

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Argentine 'miracle': a nightmare for workers

— PAGES 8-9

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U.S. fighter jets down four planes over Bosnia

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Washington's military machine entered the fray in the former Yugoslavia for the first time February 28. Warplanes shot down four fighters flown by pilots linked to the Serbian regime in Belgrade. The U.S. pilots flying U.S. F-16s received clearance to shoot from U.S. Air Force Lt. Gen. James Chambers. Chambers commands a NATO center in Vicenza, Italy. The action marked the first time combat was carried out under NATO auspices.

U.S. officials said they were acting to enforce a "no-fly" zone imposed over Bosnia by the United Nations in April, 1993. Military officials say the Belgrade-backed forces in Bosnia have violated the zone more than 1,000 times. Despite the highly-touted NATO airstrike threat that called for artillery to be outside a 12-mile radius around Sarajevo, news reports indicate tanks are moving throughout the area.

The rightists' planes, six aging Jastrebs, took off from an airfield in Bosnia and were heading for a munitions factory. U.S. pilots blew four of them to pieces with guided missiles.

The Clinton administration was quick to claim that the move demonstrated its resolve, while at the same time downplaying the idea that Washington would escalate its

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Hundreds in U.S. cities greet Cuba aid caravan

Convoys of cars, trucks, and buses from across the United States and Canada are making their way to Laredo, Texas, carrying material aid to Cuba. They make up the Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment, a project initiated by Pastors for Peace. Altogether, drivers on the 13 caravan routes will stop in some 140 cities along the road, speaking out against the U.S. embargo and collecting aid.

From Laredo, the caravan will cross into Mexico and link up with solidarity activists there. The drivers will take the aid to Tampico, Mexico, where it will be shipped to Cuba. Caravan participants will fly to Cuba to help distribute the aid.

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT — Opponents of the U.S. embargo against Cuba won a victory February 26 when Friendshipment participants from Ontario, Canada, were allowed to carry aid for Cuba across the border here without hindrance. A week earlier caravans successfully crossed the U.S.-Canada border in Blaine, Washington, and Swanton, Vermont, to join the Friendshipment. Two hundred people on the U.S. and 50 people on the Canadian side of the Detroit-Windsor Tunnel braved 20-degree temperatures to welcome the convoy from Toronto, London, and Windsor, Ontario.

Almost 100 people in 27 vehicles crossed

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Palestinians protest West Bank massacre

BY GREG ROSENBERG

The West Bank and Gaza Strip exploded with anger following the brutal massacre of at least 40 Palestinians at the Cave of the Patriarchs shrine in the West Bank city of Hebron February 25. The slaughter marked the bloodiest day in the occupied territories in 27 years — since the Zionist regime seized the areas by force of arms in 1967. The assault and subsequent government repression cast even more doubt over the faltering negotiations between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and the Israeli regime.

PLO spokesperson Abed Rabbo said February 28 that his organization's key demands for resumption of negotiations were an international presence in the occupied territories, disarmament of all Jewish settlers in Gaza and the West Bank, barring settlers from Palestinian cities, and dismantling some settlements, in particular Kiryat Arba, home to the settler who assaulted worshippers at the Cave of the Patriarchs.

Demonstrations and other protests broke out rapidly throughout the territories. Significantly, Arabs living within Israeli borders also poured into the streets to vent their anger and demand that the Israeli government shut down its settlements in the West Bank and Gaza at once. Tel Aviv reacted to the protests with police repression.

Gunman Baruch Goldstein, a U.S.-born doctor and a leader of ultrarightist groupings associated with the late Zionist ideologue Meir Kahane, began the assault in the early morning of February 25. Outfitted in his Israeli army reserves uniform, Goldstein strolled past army regulars and opened fire with his Galil automatic rifle on Arabs knelt in prayer inside the mosque.

PLO chairman Yasir Arafat immediately accused the army of collaboration with Goldstein, who lived in the nearby Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba, a heavily fortified encampment. The army has yet to explain



Protests shook West Bank, Gaza, and Israel in week following massacre in Hebron.

how a lone gunman, firing 111 rounds before he was killed by some of his intended victims, could kill at least 40 and injure 150 people.

"There were three massacres in one that day," said Palestinian journalist Ziad Abbas in a telephone interview from Bethlehem. "Twenty minutes after the attack in the mosque, soldiers opened fire on people trying to help the wounded. Five more were killed. An hour and a half later, outside al-Ahli hospital in Hebron, soldiers opened fire again on people who had come to donate blood, which was in short supply. They

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Socialist conference in Miami draws youth, workers

BY SETH GALINSKY

MIAMI, Florida — More than 100 people attended a regional socialist educational conference here February 19-20. Conference guests came from Birmingham, Alabama; Atlanta; Houston; and San Juan, Puerto Rico. More than half the participants were from several cities in Florida.

The meeting brought together unionists, activists in the fight against the U.S. embargo of Cuba, young people who have helped defend abortion clinics, and others who were interested in learning

Youth Organizing Committee issues call to build a 'movement of socialist youth,' urges participation in April 1-3 educational weekend in Chicago

more about socialism. There were at least 14 students present, including 1 junior high school and 5 high school students. All conference sessions were simultaneously translated into French, Spanish, or both.

The gathering opened with a talk by Mary-Alice Waters titled "The Cuban Revolution Faces a Crossroad in the Fight for Socialism." Waters had just returned from Cuba, where she participated in a Latin America and Caribbean solidarity conference, talked with many workers, farmers, and others there, and attended the opening days of the Sixth International Havana Book Fair. Her presentation sparked a lot of discussion.

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Private investment increases in Third World countries

A February 23 World Bank report noted a private investment boom in developing countries and a reduction in public investment, such as the building of roads and schools. The report said the decline in public investment was partly due to privatization of state-owned industry, other restructuring, and debt payments. Direct foreign investment into Third World countries doubled between 1991 and 1993 from \$25 billion to roughly \$50 billion, according to Guy Pfeffermann, chief economist for the World Bank's International Finance Corporation.

The largest sums of money are devoted to private investment in Asia. In Thailand such investment amounted to 31.6 percent of everything produced in 1992. Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico all reached about 15 percent. Pfeffermann pointed out that although there was a slight increase in production in Mexico in 1993, the average income there actually declined.

Beijing to pay farmers more

The Chinese government announced plans to increase its purchasing quotas and raise the price it pays farmers for their cotton crop in an attempt to curb falling production. Cotton yields in China have dropped dramatically in the past two years due to bad weather, a boll worm infestation, and an exodus of farmers from the land. Some peasants are holding onto their cotton waiting for prices to rise.

Farmers harvested 4.1 million tons of cotton in 1993, 500,000 tons less than the previous year. Many textile factories have suspended operations and increased cotton imports to counter the shortage.

Profits of U.S. corporations rise

Six hundred seventy-four major U.S. corporations reported their net income surged in the fourth quarter of 1993 by 61 percent from the 1992 quarter. After-tax profits from continuing operations also rose, gaining 38 percent. "The efforts made by corporate

'Militant' can now receive photographs via modem



Thousands of metal workers in Germany at February 9 protest to demand wage increases and to protest benefit cuts. Sign reads "hands off vacation pay." The protest was part of an ongoing series of warning strikes that began after contract talks broke off in January. The above photo, taken at a march in Russelheim, was sent to the *Militant* via computer. Correspondents worldwide can now send scanned photos as graphics files through CompuServe.

America to become lean and mean will pay off in a big way," Edward Yardeni of C.J. Lawrence said.

Lacy Hunt, chief economist of Carroll McEntee and McGinley, noted that increases in labor productivity have contributed to increased unemployment, which in turn has allowed companies to keep wages low. Unit labor costs rose only 1.9 percent in 1993, he said, the smallest increase in almost a decade.

School settles over strip searches

The New Castle School District in Pennsylvania settled out of court with six Ben Franklin Junior High School students who protested being strip searched. School officials

claim the search was justified because the boys were suspected of using drugs. No drugs were found. The terms of the settlement were not disclosed but the school's attorney said the district will continue to conduct the strip searches.

Georgia flag won't fly in stadium

The board that governs Atlanta-Fulton County Stadium voted unanimously to stop flying the Georgia state flag because its design includes the confederate battle emblem. The racist stars and bars were introduced into the flag's design in 1956 in a gesture of defiance at the fight to desegregate Southern schools.

Mistrial in nuke worker's suit

A mistrial was declared in the damage suit of an inspector who got cancer after working at the San Onofre nuclear power plant in San Diego County, California. The jury deadlocked 7 to 2 in favor of Rung Tang, who worked at the plant from 1985 to 1986. The plant was plagued with defective fuel rods and microscopic bits of radioactive material called fuel fleas. One juror told reporters a majority of the jurors were convinced Tang was exposed to dangerous levels of radiation and that the company showed callous disregard for workers' safety. A new trial is scheduled for March 1. Tang's lawyer said she would consider a settlement to avoid a second trial.

Ottawa probes tainted blood

Mark Bulbrook, a former radio reporter, told investigators February 23 that doctors may have known Canada's blood supply was tainted with HIV at least two years before they did anything about it. A doctor at McMaster University told Bulbrook during a 1983 interview that the HIV virus that causes AIDS was a problem in the country's blood supply. That same year, more than half of the hemophiliacs surveyed in Montreal showed early signs of AIDS. The panel is exploring how at least 1,000 people in Canada got AIDS from tainted blood in the early 1980s. More than 1 million people received transfusions from 1978 until the Red Cross started screening blood donations for HIV in 1985.

U.S. trade with Haiti up

U.S. trade with Haiti rose sharply in 1993 despite an international embargo supporters claim was intended to force Haiti's military to step down and restore ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Washington has maintained an exemption that allows goods produced in Haiti from U.S. materials into the United States. Imports from Haiti rose to \$154.3 million last year from \$107 million in 1992. U.S. exports to Haiti also rose to \$221.3 million in 1993, up from \$209.2 million the year before.

More than 50 U.S. companies continue to trade with Haiti, according to officials of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Clothing and baseballs are among the biggest imports from the Caribbean country.

Angolan gov't devalues currency

The Angolan government devalued its currency, the kwanza, in late February to 17,836 to the U.S. dollar. Further devaluations are expected until the official exchange rate matches the black market rate of 120,000 to the dollar. The measure is part of an economic package — including price reforms and pay raises — aimed at easing social tension in the country. Military assaults by the Union for the Total Independence of Angola have contributed to the devastation of the economy and a rise in annual inflation to 1,200 percent.

Paris tightens language law

Paris moved to tighten a French language law that would jail or fine advertisers who use foreign words or expressions when French ones exist. The measure was approved by Premier Edouard Balladur's cabinet February 23 and will go to the National Assembly in the coming months. The law would impose a six-month jail sentence and a \$8,500 penalty on anyone preventing enforcement. No decision has been made on the amount due in fines per infraction.

— PAT SMITH

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Peasants in Mexico fight for land, rights

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Since the appearance of the Zapatista guerrilla movement in the southern state of Chiapas electrified Mexico's political scene two months ago, dozens of groups of peasants and workers around the country have escalated their struggles for land, jobs, and rights. They are taking advantage of the apparent weakness of the government, whose representatives are now engaged in negotiations with the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in an effort to quell the conflict in Chiapas.

Peasants marched in at least a dozen towns throughout Chiapas, pressing for the removal of local authorities and other demands. "By grace, the Zapatistas have opened our eyes," said Miguel Hernández, 36, a corn farmer in the village of Teopisca. "We do not know them, but we must thank them. Before, we did not have the valor to do this."

One thousand angry peasants poured into downtown Teopisca February 7. They placed the mayor under virtual house arrest and seized the town hall, vowing not to leave until the government met their demands for farm credits and better public services.

'Peasants have awakened'

Braulio Gutiérrez, 35, said that until now peasants had not staged such protests for fear of government reprisals. "But now we know what is possible," he declared. Gutiérrez, a schoolteacher, organized the protest together with leaders of an *ejido*, a communally owned farm.

"They have gotten us very accustomed to the lies," said Felipe Oseguera, a 56-year-old corn farmer. Authorities say, "I will give you roads. I will give you land. I will give you everything, but you have to vote for me." When they get into office, they forget us, and we continue more wretched than ever. The peasants have awakened now. Things are no

longer as they were before."

Near the village of Simojovel, also in Chiapas, peasants took over five ranches, demanding the return of land stolen by wealthy ranchers as well as financial and technical aid.

In San Cristóbal de las Casas, site of the ongoing government negotiations with the EZLN, a dozen federal congressmen agreed to meet with a group of 580 Tzotzil Indians protesting abuses by local landlords and political bosses.

Accustomed to being treated with deference, the stunned legislators were given a dressing-down by one farmer after another who took the floor to demand solutions to their long-ignored grievances. "If you don't solve the problem, will we have to go to Subcommander Marcos?" asked protest leader Domingo López to thunderous applause from the other peasants. Subcommander Marcos is the main EZLN spokesperson.

When some of the congressmen tried to sneak away, dozens of peasants blocked their way and forced the shaken politicians to stay till the end of the meeting.

Thousands of teachers marched February 11 in Los Altos de Chiapas demanding the right to elect their union representatives, the right to demonstrate free of repression, and better wages.

Protests from north to south

Meanwhile, thousands of small farmers



Peasants in Teopisca demand farm credits, better public services, and resignation of the mayor.

demonstrated in the northern state of Chihuahua February 24, occupying two big banks. Expressing support for the Zapatistas, they demanded the banks end farm foreclosures and resume credit to local farmers, who are suffering from low prices for their products.

Farmers affiliated to El Barzón, a national organization of 200,000 peasants and farm workers, staged bank takeovers in the states

of Zacatecas, Jalisco, Durango, Colima, Michoacán, San Luis Potosí, and Sinaloa.

Some 400 peasants who grow sugarcane in the Pacific coastal state of Michoacán demanded February 8 that the government reopen the state-owned Puruaran sugar mill, which was shut down a year ago. Otherwise, they warned, they would muster hundreds of Purepecha Indians in the area and join the EZLN.

Close to 1,000 members of the Democratic Peasant Union marched for land rights in Torreón, in the northern state of Coahuila. In the central state of Puebla, another 3,000 people marched through the town of Tehuiztzingo to protest the lack of democratic rights. In both places, peasants asked the EZLN to intercede on their behalf.

In addition, many of the 100,000 residents of Juchitán, in the southern state of Oaxaca, rallied in late January in support of the people of neighboring Chiapas.

So far, Oaxaca has been relatively quiet. But "if, in Chiapas, answers are not found," said Agustín Olivera, a Zapotec Indian who monitors human rights violations among coffee growers in the state, "it will provoke a greater conflict not only in Oaxaca but in Guerrero, or Veracruz, or Puebla, or any other state where the indigenous people and the field workers are just as poor as in Chiapas."

The peasant struggles have won widespread support from urban workers in Mexico, spurring one group of laid-off oil workers to invoke the Zapatista example in their fight to regain their jobs. In Mexico City and other cities, protesters have held rallies and marches to press the government to answer demands for economic aid, redistribution of land, and better conditions for the Indian population.

At the same time, human rights groups have denounced assaults by the "white guards," landlord-sponsored death squads that have reemerged in Chiapas in response to the peasant struggles. In early February, six journalists were attacked by a gang of youth who were identified as sons of wealthy ranchers. The thugs accused the media of being partial to the guerrillas.

In the town of Altamirano, which was briefly held by the EZLN in January, 60-70 ranchers and their supporters rallied to denounce the cease-fire between the army and guerrillas, complaining that Zapatistas had ransacked their property.

The ranchers gathered outside the Catholic Church-run San Carlos Hospital and threatened violence unless 10 nuns, whom they accused of being Zapatista sympathizers, left immediately. In response, the government sent in scores of army troops and riot police.

Juan Villagómez from Los Angeles contributed to this article.

Palestinians protest Hebron massacre

Continued from front page
killed four Palestinians and wounded 20-25."

Protests rock Israel, territories

Demonstrations spread throughout the occupied territories and into Israel itself. Within Israeli borders in the town of Rahat troops fired on protesters and killed 22-year-old Mohammed Abu Jamar. In Nazareth, Israel's largest Arab town, windows were smashed on Israeli buses. In Jaffa, the Arab half of Tel Aviv, spontaneous demonstrations broke out. Some 800,000 Arabs live inside Israel — about one-fifth of the population. Sixty-four percent of all Palestinian families in Israel live below the poverty line and are victims of all sorts of discrimination.

Residents of Gaza observed a three-day general strike. Every door was shuttered, and youths built roadblocks out of rusting mattresses, old refrigerators, and trash containers.

"There were demonstrations by Israelis in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv on February 25," said Yifat Susskind in a telephone interview. Susskind works with the Hebron Solidarity Committee, which is raising urgently needed medical relief for Hebron hospitals in the wake of the massacre. She reported that several hundred turned out for each action, and that the Israeli peace group Gush Shalom was planning more demonstrations.

