

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Paris's devaluation of franc
hits West Africa hard

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Whitewater scandal shakes White House Capitalist rulers send warning to Clinton

BY NAOMI CRAINE

The Clinton administration was besieged by new allegations in the Whitewater inquiry in early March with the subpoena of 10 White House and Treasury Department officials and the forced resignation of White House attorney Bernard Nussbaum.

The affair centers around the business dealings of U.S. president Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary Clinton with a failed savings and loan; attempts to conceal and possibly shred documents related to the case; the inadequate investigation of the death of Nussbaum's assistant, Vincent Foster; and meetings between White House staff and the agency charged with investigating the case. As the scandal unfolds, it also lays bare the web of intermeshing business, political, and personal ties that make up the Clinton administration.

In October the Resolution Trust Corp., a Treasury Department agency charged with investigating failed thrifts, referred the case of Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan to the Justice Department, naming the Clintons as possible beneficiaries of illegal actions by Madison's owner, James McDougal. The Clintons shared ownership of Whitewater Development Corp., which had its account at Madison, with McDougal in the 1980s.

Meetings to discuss investigation

Among other misdeeds, there is evidence that tens of thousands of dollars from Madison were diverted to pay Clinton's debts from his 1984 campaign for Arkansas governor. Madison went belly up in 1989 at a cost of \$60 million in federal deposit insurance.



Hillary Clinton, left, and Bill Clinton's dealings are at center of scandal.

More than a week before the case went to the Justice Department, Treasury Department counsel Jean Hanson met with Nussbaum to inform him of the impending investigation. At least two other meetings took place between White House and Treasury Department officials to discuss the Whitewater inquiry, a probable violation of federal ethics regulations that puts the impartiality of the investigation in serious doubt.

"Criminal referrals are restricted and privileged information," noted an editorial



in the March 4 *Washington Post*. "How can administration lawyers not respect that prohibition?"

Ten officials who took part in these meetings, including Nussbaum and Hanson, were subpoenaed March 4 to testify for a grand jury convened by special counsel Robert Fiske. The Clinton administration had hoped Fiske's appointment in January to investigate Madison, Whitewater, and the related cover up would help

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Israeli gov't clamps down; protests rock territories

BY GREG ROSENBERG

As the Israeli government poured troops into the occupied territories and continued 24-hour curfews over much of the Gaza Strip and West Bank, Palestinian fury over the Hebron massacre and subsequent military repression continued. As of March 8, the Palestinian death toll from the slaughter at the Cave of the Patriarchs and subsequent army attacks was no fewer than 74.

Tel Aviv and Washington are seeking a rapid return to negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The PLO, however, has suspended talks on last year's accord with the Israeli government. If ever implemented, the agreement would allow for limited Palestinian self-rule in Gaza and the West Bank city of Jericho. The PLO leadership, which has seen popular support for the accord plummet to new lows following Israeli settler Baruch Goldstein's murderous attack on the mosque, insists that the physical safety of Palestinians be guaranteed before talks resume.

The Israeli regime is cracking down on the territories with huge troop deployments. "Most of the Gaza Strip remains under curfew," said Palestinian journalist Ziad Abbas in a March 8 telephone interview from Bethlehem. "About 120,000 people are under curfew in Hebron. It is forbidden for anyone from Gaza or the West Bank to enter Israel — for work, to go to the hospital, for any reason."

On March 7, Israeli troops shot two Palestinian youths dead in the territories and wounded 18 people, including Associated Press photographer John Gaps. Gaps said he was shot from 100 yards away by an army sniper.

The Zionist regime also sent warplanes to bomb areas of southern Lebanon on March 8, following attacks by Hezbollah guerrillas on Israeli-backed Lebanese militias that

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Solidarity convoy crosses border with aid for Cuba

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

LAREDO, Texas — To the cheers of caravan drivers and supporters, nearly 70 trucks, buses, and cars loaded to the brim with humanitarian aid crossed the U.S.-Mexico border here March 9 on its way to Cuba.

