, including 22 members of the local who crossed the picket line early in the strike.

The union miners are striking to win their first contract from Buck Creek Coal, which is not a member of the BCOA and thus is not covered by the agreement reached in the strike against BCOA companies. The Buck

Creek miners are now the only UMWA members on strike in Indiana.

On Thanksgiving, 300 union miners from Indiana locals gathered at the mine entrance to protest a judge's order to move the picket shack 200 yards down the road.

The union and company resumed negotiations December 7 after talks had broken off in October. "We made quite a bit of progress," Sligar said, "but we're still hung up on three important issues: the company wants an open shop, they don't want to take back five guys they fired, and they don't want to allow union dues check-off for our members."

The company fired five miners early in the strike for alleged strike-related misconduct. "Our position," Sligar stated, "is everybody goes back or nobody goes back."

Mary Zins, a laid-off miner and member of United Transportation Union Local 1405, and Dave Marshall, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1345, in St. Louis contributed to this article.

## New Jersey textile strikers approve contract

BY NANCY BOYASKO

NEWARK, New Jersey — After 53 days on strike, a majority of northern New Jersey textile workers approved a state-mediated contract December 15 and ended the walkout at 10 of 23 companies in Passaic, Ber-

gen, and Hudson Counties.

Members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) approved the three-year pact by a 587-362 vote. Some 800 union members at firms belonging to the Silk & Rayon Dyers &

Printers Association returned to work December 16.

However, CP Associates, a management group representing another 10 struck firms, rejected the state labor commissioner's compromise offer, indicating its member companies will not be bound by the results of the industry-wide ratification vote. So 800 ACTWU members remain on strike at these firms.

Poughkeepsie Dye & Printing Co. in Paterson, which negotiates independently of either association, hired scabs to replace strikers October 23 and is still a strike target.

Two other companies affected by the walkout, which are conducting their own negotiations, are expected to settle with ACTWU along the terms of the approved contract.

In the past, there has been one industry-wide contract in New Jersey.

The settlement includes lower starting wages for new hires and extension of the time to reach top pay, 20-cent hourly increases per year, a copayment of 20 percent on medical expenses when workers use physicians outside a prearranged network, and an increase in the number of machines each worker is allowed to operate. Provisions for sick days, vacation time, and overtime pay remained the same as in the previous contract.

A 50-year-old clause permitting mid-contract walkouts was narrowed to instances when the employer does not pay agreed to benefits, fails to remit union dues, or does not comply with arbitration decisions.

The 800 workers still out on strike have received pledges of support from those who returned to work. Prior to the settlement, the strikers organized rallies and mass roving pickets. A number of other area unionists have joined the picket lines and donated funds and food.

Nancy Boyasko is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-891 in New Jersey.



Textile workers rally November 29 in Clifton, New Jersey. After a majority of strikers voted to approve contract, 10 companies broke from bargaining group.

Militant/Martha Pettit

## Union tops push new concessions at United

BY EMILY FITZSIMMONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A tentative agreement by the Allied Pilots Association (APA) and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) at United Airlines was released December 15. It calls for giving up \$5.1 billion in wages and work rule concessions in exchange for 53 percent stock ownership in the company.

The agreement is pending a vote by the company's board of directors, shareholders, and the IAM and APA memberships. The Association of Professional Flight Attendants is discussing whether to join the deal.

The Clinton administration is hailing the employee stock ownership plan (ESOP) as a good example of labor-management cooperation. Labor Secretary Robert Reich said the sale would "serve as a very important model" for all of industry.

The stock of UAL, United's parent company, fell slightly the day after the ESOP deal was announced, reflecting concerns by the employing class over whether the new agreement will fly.

There have been five attempts by union officials to get an employee stock deal at United since 1987. The latest proposal is considerably higher than the last offer, which was rejected by the board of directors in November as too little in value.

A major component of the proposal has United establishing a lower-cost airline to fly all its routes under 750 miles. Union workers would receive lower wages and be forced to accept different work rules than coworkers on the other routes at United.

The company seeks to compete with lower-cost carriers like Southwest Airlines by slashing labor expenses.

The six-year deal would include a 9.7 percent pay cut for all IAM members, a rescinding of the 5 percent raise due May 1, 1994, and a lengthening of the work day from 8 to 8.5 hours by getting rid of half-hour paid lunches. A so-called no layoff clause for six years of the contract excludes part-time and temporary workers and details seven circumstances such as war, strikes, and acts of nature where layoffs can take place.

Pilots are being offered a 15.7 percent pay cut. Nonunion employees would take a 10 percent cut.

The stock granted in exchange for wage concessions would only be accessible once an employee retires or leaves the company.

The IAM and APA officialdom have pushed the ESOP plan for months as the only salvation for unionists at United. While most IAM members favor this course, now that the actual terms of this proposed deal are becoming clearer many are starting to question it.

A ramp worker at Dulles Airport here said that he thought the company was asking for too much over the course of six years and that workers should "vote no."

Cabin service shop steward Robert Gilchrist said, "I don't think it's good, but I don't think all of the [job] classifications are strong enough together to resist it."

One food truck driver, whose job is about to be replaced by the new kitchen nonunion catering service Dobbs Inc., said, "I'm will-

ing to give 10 percent to save my job for six years."

One IAM mechanic in Miami commented that the plan would mean the end of the union.

Emily Fitzsimmons is a member of IAM Local 1759 and works at United Airlines at Dulles Airport.

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## ANC attempts to defuse right-wing

Continued from Page 3

homeland, on grounds that all such loans need prior TEC approval.

The ANC continues to win new support for its election campaign. On November 23 the Labor Party announced it would participate on the ANC slate. The South African Students Congress also announced support for the ticket.

At a People's Forum in Natal, Mandela explained the ANC's position on abortion. "We believe that women have the right to decide what they should do with their bodies," he stated. "We should avoid prescribing to women what they should do."

The ANC president said that a government under his leadership would establish a land bank and use the vast tracts of land owned by the SADF to redress the inequalities in land ownership caused by apartheid.

At a Johannesburg People's Forum, Mandela vowed to abolish the death penalty. "It is a barbaric form of punishment and it should not be allowed in a civilized society. Its failure has been demonstrated beyond all doubt," he said.

In other developments, Indonesian president Suharto pledged financial assistance to the election campaign of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). The exact amount has yet to be announced. The Indonesian government previously donated more than \$200,000 to the PAC.

Winnie Mandela was elected president of the ANC Women's League December 8. She outpolled Albertina Sisulu by a 392-168 vote margin. Winnie Mandela was also recently elected deputy president of the South African Civics Organization.