Tel Aviv clamped down on the territories with a 24-hour curfew. By February 27, a total of 65 Palestinians had been killed, including those murdered in Hebron. Abbas reported that 56 people were left in critical condition. "Many of them will die," he said.

Jewish settlements

The Israeli regime has promoted the construction of 144 Jewish settlements with a population numbering 130,000 among 1.7 million Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories. These areas are often heavily fortified and defended by the Israeli military. Jewish settlers are issued Uzi submachine guns by the army.

Settlers control 55 percent of the land in the West Bank and Gaza and most of

the water resources. The September accords between the PLO and Tel Aviv left control of these areas in the hands of the Israeli army.

After 1967, the Zionist regime began wholesale expropriations of Palestinian land. By 1991, Tel Aviv had expropriated some 65 percent of the West Bank and nearly 50 percent of the Gaza strip. Much of the confiscated land was turned over to settlers. The barbed-wire enclosed settlements are often built on hilltops overlooking Palestinian villages.

The enclaves have been a magnet for ultrarightist groups, especially those linked to Kahane Chai and Kach, the organizations founded by Meir Kahane, whose U.S. affiliate is the right-wing thug outfit known as the Jewish Defense League.

At the funeral for Goldstein, the presiding rabbi declared that "one million Arabs are not worth a Jewish fingernail."

In a recent interview published by the *New York Post*, Goldstein said "Arabs are like an epidemic. . . . We must drive them out."

PLO-Israel accords

Many Palestinians view the massacre as proof that the accord negotiated by Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin does not go very far in protecting their interests. The agreement, which was supposed to open limited Palestinian self-rule, was originally to go into effect on Dec. 13, 1993.

"People are demanding that Arafat resign and that the PLO stop negotiating," said Abbas. "They don't trust the Israeli government and they don't trust the settlers. They want this [Goldstein's massacre] condemned."

"What the PLO has lost," said Abbas, " Hamas is taking." Hamas is a group that relies on radical demagoguery in vying with the PLO for leadership of the Palestinian liberation movement.

The capitalist regimes of Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon said they were breaking off talks with Tel Aviv scheduled for the first week in March.

"The real obstacle to peace is and is always going to be the settlers," said PLO negotiator Nabil Shaath.

Thabo Mbeki, international affairs director of the African National Congress of South Africa, told an audience of about 1,000 people near Cape Town that "we have to continue supporting the emancipation of the Palestinian people." The gathering held a moment of silence for those killed in the massacre. He said the ANC would take "responsibility to support [the Palestinian struggle] to regain their legitimate rights and to achieve their objectives."

In response to widespread condemnation of the massacre, the Israeli government ordered the "administrative detention" of five rightist settlers it says are members or sympathizers of the Kach and Kahane Chai groups. Administrative detention — arrest without charges — has been a common tactic used by Tel Aviv against the Palestinians. So far, only one of the settlers has been taken into custody. The government also says it is considering disarming other settlers and banning some rightist groups. Rabin said he was "shamed" by the killings. But Tel Aviv rejected calls for the expulsion of the settlements from the territories.

In another effort to quell the protests, Tel Aviv released 596 Palestinian prisoners. The Israeli government, however, says it is holding more than 9,000 Palestinians.

The Clinton administration attempted to get negotiations restarted rapidly in Washington. The U.S. president claimed that "extremists on both sides" could derail talks.

Washington lashed out at UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali for suggesting that the United Nations send observers to the occupied territories. Tel Aviv has expressed virulent opposition to this notion. Washington also worked to derail a resolution condemning the massacre in the UN Security Council.

Bourgeois commentators, while officially condemning the massacre, have gone out of their way to paint Goldstein in a sympathetic light. "Killer 'was the kindest man — he wouldn't hurt a cat. He had simply treated too many intifada victims,'" said one headline in Britain's *Financial Times*.

Meeting celebrates new book of speeches by Nelson Mandela

BY GREG McCARTAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "I encourage everyone here to purchase *Nelson Mandela Speaks*. Take the book, continue to struggle, and draw on the ideas in the book both in South Africa and here in the United States," said Ron Walters, chairman of the Political Science Department at Howard University.

Walters opened the February 10 national book launching here of *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging A Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*, published by Pathfinder Press last November.

Pathfinder, the African National Congress Mission to the United States, and a range of professors and student organizations at Howard cosponsored the meeting, along with Roberta McLeod, director of the Blackburn Center where the book launching was held.

Keynote speakers at the meeting were Steve Clark, editor of the book, and ANC representative Madala Mthembu. Also speaking were Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women; Amos Midzi, Zimbabwe's ambassador to the United States, who represented the Frontline States; Abdellatif Rayan of the Palestine Affairs Center; Brian Parker, president of the Howard chapter of the NAACP; Rhonda Williams, a student activist; and Pire Roger Désir of the Anglican Center on Haiti based in Port-au-Prince.

In a message to the meeting, Howard University president Franklyn Jenifer wrote, "It is with great pride that I welcome you to this celebration of the publication" of the new book by the central leader of the African National Congress.

Jenifer noted the meeting was part of South Africa Day at the university, which featured workshops and a fundraising social for the ANC election campaign. Mayor Sharon Kelly also issued a proclamation declaring February 10 South Africa Day. The workshops and meetings marked the fourth anniversary of Mandela's unconditional release from prison in 1990.

Book provides 'keen insights'

Jenifer said the speeches and interviews in the book "provide keen insights into the movement to dismantle the barriers of apartheid and build a democratic, nonracial South Africa."

In the weeks prior to the meeting students at Howard, Georgetown University, and American University helped spread the word of the book and the event by posting leaflets and large color reproductions of the book's cover on the campuses. Notices in local press and coverage of the meeting in Howard's *Hilltop* newspaper also helped turn the meet-

ing into a well-known political event in the city. Sixty students from several campuses, Howard University academics, union members, and others attended the event in spite of an ice storm the evening of the meeting. Ambassadors to the United States from Zambia and Swaziland attended as well.

"The book vividly documents the South African mass struggle to force the establishment of a nonracial, nonsexist, and democratic South Africa," Williams, a student at Temple University in Philadelphia, said. "It is more than a compilation of ideas. It outlines a strategy for dismantling apartheid."

'Birth pangs of a new nation'

"We must support the struggle for the first free elections" in South Africa scheduled for April 26-28, the student activist said, "because right now, the elections represent the birth pangs of a new nation."

Williams urged everyone to attend the Regional Student Anti-apartheid Conference scheduled for Philadelphia.

Margrethe Siem of the local Pathfinder bookstore and Omowale Elson, president of Howard's International Student Association (ISA), cochaired the meeting.

Building and hosting the book launching "gives us a great honor," Elson said. The ISA is an umbrella group for Asian, African, Caribbean, and Haitian student organizations.

Holding meetings, fund raising events, and sending fact-finding trips to South Africa are crucial, Elson said, because "a signal must be sent to South Africa that those in struggle do not stand alone. The speeches of Nelson Mandela tell us that the struggle against apartheid and against all forms of oppression is worldwide."

Midzi said the countries bordering on South Africa, known as the Frontline States, "have borne the brunt of apartheid" through economic destabilization and military intervention. Zimbabwe is currently the chair of the Frontline States.

"Everything you find in this book is relevant" to the struggles of people across Africa, he said.

Calling it a "landmark" and "a classical reference book for everyone engaged in understanding modern history," Désir said the book of Mandela's speeches "deals with the basic issues of the transition period in South Africa and for all humanity who are turning their back on an old social system."

"In Haiti," he said, "the minority keeps telling us that they have the money, the know-how, and the power. But these forces of inertia that block the long-overdue transformation of every nation in the world try to create a hopeless situation where we will



Militant/Richard Hazboun

ANC representative Madala Mthembu addressing meeting with (left to right) Abdellatif Rayan, Pire Roger Désir, Omowale Elson, and Steve Clark.

give into the oppressive system.

"As history has shown and as Mandela says in this book, the oppressed will and must be their own liberators. Real freedom will come not as a gift from the oppressors but when the oppressed themselves are consciously engaged in struggle," Désir said.

Rayan spoke of the parallels between the creation and maintenance of apartheid and the dispossession of the Palestinian people of their land and rights by the Israeli regime.

"This book is a guideline for our two nations," he said, and grows out of a "kinship of shared historical experience and solidarity of the victims of apartheid and of Israeli settler-colonialism."

Parker encouraged students on the campus to get involved in political activity, noting that more young people are joining the NAACP. He introduced Clifford Collins from the organization's national office and the president of the Washington, D.C. chapter, both of whom attended the meeting.

Centering her remarks on the fight for women's rights, Ireland said she is "excited that we have this collection of speeches and the ability to refer to Nelson Mandela's understanding of the commonality of oppression and the need for reconciliation."

'Application to our own struggles'

"It is why so many people here from around the world found in this book so much application to their own struggles. I think it is why so many women around the world have taken the South African struggle to heart. This book helps, in a very concrete way, to make sure those ideas are not lost."

The new constitution of South Africa, Ireland said, includes "a guarantee of equality under the law and against discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation. It is a truly comprehensive understanding of ending discrimination and oppression."

"Pathfinder seeks to give a voice to those who, in capitalist society, are denied a voice, denied a tradition, and denied access to their own history," Clark said in his remarks.

As with other revolutionary and working-class leaders published by Pathfinder, "Nelson Mandela speaks not to enthrone, not to excite, not to be popular," he said.

"He seeks to argue, to explain, to convince. He appeals not to the emotions, resentments, or fears of those to whom he is speaking. Instead," Clark said, "he appeals to their capacity to think, to organize, to act in a collective disciplined way — to their own sense of self-worth."

"Mandela is convinced that what those who labor in the fields, the mines, and the factories understand, their consciousness, and what they do is what matters. Because only they can change the way the world is organized and in the process of doing so transform themselves and million of others," Clark said.

He pointed to three important political questions on which Mandela is taking the lead: his uncompromising defense of the ANC's nonracial perspective, his forthright statements in defense of a woman's right to abortion, and his refusal — in the face of pressure from the media in South Africa and in the United States — to distance himself or the ANC from the Cuban revolution and its selfless contributions to the African freedom struggle.

Clark encouraged the audience to "be part

of the fight for the ANC to win the largest majority possible" in the upcoming elections, which he described as "an important turning point, but also one episode in an ongoing struggle for political equality and social justice."

Mandela, Clark said, has stressed that the ANC should use the months of the election campaign to "ensure that what comes out of the election is a stronger African National Congress, stronger trade unions, and stronger organizations of the majority in South Africa — organizations that are better prepared to act and to speak for the political and social aspirations of the oppressed and exploited and organizations that are in a better position to use that new democratic government to advance their liberation."

'An essential instrument'

Mthembu struck a similar theme, explaining that "the immediate challenge is to ensure that the democratic forces of South Africa, led by the African National Congress, emerge victorious in these elections."

"Beyond that," he said, "we have another phase of struggle — that of ensuring a post-apartheid government is able to address the needs of the majority of South Africans."

"*Nelson Mandela Speaks* is an essential instrument and good resource for all students of South African politics and for the politics of struggle for those who are oppressed, facing injustice, or facing bigotry the world over," Mthembu said.

"The book contains a comprehensive analysis of this phase of our struggle," he added. "I encourage everyone here tonight to purchase a copy. Doing so is a contribution to the liberation of the people of South Africa."

Pathfinder books a hit during S. Africa Day

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Nearly \$500 worth of Pathfinder books were purchased by students and others during South Africa Day at Howard University. Sixteen copies of *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* were also sold, most at the conclusion of the book launching.

"I must get some of these books before I return to South Africa," one ANC member currently studying in the United States said.

Two copies of *New Internationalist* no. 5, which include the article "The Coming Revolution in South Africa," were purchased by participants in the meeting. Titles on Cuba were especially popular, with two copies of *New Internationalist* no. 8, featuring the article "Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism," purchased along with a number of titles containing speeches of Guevara and Cuban president Fidel Castro.

In the months leading up to the meeting some 56 copies of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* were sold to students, unionists, and others in Washington, D.C., off of literature tables, at political events, and on the job. Members of the United Transportation Union, for example, purchased 18 copies.

Nelson Mandela Speaks

Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa

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

(special offer \$14.50 to members of the Pathfinder Readers Club)



The Coming Revolution in South Africa

BY JACK BARNES

The world importance of the struggle to overthrow the apartheid system and the vanguard role of the African National Congress, which is committed to lead the national, democratic revolution in South Africa to a successful conclusion. In *New Internationalist* no. 5. Also includes "Why Cuban Volunteers Are in Angola": 3 speeches by Fidel Castro. \$9.00

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Mandela urges supporters to break with apartheid system's 'culture of violence'

We are printing below a speech African National Congress president Nelson Mandela gave to a crowd of 10,000 people at Ikageng Stadium, near Potchefstroom in the western Transvaal, South Africa. Mandela spoke there Jan. 31, 1994, as part of a tour to kick off the ANC election campaign. The speech was taped by the *Militant* reporting team that was in South Africa for three weeks during January and February.

(Opens in Xhosa. Then goes into English as follows):

I want to begin here with the question of violence and crime, as well as with the way in which the African National Congress is dealing with the question of crime.

The South African Police [SAP] and the homeland police forces have reached crisis proportions. They have failed to deliver even a minimum level of public safety and security. Crime and violence have reached unacceptable levels.

The statistics speak for themselves. Eighteen thousand people have died in political violence since 1984 and many more have been injured. This year the trend has been going up in how many are killed every day.

Seven hundred and seventy-five assaults take place every day in South Africa, and 51 people are killed daily in non-political violence. The incidence of fraud and other forms of economic crime has increased by 80 percent over the last six years.

Violence against women is particularly severe. Fifty percent of the women in this country are beaten by their husbands. An average of 1,038 women are raped daily, although only 68 are reported to the police.

Apartheid's human degradation

Much of this culture of violence has its roots in the apartheid system. It is the rise of poverty and human degradation caused by apartheid. The South African Police have never been seen to be effective. Only 46 percent of the killers were prosecuted in 1992.

The South African Police have never been known to be sympathetic to blacks. And that means in this case, everybody who is not a white person. It includes the Coloureds, Indians, and Africans.

Only 6 percent of rapes are reported daily. The SAP have been seen to be part of the problem. Six thousand eight hundred complaints were laid against the South African Police and 114 people died in their custody in 1992. Died in jail. These 114 are all black. Sixty-four percent of black adults have negative feelings toward the South African Police. Hardly any white person detained by the police has died except those who are part of the liberation movement, who are fighting against apartheid. But hardly any white person has died.

We now have the situation where more and more people are taking the law into their own hands. Forty-eight percent of whites in this country own firearms. Almost half a million

firearm licenses have been issued in the last three years. This is the situation that faces South Africa as far as crime is concerned. That is why South Africa has become the most violent country in the entire world.

As the African National Congress we say: Every South African is entitled to live free from crime and violence. But the question that most people ask is — what will the ANC do in order to cut down the level of crime?

Firstly, the creation of social justice and a democratic order will mean that at last all citizens will be free, will be able to respect the law of the country and those that make the laws.

Two: A new police force will be established which is effective and has the confidence of the people.

Three: In line with developments in the rest of the world, an ANC government will have community policing or consensus policing as the most viable option for the 1990s. But what does this mean? The ANC will train and equip the police to ensure that the community together with the police combat crime. The police must be accountable to local priorities and needs.

Four: The emphasis should be on preventative and proactive policing.

Five: The police must be more racially and gender representative of the communities they police. There must be as many women in the police force as there are men, if not more.

The police must be well trained and professional. The ANC believes in better, not more police. We can do a lot with police that are trained to serve the community, not to serve the white minority. The police must be politically nonpartisan in the performance of their duty. The structure of the police will be reorganized.

I must also indicate that already there are police officers and policemen who are doing their duty professionally and who are not concerned with politics but with serving the community. A number of police stations have received me very well — both black and white. They have been able to get their policemen to cooperate and have been able to do so without any problem whatsoever.

But the majority of the police are being partisan, are being politically cultivated. We want the police force to be free from political campaigning. When the ANC is in power we don't want the police force to belong to the African National Congress. We want the police force which is going to serve the people of South Africa.

Separate and unequal education

On the question of education. I also dealt with this when I addressed the community here in our language. I said the education crisis in this country is the product of separate and unequal education. It is right at the root of many of our fundamental problems. Education is segregated along racial and ethnic lines in 14 separate departments.

We lack skills and trained labor, which has led to poverty, low productivity, and our inability to compete on the international market.

<<<Two minute gap in transcript.>>>

The ANC government will place education and training in the forefront of its priorities. The whole system of education must be restructured into one national education and training center.

People have to be trained and retrained, using creative and cost-sustaining methods. There should be full use of the media and other teaching technology to further our goals of universal education. We must examine why the dropout and repetition rate is so high and address the problem. First, however, the administration of educational services must be improved, including the provision and training of additional personnel. Education must be restructured to reflect restructuring the system. We will develop a collective bargaining framework and a future resolution mechanism between the state and the teaching profession.