The U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan vehicles, covered with signs and artwork demanding an end to the U.S. economic embargo of Cuba, converged on Laredo after traveling 13 different routes through Canada and the United States. The caravan stopped at more than 100 cities and towns to participate in local events and to collect aid from students, workers, church groups, and others.

The U.S. government has enforced a trade embargo against Cuba for more than 30 years in an attempt to crush the socialist revolution there. In recent years, the U.S. Congress has passed new legislation further tightening the embargo, including regulations forbidding subsidiaries of U.S. corporations from trading with Cuba.

Lisa Valenti, a caravan activist from Pittsburgh, explained for example that Eli Lilly's

Canadian subsidiary no longer sells insulin to Cuba and Heinz has stopped selling baby food.

Despite some petty harassment by U.S. customs officials, the U.S. government clearly made a decision to allow the bulk of the vehicles and aid across the border. Earlier, caravan drivers and material aid had successfully crossed the Canadian border into Detroit; Blaine, Washington; and Swanton, Vermont.

At one point early in the Laredo crossing, government agents unloaded a donated ambulance filled with thousands of dollars worth of medicine. As TV cameras zoomed in on the aid, customs officials confiscated a quantity of medicines used to treat children suffering from cancer. Suddenly — apparently realizing they were creating a public relations disaster — these same officials retreated. The cancer medicine was returned and the ambulance reloaded and allowed to cross the border to chants of "Cuba sí, Bloqueo no!"

Angela Marino joined the caravan along with five other students from Evergreen

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Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism

Report back from a recent visit

by **MARY-ALICE WATERS**

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World Capitalist Politics in the '90s

'Downsizing,' 'Cultural War,'
and Global Instability

by **JACK BARNES**

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Peasants protest in Paraguay

Some 300 peasants barricaded a central highway 125 miles northeast of Asunción, Paraguay's capital, at the end of February. Peasants demonstrated in other parts of the country as well. The farmers were demanding a boost in the price they are paid for their cotton crop and the right to sell their products in Brazil. The police fired rubber bullets and tear gas at protesters, injuring dozens and arresting more than 50. The demonstrations began a week after the violent eviction of 250 families from the property of former president Blas Riquelme in Colonia Navidad.

U.S.-Canada salmon talks end

Pacific Salmon Treaty talks between Washington and Ottawa broke down March 4. The agreement, which was signed in 1985 and expired last year, regulates how fishermen from the United States and Canada share access to salmon stock that migrate across international borders. "The negotiating process between Canada and the U.S. is at an all-time low," said Bob Wright, a negotiator for the Canadian government. Unless something is done to break the logjam, Canada and the United States will end up in a fish war this summer, endangering salmon stocks and possibly fishing some runs to extinction, he said.

According to the *New York Times*, 13 of the 17 principal fishing zones in the world face severely depleted stock and the decline in salmon in the Pacific Northwest is already "catastrophic."

Antiabortion thug convicted

Michael Griffin was convicted of first-degree murder March 5 in the shooting death of a doctor outside an abortion clinic in Pensacola, Florida. He was immediately sentenced to life in prison. Griffin shot Dr. David Gunn three times in the back at point-blank range March 10, 1993, during an anti-abortion demonstration outside the Pensacola Women's Medical Services clinic.

U.S. auto giants to add jobs

The U.S. auto industry is adding more than a million units of North American car and truck production capacity and approximately 9,500 new jobs. Vehicle sales rose almost 20 percent in February from a year earlier. Chrysler is leading the way with

plans to pump in another \$1.8 billion on additional capacity and add 6,000 jobs to its payroll. The Big Three — Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors — are focusing on adding third shifts, working overtime, and keeping open some plants scheduled to close, but have no plans to build new factories.

More part-time professors

According to a recent study by the U.S. Education Department, 58 percent of college teachers now are part-time or temporary instructors. Part-time faculty members earn a fraction of the salary of permanent employees, receive no benefits, and often must shuttle from school to school to eke out a living.

In addition, the American Association of University Professors reports that between 1975 and 1985, the number of male part-time faculty rose 10.3 percent, while the number of female part-time faculty rose 54 percent.