In April 1992 she resigned as head of the ANC's Welfare Department following her conviction on charges of kidnapping and assaulting four Soweto youths. The assault charge has since been overturned on appeal.

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**Ireland: The Ongoing Struggle for Self-Determination.** Speaker: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 8, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

**Washington's Continuing War Against Cuba.** Speakers: Dr. Hesham Ragab, Pediatricians for Peace; Sherrie Love, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Transportation Union. Sat., Jan. 15, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

#### San Francisco

**Celebrate a Victory for Democratic Rights in the Case of Milton Chee.** Speakers: Milton Chee, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1584, recently won victory against government attempt to prosecute him under the Hatch Act; John McKee, chief shop steward, Alameda Naval Air Depot, International Association of Machinists Local 1584. Sat., Jan. 8. Time and place to be announced. For more information, call (415) 282-6255.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**End U.S. Threats Against North Korea.** Speakers: Ambassador Kim Jong Su, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Permanent Mission to the United Nations; representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 8, 7:30 p.m. Reception: 6:30 p.m. 214-16 Avenue A. Donation: \$4. Tel: (212) 388-9346.

## CALENDAR

### ILLINOIS

#### Chicago

**New Year's Eve Dance. Latin American and Caribbean Music.** Fri., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. Ruiz Belvis Cultural Center, 1632 N. Milwaukee. Donation: \$12 in advance, \$15 at the door (includes dinner). Sponsored by the Chicago Caravan Committee. For more information and tickets, call (312) 243-2777.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

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

# Clinton plan attacks immigrant rights

Continued from front page

States receive assistance under one or another program each year, most of them elderly.

Currently, an immigrant can qualify for benefits after three years; before that, the relatives sponsoring him or her are liable for support. The Heritage Foundation, a right-wing group, has proposed extending that waiting period to 15 years, while the Republican plan would eliminate the possibility of assistance to all but the most elderly immigrants.

According to the Center for Law and Social Policy, 85 percent of the cuts under the Republican plan would come out of support payments to those who are elderly, blind, or disabled.

### Scapegoating immigrant workers

"Picking Up The Tab — Cost of U.S. policy hits states, cities," read a front page headline in the December 17 *Miami Herald*. The feature article, one of a seven-part series dubbed "Our failed immigration policy," complained about the cost of providing education and emergency medical care to undocumented immigrants.

Attacks on immigrant rights, such as those promoted in the *Herald* articles and the proposals to cut welfare benefits, are not primarily about economics, however. Their main purpose is to blame workers born in other countries for unemployment and inadequate social services. This scapegoating divides the working class — breaking down human solidarity along lines of nationality and legal status.

The figures of how much the govern-

ment spends providing social services are often distorted to try to convince U.S.-born workers that immigrants are the cause of their problems. Donald Huddle, an economics professor at Rice University in Houston, for example, puts forward a wildly inflated sum of \$42.5 billion as the cost of public assistance to immigrants in 1992. The amount includes \$11.9 billion in aid he said was paid to 2.1 million workers supposedly displaced by immigrants. It is also padded by such "services" as incarceration and court costs for immigrant workers accused of crimes.

### Contempt for working class

The discussion on welfare, both in Congress and in the press, reeks of contempt for immigrants and for the working class in general. This is true for Republicans and Democrats alike.

"If you want to come to the United States to work, fine," Robert Rector of the Heritage Foundation told the *Washington Post*. "If you've come to get welfare, no. These people [immigrant rights advocates] are hell-bent on bankrupting this country."

For the Democrats' part, it's clear from what has come out so far that the administration's entire welfare plan will be an assault on workers' rights and solidarity. The proposals scapegoat poor women, especially teenage and unmarried mothers, for social problems. Many welfare recipients will be forced into temporary, minimum wage jobs. Other much-needed services will be cut to pay for the so-called jobs programs. And now an assault on immigrants — even those with legal

status — is being seriously considered as part of the package.

An editorial in the January 3 issue of the liberal *New Republic* magazine stated that the Clinton administration must "confront America's most pressing social problem — the mainly black, mainly urban, underclass. ... Clinton needs a plan forceful enough to match the reality of the underclass."

The *New Republic's* editors said they were optimistic that Clinton would carry out his campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it."

"The politics of welfare — especially the mood of elite opinion — has shifted significantly over the past decade," the editorial said. "In 1984 Charles Murray was vilified for arguing that welfare sustains the underclass. Now his views are cited respectfully by anchormen (and by Clinton)."

A perfect exposé of American liberalism. More and more layers of the working class are divided off and held up to be despised and blamed — from so-called illegal aliens and noncitizens to single mothers and the "mainly black, mainly urban, underclass," as the *New Republic* puts it.

This kind of scapegoating is a deadly trap for working people. Every measure that denies rights to a section of the working class is a blow to the solidarity of the class as a whole. That's why the labor movement should speak out against any attempt to narrow the rights of immigrant workers, whether as part of Clinton's welfare scheme or in some other form.

# New defense chief strengthens bipartisan gov't

Continued from front page

president has and will increasingly get bipartisan backing for throwing Washington's armed might wherever necessary to protect U.S. capitalist interests from the Persian Gulf, to the Korean peninsula, or elsewhere.

At a White House Rose Garden ceremony to announce his nomination, Inman said he was persuaded to accept the post because of "the president's absolute commitment to build a strong bipartisan support for where this country needs to go in the years ahead." He added, "I would tell you up front honestly, I did not vote for President Clinton. I voted for President Bush."

Calling the nominee "one of our nation's highest-ranking and most-respected military officers," Clinton said that Inman had "personally briefed Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy" and held senior positions under Gerald Ford, James Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush.

Inman, a retired admiral in the U.S. Navy and a wealthy Texas businessman, will, if approved by Congress, become the first career military officer to be Secretary of Defense since 1947.

Inman also has had a long career organiz-

ing various government spy operations. He was vice-director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, director of the National Security Agency, and most recently deputy director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

One of his "sources" during these years was James Guerin, who pleaded guilty in 1991 to laundering \$700 million through European banks in a fraud scheme during the 1980s and selling arms to the apartheid regime in South Africa. Inman wrote a letter to a federal judge before Guerin was sentenced, commenting on the convict's "patriotism" and "willingness to provide useful information."

Inman's nomination has been met by what an article in the *New York Times* called "an outpouring of praise and outright adulation with few recent parallels in Washington."

A few days after the nomination was announced, front page articles in most newspapers disclosed Inman had not paid Social Security taxes for a housekeeper he had employed for seven years. On December 20, he paid \$6,000 to the Internal Revenue Service to save face.

Clinton was forced to drop Zöe Baird and

Kimba Wood, two former nominees for Attorney General, after it was disclosed they had not paid taxes for their nannies.