I can see that some of the journalists here are already bored and falling asleep.



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Mandela celebrates with supporters before making his speech at Ikageng

The question is — can we afford all this? Already, the government's education budget takes up 24 percent of expenses, and over 7 percent of the Gross National Product [GNP]. The challenge is to reallocate, restructure and streamline this budget.

Total expenditure on education and training including private fees has climbed to 10 percent of the GNP, which is very high by international standards.

This will have to be restructured — waste, inefficiency, and corruption must be eliminated if we are to keep our goals without pushing up costs much further.

With the commitment, energy, and the activity of all involved in the education sector these resources will take us very far.

So far we estimate that an ANC government will need to spend the following: A salary bill of 14 billion rand per year. A teacher training program costing 1 billion rand per year. Expenditure on school supplies of 1 billion rand per year. A school building program of over 5 billion per year. [R3.4=U.S.\$1]

A culture of learning

We are speaking to teachers and students in order to regenerate a culture of learning in all our institutions. We need a common goal, and we are committed to it. . . .

This is our educational system. And we believe that by involving the community, especially the teachers and other educators, something we have already been doing, we will be able to address the problems facing our people.

Some people, some parties are saying this is an unrealistic program. They do so because they have never been serious about addressing the problems of the people. They have no experience whatsoever, because for their whole past, especially during the last 45 years, resources have been squandered on an ethnic system of education — for the white minority — which is just less than 15 percent of the population.

That my comrades is a thing of the past. The National Party is going to die with all its corruption of the educational system.

I am proud of all of you. I am left with one [more] engagement now. But I believe that my visit to this region has been tremendously successful. We still have a lot to do, because if we are going to win we have to work very hard. Make no mistake — we have a lot of opposition. Already small parties which have no following are trying to prevent us from winning on the 27th of

April, and if we win, how to prevent the African National Congress from carrying on within the new government.

So you must work very hard and make sure that from the point of view of the ballot box we have an overall majority. A majority which beats all political parties put together.

Insofar as the threats of violence are concerned. We are dealing with this matter. Please leave it to us. You yourselves must not engage in violence and attack people who are innocent. Because the criminals that are being used in order to further this political violence are killing innocent people. Defend your people only against the criminals who are actually involved. Don't kill innocent people.

'Don't kill innocent people'

There is now something which is disturbing, where some of our people are now intending to kill every Zulu, because they believe that every Zulu is Inkatha. That's not the position. The majority of the Zulus are members of the ANC. If you kill every Zulu, you are not only killing members of the ANC. But if they are members of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party], you don't have to kill them. Sit down and talk to them!

There are many areas that have done this and stopped violence. We have people in that particular region who have gone to members of the IFP and said, "Why are we slaughtering one another?" We are also opposed to people who kill every Xhosa, because they believe that every Xhosa is a member of the ANC. That's not the position.

We would like you to make peace with your enemies. And I want to repeat again. Allow all political parties to canvass in your township. I know if I said 'Allow [Bophuthatswana military ruler Lucas] Mangope to come and canvass in your township' [hoots] . . . that I will not say. That I will not say. But allow all other parties to come and canvass amongst you. But I won't say the same thing for Mangope.

I am very happy indeed that all of you have given us such significant support. It is quite clear that the people of South Africa want to have a government of their choice. That is the first thing I've gotten from all of you. And indeed, on the 27th of April, you will be able to elect a government of your own choice. Our hope, our whole future, is the hope for that government, where you will be able to have a government which is responsible to us. I thank you.



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Audience greets Mandela at stadium

ANC leads effort to end S. Africa violence

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Following a March 1 meeting between African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader said he would consider his group's provisional registration for the April 26-28 elections. He also said Inkatha reserved its right to boycott the poll.

Mandela said he had requested the meeting because "I want peace" in South Africa. The ANC agreed to submit the parties' differences over South Africa's interim constitution to international mediation.

The meeting was the fourth between the two since 1990. Inkatha, a longtime collaborator of the white-minority regime, is responsible for organizing much of the violence that cost more than 4,000 lives in 1993. The day following the meeting, Buthelezi told the rump legislature of KwaZulu that he still wants "to separate the kingdom of KwaZulu from the rest of South Africa."

The ANC's leadership efforts to stem the violence in South Africa in preparation for the April elections have taken on greater urgency in recent weeks. Police announced February 24 that they had arrested an Inkatha official in connection with the February 19 murder of 15 young ANC campaigners in Natal.

Another 29 people were killed in political violence the weekend of February 26-27. All but three died in Natal, which includes the KwaZulu Bantustan where Buthelezi maintains his strongest support. At a community hall in Enhlalakale gunmen shot and killed ANC branch chairman Solomon Mzolo.

On February 28, an ANC member died when he cycled over a homemade landmine at Bultfontein in the Orange Free State. ANC official Moses Mogamse said cops at the scene had told him commercial explosives were used, and that it was the work of white ultrarightist groups. Commercial explosives have been used in about 40 acts of sabotage aimed at ANC offices, railroads, and power pylons in the Orange Free State and Western Transvaal since late December.

ANC calls for discipline in ranks

The ANC president, while negotiating with Inkatha and leaders of various right-wing groups, is also urging discipline among supporters of a democratic South Africa.

South African president F.W. de Klerk, campaigning near Kimberley February 23, was struck in the back of the head by a stone that came from a group of ANC supporters protesting his presence. De Klerk moved quickly to turn the incident to his advantage, declaring the ANC "mouth[s] nice words, but they have no grip on their people. We need one, strong, dynamic, winning National Party to insure that the ANC won't run wild in this country."

At a nearby rally hours later, a gunman attached to de Klerk's National Party security

team emptied the magazine of his handgun into a group of ANC members, killing a 39-year-old woman standing nearby. Isghak Adams was arrested and charged with murder.

In a February 26 statement, Mandela condemned those who threw stones at de Klerk as well as more serious acts of violence. "The recent disruption of a [National Party] rally in the Northern Cape and, more importantly: the attitudes and actions of some farmers and mine-owners; the violence in Natal, particularly in areas controlled by the KwaZulu administration; the repression in Bophuthatswana; and the problems in towns where the extreme right wing has imposed its control should be matters of grave concern... [that] require stern and urgent action," he said.

"We hereby instruct all our regions, branches, members and supporters to desist forthwith from any actions that disrupt the meetings and interfere with the activities of other political parties," said Mandela. "Our anger at the injustices inflicted on us by the National Party, the architects of apartheid, does not and never will justify activities that subvert the fundamental freedoms and basic democratic values for which the ANC has struggled for so many years."

'Ensure freedom of association, speech'

Mandela said the ANC would work with the Transitional Executive Council to "ensure that people in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, right-wing controlled towns, as well as on the farms and mine compounds, are afforded their basic freedoms of association and speech. We will continue our efforts to convince organizations in the Freedom Alliance to join the process." He added that the ANC was pressing the investigations of police shootings at Standerton and the Natal Creighton massacre.

"The African National Congress will ensure that any member found violating the Electoral Code of Conduct is disciplined in accordance with our own constitution. Regions, subregions and branches are hereby instructed to act with vigor against anyone who brings our movement into disrepute."

The National Party has blamed low turnouts at rallies in Black townships on ANC intimidation. It has also freely plied events — as well as individuals willing to accept money — with generous contributions. Rocks Mseleku, a young National Party organizer in Soweto, denied being paid to campaign. He called the R2,000 (U.S.\$588) he receives each month — twice his previous salary — "compensation." Mseleku told the *Financial Times* of London that people join the National Party "for the love of the party."

Meanwhile, the *Johannesburg Weekly Mail and Guardian* revealed in its February 11-17 edition that the white-minority regime lied about its nuclear weapons program when Pretoria admitted to its existence last March. De Klerk said he had ordered the government's



ANC-led democratic movement is organizing to ensure that working people can participate in election activities. Above: ANC rally in Natal Midlands.

atomic bombs destroyed in 1989. He added that "at no time did South Africa acquire nuclear weapons technology or materials from another country, nor has it provided any to any other country, or cooperated with another country in this regard."

According to the article, "South Africa has swapped technology extensively with Israel." The report says Pretoria bought 30 grams of tritium, a substance used as a nuclear trigger,

from Tel Aviv in 1977. In return, the apartheid regime provided the Zionist regime with 600 tons of "yellow cake" uranium oxide, which can be enriched for weapons use.

ANC spokesperson Trevor Manuel responded that the ANC "does not want nuclear weapons capability. While we do not want to sit on a nuclear arsenal, we want the truth out on apartheid's nuclear weapons program."

U.S. pilots down planes

Continued from front page
involvement in Bosnia.

"This is what collective action means in the Clinton formulation. This is what international action in the post-Cold War world is about," bellowed a senior U.S. official to the *Washington Post*.

U.S. president Bill Clinton said that "every attempt was made" to avoid the encounter, and put off any suggestion that it could lead to deeper U.S. involvement.

"We hope this will be the final such incident in a tragic war," said U.S. adm. Jeremy Boorda, commander of NATO forces in southern Europe.

Reaction in the editorial pages of the big-business press mirrored these responses. London's *Financial Times* said, "The Serbs have allowed NATO to establish its credibility unambiguously."

The *Wall Street Journal*, however, warned that it is "not the intent of the U.N. or NATO or the U.S. to enter the war on behalf of Bosnia's government.... As it stands, the engagement was an incident, not a decisive battle in the Bosnian war."

New negotiations and Moscow

Meanwhile, U.S. officials presided over talks in Washington between representatives of the Bosnian government and Croat forces operating in Bosnia that are linked to the Croatian government. A tentative agreement would set up a "federation of Croat and Moslem areas in Bosnia," according to the *Financial Times*. Most of Bosnia is under the military control of rightist forces led by Radovan Karadzic.

Moscow continues to assert its diplomatic role in the conflict as an ally of the Serbian regime and the forces allied to it in Bosnia. Russian foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev announced that under pressure from Moscow, Karadzic had agreed to allow Bosnia's Tuzla airport to be placed under UN supervision.

Bosnian president Alija Izetbegovic said he opposed the arrival of Russian troops to oversee the agreement, due to their "manifestations of support to the aggressor."

An editorial in the March 2 *New York Times* complains that, "Effective international policy continues to be thwarted by the competing interests of major European powers." The *Times*' editors accuse London, Paris, and Moscow of "shielding the Serbs."

Displeasure with Moscow's diplomacy in the region comes as Russian president Boris Yeltsin failed to prevent the release from prison of Aleksandr Rutskoi and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy at the end of February. The two were the central leaders of the bureaucratic wing that challenged Yeltsin last fall before the Russian president used the army to crush the opponent grouping.

1920 Baku Congress film shown at meeting

BY JOHN RIDDELL

AMSTERDAM, The Netherlands — A unique and long-unavailable documentary film of the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, held in 1920 in Baku, Azerbaijan, was shown here February 4 to 50 participants in a daylong discussion on the congress. This was the film's first showing outside the former Soviet Union.

The film, made under the direction of the

Communist International, sponsor of the Baku gathering, includes nearly an hour of footage of the congress delegates' trip from Moscow to Baku, the congress sessions, and popular demonstrations in Baku.

The 1920 congress in Baku, Solmaz Rustamova Tohidi of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences told the Amsterdam gathering, "gave the common people confidence in their rights and abilities, promoted their

political activity, and engaged them in actively solving the great historical problems they faced."

Mete Tunçay, Turkey's leading historian of the workers' movement, described how representatives of every significant Turkish revolutionary current, both bourgeois and proletarian, came to Baku in 1920 to debate the road forward.

John Riddell, editor of *To See the Dawn*, explained that Pathfinder had put aside other projects to speed publication of this book, because the 1920 congress "speaks to world conflicts today."

"The Russian revolution showed that working people, by uniting internationally, could liberate themselves and others and begin to build a new and just world order," Riddell stated. "This was the central theme of the Baku congress."

For many decades, this course was blocked by the Stalinist regimes ruling from Central Europe to China, Riddell added. But today, "the obstacle posed by these privileged, petty bourgeois regimes has been decisively weakened. The program for a united world struggle by toilers mapped out at Baku can now find new life and expression," stated Riddell.

A Pathfinder book table at the Amsterdam congress was visited by most conference participants. Sales included six copies of *To See the Dawn*.

From Pathfinder

To See the Dawn

Baku, 1920 — First Congress of the Peoples of the East

How can peasants and workers in the colonial world achieve freedom from imperialist exploitation? How can working people overcome the divisions incited by their national ruling classes and act together for their common class interests? These questions were addressed by 2,000 delegates to the 1920 Congress of the Peoples of the East. Complete proceedings. Part of the series, The Communist International in Lenin's Time. \$19.95

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

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DAWN Baku, 1920
First Congress of the Peoples of the East

'Militant' launches sales drive

BY NAOMI CRAINE

With this issue, supporters of the *Militant* around the world begin a campaign to win new readers to the socialist press. During the 10-week effort, distributors will introduce thousands of workers, students, political activists, farmers, and others to the *Militant*, its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International*.

In New York, distributors are using the first week of the campaign to go all out in building a March 12-13 socialist educational conference. This will include special all-day teams to campuses and factory gates around the city and in the region, helping to get the circulation campaign off to a good start.

Janet Post, a reader in Miami, faxed in a note on sales plans there. "We're kicking the drive off with a team to Sarasota, Florida, on Thursday and an AIDS benefit walk in Miami on Sunday," she wrote. "The following week we will attend the Amnesty International Southern Regional Conference in Orlando."

Militant supporters in Newark, New Jersey, are combining the first weeks of the circulation drive with a petitioning effort to get Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor M.J. Rahn on the ballot.

Distributors can find people interested in socialist publications at a wide range of political events. Simone Berg described a *Militant* sales table outside a February 28 meeting in Trenton, New Jersey, for Nation of Islam spokesman Khalid Muhammad, whose anti-Semitic statements have stirred up a lot of debate. "It was packed



Militant/Harvey McArthur
 Selling the socialist press at February 20 rally to support Friendship-caravan to Cuba in Blaine, Washington, at U.S.-Canada border.

with young people, just wanting to check it out," she said. Many wanted to discuss "the roots of racism. People were interested in our explanation that capitalism is the source of racism." Three young people signed up saying they want to attend the educational conference in New York.

As readers can see from the chart at the right, the goals taken by local distributors so far don't quite reach the international target of 3,000 *Militant* subscriptions, 650 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions, and 1,000 copies of

New International. Readers who would like to help can order a small bundle of papers and take a goal for their city, or raise their current target.

In two weeks, the *Militant* will run the first weekly chart listing the number of subscriptions and *New Internationals* sold in each city and to members of industrial trade unions. The chart will be based on subscriptions and *New International* sales reports received in the business office by 12 noon E.S.T., Tuesday, March 15.

All out to sell the socialist press!

	MILITANT SOLD/GOAL	Perspectiva Mundial SOLD/GOAL	NEW INTERNATIONAL SOLD/GOAL
UNITED STATES			
Albany, NY*	5	1	1
Albuquerque, NM*	3	1	1
Atlanta	80	13	20
Birmingham, AL	75	5	17
Boston	120	30	45
Brooklyn	130	35	45
Chicago*	130	30	30
Cincinnati, OH*	12	2	3
Cleveland	85	10	17
Denver	10	2	3
Des Moines, IA	80	35	30
Detroit	90	10	28
Greensboro, NC	50	5	12
Houston	65	12	15
Los Angeles	200	95	90
Miami	120	50	60
Morgantown, WV	50	2	12
New Haven, CT	15	3	5
New York*	135	35	45
Newark, NJ	130	35	45
Philadelphia	115	30	35
Pittsburgh	100	10	20
Salt Lake City, UT	90	15	30
San Francisco	135	32	55
Seattle	75	12	20
St. Louis	70	8	20
Twin Cities, MN	110	25	25
Washington DC	75	17	17
U.S. Total	2,355	560	746
AUSTRALIA	25	8	15
BELGIUM*	2	1	2
BRITAIN			
London	60	5	25
Manchester	50	2	18
Sheffield	35	2	10
Britain Total	145	9	53
CANADA			
Montreal	70	15	40
Toronto	80	15	40
Vancouver	75	10	25
Canada Total	225	40	105
FRANCE*	10	2	12
GREECE*	10	1	5
ICELAND	12	1	6
NEW ZEALAND			
Auckland	70	6	12
Christchurch	40	2	8
N.Z. Total	110	8	20
PUERTO RICO	2	8	8
SWEDEN	40	18	20
TOTAL	2,936	656	992
DRIVE GOALS	3,000	650	1,000
<i>*Proposed goal</i>			

Socialist conference draws youth and workers

Continued from front page
 cussion throughout the conference.