Baku moves on oil deal

Heydar Aliyev, president of Azerbaijan, has agreed to restart negotiations with a seven-member consortium of oil companies, which include British Petroleum, Statoil, Penzoi, Amoco, and Ramco. The oil companies are seeking rights to exploit the multi-billion-dollar oil reserves in the Caspian Sea. Aliyev placed the Azeri State Oil Company back in charge of negotiations and told negotiators to conclude the deal as soon as possible.

According to the *Financial Times*, the Azerbaijan government, which had been stalling on the negotiations, is forced to take action now as a result of the costly war with Armenia over the disputed enclave of Nagorno Karabakh, the collapse of a major platform in the Gnezhli oil fields, and a decrease in the amount of oil produced by the state oil company as a result of lax maintenance.

German unionists vote on pact

Officials of the IG Metall trade union in Germany reached a tentative agreement with employers March 5. The union had



Thousands demonstrated March 5 in front of the United Nations to demand return to power of Haiti's exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Aristide was inside meeting with UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Aristide rejected a U.S.-supported plan that would have left much of the rightist-backed Haitian military and police in place.

threatened to begin a formal strike March 7 in the state of Lower Saxony. Unionists there must approve the pact by a 75 percent margin in a vote the second week of March. If adopted, the agreement could be a model for IG Metall's other western German regional chapters, which represent 3.6 million workers in the engineering, automotive, and electrical industries.

Under the proposed contract, employers will be allowed to reduce the workweek to as little as 30 hours per week from 36 without compensation. Vacation and Christmas bonuses will be frozen for one year. Workers will receive a wage increase of 2 percent beginning June 1. The union had asked for a 5.8 percent raise to offset inflation, which is projected to reach 3 percent this year.

Hundreds of thousands of metalworkers participated in warning strikes in February after negotiations for a new contract reached an impasse.

Millions strike in Romania

Two million workers participated in a February 28 general strike in Romania. Dock workers closed the Danube port of Galati and disrupted shipping at Constanta, the main Black Sea port.

The unions are demanding the government implement a collective labor contract, improve the social security system, and move ahead with market reforms.

Yeltsin presents 1994 budget

Russian president Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin promoted their 1994 budget at an expanded govern-

ment meeting in Moscow March 4. The plan recommends more aggressive reforms that, according to Yeltsin, will ensure "the proper level of social protection for those who cannot make due without state support." Yeltsin also denounced Parliament for granting amnesty to his opponents, who have been jailed since their confrontation with him last October. The Russian president presented plans for reforming the tax system, stimulating investment, and forcing the government and businesses to pay debts promptly. Yeltsin said he will fight to lower inflation to 5 percent a month from 20 percent.

Pyongyang accuses U.S. gov't of moves to threaten inspection pact

Pyongyang accused Washington in early March of making "ill-boding moves... one after another" that could threaten the completion of an agreement to allow international inspections of nuclear sites in North Korea.

Inspections by the International Atomic Energy Agency began in the Yongbyon nuclear complex March 3. The U.S. government has threatened North Korea with an economic embargo if the inspections are not successfully completed. However, if Pyongyang allows the inspections and exchanges envoys with Seoul, Washington says it will reopen high-level talks between the countries and suspend this year's joint-military exercises with South Korea. North Korean officials said the envoy exchange was not part of the deal.

— PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

Workers, peasants protest impact of capitalist crisis

From the demonstrations in West Africa against the devaluation of the currency to the protests of farmers in Paraguay for a fair price for their harvest, the 'Militant' covers workers' and peasants' response to the capitalist economic catastrophe in developing countries. Don't miss a single issue!



Teachers in Paraguay demand pay increase at November 1993 demonstration.

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Rightist coalition in S. Africa fractures over April elections

BY GREG ROSENBERG

South Africa's right-wing Freedom Alliance split when confronted with a decision on whether to register for the April 26-28 elections in that country. The Inkatha Freedom Party, which represents the privileged homeland rulers of the KwaZulu Bantustan, registered for the poll. Gen. Constand Viljoen also signed up under the auspices of the Freedom Front, but without the agreement of his organization — the white-separatist Afrikaner People's Front.