In Inman's case, however, White House officials said his lapse is not "disqualifying" as long as he is now current with the IRS.

Aspin, who will vacate his post in January, became a liability to the Clinton administration after making a series of public relations blunders around U.S. government policy in Somalia, as well as Bosnia and Haiti. He also fanned the controversy surrounding Clinton's stated plans to change regulations banning gays from the U.S. military, when he argued that Congress and the military brass would resist any shifts in policy.

Aspin came under the most intense fire after acknowledging that he had turned down a request from military commanders in Somalia for armored reinforcements just weeks before 18 U.S. soldiers were killed during a U.S. army raid of several buildings in Mogadishu. Hundreds of Somali citizens were also slaughtered by U.S. troops. This debacle added to growing demands on Clinton — especially from right-wing politicians — that U.S. troops be pulled out of Somalia.

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**The civilized society** — At Pelican Bay, California's top maximum security prison, "discipline" can



Harry Ring

mean being handcuffed or hogtied and lapping food from a plate like a dog. That's according to Human Rights Watch and the American Civil Liberties Union.

**Wouldn't murder be even bet-**

**ter?** — Caroline Heyler, an adviser to the California prison system, advises that one should not overlook "one of the chief values of a maximum security prison such as Pelican Bay. . . . This is that the threat of being sent there serves to deter dangerous behavior by all other inmates in the state prison system."

**Just be patient** — In 1992, the number of U.S. people not covered by health insurance climbed by 2.3 million to 38.9 million.

**Slick as gravel** — "Clinton Meets With Human Rights Activists — White House seeks to demonstrate support but avoids specific

commitments." — News headline.

**Used car dealers** — In the wake of the outbreak following the Rodney King verdict, GM and its subsidiary, Hughes Aircraft, made a nicely publicized gift of 100 vans to transport South Central Los Angeles youngsters to after-school activities. Now they want them back. A spokesman noted that the press release announcing the action had said "made available," not "donate" or "give."

**Try a 1960s brownie recipe** — On your next visit to the doc, besides the check, bring along a home-baked item or other token gift. This will improve his or her

mood, researchers assert, and the improved mood will mean better treatment. But the stratagem should probably be limited to minor ailments since the altered mood only lasts about 20 minutes.

**Bright future (I)** — "Layoff victims and others are starting to look at low-paying retail posts as their chance for a new beginning." — News item.

**Bright future (II)** — "Who was the USA's largest employer last year? Answer: Manpower, with 560,000 employees. Runner-up: General Motors had 362,000 workers." — *The Challenger*, "A news-

letter for temporaries of Central Iowa," published by Manpower Company.

**Balancing the books** — After slicing \$30 million from the library budget, Los Angeles County supervisors approved a "marketing" plan for the crippled system. For a donation, individuals could "adopt" a section of library tables or chairs.

**Suggestion** — In consonance with the spirit of that L.A. library market plan, the names of donors should be inscribed on plaques, with brief messages. Like, "If it wasn't for me, you wouldn't be sitting here."

## U.S. officials defend forced return of Haitians

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — Sparks flew in Washington, D.C., in mid-December as Clinton administration officials reacted angrily to a suggestion by a junior State Department functionary that they reconsider the practice of forcibly repatriating all Haitian refugees stopped by U.S. warships on the high seas. Washington denies these refugees the chance to even request political asylum, a policy instituted by the Bush administration to stop tens of thousands fleeing Haiti following a brutal military coup in 1991. President Bill Clinton has maintained and enforced this policy as well.

John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, paid a brief visit to Haiti December 14, at the end of which he told reporters that "a policy review is necessary."

Shattuck did not even propose any specific change in policy, but administration officials rushed to denounce their errant associate.

"It was completely wrong and outrageous and there is enormous anger in the White House and the State Department about his alleged statements," one State Department official told the *New York Times*. "There will be no review. It was a completely rogue statement."

The White House was "incensed" by Shattuck's remarks, and he "was given a stern dressing down this morning by Peter Tarnoff, the under secretary for political affairs and the second highest ranking official in the State Department," the *Times* reported December 15.

The day of Shattuck's press conference, a U.S. warship handed 110 Haitians to the military authorities in Port-au-Prince, the third boatload of refugees forced to return in a week. U.S. officials report they have forced 220 Haitians to return in the first half of December, a big increase over the 60 they stopped and returned during November.

The dispute over refugee policy erupted as reports appeared in the big business press that Clinton is abandoning efforts to return Haiti's exiled president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to office.

### Clinton cools effort to return Aristide

"The whole process is dead," one international official said, reported the *Los Angeles Times* from Port-au-Prince, Haiti's capital, December 17. "Any chance of restoring democracy in Haiti is over." U.S. ambassador William Swing denied that the U.S. is giving up on Aristide's return, the *Los Angeles Times* stated, but "acknowledged that there are no new initiatives under consideration."

Aristide was elected in 1990 with a two-thirds majority vote, but was ousted by a military coup in September 1991. The U.S. rulers have called for the return of Aristide, imposed a limited economic embargo on Haiti, and engaged in sporadic negotiations with military officials and wealthy supporters of the coup.

Clinton claimed the attempts to return Aristide justified the forced return of Haitians to the country. "Preventing another [refugee] exodus 'is what all this was about in the first place,' was the surprisingly candid comment from Madeleine Albright, America's U.N. ambassador," reported an article in the October 30 *Seattle Times*.

Washington's latest initiative collapsed when a "conference of national reconciliation" was canceled December 15. The conference was called by Haitian prime minister Robert Malval after meeting with Clin-

ton and other U.S. officials in Washington in early December.

U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher "acknowledged that the United States had pinned its hopes on efforts by Robert Malval, Aristide's prime minister, to reconcile the military and its affluent civilian backers with Aristide and the country's impoverished majority, which forms his power base," the *Los Angeles Times* reported December 17.

However, coup leaders refused to participate in the conference or to guarantee the safety of Aristide supporters if they returned to Haiti to attend. Aristide then withdrew his support for the gathering. On December 15 Malval resigned his post and returned empty-handed to Haiti, bursting into tears as he told reporters of the failure of his initiative. Three days later he publicly accused Aristide of hampering efforts to solve the crisis.

Clinton administration officials also blamed Aristide for the collapse of the initiative, but "freely acknowledge they are at a loss on what they should do next if Haiti's military leaders continue to defy the entreaties of the international community for Aristide to return," reported the *New York Times*.