One member of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of Cuban-Americans who support the Cuban revolution, commented that Waters "gave a detailed account of the problems and difficulties facing the revolution. But she did it in such a way that you feel inspired and more prepared to fight to defend the revolution."

Jack Barnes, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke on "World Capitalist Politics in the '90s — Downsiz-

ing, 'Cultural War,' and Global Instability.

Barnes pointed to the efforts of the newly formed Socialist Youth Organizing Committee to build a socialist youth organization in the United States. He explained how the growing disorder and instability of the world market system drives layers of young people to reject the horrors of capitalism and look for a different way to organize society.

"I learned a lot about capitalism," said one Haitian refugee who attended. "Even if capitalism is weak economically, it's even weaker from the point of view of politics. The conference gave me strength, because I'm more convinced that capitalism is going to collapse."

Young students and workers met briefly during the conference to talk about the perspective of forming a nationwide socialist youth group.

Brock Satter, a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee, gave a presentation to get the discussion rolling. The Socialist Youth Organizing Committee involves members of the Young Socialists in New York and the Student Political Organizing Committee (SPOC) in Minneapolis. Satter is a leader of SPOC.

"We feel that there is a greater possibility to build a socialist youth group than there has been in the recent past," he stated in an interview after the conference.

Satter said that he thought the Miami discussion was a step forward. "At the meeting we talked about the kinds of things young people can be doing to fight against the ravages of capitalism. We also talked about some of the concrete things affecting youth here, like the curfew that was recently instituted in Miami."

Satter suggested several upcoming events that young socialists should consider attending. These included defense of abortion clinics in Birmingham, Alabama, March 25-April 2 and an antiapartheid student conference March 18-19 in Philadelphia. Supporters of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee will be hitting the road to be part of these actions and to meet other young people.



Militant/Salm Kolis
 Socialist Youth Organizing Committee member Brock Satter speaking in Miami.

"Then there will be a regional socialist education conference in Chicago, April 1-3. This will be a further opportunity to get together and take the next steps to build a youth organization," Satter said.

Ed, a 16-year-old student at South Miami High, was part of the discussion with Satter. He wants to help form a socialist youth group. Ed said he found the conference discussion on the trade war between the governments of the United States and Japan and deepening competition between other imperialist rulers, like those in France and Germany, interesting.

Camilo, another high school student, said that he was willing to volunteer to help out the socialist cause "anytime."

Two socialist activists in the maritime unions during and after World War II, Tom Leonard and Ed Shaw, gave a talk on the second day of the conference on the trade

unions and the fight against imperialist war.

"A Class Perspective of the Fight for Women's Liberation: From Baby Jessica to the Date Rape Debate and the Bobbit Controversy," was the title of a presentation by Betsy Farley and Rolande Girard. Farley is a member of the United Steelworkers of America and was the SWP candidate for Alabama governor in 1993. Girard is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and chairperson of the Miami SWP.

Satter, who had paid his way to South Africa as part of a *Militant* reporting team by getting donations from other students and political activists, wrapped up the conference with an eyewitness account of the fight to create a nonracial, nonsexist, democratic society in South Africa.

Conference participants contributed more than \$1,000 to help fund *Militant* reporting trips to Cuba and South Africa.

'Build a movement of socialist youth'

Under the headline "Build a movement of socialist youth," young people from New York and the Twin Cities, Minnesota, have issued a call for participation in the Socialist Educational Conference to be held in Chicago April 1-3.

"Discuss how to fight against the wars, unemployment, racism, police brutality, attacks on women's rights, environmental destruction, and other ravages of the world capitalist system," the flyer says.

Mark Gilsdorf, a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee from New York, explained that as part of the conference there will be a gathering of youth to discuss the opportunities for building a nationwide socialist youth organization.

Young people interested in finding out more about the conference or the Organizing Committee — or anyone who would like to contribute funds to the group's efforts — should contact the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee in the Twin Cities at P.O. Box 50495, Minneapolis, MN 55404 or in New York at Box 113, 561 Hudson St., New York, NY 10014.

Argentine 'miracle': a nightmare for

BY AARON RUBY
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

HAVANA, Cuba — A series of protests by public employees demanding back wages and an end to layoffs broke out in northern Argentina in mid-December. The actions culminated in a rebellion of several thousand unpaid workers and their supporters, among them many unemployed laborers, in the impoverished northern province of Santiago del Estero.

This was the country's largest social explosion in some time. An earlier wave of protests and supermarket sackings over skyrocketing prices had brought down the government of Raúl Alfonsín in 1989.

The *Santiagazo*, as the recent rebellion is referred to in Spanish, laid to rest the myth of the "Argentine miracle," said Luis Bilbao, a journalist from Buenos Aires, in an interview here at the end of January.

Bourgeois commentators around the world have touted the policies of Argentine president Carlos Menem and other capitalist governments in Latin America — restructuring of industry through "downsizing," slashing of social programs, and sweeping sales of stocks in state-owned companies to private investors — as an unambiguous success. After all, inflation plummeted, industrial production rose, and the gross domestic product grew.

"Today the country is on an economic roll, boosted by foreign capital, an open economy and a strong currency," wrote Edward Schumacher in a February 25 article in the *Wall Street Journal*. Schumacher is an advisor to Dow Jones and Co.

But the revolt by workers in Santiago del Estero revealed the real social cost of the policies of the Argentine rulers.

What is a success for the capitalist class and sections of the middle class has proven a disaster for workers, Bilbao said.

Massive layoffs of state employees and sales of state-owned enterprises to private companies at cut-rate prices have resulted in high profits for a few wealthy families.

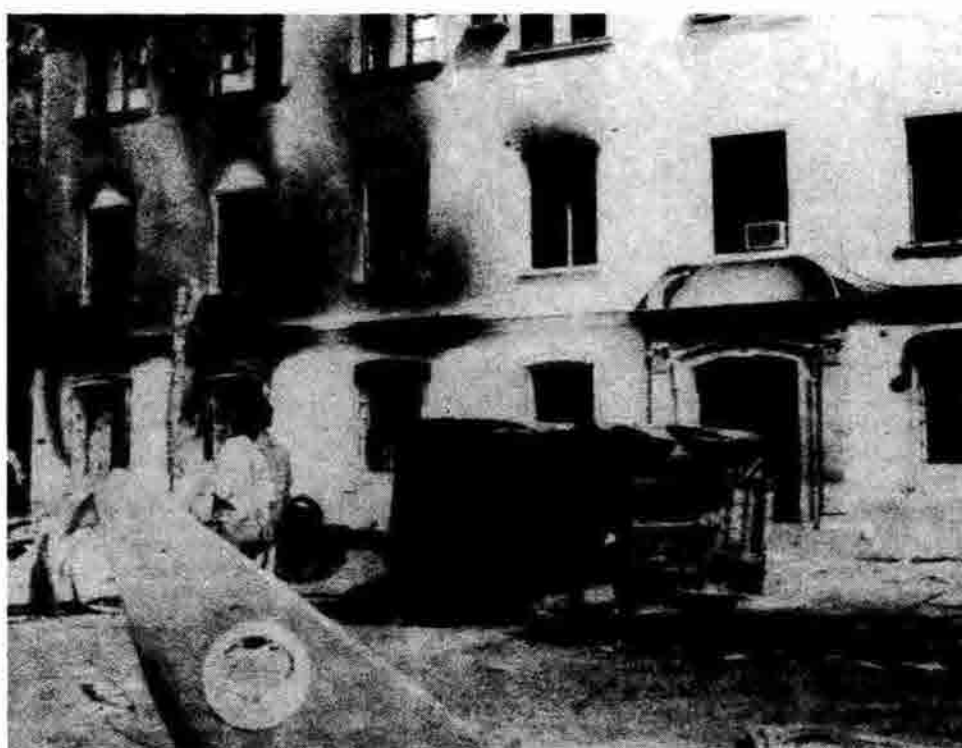
At the same time, joblessness has jumped by more than 30 percent since 1992 to 1.3 million unemployed. Almost 10 percent of the workforce is out of a job today — the highest level since records were kept. Another 2 million are working less than 30 hours a week.

Foreign debt

"Imperialist demands for payment on the \$58 billion foreign debt have been used as the pretext for the sale by Menem of state-owned companies and cuts in social spending," said Bilbao. Monthly payments to service the debt have increased from \$70 million to \$108 million as part of schemes agreed to by the Argentine rulers and imperialist governments and banks to refinance part of the debt over 30 years.

Sales of most of the state companies have brought in some \$19 billion to the state treasury, out of which \$10 billion has been applied to pay the debt. Notwithstanding, additional loans have left the foreign debt virtually unchanged.

In March 1991 the government pegged the Argentine peso to the U.S. dollar, under



More than 5,000 people seized and burned the provincial government building in Santiago del Estero in December. The protesters were demanding that government workers, who had received only partial wages since September, be paid.

what is known as the Cavallo Plan, named after Domingo Cavallo, the minister of finances. The exchange rate has since been held at one-to-one.

"The U.S. dollar has virtually replaced the peso as the national currency," said Bilbao, pointing out that many stores freely accept dollars.

Since 1989 the government has sold off most of the state-owned companies to local entrepreneurs or capitalists from abroad, including those in electric energy, oil, gas, steel production, airlines, television, radio, and telecommunications. In addition, some 10,000 kilometers [6,200 miles] of highways have been converted into private toll roads.

As a result of these sales, as well as layoffs and early retirements, state employment has been reduced by 250,000 down to 41,000 in 1993. Employers in the private sector had eliminated another 65,000 jobs from 1990 to 1992.

Nationalizations in 1940s and '50s

In Argentina, largely during the regime of Juan Perón between 1946 and 1955, workers achieved significant gains in wages and social security through massive struggles. Ninety percent of the workforce was organized into unions.

During the post-World War II boom, the Argentine bourgeoisie sought greater independence from imperialist dominance. Some 60 percent of the economy was nationalized, reducing foreign capital to 5 percent by 1955. This included the formerly British-owned national rail system, petroleum production, electric utilities, and communications.

Similar nationalizations took place in other semicolonial countries at the time. In Mexico, for example, the regime of Lázaro Cárdenas nationalized the oil fields in the 1940s. In 1956 the Egyptian government under Gamal Nasser wrested control of the Suez canal from

British and French capital as part of the rising tide of anti-colonial struggles.

Class lines in these battles were drawn more sharply than in the decolonization battles themselves, since layers of native exploiters had economic interests that were directly tied to major imperialist banks and monopolies.

Workers and peasants often took advantage of these confrontations with imperialism to press demands on the neocolonial regimes for land reform and labor rights and in the process won some greater space to organize and practice politics.

But in the big majority of cases these resources taken from direct domination and exploitation of the imperialists were transferred to the domination of local, rising capitalist classes, either directly to private owners or indirectly through the neocolonial regimes they controlled. Unlike Cuba, where a workers and peasants government came to power, nationalized enterprises under capitalist regimes did not advance the interests of the working class.

Like other capitalists in semi-colonial countries today, the Argentine ruling class has opened up the economy to the flow of capital from the imperialist powers.

Restructuring of industry

Capitalists from the United States and Spain are the leading foreign investors, each holding 16 percent of the total, followed by companies from France, Italy, and Chile. Businessmen from around the world invested \$16.5 billion in Argentina last year.

In 1990 the state-owned airline Aerolíneas Argentinas, was partly sold to the Spanish state-owned Iberia, which laid off 6,800 workers despite protest strikes. Iberia is now threatening to close the formerly profitable airline unless it receives an additional \$500 million in funds from the Argentine government.

"Entel, the former Argentine telephone company, was divided in two enterprises, which split up service in the country with a dividing line right through Buenos Aires." One of the two companies, Telecom, jointly owned and operated by J.P. Morgan Co. and French and Italian state telephone companies, laid off 4,500 workers. Telefónica, the second telephone company, is owned by Citibank and the Spanish Telefónica de España. "You need different calling cards if you cross certain streets!" Bilbao said.

"The international operators who already handle a high volume of calls were forced to work an additional hour each with five minutes break for each 55 minutes on the line," he added. "Both companies have drastically raised rates and are reporting record profits."

The government ended railway service from the capital to 13 provinces in March 1993, following a cutoff of federal funding. This forced working people to use bus service, which costs up to double the price of a train ride. As of November, 15,000 railroad workers were laid off with another 12,000

jobs scheduled to be eliminated. Six privatized railroad branches were awarded free of charge to those companies that requested the smallest state subsidy.

The sale of the state oil company, Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales (YPF), was the largest transfer of stock to private owners in Latin America to date. YPF controls 54 percent of Argentina's oil and gas industry. By the end of 1992, prior to the company's sale to local and international investors for \$2.5 billion, YPF management had laid off more than 41,000 employees or 77 percent of the workforce. The Argentine petrochemical industry as a whole has laid-off 40 percent of the workers.

The Argentine electric utility, was split into two companies: Edenor, purchased by French and Italian companies, and Edesur, bought by Chilean capitalists. Both utilities have dramatically raised rates.

The companies claim that there are more than half-a-million illegally connected lines for some 2 million people in the slums of Buenos Aires. Hundreds of thousands of residents are unable to legally establish service because the government doesn't grant them title to their homes.

Edenor shut off electricity during the freezing temperatures of June, depriving thousands of people of their heat in some of the *villas miseria* (shantytowns) surrounding Buenos Aires. Hundreds of residents of the *La Matanza* neighborhood protested in the streets and were attacked by the police. "If we don't make trouble, we will rot with the little food we have in the icebox," Susana Trovato told an Argentine newspaper. Faced with protests, the Argentine government briefly jailed one Edenor executive and the company re-established power.

'Carnal relations' with U.S. gov't

Confronting increasing competition in the world market, the Menem government has sought an edge against rivals in the region by hitching its wagon more firmly to Washington's star. In a break with a prior shade of independence from Uncle Sam, Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella stated, "We want to have carnal relations with the United States."

"Many people refer to Terrence Todman, the former U.S. ambassador, as the 'Viceroy,'" said Bilbao, referring to the title of the representative of the Spanish crown in the former Latin American colonies. "It is reported that he has attended cabinet meetings of Menem's government," Bilbao added.

According to the *Financial Times* of London, Argentina would be in line for any expansion of the North American Free Trade Agreement, established last year by the governments of Canada, Mexico, and the United States.

The Menem government, while maintaining diplomatic and trade relations with Cuba, has been in the forefront among several governments in Latin America that support U.S. calls on Havana for "free elections" and "respect for human rights."

Washington decided in February, over opposition from London, to sell attack jets with advanced radar technology to Argentina. Menem was the only head of state in any Latin American country to send ships to the Persian Gulf to participate in the U.S.-led war against Iraq.

Italian military officers participated in joint training exercises in Argentina in November and the government of Sweden will send a group of advisors to Argentina to establish a training center for United Nations troops.

Argentine forces currently participate in 10 UN military operations, the largest in Croatia, as well as Cyprus, Mozambique, Namibia, Angola, and Kuwait. More recently Menem sent a warship to join the U.S.-led naval blockade of Haiti. Defense Minister Oscar Camilion stated that these operations "have great horizons" and place the country "in the vanguard of Latin America."

Trade tensions with Brazil

In 1991, the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay signed a pact to develop a regional trade bloc known as Mercosur (Southern Cone Market). The agreement is to be finalized by the end of 1994.

Despite growth in exports in the early 1990s, Argentina's trade balance deficit grew

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workers

by 31 percent over the last year, rising to \$3.5 billion. Pegged to the dollar, the Argentine peso has appreciated 35 percent against the Brazilian cruzeiro since 1992 alone, resulting in a growing trade deficit with Brazil.

In 1992 there was a 20,000 shortfall of Argentine autos exported to Brazil, out of the bilateral trade quota of 40,000 vehicles. In October of that year, Menem established a 10 percent surcharge on all goods imported from Brazil.

Argentine capitalists affected by imports are calling for additional protectionist measures and some for devaluation of the peso. But Eduardo de Zavala, president of the Argentine Rural Society that represents big landowners, objected to the floating of the currency. "To devalue the peso is not a feasible option," he stated. "Doing so will lead the country into chaos and hyperinflation again."

The Argentine Industrial Union has requested for the first time that implementation of the Mercosur agreement be postponed because of "marked imbalances" between the Argentine and Brazilian economies. "If protective measures are not taken, Argentine productive activity will be totally replaced by Brazilian imports," the big-business organization warned in a statement.

Growing use of executive power

Menem has made increasing use of the power of the executive branch, issuing presidential "emergency" decrees more than 200 times to push through his programs or override opposition.



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Journalist Luis Bilbao

In November, following secret meetings between officials of the ruling Peronist Justicialist Party (PJ) and Raúl Alfonsín's opposition Radical Civic Union (UCR), the two parties reached an agreement to reform the constitution in order to allow Menem to run for a second term in the 1995 presidential elections.