The general bolted to register just minutes before the midnight deadline March 4. Officials of the Afrikaner People's Front censured Viljoen for his actions at a March 5 meeting. The organization then declared a poll boycott. Some members of the Conservative Party at the meeting argued in favor of participation in the elections.

A Reuters dispatch from Johannesburg reported that one grouping of right-wing whites, including some members of the Conservative Party who sit in South Africa's soon-to-be-abolished white-minority Parliament, met March 7 to discuss the possibility of leaving the Afrikaner People's Front and participating in the elections.

Meanwhile, officials of the Bophuthatswana homeland, which is presided over by military ruler Lucas Mangope, said that they would stay out of the race. However they left the door open to participation, saying the homeland legislature would take up the question on March 15. Civil service workers and others are conducting a round of strikes and protests in the homeland.

In response to these developments, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela said the deadline for all parties to register for the election should be extended. He reiterated the ANC's firm stance that "there is no possibility whatsoever of us shifting" the date of the April elections in response to complaints by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who demanded that the poll be postponed.

The ANC president told a rally in the Lebowa Bantustan in northern Transvaal that the rightists' demands for a new apartheid mini-state or "Volkstaat" is out of the

question. "As long as I live, there will never be a Volkstaat in this country. That puts an end to that question," Mandela said.

New massacre in Natal

In southern Natal province, masked gunmen wielding AK-47 assault rifles and shotguns butchered 11 people on March 6. It was the third mass killing in Natal in less than one month.

The attackers hit Bhambayi, a squatter camp of some 10,000 people housed mostly in wood and tin shacks. The attackers moved from house to house, shooting their victims and setting fire to 20 shacks. All the victims lived in a block dominated by supporters of the ANC.



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Bhambayi squatter camp in Natal province where 200 people have been killed in political violence in past year. Area is divided between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Sydney event celebrates Mandela book

BY LINDA HARRIS

SYDNEY, Australia — "I congratulate Pathfinder for producing this book. It is a great book because it is the book of Nelson Mandela — one of the true giants of the 20th century." This is how Bob Hawke, former Labor prime minister of Australia, introduced his remarks at a meeting held February 17 to celebrate the publication of *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. Hawke, the patron of Australians for Democracy in South Africa, had just returned from South Africa where he met with Mandela.

About 80 people attended the meeting here — many drawn by the broad panel of speakers. Kevin Tory, from the Trade Union Committee for Aboriginal Rights, gave a welcome on behalf of Aboriginal people.

Marcelino Fajardo, the Cuban consul-general to Australia, said, "Mandela's struggle for freedom is ours, his fight against racism and oppression is ours too." Referring to the speech contained in *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, on the occasion of Mandela's visit to Cuba in July 1991, he stated, "Mandela spoke about solidarity and brotherhood between our peoples. The victory of the ANC will be of historic significance to

the peoples of the world."

Also speaking at the gathering were Paul Matters, secretary of the South Coast Labor Council; Meridith Burgmann, Labor Party member of the Legislative Council in the New South Wales State Parliament; and Pathfinder Books representative Marnie Kennedy.

Messages were received from Lois O'Donoghue, chairperson of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander commission, and from the Rev. Dorothy McMahon of the Uniting Church.

During the meeting, which was held at the offices of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU), Steve Dixon, a CFMEU organizer, presented a donation from the union to the ANC's election campaign. Thanking the union for its support, Ndumiso Ntshinga, chief repre-

sentative of the ANC in Australia, said that this union especially had been a pillar of support for the anti-apartheid struggle here, along with other unions, the churches, and the labor movement as a whole.

Ntshinga, who also recently returned from South Africa, said the election process represents one of the first phases of victory. Pointing to recent attempts to disenfranchise 4 million voters in the Transvaal and Orange Free State, he said there are those who benefited from apartheid and will refuse to go with the future. But they will not have the capacity to derail the election process.

"I thank Pathfinder for this marvelous book," stated Ntshinga. "It puts in a very clear way where the struggle is going and what the ANC's responsibility is to the people of South Africa, the women of South Africa, and the international community."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

BY RICH STUART

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

The latest of several recent reviews of *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* appears in *The Carrier*, the base newspaper at the Naval Air Station in Alameda, California. Reviewer Richard Lee opens the column saying, "In each generation a figure comes to represent a movement, a movement so powerful that the man and the movement are inseparable. Such a man is Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress."