### Another wave of refugees?

The increase in military and rightist terror and fading hopes of Aristide's return have impelled more Haitians to risk going to U.S. diplomatic offices in Haiti to seek political asylum. Washington opened these centers in 1992 in response to international condemnation of their treatment of Haitian refugees, hoping they could forestall a larger exodus by allowing a few individuals legal permission to enter the United States. By late November more than 800 people a day were showing up at the processing center in Port-au-Prince alone. U.S. officials have reportedly increased their approval rate from a paltry 1 in 20 to 1 in 6.

The international economic embargo, imposed by the U.S. government under the cover of the United Nations in hopes of forcing military leaders to accept Washington's political solution, has sharply exacerbated the economic and social crisis already wracking Haiti.

The Caribbean country has long been used by U.S. billionaires as an expendable source of cheap labor, agricultural products, and tourist resorts. By the mid-1980s, for example, nearly 40 percent of all Haiti's exports came from foreign-owned assembly plants in tax-free trade zones.

The wealth produced by workers and peasants flowed into the coffers of foreign bankers and bosses, while Haitians lost their jobs and meager income with each slight downturn in orders from Sears, K-Mart, and other retail giants. Today's world capitalist crisis has left Haiti a legacy of shuttered hotels, devastated farmland, and closed factory buildings.

Haitian workers and peasants fought during the 1980s to overthrow the Duvalier dictatorship and organize trade unions and peasant committees in order to take control of their lives and tackle the social crisis they face. The 1991 coup was a setback to this struggle. The widespread repression and deeper economic crisis that followed will force many more to leave Haiti in order to get back on their feet and reorganize.

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



Haitians fleeing Port-au-Prince after Washington imposed sanctions in October

## 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO



CHICAGO — Plans were mapped here for a nationwide series of GI-led antiwar marches in half a dozen key cities on Easter Sunday, April 6.

The proposed action, which will focus on the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, was agreed on by the GI-Civilian Antiwar Conference held here Dec. 27-28. The conference had the support and endorsement of leading antiwar groups and activists across the country as well as antiwar active-duty GIs and various GI underground papers.

To assure maximum GI participation cities were designated that have large troop concentrations in their area. These include New York, Chicago, Atlanta, Austin, San Francisco, Seattle and possibly Los Angeles.

To further ensure maximum GI participation, the Spring Action workshop, which formulated the April 6 proposal, emphasized that the slated marches and rallies would all be organized so that GIs could participate without jeopardizing their legal rights. Individual acts of "civil disobedience" or "confrontation" are not part of the program.



A significant development of the rising labor crisis is Roosevelt's pronounced swing to the right. *Time* magazine comments approvingly: "Behind the velvet glove technique of offering concessions, within the (Little Steel) formula, was Roosevelt's iron

hand — and the iron hand was news."

During the coal miners' dispute, the workers' struggle for higher wages was pictured as a personal feud between John L. Lewis and Roosevelt, with the miners being used as pawns. The real grievances of the miners were for a long time dismissed as a pretext seized upon by Lewis to embarrass the President. The Stalinists contributed to this union-baiting campaign by adding the note that Lewis was actually an "agent of Hitler and Hirohito."

The poison-pen artists find it impossible to employ the same propaganda in the rail and steel situations. Roosevelt is only too well aware of the spinelessness and subservience of the rail and steel bureaucrats. He is also aware that the rail and steel workers stand far to the left of their official leadership.

It was this knowledge, together with his experience in the coal strikes, that prompted Roosevelt to modify his previous technique. He tested his labor prestige in the coal strikes when he appealed to the miners over the heads of their official leaders, to return to work. So devastating was the rebuff of the miners that Roosevelt did not dare repeat the experiment with the rail workers. For the first time, he ordered the army to take over an industry, before the start of a strike.

Thanks to the craven attitude of Murray and Co., Roosevelt succeeded in postponing the showdown with the steel workers, while the rail crisis was at its height. The showdown, however, will not be long in coming. The steel workers are expecting to receive substantial wage increases. They have shown their readiness to back their demands by militant action. The capitalists are not kidding themselves about the seriousness of the present labor crisis. The hysterical tone of the kept press underlines their nervousness and apprehension. Their general belief is that Roosevelt's policy of deceit has run its course and that more direct and forceful measures are now required to keep labor "in its place."



# Celebrate the Cuban revolution

## 35 years fighting for socialism . . .

Jan. 1, 1994, marks the 35th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. Citing a deep economic crisis, the ruling rich in the United States and their counterparts around the world are already licking their chops, hopeful that this anniversary will be the last. But the knaves in the White House would best be advised not to celebrate too soon. For the Cuban revolution is still alive. Its example and the socialist consciousness of its fighting toilers remain one of the most important conquests of working people in the 20th century.

When Cuban workers and peasants kicked out U.S.-supported dictator Fulgencio Batista and opened the "Year of Liberation" three and a half decades ago, they faced a mammoth challenge. Most of the wealth, including the sugar plantations and the few factories, were in the hands of U.S. and local capitalists. Seventy-five percent of the land was owned by only 8 percent of the people. One out of four adults could not read or write. In keeping with Cuba's place as a playland for U.S. businessmen, prostitution, gambling, and organized crime were widespread.

But Cuba's working people changed all that. Through massive popular mobilizations they took economic and political power away from the capitalist class and its imperialist masters and began to transform conditions in the country. Education, medical care, and housing became basic rights that all Cubans were entitled to. Big inroads were made against racist and sexist discrimination. The socialist revolution in Cuba and its unparalleled internationalism has inspired fighting workers and peasants

throughout Latin America and the world. In the process, the Cuban people transformed themselves.

Today, Cuba's toilers face the most critical situation in the life of the revolution. A severe economic crisis was brought on by years of copying the economic models of Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and greatly exacerbated by the U.S. economic embargo and the loss of trade with the Soviet-bloc countries. This has led to massive shortages in basic food supplies, fuel, and medicines.

To respond to this crisis, the Cuban leadership has taken steps that place tremendous pressure on the revolution. Moves to greatly increase tourism, expand investment by foreign capitalists, legalize use of the dollar, and open special stores where individual Cubans who have dollars can buy goods that are not readily available for pesos have increased economic differentiation among the Cuban people and led to an inevitable rise in social tensions.

But the soul of Cuba's socialist revolution — the consciousness and fighting spirit of millions of working people for whom "socialism or death" remains a rallying cry — is intact. And working people in Cuba have a revolutionary leadership capable of mobilizing them to defend their interests.

Whatever the bosses' class the world over may hope, this anniversary of the Cuban revolution — the first socialist revolution in the Americas — belongs to the working class. It is ours to celebrate and ours to defend.

## . . . that's why Washington won't ease up . . .

From the moment the Cuban toilers smashed Batista's army, the godfathers of the hated dictator began mapping out plans in Washington to crush the new revolutionary government. This campaign of threats and attacks has continued through the administrations of nine U.S. presidents. The wealthy families that rule the United States will not and cannot forgive the Cuban working class for the example it set in carrying out a genuine social revolution.