Since his election in 1989, Menem has aggressively applied measures that, while similar to those attempted under the Alfonsín government, have gone further towards attempting to increase profit rates on the backs of working people.

Social inequalities

"People are terrified at the idea that any change would bring back hyperinflation and chaos," said Bilbao. "This is why there continues to be support among working people for the Peronist party, which won 46 percent of vote in the October 3 elections. The people see no alternative." Inflation was down to 6.8 percent in 1993 from devastating hourly price increases under hyper-inflation reaching 6,000 percent in the 1980s.

Argentina's per capita income of \$6,867 in 1993 makes it ostensibly the richest in Latin America. The gross domestic product (GDP) of \$226 billion places it third in Latin America behind Brazil and Mexico respectively. Argentina's projected 8 percent GDP growth rate in 1994 will place it second in the world behind China. Gold and foreign currency reserves increased to \$15 billion in 1993 from \$4.8 billion in 1990.

"We're a 'First World' country in prices and a Third World country in our standard of living," Bilbao said, repeating a common parody of a claim made by Menem. Buenos Aires is among the 10 most expensive cities in the world. According to a report in the *Miami Herald*, the Argentine capital is 25



Militant/Aaron Ruby
College and high school students protest in June 1992 against plans by Menem government to charge for public education

percent more expensive than New York. A Big Mac at \$3.60 in Buenos Aires, for example, costs 58 percent more than the \$2.28 average price in New York City.

"[The currency linkage] was accompanied by a wage freeze," said Bilbao. Real wages declined about 1.8 percent from 1989 to 1991 and last year they fell by another 2 percent. "The cost of living has increased by over 50 percent. But even this figure doesn't reveal the real increases in daily hardship for millions."

Rents have jumped 157 percent, doctor and dentist fees by 137 percent, fruits and vegetables by 126 percent, and bus fares 40 percent since the 1991 plan was implemented.

In a blow to labor, the government eliminated cost of living raises for wages and retirement pensions for all workers. Menem also increased the value added (sales) tax from 18 to 24 percent in 1991.

In December Menem reduced payments employers had to make to trade unions toward social security and medical services by 30 to 80 percent. Facing a shortfall of some \$5 billion, the government announced it will sell off the previously state-run pension funds.

According to the National Institute of Statistics and Census, a family of four needs \$1,300 a month to meet basic needs. But the minimum wage remains below \$400. Social security checks for retirees do not exceed \$300 per month and many receive \$140. A one-bedroom apartment in Buenos Aires averages \$300 a month, according to Bilbao.

Government figures show that more than one-third of the population lives in poverty. The poorest 20 percent of the people earn only 4 percent of the gross domestic product, down from 7 percent in 1967, while the richest 9 percent receive 52 percent of the wealth.

"Pensioners, especially hard hit, have led numerous protests including a torchlight march of some 25,000 supported by trade unions in 1993," said Bilbao. "High-school and university students called broadly-supported demonstrations of up to 100,000 in 1992 to oppose government plans to charge for education. In 1993 farmers organizations called a national strike protesting the economic policies that are driving many small farmers and businesses to ruin."

'Santiagoazo'

In Santiago del Estero, one of the most impoverished provinces in the north of the country, "at least \$100 million in federal grants had been stolen in 1993," reported an article in the *Miami Herald* in February. "Federal meal programs for poor children had ceased to operate and public schools functioned only 60 days in the last year. Public hospitals ran out of oxygen. And in the face of an increasing cholera threat, there was no money for chlorine to purify drinking water."

On December 16, more than 5,000 state employees seized the provincial government building in Santiago, after having received only partial payment on monthly wages due since September. While public officials earned salaries of as much as \$15,000 per month, public employees earned as little as \$200.

"Dozens of workers took turns sitting in the governor's seat and after declaring it a

'den of thieves,' tossed the chair out the window and set the Government House on fire," said Bilbao.

"The people then set the Court Palace, Social Action Ministry, and the homes of leaders of the two main political parties on fire," Bilbao continued. "They burnt the homes of union officials who have supported the policies of the two parties. They burnt the symbols of bourgeois power."

Days before, union-led mobilizations of thousands of workers in neighboring Rioja province forced local officials to abandon plans to lay off 10,000 public workers. Judges and court employees in Jujuy province struck after the government canceled a pay raise. In Chaco province, where some 2,000 were laid off over the last two years, crowds threw eggs and used chewing gum at politicians who expressed support for government plans to eliminate 4,000 more jobs. The Menem administration has shifted responsibility for austerity measures, including layoffs, pay reductions, and cuts in social programs, onto provincial authorities.

The government sent hundreds of federal and border police to Santiago. According to the Argentine daily *Clarín*, a secret report by the Secretariat for State Intelligence "raised doubts about police officers' willingness to follow their institutional commanders' orders in at least eight provinces." Interior Minister Carlos Ruckauf announced projections of \$40 million in expenditures for additional security.

Government officials have blamed the protests on unnamed organizations of 'outside agitators,' including radical groups from the 1970s, and have also attempted to link it to the Peruvian group Shining Path.

The reference to the 1970s has to do with fears by the ruling class that the last major labor upsurge in the country's history, which in-

cluded uprisings in the industrial center of Córdoba and other cities, might be repeated.

Between 1969 and 1976, auto and other industrial workers led powerful struggles by millions against successive military regimes. Nation-wide general strikes, by as many as 5 million workers in a population of 24 million, forced the military to allow parliamentary elections.

In hopes of dampening the rising labor movement, former president Perón was brought back from exile and won the elections. In July 1975 trade unions called a general strike against the Perón government's austerity program.

The bourgeoisie, frightened by the continuing labor militancy and social instability, gave its solid backing to a military coup in March 1976 that overthrew the government of Isabel Perón, who had succeeded the presidency after her husband's death.

The generals unleashed a massive wave of repression to crush the seven-year working-class movement. Political parties were banned, tens of thousands were arrested and tortured, and an estimated 30,000 were "disappeared" by the military over the next decade in what is known as the "dirty war."

Following the defeat of the Argentine military's attempt to retake the Malvinas Islands from British colonial rule in 1982, and growing protests against the dictatorship, elections were held in 1983.

Attacks on immigrants

On January 15, Buenos Aires deported 30 Peruvians as part of its campaign to blame the revolt in Santiago on agitators from abroad. The government is increasingly blaming economic woes on the growing numbers of immigrant workers from Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay, and Peru. Federal

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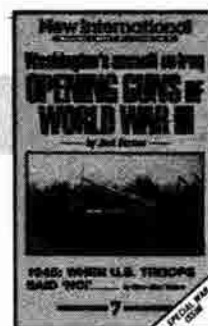
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Cuban gov't defuses visa provocation at U.S. office in Havana

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

HAVANA, Cuba — An effort to smear the Cuban government failed after authorities here rapidly defused an attempted confrontation in front of the U.S. Interests Section February 10-11. The incident, sparked by rumors that U.S. officials were freely issuing visas, exposed the fact that it is Washington that routinely denies entry to Cubans wishing to visit the United States.

The Cuban newspaper *Juventud Rebelde* published a full-page statement February 13 with a detailed chronology of events. It held U.S. officials and right-wing Cuban-American radio stations responsible for the rumors.

The statement rebutted reports in the international big-business media blaming Havana for the incident. An Associated Press story, for example, claimed that "visa-seekers were beaten with riot sticks."

Rumors began to spread through this city on Thursday, February 10, that Cuban security guards had been removed from around the U.S. Interests Section and that U.S. officials would give entry visas to all Cubans who wanted to go to the United States. The rumors prompted scores of people to approach the Interests Section seeking visas.

Washington, which as part of its hostile policy toward the Cuban revolution refuses to maintain diplomatic relations with Havana, operates an interests section here under the aegis of the Swiss Embassy.

Juventud Rebelde reported that several groups of people, some taking their children and personal belongings, tried to enter the U.S. compound. Many, it noted, "had been denied visas or had been awaiting reply for a long time. When it was explained that they had been tricked [by the false rumors], they did not create any problems" and left the area.

By 9:00 a.m. on Friday, authorities took down the police barricades that had been set up to keep people from entering the building grounds. That day, however, more hostile elements joined the usual line of people waiting for visa interviews.

The Cuban paper reported that three incidents occurred that day. First, about 80 people on bicycles "with an openly hostile attitude" approached the Interests Section and were told to leave. That evening, a group of 60 or 70 people on foot tried unsuccessfully to approach the U.S. compound, after which the police barricades were reestablished.

Shortly afterward, 80 or 90 people attempted to force their way through the security cordon but were turned back. By the end of the day, 82 people had been detained and most of them released.

Late Friday night, Joseph Sullivan and Vincent Mayer, the top two officials of the U.S. Interests Section, were summoned to

Cuba's Foreign Ministry. The Cuban government explained its efforts to prevent violent acts at the U.S. mission and asked the U.S. officials to "dispel the confusion that had been created over their policy and procedures for the granting of visas."

Juventud Rebelde carried the text of a note by the U.S. Interests Section, which denied the rumors that Washington had changed its visa policy and stated that the office "continues processing applications for visas... in the usual way."

No incidents occurred Saturday or Sunday and the police cordon was removed. The U.S. office reopened Monday morning without further problems.

Local residents report the area around the U.S. Interests Section remained peaceful throughout most of this time.

Juventud Rebelde charged that the February 10-11 events were "the full responsibility of counterrevolutionary organizations in Miami and the special services of imperialism." It added, "With the goal of denigrating the Revolution and producing an incident that would harm... the already nonexistent relations between the two countries, they tried to provoke a massive influx of citizens into the facilities."

The big-business media abroad often claims Cubans are prevented by their government from going to the United States and must resort to flimsy rafts to reach Florida shores. The recent events, however, highlighted the fact that Washington is responsi-



Line formed at U.S. Interests Section in Havana February 10 after rumors spread that officials were issuing visas. Incident exposed fact that U.S. gov't restricts travel.

ble for blocking travel by Cubans.

Juventud Rebelde pointed out that "Cuba will continue to facilitate everything for those authorized by the United States to travel or emigrate to that country."

Last year the Cuban government authorized visits abroad for 100,000 people, but U.S. authorities denied short-stay visas to 70,000 of them, claiming they might not return.

At the same time, Washington encourages illegal immigration from Cuba by giving political asylum to all those who reach U.S. shores. Last year, about 3,500 Cubans crossed the Straits of Florida in small boats and rafts.

Cuban "rafters" get the media spotlight for a few days. Once they obtain asylum, however, the government leaves most to

scramble on their own for jobs, housing, and social services.

Thousands of people spend days or weeks lining up in front of the U.S. Interests Section, waiting for a visa interview to be allowed to visit relatives in the north. Most are turned down.

In sharp contrast, Cuban foreign minister Roberto Robaina announced here February 14 that a conference will be held in Havana April 22-24 to further the ties between the Cuban community abroad and their families in Cuba as well as the Cuban government. Cubans living in the United States and other countries were invited to attend; only groups that support the U.S. embargo against the island will be excluded from the conference, which is entitled, "The Nation and the Emigrants."

Hundreds welcome Cuba aid caravan



Protester at U.S.-Canada border

Continued from front page

the border into the United States, carrying one and a half tons of material aid for Cuba. Eight members of the caravan from Canada joined with eight Detroit area drivers to begin one of the 13 routes heading toward Laredo.

The lead car, carrying three leaders of the Canadian Friendshipment, was joined by Detroit City Council President Maryanne Mahaffey at the U.S. Customs checkpoint. The U.S. border agents demanded a refundable bond to guarantee that the aid will leave the U.S.; Mahaffey agreed to post the bond.

After a quick search, each vehicle was greeted with cheers as it cleared the border. As the last truck entered the United States the people gathered at the border joined the caravan drivers at Christ Church to unload the aid and hold a victory rally.

BY ERIC SIMPSON

NEWARK, New Jersey — One hundred people, including students from three campuses of Rutgers University, held a successful — but hotly contested — send-off rally for the Third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment February 25. The event was hosted by the Association of Latin American Law Students (ALAS) at the Rutgers Law School here. It was co-sponsored by the New Jersey US-Cuba Friendshipment Coalition.

About 40 right-wingers came and maintained a noisy disruption hoping to break up the meeting. Newark police got a call threatening to bomb the meeting just before it was scheduled to begin. The bomb squad was sent in response and the hall was emptied and searched.

The majority of participants expressed their support for the caravan, however, donating more than \$400 at the meeting.

Reymundo Del Toro, president of the Cuban-American Committee for Peace and coordinator for this leg of the caravan, spoke at the meeting along with other caravan activists. Three members of the United Auto Workers at Ford in Edison, New Jersey, participated in the meeting.

As the event came to a close, rightists rushed towards the podium, while the 10 uniformed police officers in the meeting hall looked on. One rightist jumped on the speaker's table and waved his fists, while volunteer monitors linked arms and pro-

tected the speakers. Police made no arrests and all participants left unharmed. The caravan left the next morning reinforced by nine New Jersey drivers, of whom three are Cuban-American.

Many caravan supporters count the meeting a success. About a year ago the Rutgers administration, in Newark, under pressure from right-wing Cuban-Americans, forced the cancellation of a program featuring a speaker from Cuba.

BY GREG McCARTAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "The U.S. embargo is just part of a 35-year old policy of nine U.S. administrations — Democrats and

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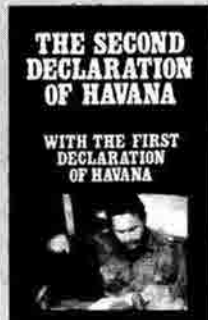
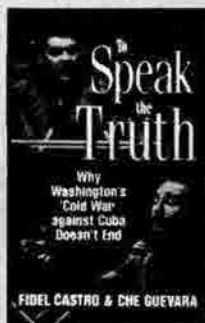
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Fidel Castro and Che Guevara

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The Second Declaration of Havana

Fidel Castro

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Schedule for Pavel Díaz Visit

Pavel Díaz Hernández, a youth leader from Cuba, will be lecturing on dozens of college campuses across the United States. Díaz, 30, is an associate researcher at the Center of Studies for Youth. He has held local and national posts in the Federation of High School Students. He served in the Cuban army in Angola, December 1987-June 1989. Díaz is a member of the Union of Young Communists.

March 1	Arrives in Twin Cities
March 2-8	Minnesota, Iowa
March 9-10	Salt Lake City
March 11-14	Seattle
March 15-17	San Francisco
March 19-23	Philadelphia
March 19-20	Anti-apartheid conference
March 24-27	Washington, D.C./Baltimore
March 29-30	Detroit
April 1-4	Chicago
April 5-7	Cleveland
April 8-11	Pittsburgh
April 12-17	New York/New Jersey

Marx: rise of industry led to new relations between men, women

"Speaking of the transformation brought about by the factory system in the conditions of life of the population," V.I. Lenin explained in *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, "it must be stated that the drawing of women and juveniles into production is, at bottom, progressive."

Lenin, a central leader of the Russian revolution and the Communist International until his death in 1924, was not the first to make this observation.

In the excerpts from *Capital* reprinted below, Karl Marx, one of the founders of the modern communist movement, points out that the introduction of large-scale machinery, while enabling the capitalists to exploit women and children and thus drive down the wages of all workers, also drew women out of the home and into socially organized production. This, Marx said, created "a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of relations between the sexes."

The excerpts can be found in chapter 15 of the first volume of *Capital*.



As we have shown, the starting-point of large-scale industry is the revolution in the instruments of labor, and this attains its most highly developed form in the organized system of machinery in the factory. Before we inquire how human material is incorporated with this objective organism, let us consider some general effects of the revolution on the worker himself.

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means for employing workers of slight muscular strength, or whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labor of women and children was therefore the first result of the capitalist application of machinery! That mighty substitute for labor and for workers, the machine, was immediately transformed into a means for increasing the number of wage-laborers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the worker's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of independent labor at home, within customary limits, for the family itself.

The value of labor-power was determined, not only by the labor-time necessary to maintain the individual adult worker, but also by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, by throwing every member of that family onto the labor-market, spreads the value of the man's labor-power over his whole family. It thus depreciates it. To purchase the labor-power of family of four workers may perhaps cost more than it formerly did to purchase the labor-power of the head of the family, but, in return, four days' labor takes the

place of one day's, and the price falls in proportion to the excess of the surplus labor of four over the surplus labor of one. In order that the family may live, four people must now provide not only labor for the capitalist, but also surplus labor. Thus we see that machinery, while augmenting the human material that forms capital's most characteristic field of exploitation, at the same time raises the degree of that exploitation.

Machinery also revolutionizes, and quite fundamentally, the agency through which the capital-relation is formally mediated, i.e. the contract between the worker and the capitalist. Taking the exchange of commodities as our basis, our first assumption was that the capitalist and worker confronted each other as free persons, as independent owners of commodities, the one possessing money and the means of production, the other labor-power. But now the capitalist buys children and young persons. Previously the worker sold his own labor-power, which he disposed of as a free agent, formally speaking. Now he sells wife and child. He has become a slave-dealer.¹...