A social studies teacher from Natick High School in Massachusetts recently wrote Pathfinder asking for *Nelson Mandela Speaks* for use next school year as a supplementary text for the Global Studies class, a required class for all 250 ninth-graders. The teacher met Pathfinder at last December's African Studies Association conference in Boston.

From Lackland Air Force Base in San Antonio, Texas, a reader writes, "I have just finished reading *Malcolm X Talks to Young People*. After reading the book I noticed seven other books that I would love to purchase." The new 1994 Pathfinder catalog is on its way.

From Pathfinder readers behind bars: A regular reader in prison in Florida just sent in an order with his hard-earned contribution for *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State*; *Is Biology Women's Destiny?*; *Che Guevara: Economics and Politics in the Transition to Socialism*; *Thomas Sankara Speaks*; and *Socialism and Individual Freedom*.

Another long-time Pathfinder reader in prison was recently transferred, put in solitary confinement, and separated from his books, his Pathfinder catalog, and his address book. After scrounging for a stamp, he wrote explaining his situation and asking for another catalog. "I was lucky to remember your address," he says. "I'm structuring my personal economy for educational material from Pathfinder."

Many Pathfinder authors, including Leon Trotsky, James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Fidel Castro, Malcolm X, and Nelson Mandela, devoted time in prison to serious study. *Letters From Prison* by James P. Cannon, soon to be reissued by Pathfinder, recounts among other lessons, the extensive reading and study program organized in Sandstone prison by leaders of the Socialist Workers Party jailed for their opposition to World War II.

Pathfinder makes books and pamphlets available to prisoners at half-price and counts on contributions to help cover the costs of the books and shipping. Pathfinder processed well over 100 book orders from prisoners in 1993. You are encouraged to support this important effort by sending a donation earmarked for "Books for Prisoners" to: Pathfinder, 410 West St., NY, NY 10014.

Clinton restores 'Super 301' trade weapon against Japan

BY ROBERT MILLER

In another episode in the ongoing trade skirmish between Washington and Tokyo, U.S. president Bill Clinton signed an executive order March 3 resurrecting the "Super 301" trade law. Under this order the U.S. government will publish a report March 31 surveying trade practices around the world. The Clinton administration then has until September 30 to single out governments it claims are erecting trade barriers. It will notify those countries of this designation and — if they fail to change their trade practices to conform to U.S. government demands — impose punitive tariffs of up to 100 percent.

The decision to revive this expired section of the 1988 Trade Act was portrayed by the *New York Times* as "the trade war equivalent of polishing one's artillery in clear view of enemy lines, in the hope that the other side will retreat before it becomes necessary to fire the big guns."

Although the executive order can be used against any country, Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa of Japan was the only person Clinton telephoned before signing the order.

In mid-February, trade negotiations between Washington and Tokyo over opening Japan to increased U.S. exports of cars and auto parts, telecommunications, medical equipment, and insurance collapsed. Last month Clinton announced the U.S. government would impose sanctions on Japan for violating a 1989 trade treaty aimed at providing access for cellular equipment made by Motorola Inc.

U.S. secretary of state Warren Christo-

pher defends Super 301 as "a tool to accomplish the end of the opening of [the Japanese] market and obtaining access to it."

A March 5 editorial in the *Times*, however, labeled Clinton's move as "unnecessary, dangerous and misguided. Super 301 is dangerous because the added threat moves the U.S. one step closer to a trade war with an important ally and could undermine the fragile coalition of Prime Minister Hosokawa," the *Times* wrote.

Peter Sutherland, director-general of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) also lambasted the U.S. move as "misguided and dangerous." He said, "A new outbreak of bilateral trade tensions is putting the achievements of the Uruguay Round to the test even before they are fully operational." The accords worked out during the Uruguay Round of GATT talks will be signed next month and take effect in 1995.