In the course of the past 35 years, Washington's "cold war" against Cuba has included direct military intervention, nuclear threats, sabotage, attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro and other Cuban leaders, and a brutal trade embargo — all under the guise of defending democracy!

The record is unambiguous.

- In January 1960, just one year after the revolution triumphed, two planes bombed a Havana suburb. They had left Florida a short time earlier. In case anyone doubted Washington's role, on January 17 President Dwight Eisenhower began organizing military training in the United States for counterrevolutionary Cubans.

- In August 1960, a CIA official was told to poison a box of Castro's cigars. This was one of at least eight assassination attempts against the Cuban leader in the first six years of the revolution. These murder attempts were organized at the highest levels. One of John F. Kennedy's mistresses has explained how she used to carry messages with plans against Castro's life between the U.S. president and mafia leader Sam Giancana. Kennedy "never used the word 'assassination,'" she said. "He used the word 'elimination.'"

- Washington imposed a trade ban against Cuba in October 1960. This embargo has been in effect continuously for more than 33 years.

- Six months later Kennedy organized more than 1,400 Cuban exiles to invade the island at the Bay of Pigs. In spite of U.S. military air cover for the operation, tens of thousands of Cuban volunteers crushed the invasion in just 72 hours.

- In 1962, Kennedy brought the world to the brink of nuclear destruction after Soviet nuclear missiles were spotted in Cuba. Washington imposed a full naval blockade of Cuba, mobilized hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops, and made plans for a massive air assault that would have included planes armed with nuclear bombs.

- Seventeen years later another Democratic administration, that of James Carter, escalated the attacks on Cuba with phony reports that Soviet combat troops were on the island. Carter created a new military command post in Key West, Florida, and organized a practice invasion of Cuba by Marines at the U.S.-controlled Guantánamo base — a piece of Cuban soil that Washington has refused to return to this day.

- U.S. president Bill Clinton, cheered by the economic troubles Cuba is facing, believes he has a whip hand and is set on using it. Clinton is not only maintaining the embargo against the island, but, as explained in several recent policy speeches by his assistant secretary of state Alexander Watson, is looking for ways to intensify the pressure. Clinton campaigned for and ensured the passage of the Cuban Democracy Act, which tightens the vise of the embargo and holds a carrot dangling in front of faint-hearts in Cuba who are ready to reach an accommodation with Uncle Sam.

Washington's implacable hatred of the Cuban revolution is rooted in the conquests of the Cuban toilers themselves. It will not go away as long as the socialist revolution survives.

## . . . and the reason to build broad solidarity

From the moment the Cuban revolution triumphed it inspired support among tens of thousands of youth and working people the world over.

In the United States, the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was formed soon after the victory over Batista. It organized broad solidarity activities in defense of the young revolution around the country.

During the October 1962 "missile crisis" thousands joined picket lines, protest meetings, and demonstrations in New York, San Francisco, Washington, D.C. and other cities to denounce the Kennedy administration's actions.

The success of the two U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravans in the last year points to new opportunities today to reach out and involve growing numbers of people, including union activists, farmers, students, small businesspeople, and others, in activities against the embargo and in defense of the socialist revolution.

More than 300 drivers participated in the August caravan, which traveled through 120 U.S. cities and into Mexico collecting material aid for Cuba and participating in educational discussions at every stop. All told, thousands of people across North America pitched in to make the caravan a success, offering churches and stores as drop-off points for aid; collecting bicycles, medical supplies, computers, and other contributions; and organizing public meetings.

The material aid and the solidarity the caravans convey

are important contributions to the struggle of working people in Cuba to defend their revolution. It is only through broad and visible actions — such as the Friendshipment — that opponents of the U.S. trade embargo can influence public opinion in the United States and affect the policy of the U.S. rulers.

Individual acts of courage and moral witness — no matter how sincere — will not make a difference. They carry no weight with the employers and their government.

The starting point for defending the Cuban revolution and broadening public opposition to the embargo must be the political reality that Washington's decades-long war against Cuba will not go away. It reflects the real interests of the U.S. capitalist class, not some temporary policy of one or another administration.

A third Friendshipment is planned for February. Other activities, from construction brigades to speaking tours, if broadly built, can be useful as well. But the Friendshipment offers the broadest opportunity to reach new forces and involve them in an ongoing action campaign against Washington's aggressive and inhumane policies. Making the winter caravan a success should be the priority for every opponent of the U.S. government's campaign against Cuba.

It is also the best celebration of what fellow toilers in Cuba have accomplished during 35 years of fighting to build a society based on human solidarity, not profit.

## London, Dublin talks

Continued from front page

In contrast to the media hype, the declaration was met with little enthusiasm by both Catholic and Protestant working people. The *Observer* newspaper commented, "If the object of the exercise was essentially a public relations one, it has hardly been a roaring success."

### Little enthusiasm among workers

As one worker who is Catholic explained, "When you see the Unionists on television smirking and telling us they're happy enough you begin to think: Right, they are going to screw us aren't they? I want the peace. I could take you to 10 houses right now, and nine of them agree with me. They've had enough."

"This is a lot of eyewash. They're not begin straight with us," said one retired worker on the mainly Protestant Shankill Road.

Another younger worker who has some Catholic friends said he was not opposed to Sinn Féin being drawn into the talks if they give up their arms but was suspicious of the Dublin government's involvement. "I think that means we could get sold down the river."

Some were hopeful. "We have a real chance here, and if people like [Ian] Paisley and [Peter] Robinson will keep their mouths shut, then we can get the peace we all desire," said a worker who is Catholic. Paisley, the leader of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), described the declaration as "treachery." However the DUP has been unable to mobilize any street actions in support of its views.

### Irish capitalism

The Irish rulers stated in the declaration that they would not seek to impose a united Ireland without "the consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland." This means allowing the right-wing minority in Ireland a veto over any constitutional change.

The reasons for this are explained in recent articles in the *Irish Times*, which discuss the consequences of British withdrawal for Irish capitalism. The weak economy of Northern Ireland "now relies for more than a quarter of its income" on a £4 billion (\$6 billion) per year subsidy from the British government.

Major and Reynolds signed the declaration on the same day as the new General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) agreement was finalized. Articles in the Irish press claim that the terms of world trade under the GATT accord will cause increased hardship to farmers in Ireland.

According to the declaration, any settlement negotiated under its terms would "include institutional recognition of the special links that exist between the peoples of Britain and Ireland as part of the totality of relationships, while taking account of newly forged links with the rest of Europe." In other words, the union with Britain would be maintained, while Britain and Ireland also develop closer ties in order to strengthen their hand against rival powers in the European Union.