The power of facts at last compelled it [the English Parliament] to acknowledge that large-scale industry, in overturning the economic foundation of the old family system, and the family labor corresponding to it, had also dissolved the old family relationships. The rights of the children had to be proclaimed.

It was not however the misuse of parental power that created the direct or indirect exploitation of immature labor-powers by capital, but rather the opposite, i.e. the capitalist mode of exploitation, by sweeping away the economic foundation which corresponded to parental power, made the use of parental power into its misuse. However terrible and disgusting the dissolution of the old family ties within the capitalist system may appear, large-scale industry, by assigning an important part in socially organized processes of production, outside the sphere of the domestic economy, to women, young persons and children of both sexes, does nevertheless create a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of relations between the sexes.

1. The shortening of the hours of labor for women and children in English factories was exacted from capital by the adult male workers. In striking contrast to this great fact, we find in the most recent years of the Children's Employment Commission that, in relation to this traffic in children, working-class parents have assumed characteristics that are truly revolting and thoroughly like slave-dealing. But the pharisaical capitalist, as may be seen from the same reports, denounces this bestiality which he himself creates, perpetuates and exploits, and which, moreover, he baptizes 'freedom of labor'.

Waco defendants are acquitted of murder, conspiracy charges

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Eleven members of the Branch Davidian religious sect were acquitted of murder and conspiracy charges in the deaths of four cops during a raid of the group's home last year in Waco, Texas.

The February 26 verdict cleared four defendants entirely. Five were found guilty of voluntary manslaughter, and two others for illegal weapons charges. None of the charges they were convicted on carry more than a 10-year penalty. All 11 defendants had faced up to life imprisonment on the conspiracy to murder charge.

An article in the February 27 *New York Times* termed the verdict "a stunning defeat not only for the Justice Department, which prosecuted the case, but for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms" (ATF), the federal agency that planned and executed the initial attack on the Branch Davidians a year ago.

Four ATF agents and six Branch Davidians were killed during the Feb. 28, 1993, raid. Another 86 residents died April 19 after a six-hour FBI assault with tanks and tear

gas ignited a deadly fire. The April raid was approved by U.S. president Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno. The trial in large part focused on the government's actions in launching both attacks on the Branch Davidians.

"The government used a great deal of muscle that they shouldn't have," one juror told the *New York Times* following the verdict.

"You don't negotiate with tanks and tear gas," commented defense lawyer Dan Cogdell. "And you don't bring a case you can't prove."

"They didn't use enough force," declared assistant U.S. attorney John Phinizz, defending the cops' actions.

Two defendants who were acquitted on all counts, one from Jamaica and the other from Canada, remain in jail because their visas have expired. The government is considering whether to lay other charges against the 11 or other Branch Davidians. Meanwhile, lawyers for the Branch Davidians and their survivors say they may bring civil charges against the government.

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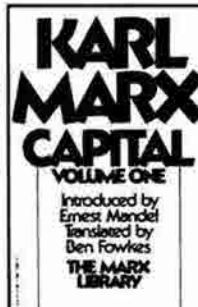
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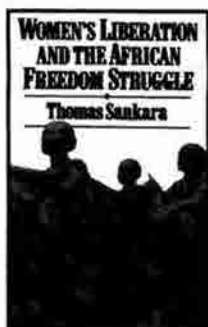
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Cuba caravan

Continued from Page 10

Republicans — to kill the Cuban Revolution," said David Berg. A 23-year-old graduate of American University here, Berg is traveling to Cuba as part of the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. He addressed a February 26 meeting of 80 people that included 20 other "caravanistas."

From Washington, the route for this section of the caravan moved on through North Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama.

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

PENSACOLA, Florida — The Florida leg of the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravan includes 14 drivers who have spoken to more than 125 people at meetings in Orlando, St. Petersburg, Gainesville, Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Pensacola.

Caravan members have participated in discussions in each of the cities. In Gainesville, four Cuban-American students participated. While not opposing the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba, these young people support open travel to Cuba and allowing humanitarian aid to be sent from the United States to Cuba. They raised questions about the Cuban government's support for the caravan and were interested in talking to caravan members about a fight on their campus for a Latino studies program.

BY EDY RUGER

MINNEAPOLIS — More than 110 people gathered here to send off the Minnesota delegation of the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravan February 25.

The dozen drivers include three college students, a Ford Truck assembly worker, a woman who owns a small business, and several retired people. Eleven of the activists spoke briefly at the departure rally.

Lea Finger, a member of the United Auto Workers at St. Paul's Ford truck plant presented \$100 in medical aid officially donated by her union local, whose membership meeting earlier in the month had voted nearly unanimously to oppose Washington's trade embargo of Cuba.

Kathy Anderson presented Pastors for Peace leader Tom Hansen with a material aid and monetary donation, as well, including \$600 raised by Duluth-area high school students for their Cuban peers.

BY TONY DUTROW

PITTSBURGH — More than 100 opponents of the U.S. embargo against Cuba packed the Community of Reconciliation basement February 26 to send off the Pittsburgh contingent of the US-Cuba Friendshipment.

Stephen Poff, a 24-year-old film studies graduate of Antioch College in Ohio, is planning to video the caravan.

Bernie Senter, a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers from Morgantown, West Virginia, works at the Milan pharmaceuticals plant, the largest manufacturer of generic drugs in the United States. Senter explained to the gathering how he and his co-workers, with the support of their union local and area opponents of the Cuba embargo got the company to donate a large amount of antibiotics and anti-inflammatory drugs. "I found an inspiring amount of support among my co-workers to end the embargo, and surprisingly enlisted many as partisans," he said.

BY CHRIS RAYSON

SEATTLE — "We look to Cuba as an example," Haitian exile Elmira Dimanche told 70 participants at a send-off rally here February 23 for drivers and riders participating in the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. Dimanche is a political refugee from the Caribbean country, now living here. She was a prominent union organizer in Haiti until the military coup that overthrew the democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide forced her to go into exile.

Following the Seattle rally, smaller meetings were held in Tacoma and Olympia, Washington February 24, and in Portland, Oregon, February 25 to greet the caravan and load additional material aid as it headed south.

Scott Breen, an assembly line worker at the Kenworth Truck plant in Seattle and member of International Association of Machinists Local 289, is also driving on the caravan. Breen won a leave of absence from Kenworth to participate on the caravan.

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Los Angeles

Creation 'Science': Should It Be Taught in The Public Schools? Speakers: Ken Riley, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; others. Sat., Mar. 12, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Massacre in Hebron: An exchange of views on the Palestinian struggle and the current crisis in Israel and the occupied territories. Speakers: Emile Farah, Arab-Palestinian peace activist; Ayman Wishah-Palestinian student from refugee camp in Gaza; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Tel: (305) 756-1020

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Speak Out Against NSP's Nuclear Waste Dump at Prairie Island. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 508 N. Snelling Ave. (One block north of University Avenue near 21A, 16A, and 4 buslines. Donation: \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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After the Hebron Massacre: Prospects for Justice in Palestine. A panel discussion. Sun., March 13, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

South Africa: Advances to Democracy. See video of Mandela's interview on Nightline; hear an update from participants in the local coalition, which supports the African National Congress campaign — Dollars for Democracy. Speaker: Tom Kleven, Coordinator, Houston Committee for a Free South Africa and professor at TSU. Sat., Mar. 12, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway, #250. Donation: \$4. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

Cuba Friendship III - An Eyewitness Report Back. Sat., Mar. 25, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 250. Donation: \$4. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Capitalism in China? Speaker: Doug Cooper, Communist League, member of the National Union of Workers. Sat., Mar. 12, 6 p.m. Surry Hills Neighbourhood Centre, corner of Norton and Collins Streets. Donation: \$3. Tel: 02-281 3297.

BRITAIN

Manchester

Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary. Showing of the film: *Malcolm X - the Life of a Revolutionary Leader*. Sat., Mar.

12, 6 p.m. 1st floor, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839 1766.

CANADA

Vancouver

Speak Out Against the Massacre and Repression of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Speaker: Linda Bevis, attorney who worked with Palestinian human rights group al-Haq; Paul Kouri, Communist League. Fri., Mar. 11, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

World Capitalist Politics in the '90s: Economic Crisis, Social Tension, and Global Instability. Speaker: Mike Tucker, Communist League. Sat., Mar. 12, 7 p.m. 203 Karangahape Rd. (Opposite McDonald's). Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism. An Eyewitness Account. Speaker: Eugen Lepou, part of Pathfinder Press team at Havana Book Fair in February. Sat., Mar. 19, 7 p.m. 203 Karangahape Rd. (Opposite McDonald's). Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Christchurch

Report from Cuba Book Fair. Speaker: Member of Pathfinder team at the Sixth International Havana Book Fair held in February. Fri., Mar. 11, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 656-055.

CALENDAR

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Celebrate the Publication of Nelson Mandela Speaks: *Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. Sat., Mar. 19, 7 p.m. Reception 6 p.m. Harold Washington Library, Multipurpose Room B, 400 South State St. Sponsored by Pathfinder Books, Attending to Black Culture Committee of the University Church, Ethiopian Community Association of Chicago, and National Conference of Black Lawyers - Chicago Chapter. Donation: \$5. For more information, call Pathfinder Books (312) 829-6815.

TEXAS

Houston

A celebration of Women's History Month. Pathfinder bookstore sponsors an educational weekend, March 19-20. Two classes: Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. — Speaker: Elizabeth Stone, editor of *Women and the Cuban Revolution*. Sun., March 20, 11 a.m. Speaker: Rolande Girard. 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 250. Donation: \$3. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

BRITAIN

London

Unite Against Racism. March and rally in East London organized by the Trade Union Council (TUC). Sat., March 19. For more information, call 051-933-6067.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

New York

SATURDAY, MARCH 12

- 1 p.m. • registration begins
- 2:30 p.m. • Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism: Report back from a recent visit by Mary-Alice Waters
- LOCATION TO BE ANNOUNCED
- 7 p.m. • World Capitalist Politics in the '90s: 'Downsizing,' 'Cultural War,' and Global Instability by Jack Barnes
- AT PUBLIC SCHOOL 41, 116 W. 11TH ST. (AT 6TH AVE)

SUNDAY, MARCH 13

- 10 a.m. • Trade Unions and the Fight Against Imperialist War: Young Merchant Seamen during World War II and the Korean War by Tom Leonard, longtime union activist and socialist.
- 2 p.m. • Eyewitness report from South Africa: the African National Congress leads the fight for a democratic, nonracial, nonsexist republic by Brock Satter, Socialist Youth Organizing Committee and Greg Rosenberg, Militant staff writer.

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GEORGE FYSON

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- 12:30- 2:00 p.m. Lunch
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- 4:00- 7:00 p.m. Plenary session

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Semantics dep't — When Bill Clinton explained that the astroturf in the back of his pickup truck was

they're looking into the contract which gives junk bond swindler Michael Milken 95 percent of the take on the sale of videotapes of his recent UCLA classes.

tutes commanded fees of \$300 an hour. She's now reportedly doing well on the lecture circuit.

posal to give low-income folks a housing break. Sources said it would be prohibitively expensive.

that — "In Los Angeles County, a leader in managed health care, 48 percent of 31,300 acute care hospital beds are empty on any given day..." — News item.



Harry Ring

only to protect his suitcase from getting scratched, we wondered if he was old enough to remember when the slang expression for suitcase was keister.

Art of the Deal 101 — University of California regents say

He's got a point — "I believe courses like this one, taught by established professionals, are vital to a successful business management program." Letter to UC regents on the Milken classes, from state Assembly Speaker Willie Brown (D-San Francisco).

If UCLA can have Milken... — Sydney Biddle Barrows, the "Mayflower Madam" busted in New York for pandering, won the media spotlight because of her social status and the fact that her ring of prosti-

Got one that blocks the phone bill? — The New Jersey phone company offers two added services related to the caller ID system in which a caller's number appears on a display screen. One added service permits you to block your number from appearing on the screen. Meanwhile, under a second service, caller ID subscribers can set the gadget so their phone won't even ring when callers block their number.

There's that many poor people? — A White House task force on the homeless considered, but iced, a pro-

Now we get it — The above item suggests that the reason the government can give so many tax breaks to rich people is because, relatively, there's so few of them.

Amen — Religious commodities were plentiful at the Christian Ministries Convention in Denver. The Kalo Vita booth featured lotions, mud masks and vitamin shakes — all made with water from the Sea of Galilee. Kalo Vita is headed by rightist TV evangelist Pat Robertson.

Hard to manage better than

Nothing's perfect — A pharmaceutical company recalled 60,000 canisters of asthma inhalers which did not provide enough medicine to treat a severe asthma attack.

A thought — The folks in government get apoplexy at the mere mention of numerical quotas to put teeth into affirmative action programs. But when it comes to demanding "fair trade" from Japan, they tell them to skip the generalities and agree to specific quotas.

'Three strikes' crime laws are attack on rights

BY NAOMI CRAINE

"This is not just about putting people behind bars. This is about values," asserted Stanley Greenberg, pollster for U.S. president Bill Clinton. He was referring to a proposed measure that would mandate life imprisonment without parole for anyone convicted of three federal felonies. Clinton supports such an act as part of his "anti-crime" package, and several state governments are considering similar legislation.

The more that comes out about how such "three-strikes-you're-out" laws work, the worse they look for working people.

A front page article in the February 15 *New York Times*, for example, highlighted the case of Larry Fisher. One of the first to be tried under a "three strikes" law in Washington state, Fisher faces life imprisonment for allegedly robbing \$151 from a sandwich shop by pretending he had a gun in his pocket. He was convicted twice before for other small-time robberies.

Fisher's offenses contrast sharply with the grisly murders and rapes usually held up to justify "three strikes" laws. But Dave LaCourse, who led the drive to pass the Washington law, said Fisher's case was not unintended. "He's 35 years old and he hasn't learned his lesson yet," LaCourse said. "What's it going to take?"

One of the provisions in the Senate's version of the crime bill would count any felony drug offense — such as possession of a few grams of crack cocaine — as a strike heading toward lifetime incarceration.

Like all "anticrime" laws, this one will hit working people hardest, especially those who are Black. A 1991 Florida law allowing harsher sentences for people convicted of previous crimes is a good example. A much higher proportion of Blacks are prosecuted under the provision than whites eligible under the statute.

Debate within 'war on crime' framework

The "three strikes" measure has drawn some debate in recent weeks among politicians of both parties and the big-business media. The discussion, however, is entirely within the framework of a so-called war on crime.

In mid-February Philip Heymann stepped down from the number-two Justice Department post. Immediately after his resignation, Heymann began criticizing the Clinton administration's crime bill, especially the "three strikes" measure.

Like many liberals, one of Heymann's main objections was that it's too expensive to keep so many prisoners in jail past age 50. Better to make room for the young inmates, the argument goes.

A February 2 *New York Times* editorial asked, "What is the point of warehousing... geriatric prisoners to the end of their lives, with the cost of their imprisonment rising ever higher as they get older and sicker?"

The editors of the *Washington Post* said the proposal in Congress covers too many offenses. "It would be possible to wind up with a law that, at least in theory, punishes with a life sentence without parole a person who has sent a threatening letter to the Speaker of the House, possessed a few grams of crack and attempted to destroy an empty mail box," the *Post*'s editors say. They favor a "simplified and narrowed" version of the law.

On the other hand, some big-business spokespeople criticize the administration and Congress for not going far enough. A February 24 editorial in the *Wall Street Jour-*

nal, for example, called Clinton's proposals "mostly cosmetic."

Under the headline "Fight Crime Now," the *Journal* called for drastically turning back democratic rights won by working people in the last several decades. Among other things, the paper attacked "Miranda censoring of confessions," that is the requirement that police inform a person they arrest of their legal rights. The editors also complained about "activist judges declaring jails are 'too crowded.'"

Calls for reversing democratic rights

The *Journal* called for much harsher treatment of minors, including reinstituting reform schools "where problem youths, separated from nonviolent children who want to learn, are subjected to strict discipline." Under the subhead "Enforce vagrancy laws," the editors said cops should have more authority to arrest "suspected drug pushers or other malefactors for loitering," regardless of evidence of any misdeed. In addition, illegally obtained evidence should be allowed in trials, the *Journal* contended.

Finally, the editors said, "Give police officers in conflict with suspects a presumption of innocence." In other words, cops shouldn't have to worry that they might come under scrutiny for beating or abusing workers they arrest.

Several bills proposed in the Florida state legislature also go after democratic rights under the guise of fighting crime. One of the most controversial is a measure that would sentence a person convicted of rape to castration for their second offense and execution after a third conviction. The bill was proposed by state Senator Robert Wexler, a liberal Democrat, and is cosponsored by a dozen other legislators.

"Castration may be cruel and unusual punishment for a traffic ticket, but it's not for rape," Wexler said, defending his proposal.