A March 8 column in the *Wall Street Journal* titled "A U.S. History of Trade Hypocrisy" argued that "Super 301 should be mothballed in the Smithsonian, not enshrined as keys to American economic salvation."

Japanese officials were reported as being "angered" by the revival of Super 301. However, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported in its March 7 issue that some business and political leaders in Japan were relieved.

"Investors felt that the mandatory two-year negotiating period before sanctions could be imposed would be more than enough time for current trade disputes to be settled," *The Monitor* said.

Thousands protest in West Africa against devaluation of franc

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — Strikes, demonstrations, and violent clashes with the police and army have been spreading across the former French colonies of West Africa since the January 12 devaluation of the CFA (African Financial Community) franc.

While formally a decision of the CFA governments, the move to slash the currency's value was made under heavy pressure from Paris. The devaluation — the first since 1948 — cuts the value of the African franc in half to 100 CFA for one French franc.

On February 16, demonstrations in Dakar, Senegal, left seven people dead, including five policemen.

Tanks took up positions in the capital of Gabon February 22. Petroleum workers in Port-Gentil, the oil center of Gabon, went on strike to demand their wages be doubled to compensate for the devaluation. The government responded by imposing a national "state of alert," including a nighttime curfew and a ban on demonstrations.

Actions have also been reported in Niger, Congo, and Benin.

There are currently 14 countries in the CFA zone. Senegal, the Comoros, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Chad, Benin, the Central African Republic, Congo, Gabon, Niger, Cameroon, Togo, and Mali are former French colonies. Equatorial Guinea, a former Spanish colony, joined the system in 1985.

Prices will double

The devaluation means that prices of imported goods will double. A whole range of products, from antimalarial drugs to schoolbooks, have now been priced beyond the means of many workers and farmers. The price of rice, a staple food throughout the region, has soared. In countries where the government has tried to impose price controls on certain products, merchants have simply closed up shop or withheld goods from the market.

The CFA system was set up by Paris as a way of deepening its control over its colonies. Although independence was granted to the French West African countries in the early 1960s, the French rulers maintain an iron grip on the region.

One indication of this control is the fact that the French government pays the wages of civil servants, including teachers, in its former colonies. After the 1983 revolution in Burkina Faso, Paris withheld its payments. The accumulated funds were released in 1987, a few weeks after revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara and the majority of the ministers in his government were assassinated. The devaluation of the CFA franc also cuts in half France's contribution to government workers' wages.

There are currently 100,000 French government functionaries, businessmen, and technicians in the region. This is twice as many as were present at the end of the colonial period. French army units are per-

manently garrisoned throughout West Africa. They regularly intervene when the interests of the imperialist rulers of France are threatened. For instance, at the end of February French paratroopers landed in Cameroon, which is engaged in a border dispute with Nigeria, a former British colony.