### IRA campaign doesn't mobilize workers

While the British government, with Dublin's assistance, is seeking to end the IRA's campaign and bring Sinn Féin to the negotiating table, it is not because they confront a mass campaign against partition today. Unlike the apartheid regime in South Africa, they are not forced to negotiate by the mobilization of millions.

To the contrary, the IRA's military campaign treats working people in Ireland as onlookers and in Britain as part of the problem. It is Britain's weakness as a second-rate imperialist power, in a world of increasing competition, that is forcing it to seek new ways to oppress and exploit the workers and farmers of Ireland.

The physical damage done by the IRA's bombing campaign is substantial. It is costly economically and embarrasses the British rulers in front of their rivals. However, this does not advance the mobilization and confidence of working people as the mass campaign strategy of the African National Congress has done.

The declaration attempts to establish the idea that the British government is an honest broker between two different cultures and traditions among working people in Ireland — "loyalists" who wish to remain British and "republicans" who want complete independence for Ireland.

However, the divisions in Ireland stem not from differing cultures but class rule and British domination. In Northern Ireland divisions between working people are deliberately and consistently fostered by the capitalist class in London and Belfast in order to maintain their ability to exploit cheap labor both in Ireland and Britain.

"Loyalism" is a rightist political current based on the relative privileges — crumbs — that were given to workers who are Protestant over their fellow workers who are Catholic. As the economic crisis deepens, these crumbs are less and less available, driving workers who are Protestant and those who are Catholic to see their common interests. This explains why Democratic Unionist leader Paisley is unable, despite his demagoguery, to mobilize on the streets around his rightist program.

The IRA is meanwhile continuing its armed actions. A December 20 explosion in West Belfast injured a soldier and a civilian.



# New Zealand meatpackers reject wage cuts

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

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

Meatpackers at the Canterbury Frozen Meats (CFM) mutton plant in Christchurch, New Zealand, voted to reject company demands for wage and job cuts.

The company demands the

have no choice but to fight. A series of meetings have been held to discuss how to resist the new attacks and workers have voted unanimously to reject the company's demands. □

## New York workers fight USAir terminations

USAir Shuttle sparked protests in mid-November when it replaced 87 fleet service workers with unionized contract workers making one-third as much.

All fleet service crews at LaGuardia Airport in New York, Washington National, and in Boston were axed November 11-12 with no advance notice.

Most of the workers, whose average age is 50, have put in long years of service at the shuttle and its prede-

cessors, the Trump Shuttle and Eastern Airlines. Twenty-two who were over 55 accepted an early retirement offer. The rest received a maximum of 15 weeks severance pay.

Although not members of any union for the past two years, they were working under terms of a contract negotiated in 1989 by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) with Trump Shuttle. The layoffs got prominent coverage in New York newspapers. It turns out that just a year ago two of the workers, Fred Nickell and James May, received awards for heroism following the crash of USAir Flight 405 at LaGuardia. On March 22, 1992, Nickell and May reached the crash site before emergency vehicles arrived and started pulling people from the burning wreckage.

New York *Newsday* ran a large front page headline appealing for support to save the jobs of Nickell and May. Many readers and survivors of the crash condemned the firings.

Some of the workers have set up informational pickets at LaGuardia to enlist support to save

all of the jobs. The replacement contract workers from Hudson General Corp. are IAM members whose starting pay is \$4.50 per hour. □

## Steelworkers strike at Ohio coil plant

Steelworkers set up picket lines outside Servisteel Corp. in Sheffield, Ohio, December 7 after voting to reject a proposed contract.

The 40 workers at the steel coil processing plant are seeking their second contract with the company since organizing themselves into Local 6985-2 of the United Steelworkers of America three years ago.

William Board, who has worked at the plant for seven years, and serves on the negotiating committee, said that after working with a federal mediator, agreement was reached on a contract proposal. "But the membership wasn't happy with it and it was voted down," he said.

Workers are opposing cuts in overtime pay, insurance, and medical coverage. Pete Holcomb, a maintenance worker at the plant, said local members are also upset about inadequate safety and training procedures. "I can document 25-30 cases of new employees being sent to the hospital with major cuts or breaks due to insufficient training," he stated. □

## Pittsburgh glass workers vote to accept offer

Members of the Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers (ABG) Local 12 at PPG Industries in Creighton, Pennsylvania, voted by



Militant/Scott Breen  
Marcia George, vice-chair of Association of Professional Flight Attendants at American Airlines in Seattle, speaking at a recent Militant Labor Forum there on labor resistance today. Seated is Guy Blue, member of International Association of Machinists Local 2202 at Alaska Airlines. "What we saw," during the flight attendants strike at American, said George, "was like someone living in a battering situation, an abusive situation, and all of a sudden they say, 'No more. I'm not taking it anymore,' and they walk."

a narrow margin to accept a contract offer and return to work, ending a seven-month battle.

The union won wage increases and forced the company to modify some of its demands on health care, which now include copayments and workers' contributions for insurance. The union also held off concessions on work rules and overtime pay, according to Steve Hloznik, the outgoing president of ABG Local 12.

"We're not happy with this contract but we felt we got what we could get," said Hloznik. "We go in stronger than before."

PPG said it will call half the workers back immediately and the others in the spring when it resumes operating a second production line. □

## New Zealand truckers protest bosses' demands

Forty people picketed the New Zealand Couriers Ltd. main Auckland depot December 13 to protest the company's proposed new national contract for its drivers.

The company is demanding the right to charge pay rates on seven days notice. The bosses also want to be able to call drivers to work at any time, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

New Zealand Couriers is the country's largest courier company. A majority of its drivers are represented by the New Zealand Owner Operators Association (NZOOA). □

The following people contributed to this week's column: Stuart Needham, member of New Zealand Meat Workers Union in Christchurch; David Welters, member of IAM in New York City; Don Mackle, member of USWA Local 6037 in Cleveland; Bill Scheer in Pittsburgh; and Janet Roth, member of United Food, Beverage, and General Workers Union in Auckland, New Zealand.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

slashing of slaughterhouse laborers' pay by \$NZ105 (US\$59) a week, and up to \$155 in some cases. They want to ax 15 out of 40 jobs in the freezers and approximately 12 jobs in the fellmongery [where meat byproducts are derived]. Bagging gang workers [those who cover lamb carcasses in bags prior to going into freezers] face a 35 percent wage cut. Job losses and reductions in overtime payments are threatened in 3 other departments.

Workers are angry at the savagery of these takeback demands, coming right after the company's owner — Primary Producers Co-operative Society (PPCS) — announced the second-highest profits in its history.