Demagogically trying to whip up support, Mario Diaz-Balart, another state senator who signed his name onto the bill, declared, "We are now in a state of war. In times of war it's sometimes necessary to take drastic measures."

Other proposals pending in Florida include making it illegal for inmates to sue the state over cruel and unusual punishment and trying teenagers as young as 14 as adults, eligible for execution.

A deadly trap for workers

The "three strikes" bill and other so-called anticrime measures are a deadly trap for working people. In order to justify these attacks on democratic safeguards the working class has won over decades, the big-business media and politicians sensationalize the "crime question," making it appear to be the number-one problem in society. The homicide rate in Florida is actually the same today as it was 20 years ago, though you wouldn't know it from the news coverage.

That's not to say there isn't a real problem, of course. Many workers are rightly concerned about violent crime and the social breakdown it represents.

But there is no solution to crime under capitalism. The greatest acts of violence and brutality are carried out directly by the capitalist rulers and their governments — from the Iraq war to the massacre in Waco, Texas, last year. The violent and antisocial acts that are more often thought of as crime are also bred by capitalism and the dog-eat-dog val-



Inmates in gym of overcrowded state prison in California. Supporters of "three strikes" laws call for more prisons, while some liberals say those over 50 years old should be released to make room for younger inmates. Both sides of debate are a trap for workers.

ues, demoralization, and alienation it instills.

Far from solving anything, the anti-democratic measures proposed by Clinton and others will strengthen the hand of the ruling capitalist class.

It's only by rejecting this framework and building a movement that draws workers and youth into a meaningful fight to change society that the working class can begin to deal with the "crime question," as well as the capitalist system that creates it.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
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Things are stirring in the coal industry. On Feb. 8, members of the newly formed Black Lung Association began walking out of West Virginia coal mines. By the month's end 30,000 strikers had shut down all the soft coal pits in the state.

On Feb. 26 some 3,000 miners marched on the capitol in Charleston, demanding that the Workmen's Compensation Act be broadened to include Black Lung. Late in the afternoon the state judiciary committee passed on an amendment to the act which is expected to pass both houses before adjournment on March 8. The amendment provides:

1. The burden of proof will now rest with the state instead of the claimant. Black Lung does not show on x-rays until it achieves a more virulent form, either emphysema, tuberculosis, or heart failure.
2. The presumption of eligibility would extend to all workers employed for 10 years in industry where dust is a hazard, including coal mining. (A previous amendment, angrily rejected by the miners, would have covered only future workers, excluding the thousands already affected.)
3. The state's practice of paying off silicosis victims with a \$1,000 lump payment [will end]. This practice has cut silicosis sufferers off from any further benefits, even

though silicosis, once contracted, does not subside when the victim leaves mining.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
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March 11, 1944

The Italian revolution is blazing again! North Italy is in the violent throes of a general strike. Anne O'Hare McCormick, *N.Y. Times* political columnist, writes that the general strike has "the force of an insurrection."

On March 3, over 6 million workers were reported out. Half of the men involved were locked out, following a decision by the Ministry of Economy to reduce consumption of electricity for one week "because of the severe damage from aerial bombardment and the activities of anti-national Partisan groups." The remaining 50 percent walked out in a sympathy strike protesting the lack of food, inequality of treatment between workers on arms production and those working for civilian needs and against the forced labor conscription.

The Nazi murder machine immediately went into action to drown the strike in blood. Hundreds were arrested in Florence where demonstrating workers carried out a 36 hour sitdown strike, barricading the factory grounds. Fascist military formations were called out when the civil authorities admitted the situation was beyond control.

It is clear that the Italian workers are not taking these repressions and shootings lying down. Retaliations against the fascist leaders continue.

Protest Israeli massacre!

The slaughter of at least 40 Palestinians in Hebron by a rightist vigilante and the Israeli regime's subsequent use of the "iron fist" to kill and maim dozens more have brought shock and condemnation from working people around the world.

The claims of Israeli officials, repeated in servile fashion by the big-business press, that gunman Baruch Goldstein was "insane," "acting on his own," and "extremist" are lies aimed at covering up who is responsible: Tel Aviv and its main backer, the U.S. government.

The most outrageous claim of all was Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin's crocodile-tears statement that Goldstein brought "a shame on Zionism." The settler was a pure and simple product of this racist official ideology. Goldstein just drew the logical conclusions from Zionism, which is window dressing for the establishment of a colonial settler state by force of arms and the theft of the Palestinian people's land. The settlers' racist rantings about Arabs pale in comparison to what is said by the Israeli ruling families beyond earshot in the salons of Tel Aviv.

While the *New York Times* spends gallons of ink fawning over Tel Aviv's phony expressions of remorse, other liberals, such as columnist A.M. Rosenthal, warn against establishing "moral equivalence," — that is, they claim that Israel is democratic, its politicians are apologizing, don't put them on the same level as "Arab terrorists."

Rabin, his immediate predecessors, and their main ally in Washington have the blood of tens of thousands of Palestinians on their hands. The Israeli regime slaughtered at least 27,000 people in its 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

They organized the wholesale massacres at Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in Lebanon. They developed atomic bombs to terrorize working people throughout the region. Their trained assassins have carried out "hits" for the Zionist state around the world. And the notorious apartheid regime in South Africa has had no better friend — except possibly the one in Washington. As recently as July of last year Rabin ordered the wholesale bombing of southern Lebanon, killing 125 and sending 250,000 fleeing from their homes.

U.S. president Bill Clinton, responsible for the massacre at Waco, Texas, less than one year ago, wants to salvage talks between the Palestine Liberation Organization and Tel Aviv. Washington's main concern is finding a way to defuse the Palestinian struggle. Clinton hopes the implementation of some sort of self-rule might be the way to do it. The accords, however, are in deep trouble.

The imperialists' recurring problem — and nightmare — is that there is no solution to the Palestinian "question" in a framework that is acceptable to them. The Palestinian people are fighting for a democratic, secular Palestine. The establishment of such a nation doesn't square with the rulers in Tel Aviv or Washington.

The urgent task of the day for working people and youth the world over is to organize visible protests demanding that Israel get its settlers, army, and cops out of the territories now, get material aid to hospitals in need of supplies in the wake of Israel's bloodletting, and support the demands of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

Waco acquittals expose gov't

Explaining why he voted to acquit 11 members of the Branch Davidian religious sect of murder conspiracy charges, one juror said, "The government used a great deal of muscle that they shouldn't have."

Another juror pointed to the barbarity of the tank assault ordered by U.S. president Bill Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno on the group's housing complex in Waco, Texas. "I couldn't imagine anybody being in a home with that many women and children and having a big tank coming through the front door," she said. "This is America. This isn't a police state. I don't care what they did, I can't see that."

"One of the tragedies of Waco is that we will never know what the right judgment was," sighed Reno to reporters hours after the verdict.

This is transparent hypocrisy on her part. After the initial shoot-out and a seven-week siege, Reno ordered a massive assault with tanks and tear gas against a wooden housing compound, knowing that dozens of people were inside, including many children. The tanks smashed large sections of the walls to smithereens, shaking the structure to its foundation. This action was carried out despite the fact that the government knew kerosene lanterns were used for lighting, since the officials had cut off the electricity.

Many working people responded to the inferno with outrage. In the first days after the assault, Reno's office was flooded with angry phone calls and faxes. Washington moved immediately to try to numb working people to the

rulers' brutality by attempting to pin the blame on the targets of the police assault. The facts that came out in the trial, however, simply reaffirmed the complete culpability of the government in the deaths.

The jury's decision to reject the most serious charges against the Branch Davidians is a political defeat for the Clinton administration. It reflects a lack of confidence in the government and its cop agencies on the part of significant layers of working people and others.

The same unwillingness to unquestioningly accept the word of the cops was seen in the recent acquittal of Randy Weaver and Kevin Harris, white separatists charged with killing a cop after a police raid similar to the one in Waco. Weaver's wife and son were killed by police in that shoot-out. In the trial of two Detroit cops found guilty last year in the beating death of Malice Green, one juror explained that he simply hadn't believed the cops' version of events.

While the verdict in the Waco trial is a partial victory, justice has not been done. The cops and government — above all Clinton and Reno — are guilty of what they cynically accused the Branch Davidians of: conspiracy to murder dozens of human beings. These killers walk free, while seven of the survivors of their massacre are sent to jail.

The front page of the *Militant* put forward a call just days after the fiery assault on the Branch Davidians last year, which still rings true today. Working people need to tell the truth about Clinton's holocaust in Waco.

Build support for Cuba caravan

Supporters of the Cuban revolution, and all opponents of Washington's criminal trade embargo against Cuba, can build on the initial successes of the Third U.S.-Cuba Friendship in the coming weeks. What's been accomplished through the caravan so far shows it is possible to build broad opposition to the embargo, and win workers, youth, and others to defense of Cuba's socialist revolution in the process.

Union activists in a number of cities have been able to get support from their coworkers and unions to collect aid for the Friendshipment. Several have gotten time off work to participate as drivers. In one case, workers at a pharmaceutical plant and other caravan supporters even convinced the company to make a sizable donation of medicines. High school and college students have also gotten in on the act, raising money and supplies to be driven to Cuba.

Friendshipment supporters hosted a successful send-off event for the convoy from Newark, New Jersey. This is an significant victory, since rightists there have broken up meetings against the embargo and in defense of the Cuban revolution in the past.

All three caravans from Canada were able to enter the United States to participate in the project, bringing aid from several cities. This is an important victory. Only a portion of the drivers and aid were allowed to cross the border, during the second Friendshipment last summer.

The 13 convoys are now converging in Laredo, Texas. The 250 drivers will try to cross the border into Mexico March 9. The best way to ensure the success of the solidarity caravan is by building the broadest possible meetings in each city along the way, as well as participating in events in Laredo.

Washington will maintain its policies of aggression toward Cuba as long as the socialist revolution lives there. But activities like the Friendshipment can help expose this policy and raise the political cost of maintaining it. These actions also introduce workers and young people to the Cuban revolution. Many can be won as partisans of the example the Cuban revolution gives humanity — an example of working people standing up to imperialism for 35 years and fighting to build a new society based on human needs.

The work begun with the Friendshipment shouldn't end when the convoy crosses the border. The momentum gained through the Friendshipment can be used to build the tour of Cuban youth leader Pavél Díaz, for example. There will also be openings across North America to build public meetings and get media coverage for returning caravan participants. The students, workers, and other activists who built the aid caravan should take full advantage of these opportunities to reach out still broader in condemning Washington's embargo and travel ban.

Argentine 'miracle'

Continued from Page 9

officials announced a January 31 deadline for all foreigners to register with the authorities or be subject to deportation.

Earlier, the Argentine Congress had voted to authorize federal intervention in Santiago del Estero. Menem then named Juan Antonio Schiaretti as a federal trustee to assume control of the province from Governor Fernando Lobo, who had fled during the protests. Schiaretti was sent in along with hundreds of federal cops.

A crowd of 1,000 demonstrators jeered Schiaretti and threw stones at Lobo, who reappeared for the trustee's installation December 18, while a minority in the crowd applauded. Schiaretti later declared a two-day holiday and approved payment of \$500 to each public employee and \$300 to pensioners in an attempt to defuse the explosive situation. In La Rioja province, authorities decreed a holiday for public employees December 24 to February 1. No further protests have been reported since.

The electoral front *Frente Grande* (Grand Front), which includes the Communist Party of Argentina, presents itself as a "progressive" alternative. However, its deputies voted together with the rest of Congress to place Santiago del Estero under federal rule and to send in troops, said Bilbao.

Rightist parties gain hearing

In the absence of a working class voice, a number of rightist political parties are gaining a hearing among working people devastated by the capitalist crisis.

The Movement for Dignity and Independence (MODIN) promises "Loyalty, Stability and Patriotism." MODIN is led by former Lieutenant Colonel Aldo Rico, a *carapintada* (painted face), the term used for military officers who carried out the dirty war. MODIN attempts to dress its nationalist demagoguery in an anti-imperialist mantle, demanding the return of the Malvinas Islands still occupied by British troops. Menem has renounced force to reestablish Argentine control over the islands.

MODIN has also denounced the Chilean owners of the Edesur electric company. The union organizing workers at Edesur has charged the Chilean-owned utility with pressuring workers to sign up for early retirement. At a protest against the firing of three workers accused of sabotage last year, the Chilean flag and a list of Chilean executives placed in a coffin were burned. "Some union officials have become stockholders in the electric company and promote anti-Chilean attitudes among the workers," said Bilbao.

"In the October elections MODIN won 923,000 votes or 5.8 percent nationally and up to 20 percent in the devastated industrial belt around the capital," the Argentine journalist said. "It is established as the third largest party after the Peronists and the UCR, which together controlled 83 percent of the vote in the last election. MODIN is receiving support from some Peronist-led trade union organizations as well as sectors in the army."

The former Colonel Mohamed Seineldin heads another right-wing outfit, the Movement for National Identity and Ibero-American Integration (MINII), which does not participate in elections. Seineldin, who led the last military uprising after the establishment of civilian rule in 1983, described himself from prison as "a soldier of our fatherland who did not want to shirk his responsibility."

Seineldin, like Rico, hypocritically opposes "the balancing of accounts at the expense of the hunger of millions of families." Denouncing corruption by government officials, the two rightists play on the deep hatred for capitalist politicians and traditional parties felt by growing numbers of working people. A slogan painted on the walls of the government building in Santiago del Estero said in English, "I love Seineldin."

Seineldin stated in a recent interview that, "Given the current crisis situation experienced by nations, arising from the decadence, corruption, and inability of the partisan leaderships that constantly jeopardize republican life, the movement [MINII] must act as a guarantee for continuity."

Increasing instability

The Buenos Aires stock exchange, the fastest growing in the world in 1991, crashed in 1992 with stocks losing 50 percent of their value. The Merval equity market has lost more than half of its 1992 value. The country's industrial production increased by 40 percent since 1991. But industrial output, which surged in 1991 and 1992, leveled off to 3.5 percent growth last year.

Following the rebellion in Santiago, which was not previously known for major social protests, capitalist politicians are expressing concern about the increasing instability. The *Financial Times* called the rebellion the, "first serious challenge to Menem's reform programs." An earlier article in the NYT spoke of a "growing disillusionment about privatization and concern by foreign investors about the political risks in Argentina."

Further layoffs are scheduled across the country. Authorities in Santa Cruz province plan to dismiss 7,000 public employees or 30 percent of the total workforce in 1994. Last year some 13,000 state employees chose "voluntary retirement" in the capital province of Buenos Aires. Another 10,000 employees are to be laid off this year.

The deepening crisis in Argentina, which is furthest down the road of capitalist restructuring in Latin America, presages further social explosions in the region.

"Santiago is Latin America and Latin America is Santiago," said a young Argentine attending the Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Conference for Solidarity, Sovereignty, Self-determination, and the Life of Our Peoples held at the end of January in Havana. One of the most prominent slogans painted on the walls in Santiago during the revolt was, "The time of the sleep is over."

Thousands march in California to defend immigrant workers

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — A well-organized and spirited three-mile march of immigrant workers and their supporters offered significant resistance to the growing wave of immigrant bashing by capitalist politicians here.

An estimated 2,000-6,000 people marched February 26 from the heart of East Los Angeles to a rally at the steps of city hall.

Arrayed in evenly spaced rows across the street, the march extended for many blocks down the newly renamed Cesar Chavez Avenue. Marchers kept up a steady chorus of chants. Among the most popular were "Raza Sí migra no" and "Viva Chiapas."

Leading the march was an 18-member drum and bugle corps from Tijuana, Mexico. Among the slogans on the many signs and banners were "We are a people without borders," "No to the sellout Latino politicians," "A silent people is an exploited people," and "Gov. [Pete] Wilson, don't make immigrant children illegal."

The latter demand refers to Wilson's proposal to deny citizenship to the U.S.-born children of undocumented immigrants. Wilson has also proposed refusing these workers access to health care and education and creating a national identity card to better identify and keep tabs on immigrants.

The anti-immigrant campaign in California has accelerated in the weeks since the January 17 earthquake. The earthquake bill signed into law by U.S. president Bill Clinton on February 12 will deny undocumented workers all but the most immediate emergency relief.

Approval of the bill in the Senate was aided by the efforts of California senators Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer. The two liberal Democrats have also called for stationing military forces on the U.S.-Mexican border.

While the demonstration received wide publicity on Spanish-language television and radio, as well as in the influential *La Opinión*, it went almost unnoticed in En-

glish-language media.

The mainly young marchers were a diverse group, including many women as well as children and entire families. A food vendor along the route took a sign and joined the march, leaving his cart behind.

Hundreds carried printed signs or wore tee-shirts supporting Proposition One. The campaign for this referendum, which would grant immediate citizenship for those who have residency and extend to 1992 the amnesty already given to undocumented immigrants who lived in the United States prior to 1982, was launched at the action.