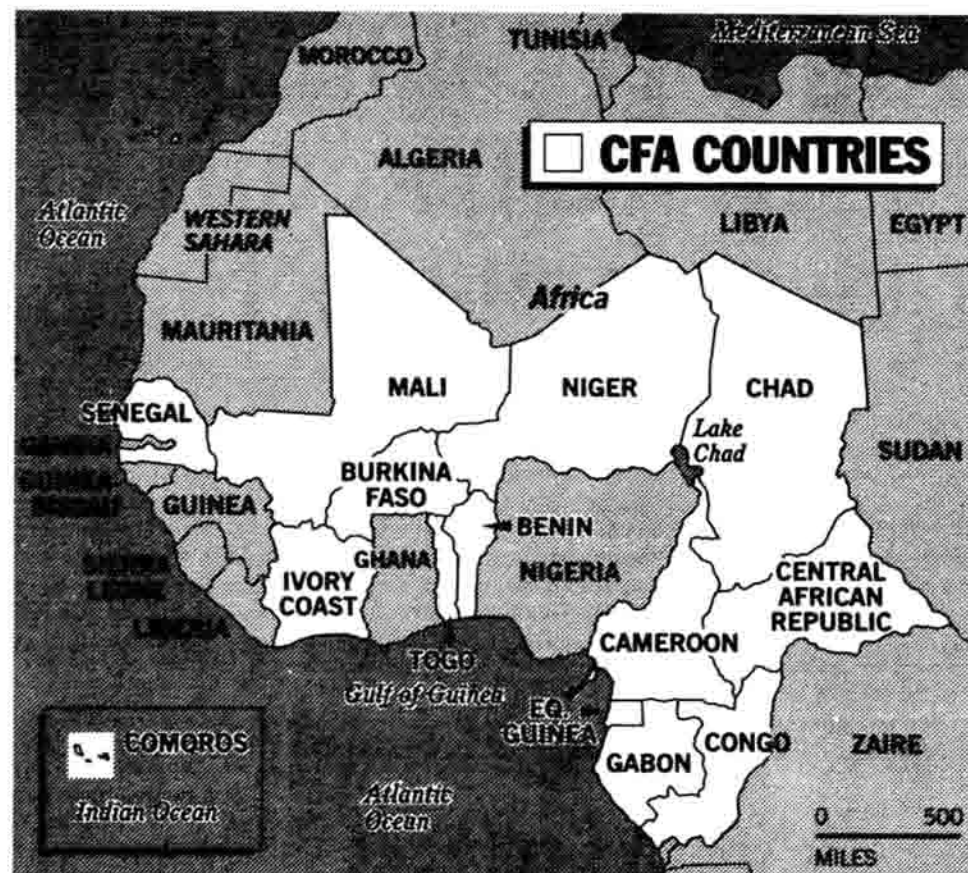
This presence has allowed Paris to maintain a stranglehold on the local economy. One-third of Ivory Coast's manufacturing industry is owned by French companies. Forty percent of the country's imports come from France. Gabon is the source of 20 percent of France's petroleum. The local petroleum companies are also French-owned.

"We intend to keep our privileged relationship," France's Minister of Cooperation, Michel Roussin, told the Paris business daily *La Tribune Desfossés*. Roussin is in charge of relations with the former colonies. He noted that West Africa was the third largest market for French companies.

Debate among workers in France

The devaluation has sparked a debate about the role of French imperialism in Africa. This has spread to workers in France who have immigrated here from the former colonies.

"Twenty years ago," said Louis Lopy, who is from the Casamance region of Senegal and has worked at a Renault automobile plant near Paris for the last 23 years, "we were a major rice producing region. Now the prolonged drought has lowered the river level and the rice fields have dried up. In other areas of Senegal, former rice fields have been turned into large sugarcane plan-



tations. We now import our rice and the devaluation means the price will double. It's a catastrophe for most people. Maybe fishermen and peanut farmers who produce for export will benefit but for the rest of us it means less food."

"I don't agree," said Cheikou Dramé, who comes from Mali and has worked at the same Renault plant as Lopy for the last 13 years. "In a lot of villages, the only money that comes in is from those of us who work in France and other countries. Our wages are paid in French francs. What we send back home is now worth twice as much."

The devaluation has particularly contradictory effects on different capitalist concerns. Those that import goods from France and other imperialist countries will suffer,

and many have already started to fold. Exporters of coffee, cacao, bananas, pineapples, sugar, peanuts, fish, or cotton, particularly in industries that employ large numbers of workers, will profit from the devaluation.

The move also effectively doubles the debt owed by countries in West Africa, many of which already pay as much as 25 percent of their gross national product each year to the imperialists' banks. The French government claims it will reduce the debt of some countries by 50 percent — that is, back to the level of indebtedness that existed before the devaluation.

Nat London is an auto worker and member of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) at Renault.

Thomas Sankara: neocolonialism is 'paradise for some, hell for the rest'

Thomas Sankara, assassinated leader of the revolutionary government in Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), laid bare the legacy of French colonial rule in Africa in a speech given Oct. 2, 1983. The excerpt below is taken from the collection *Thomas Sankara Speaks*, copyright © by Pathfinder Press, reprinted with permission.

In the 1960s, French colonialism — harried on all sides, defeated at Dien Bien Phu, [Vietnam,] and in tremendous difficulty in Algeria — drew the lessons of those defeats and was forced to grant our country its national sovereignty and territorial integrity. This was greeted positively by our people, who had not been indifferent to this question but had instead developed appropriate resistance struggles.