In the last decade CFM-PPCS has wrung major concessions from workers at the plant without facing much resistance. Extending the workday has made it possible for the company to halve the workforce while maintaining the same daily levels of stock that's to be killed and processed.

Many workers argue that these demands are so harsh that they

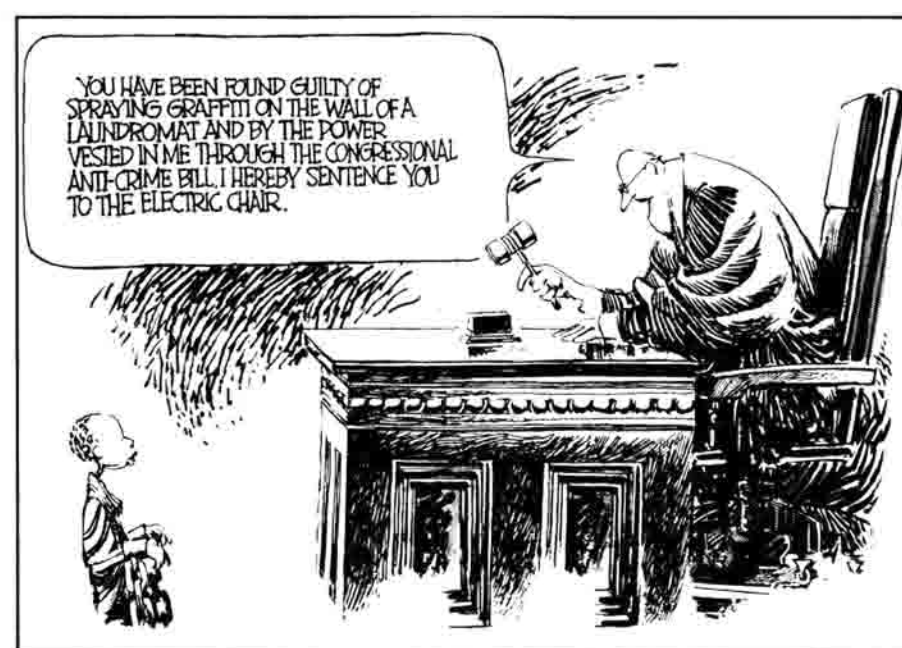
## —LETTERS—

### Wrongly convicted

Recently an inaugural fund-raising luncheon was held in Toronto for the Association In Defence Of The Wrongly Convicted. One of those involved is Joyce Milgaard, whose son David was released from prison in 1992 after serving 23 years on the basis of a false murder conviction.

The keynote speaker at the luncheon, Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, shared something in common with David Milgaard. He was the top contender for the middleweight boxing championship of the world in 1966 when he and a companion, John Artis, were framed up for the murder of 3 people at a bar in Paterson, New Jersey. Carter spent a total of 19 years in prison. Since his release, he has been living in Canada where he has followed the case of David Milgaard and others.

"People say that everyone in prison claims they're innocent," said Carter. "You hear that, but there's no place in prison for innocence. The fastest way out is to admit guilt. There is no advantage to maintaining your innocence. If you do, you pay a heavy price. It means no chance for parole. It means no chance for me, no chance for Donald Marshall, [A Micmac Indian who spent 11 years in a Canadian jail on false charges] no chance for David Milgaard. It meant we were showing no remorse. It meant we were not being rehabilitated. It meant we were refusing to come to terms with the



crimes that we did not commit."

Carter's comments certainly describe the experience of Mark Curtis, whose frame-up on rape and burglary charges has been covered in the pages of the *Militant*.

The determination of people like David Milgaard, Donald Marshall, Hurricane Carter, Mark Curtis, and their supporters to stand up for their rights and fight to clear their names helps expose the injustices of the capitalist judicial system and can inspire others to follow in their footsteps.

Jim Upton  
Montreal, Quebec

### Irish prisoners

As someone deeply concerned about the people of Ireland we appeal to you on behalf of families in Ireland who are urgently in need of financial and moral assistance. We are specifically concerned with the needs of the families of Irish Prisoners of War who are the victims of the daily violence of injustice, oppression, intimidation, and the violence of being torn apart as a family, by a government totally devoid of the most basic humanitarian concern for Irish men, Irish women, or Irish children.

By the use of random arrests, long

remand periods before trial, harassment during prison visits, and the refusal to repatriate overseas prisoners nearer to their families, the Government has in effect done its best to break up the family unit and inflict severe punishment and hardship on innocent families — the entire family is sentenced along with the prisoner.

Please write to the London and Dublin governments demanding they stop the barbaric treatment of innocent Irish families. Send letters, resolutions, etc. to: The Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds, Leinster House, Dublin; The Rt. Hon. John Major, Prime Minister, 10 Downing Street, London SW1 2AA.

Support the Lifeline, PO Box 113, Lagrangeville, NY 12540 — providing regular financial and emotional aid to Irish POW's and their families through An Cumann Cabhrach & Green Cross.

Patsy Mulvey  
Lifeline  
Lagrangeville, New York

### Science and technology

Should working people trust science and technology? Is there a

ghost in the scientific and technological machine which renders science and technology untrustworthy?

The billionaire rulers make sure that scientists remain ignorant of the role the U.S. government plays in the world and of the nature of imperialism. A few scientists are not ignorant of capitalism and the U.S. government yet support the billionaire rulers 100 percent.

Our lives are completely tied to the science and technology of capitalism. We should enjoy the benefits of science and technology yet recognize that there is a ghost in the machine. It will be left to socialist science to get rid of the ghost.

Dan Kabat  
Portland, Oregon

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.



## Iowa jury convicts cop in beating, awards victim one dollar damages

BY ANDREW PULLEY

DES MOINES, Iowa — On December 22 a federal civil court jury found Des Moines police officer Thomas Heller guilty of violating the civil rights of Larry Milton by using excessive force in beating him on the night of Dec. 28, 1991. The jury awarded Milton, a worker who is Black, one dollar in damages.

Milton had called the police two years ago because he feared for his safety. Three cops showed up. They beat him nearly to death, opening a wound in his head that required 22 metal stitches to close. When the cops took him to the hospital emergency room, Milton heard someone tell him, "Welcome to Broadlawn, nigger, you're going to die tonight."

Heller was the only cop convicted of brutalizing Milton. This followed dramatic court testimony in which Milton's lawyer, Alfredo Parrish, forced Heller to demonstrate how he brought an oversized police flashlight down on Milton's head time after time. Bruce Bergman, lead city attorney, urged Judge Charles Wolle to keep this testimony from the jury but was overruled. Heller testified that he knew that each of the eight blows to Milton's head was delivered with killing force.