Contingents of unionists

The United Farm Workers of America (UFW) contingent totaled almost 500. Efraín Obiedo said he was among nearly 150 farm workers who drove in from the Coachella Valley.

Some 100 garment workers, most dressed in matching yellow shirts, marched in the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) contingent that brought up the rear of the march. Members of Justice for Janitors, the Service Employees' International Union campaign to organize the predominately immigrant workforce in downtown high-rise buildings, wore their distinctive red tee-shirts.

Students carried banners from campus organizations at several colleges, including Glendale College and California State University in Long Beach, as well as from high school Chicano groups.

Members of the California Immigrant Workers Association, an official AFL-CIO sponsored group, marched with a banner.

An organization of independent Latino immigrant taxi drivers brought 25 marchers.

A large Socialist Workers Party banner demanded "Equal rights for immigrants" in both Spanish and English.

Opening the rally and serving as chair was Carlos Vellanoweth, an attorney and legal director of One Stop Immigration. This group spearheaded organizing for the demonstration, which was officially sponsored



Militant/Kevin Jones

Garment workers march to defend immigrant rights February 26 in Los Angeles.

by the Proposition One Coalition. The coalition drew together a variety of forces, including unionists, religious figures, and community organizations.

One Stop Immigration operates dozens of offices in Southern California which offer immigrants help with legal matters and classes required to obtain citizenship.

Vellanoweth introduced the second speaker, Rev. Pedro Villarroya of the Catholic Archdiocese of Los Angeles. "It is only going out into the streets, marching, shouting, and demanding that we're going to achieve the respect for our dignity in this country," Villarroya said.

'Basic human rights'

Cristina Vázquez, political and education director of the ILGWU, called the march "the first of many mobilizations." She added that "we as Latinos, as workers, will continue fighting until we push back these attacks."

Alvaro Maldonado, leader of the Pro-immigrant Mobilization Coalition, sponsor of several actions in recent months, described moves to deny prenatal care to women and prevent U.S.-born children of undocumented parents from attending school here.

The crowd heard remarks from Pedro Castillo, of Televisa, an international Spanish-language television network based in

Mexico City, and José Ronstadt of Channel 52, a local Spanish-language station. "We're fighting for basic human rights," Ronstadt said. "We are here to stay and we are not going anywhere. They have to understand that."

City Councilman Richard Alatorre said he "condemned any politician — Democrat or Republican — who advances their career on the backs of immigrants. People who come here because of conditions in their country come to work, not to be on welfare."

Other speakers represented the UFW, the Mexican-American Political Association, Madres de East Los Angeles, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, and student organizations.

The rally observed a moment of silence for the more than 40 Palestinians who had been slaughtered on the West Bank in Israel the previous day.

"This mobilization is only the beginning of the fight," said Julio Cordosa, who is from Nicaragua. "Nicaraguans, all Central Americans, need to get into this fight. We all have to fight together."

A statement by Kim Allen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor in the last elections, was distributed.

Near the end of the rally, Vellanoweth announced plans for a demonstration scheduled for Saturday, May 7, to be preceded by a May 5-6 conference on immigrant rights in Los Angeles.

LETTERS

Smoking and health

We agree that the proposed cigarette tax increase is a regressive tax that should be opposed, and that tobacco farmers and tobacco industry workers should be supported in their fight against cuts in quota allotments, layoffs, etc. And we agree that the U.S. government's and private industries' alleged concern for our health and safety is so much hogwash: their concern on this as on all other questions is money and profits.

However, we think the article "Should workers support tobacco farmers' fight" in the February 28 *Militant* failed to address working people's legitimate health concerns about smoking. This leads to a one-sided, "smokers' rights" approach to the question of controlling smoking in public places.

Government, whether capitalist or socialist, has the right, indeed the duty, to take measures to protect public health. The labor movement, socialists, and others have fought for decades for the elimination of child labor, the enforcement of fire safety regulations, the provision of wash-up facilities, the elimination of asbestos, the closing of the nuclear power and nuclear bomb industries. The same health and safety concerns apply to the question of tobacco smoking. Tobacco smoke is a major indoor air pollutant.

In our view, smokers' "rights" end where they come into conflict with the rights of working people, smokers and non-smokers alike, to unpolluted air. Working people have the right to be free from unhealthy and unwanted tobacco



smoke anywhere they have to go in the course of the day, including public buildings, restaurants, bathrooms, factories and office buildings, schools, hospitals, taxis, public transit, etc.

Once the right to be free from dangerous and unwanted tobacco smoke is won — and this is a real battle going on today — provision should be made so that the minority of smokers can continue to smoke if they so choose. Employers should not be permitted to discriminate against smokers when it comes to employment. Companies should provide separately ventilated and enclosed smoking areas or make provision so that workers can smoke outdoors during breaks.

Tobacco smoke is not a middle-class problem, nor does a smoke-free environment constitute "social engineering." Rather, to-

bacco smoke is a problem of health and safety that working people feel strongly about, and rightly so.

Bob Braxton
Marla Puziss
Atlanta, Georgia

A slight anachronism

I am writing to point out a slight anachronism which cropped up in Sara Lobman's article on the Hatch Act.

She refers to the war preparations the U.S. ruling class was making in the late 1930s against their imperialist rivals in "London, Paris, and Bonn." These cities, of course, are only shorthand references to the countries (and ruling classes) of which they were the capitals.

But at that time, the capital and political center of capitalist Germa-

ny was still Berlin.

It was only after the war and Germany's partition that Bonn became the capital of West Germany and, as a name, came to be used in political journalism to represent the rulers of capitalist Germany.

Peter Buch
Berkeley, California

Sexual violence

In their useful and thought-provoking articles, Estelle DeBates and Roni McCann defend the Marxist view that female exploitation — and hence sexual violence — is rooted in class society.

It is essential to be contemporary and concrete in pointing to the kind of society in which rape and sexual violence are seen by working people as violations of human solidarity and are slowly being eradicated. This is why the example of Cuba is critical in the issues that DeBates and McCann address.

Today's fighters can learn from Cuba on how new social and economic relations — a workers state — are a decisive foundation for combating sexual violence, as a part of the battle to create new men and women in a society free of exploitation and oppression. This example provides a clear counterposition to the reactionary utopia of the bourgeois feminists, as well as the rightists.

The massive integration of women into the Cuban work force; their huge participation in national military defense, and international missions of all types; advanced educational opportunities; popular sexual

education, including free abortion and birth control, along with easy divorce laws; and the support and inspiration of the revolution that abolished capitalist property relations have created new generations of women and men less warped and shaped by patriarchal norms.

Cuban women, particularly working women, are more politically, personally, and physically self-confident as thinking, acting, conscious human beings than ever before.

Whatever difficulties, errors, false starts and retreats the Cuban revolutionaries have made on these questions, it's clear that real, historic advances in human solidarity have been achieved 90 miles from the United States.

Pornography is prohibited in Cuba by statute, a reflection of genuine popular revulsion towards this capitalist business enterprise. Rape is viewed as intolerable and reprehensible, and is stiffly punished. On several trips I've made to Cuba, the response I've gotten from workers, farmers, youth, police and lawyers to questions about the incidence of rape has been the same: "statistically insignificant."

Jon Hillson
Minneapolis, Minnesota

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.

Canada budget slashes social benefits

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

VANCOUVER, Canada — On February 22, Finance Minister Paul Martin presented a federal budget that cuts unemployment insurance (UIC) payments, freezes the wages of federal government workers, and reduces the tax credit for the elderly.

The Liberal Party government was elected last October 25 after promising to create jobs and preserve Canada's social programs. But like his Conservative predecessor, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien has made it clear this is just the beginning of sweeping attacks on social programs. The Liberals have commissioned a study to be completed by September 1994 that will make recommendations on how "to re-weave Canada's social safety net," — one of a growing number of code expressions being used to describe the increasing attacks on the social programs won by working people.

Canada's official unemployment rate stands at 11.2 percent. Yet the \$5.5 billion cuts to the UIC program over the next three years represent the single biggest cut in spending in the budget. UIC payments will go from 57 percent to 55 percent of gross weekly earnings for 85 percent of those currently receiving them. The rate for single parents will go up.

Thousands of workers in Quebec and Ontario demonstrated against the former Conservative government in early 1993 when UIC payments were cut from 60 percent to 57 percent of workers' wages.

The budget also increases the minimum number of weeks — from 10 to 12 — that UIC claimants must work to renew their claims. This is a blow to thousands of workers in Atlantic Canada already devastated by the collapse of the east coast fishing industry. The seasonal character of work in the fisheries means many workers put in intensive hours over a short period of time and are forced to collect UIC the rest of the year. This move will mean an estimated 40,000 workers are no longer eligible for benefits.

The federal government and big-business media have been on a campaign over the last few weeks to convince other working people in Canada that fishery workers in the east are responsible for the cutbacks.

The budget extends the government's freeze on the wages of federal government workers until 1997 and indefinitely bans the hiring of new employees. In early 1992, federal government workers organized by the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) waged a determined strike to fight an earlier wage freeze and cuts by the government. Their fight was cut short when the PSAC leadership ordered the members to return to their jobs after Ottawa issued a back-to-work order.

The Liberals are also introducing a means test to the \$950 age-tax credit, which cur-

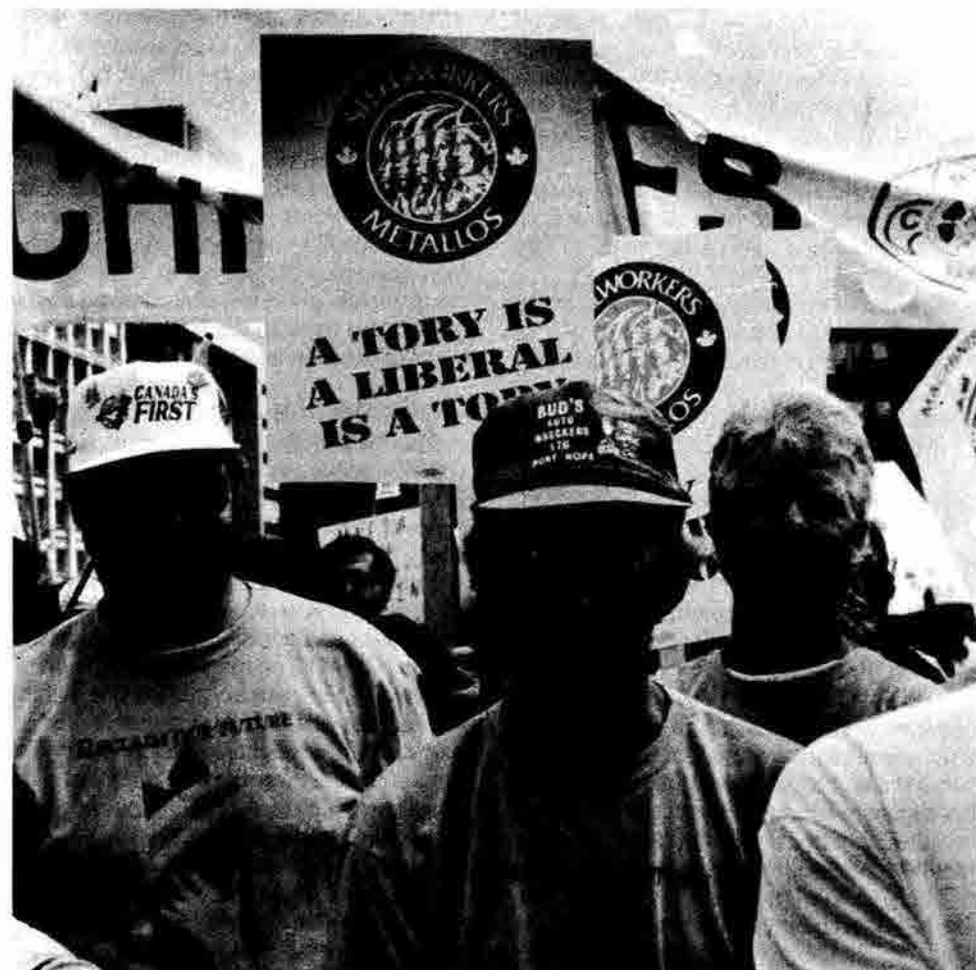
rently goes to all residents over 65 years old. Under the budget cutback, only those with an income below \$25,921 will receive the full credit, while those with incomes over \$49,134 will not be eligible at all. This will affect 800,000 people. The government says that its review of social programs will target Old Age Pension and Canada Pension Plan as well as the UIC system.

Another way Ottawa is carrying out its assault on working people is by reducing its transfer payments to the provinces. This includes a complete freeze on transfers to all provinces for welfare and post secondary-education programs in 1995-96. Since the beginning of the recession in 1990, tens of thousands of workers have exhausted their UIC benefits and have been forced onto the welfare rolls.

The Ontario government reacted to the federal budget plan by hinting that it will raise tuition fees. Tuition fees at Ontario's colleges and universities have already risen by 7 percent in each of the past two years.

The federal budget follows on the heels of draconian budgets adopted by the provinces. Officials in Alberta recently rolled back the wages of provincial government employees by 5 percent; Newfoundland by 4.5 percent. In Quebec the government imposed a two-year salary freeze and Ontario government workers have been forced to take from nine to 12 days off without pay, in addition to wage freezes. In New Brunswick, where rates paid to welfare recipients are the lowest in the country, the government is acting to force welfare recipients into taking low-paying jobs.

The Alberta government presented its budget February 24, which included spending cuts ranging between 12 percent and 18 percent on health, education, and social ser-



Workers demonstrate in May 1993 against budget cuts in Ottawa

Militant/Heidi Rose

vices. At least 1,000 public sector workers are expected to be laid off and union leaders predict that thousands of workers in health and education will see their jobs disappear

in the next two years.

On Oct. 23, 1993 8,000 people marched in Edmonton, Alberta, to protest the attacks on social services.

Maritime workers in Australia strike against layoffs and attacks on union

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia — Five hundred waterside workers (dock workers), members of the Maritime Union of Australia (MUA), walked off the job February 10 at the two Sydney port operations of Australian Stevedores. They struck to oppose the forced redundancies (permanent layoffs) meted out that day to 55 dock workers in Sydney. Twenty-four of the 55 are union delegates.

That same day 900 workers at 13 other Australian Stevedores terminals around the country walked out in solidarity. They re-

turned to work the next day but imposed bans on overtime, double shifts, and the use of casual labor.

Strikers report that MUA members on tugs and stranded ships have given their "total support" to the strike.

The company is the larger of two that virtually control the wharves throughout Australia.

Workers in Melbourne, Fremantle, Brisbane, and elsewhere walked off the job again February 14-15 when a union delegate was victimized for refusing to answer company questions about the bans. Meanwhile, the Sydney strikers met February 15 and voted to continue their strike until the 55 workers were reinstated.

Some 30-40 ships were stranded, tying up tens of millions of dollars of cargo. In Victoria, 320 workers in the meat processing industry were stood down (temporarily laid off) due to shortages, with hundreds more also threatened.

Company raises stakes

Australian Stevedores raised the stakes February 16 when all 1,400 workers were issued a letter demanding they return to their jobs and lift the ban on overtime or be sacked and replaced. The strikers held firm and the next day the company made good on its threat.

After Laurie Brereton, federal minister for industrial relations, threatened to impose binding arbitration, the MUA agreed to drop the ban on casual labor, overtime, and double shifts around the country while maintaining the strike in Sydney. Australian Stevedores withdrew the dismissal notices for all but the 55.

Workers picketing at Port Botany, Sydney, underneath signs that said "Fight for the 55", said the issues in the strike are defense

of their union and "casualization" of the workforce.

"If we go back without the 55 or the union delegates, then we'll just be like slaves," one striker said. Others pointed to the importance of the dispute for the entire labor movement. "If the MUA rolls over and dies, then the rest of the unions can forget it," another said.

Many waterside workers felt the 55 dismissals were intended to provoke a strike. The managing director of the company said the dismissals were necessary to maintain profitability.

"This dispute had to come," said one striker with more than 25 years on the waterfront. In the last three years, under the Waterfront Industry Reform Authority (WIRA), work on the wharves has been sharply restructured. The permanent full-time workforce has been slashed from 8,900 to 3,800. But many of those laid off have actually returned to work as part-time casuals on call seven days a week.

While the union initially agreed to the introduction of part-time casuals to supplement the full-time workforce during peak times, it is opposed to the substitution of casual workers for permanent full-timers. Many pointed out that the logic of the company's casualization drive was to return to the days of the "bull system" prior to 1943, when workers were subjected to arbitrary hiring and firing at dock entrances at the whim of the bosses.

Productivity has risen dramatically with the WIRA restructuring. Strikers said they now load 20 containers per hour compared to 12 per hour before the restructuring.

Doug Cooper is a member of the National Union of Workers in Sydney.

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