The beating of Milton evoked a hailstorm of protest in the early months of 1992. Meetings of thousands took place in churches in the Black community, drawing working people from all parts of the city. Hundreds mobilized at city council meetings and special hearings to demand that the cops be indicted and prosecuted for the savage beating.

### Character assassination

Cops and city government officials attempted to answer these protests with character assassination. Milton had been drinking and had used crack cocaine, they argued.

In response, thousands took up the slogan "No excuse," explaining that there was no reason that could justify such brutality.

After a few weeks, however, protests and mobilizations subsided as church leaders and political figures in the Black community called off further actions and attempted to

lead the outcry into support for a governmental police review board.

As the protests abated, a number of government bodies — from the cops' own internal affairs department to the county grand jury to the state Ombudsman's Office — ruled that the cop beating was justified.

Milton himself, on the other hand, was charged with public intoxication and interfering with an official act after being beaten. He was convicted and sentenced to probation and "community service."

"I'm just glad I got justice," Milton told the press after the verdict ended the poorly attended trial. Only family members and a handful of supporters turned up to back Milton's effort. "Cops have left me afraid and scared for the rest of my life," he said.

This court ruling against Heller was the first time any official body had found the cops responsible for brutalizing Milton.

However, the jury did not follow up its ruling with a commensurate award of damages. Instead, they awarded Milton an insulting \$1 in damages for the pain and suffering at the hands of the police.

### Verdict sparks discussion

Since the court ruling a wide discussion has opened up in Des Moines on the verdict.

Parrish told the press that he considered the verdict "a total victory for the minority community." He dismissed the tiny damage award, claiming that the suit was "a matter of principle, not money."

"The person who struck the blows was found to have used excessive force," said



Larry Milton after brutal 1991 beating by Iowa cops

NAACP president Sam Woods, an executive with the AMOCO Oil Co. "It sends a signal to other officers who would use excessive force."

At the same time, representatives of the police also claimed victory. "We view this as a big victory for the Des Moines Police Department," Assistant Chief Nick Brown told the media. "My main concern," said Heller "was that Larry Milton not get any money. He didn't deserve any money for the position he put the officers in."

In reporting the debate over the verdict, the *Des Moines Register* interviewed William Kutmus, a well-known area attorney who earlier won a brutality suit against the cops on behalf of imprisoned union and political activist Mark Curtis, who is serving a 25-year sentence after being framed up by the police on rape and burglary charges.

"It doesn't make sense to me, but I wasn't in the jury room," Kutmus said. "I mean, that man was damaged and I suspect he was damaged more than one dollar's worth."

Jonathan Narcisse, editor of the *Communicator*, a weekly newspaper oriented to the Black community, said on his regular radio program that the focus of protest should have been kept on the cops. He argued that the verdict against Heller should be used now to demand a federal civil rights indictment as well as his dismissal from the police force.

Mike Galati, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for City Council and packinghouse worker in Marshalltown, Iowa, said, "I'm glad that Heller was finally found guilty of brutalizing Larry Milton. I believe that we should use this verdict to press for federal charges being brought against the cop. And I hope Milton's lawyer, Alfredo Parrish, is awarded substantial attorney's fees by the court to strengthen the ruling holding Heller guilty."

"It will only be a new round of public mobilizations that can make this verdict build upon the victory won by Mark Curtis and bring further gains against police brutality," Galati added.

## News conference celebrates victory of machinist against gov't intimidation

BY JIM ALTENBERG

ALAMEDA, California — "Today I am proud to announce victory in this case of attempted government intimidation," Milton Chee said at a well-attended news conference in front of Alameda Naval Air Station December 22.

Chee, a member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1584 and the Socialist Workers Party, is employed by the federal government as a sheet metal mechanic at the naval base. He was targeted by the federal Office of Special Counsel (OSC) for allegedly violating the Hatch Act. This thought-control legislation restricts federal employees' political rights. Chee has been an outspoken opponent of U.S. imperialist interventions abroad.

OSC investigators accused Chee of violating the act when he ran in the nonpartisan race for San Francisco Board of Supervisors in the 1992 elections. The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee endorsed Chee's campaign, which made the race partisan and thus a violation of the act, according to the OSC.

On November 23 the government agency told Chee in a letter it would not seek disciplinary action against him.

"The IAM feels that the Hatch Act is a violation of a person's rights to run for office and/or be politically involved as long as it does not interfere with the individual's job," said John McKee at the press conference. McKee is chief shop steward of IAM Local 1584 at the Alameda depot.

"What an individual does on his time off is his/her business, not the government's,"

said McKee. "The Hatch Act needs to be abolished, not reformed."

"Mr. Chee was still found in violation of the Hatch Act by OSC," continued the union activist. "The threat is still there," he said, even though the government decided not to take disciplinary action at the moment. The OSC letter maintained that Chee was guilty of violating the Hatch Act and warned the aircraft mechanic that he will be disciplined for similar political activities in the future.

"They claim I was guilty," said Chee. "I deny any guilt whatsoever and will be re-

sponding to their assertions."

"But the decision not to pursue disciplinary action is not only my victory, but also a victory for my coworkers who stood with me and were justifiably outraged by this attack," continued Chee. "It is a victory for every worker covered by the Hatch Act. It is a victory for my union whose support was crucial."

Press conference chairperson Ellen Berman, a member of the United Auto Workers, announced that a celebration of Chee's victory was set for January 8.

## Protests in Australia force review of youth's death in police custody

BY LEE WALKINGTON

SYDNEY, Australia — Demonstrations took place across Australia following the death in police custody of an 18-year-old Aboriginal youth November 7 in Brisbane, the state capital of Queensland. The public protests have forced authorities to set up an inquiry to investigate the case.

Already, witnesses have testified that police beat Daniel Yock when they arrested him in the Brisbane suburb of West End and were slow to obtain medical assistance for him when he went into a coma soon after his arrest.

Yock was well known as a member of the Wakka Wakka Aboriginal dance group. The night following Yock's death, police clashed with about 100 Aborigines who had sponta-

neously marched on police headquarters in Brisbane demanding the arresting cops be tried for murder. As anger at the youth's death and subsequent police violence spread, Aboriginal leaders responded by calling for a national day of action to protest the killing.

More than 4,000 people marched November 17 in both the capital and Rockhampton, a city 500 miles north. These were the biggest demonstrations for Aboriginal rights to take place in Australia in the last five years. The same day, many hundreds more demonstrated against racist police brutality in Sydney, Melbourne, and in regional towns across Queensland.

Thirty-six Aborigines have died in police custody in the last three years.

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- "U.S. Class Struggle and Independent Political Action," by Tom Leonard, longtime leader, Socialist Workers Party
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