The decision by French colonial imperi-

alism to cut its losses was a victory for our people over the forces of foreign oppression and exploitation. From the masses' point of view, it was a democratic reform, while from that of imperialism it was a change in the forms of domination and exploitation of our people.

This change nevertheless resulted in a realignment of classes and social layers and the formation of new classes. In alliance with the backward forces of traditional society, and in total contempt of the masses, whom they had used as a springboard to power, the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of that time set about laying the political and economic foundations for new forms of imperialist domination and exploitation.

With the support and blessing of imperialism, Voltaic nationals set about organizing the systematic plunder of our country. With the crumbs of this pillage that fell to them, they were transformed, little by little, into a truly parasitic bourgeoisie that could no longer control its voracious appetite. . . .

All this has unfolded in full view of the honest, courageous, and hardworking Voltaic people, a people mired nonetheless in the most squalid misery.

As part of this big majority, the wage earners, despite the fact that they are assured a regular income, suffer the constraints and pitfalls of capitalist consumer society. Their income is completely consumed before they have even touched it. This vicious cycle goes on and on with no perspective of being broken.

Through their respective trade unions, the wage earners engage in struggles to improve their living conditions. Sometimes the scope of those struggles forces concessions from the neocolonial authorities. But they simply give with one hand what they take back with the other.

The peasants, the "wretched of the earth," are also a component of this big majority. These peasants are expropriated, robbed, molested, imprisoned, ridiculed, and humiliated every day, yet they are the ones whose labor creates wealth. The country's economy stays afloat despite its



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Thomas Sankara

weakness thanks to their productive labor. It is from this labor that all those nationals for whom Upper Volta is an El Dorado sweeten their lives.

Yet it is the peasants who suffer most from the lack of buildings, roads, health facilities, and services. These peasants, creators of national wealth, are the ones who suffer the most from the lack of schools and educational materials for their children. It is their children who will swell the ranks of the unemployed after a brief stint in classrooms poorly adapted to the realities of this country.

It is among the peasants that the illiteracy rate is the highest — 98 percent. Those who most need to learn, so that the output of their productive labor can increase, are the very ones who benefit the least from expenditures for health care, education, and technology.

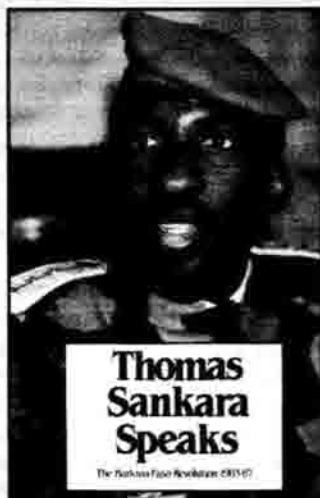
Stated most succinctly, this is the situation in our country after twenty-three years of neocolonialism: a paradise for some and hell for the rest.

FOR FURTHER READING

Thomas Sankara Speaks

The Burkina Faso Revolution, 1983-1987

The president of Burkina Faso, murdered in 1987, tells the story of the revolution that unfolded in this West African country as peasants and workers began confronting hunger, illiteracy, and other conditions perpetuated by capitalism. \$18.95



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Black history month program sparks discussion

BY MARK CURTIS

FORT MADISON Iowa — Inmates here celebrated Black History Month with speeches and a showing of the video *Malcolm X*. The program, organized by and for prisoners here at the medium-security prison, took place over the last weekend of February.

About 30 men congregated February 26 in the dining hall to hear some of our peers give brief talks. Some spoke about Blacks who — in spite of important political, scientific, or other contributions — had been forgotten by this racist society. Joslyn Downs-Bey, for example, talked about Dr. Charles Drew, who discovered blood plasma and was the director of the first American Red Cross Blood Bank. Drew resigned after disagreement with the Red Cross over its decision to use only blood from white donors for members of the military in World War II.

About a dozen men took the podium, including myself.

BEHIND PRISON WALLS



I explained that as a politically active worker I have found in the speeches of Malcolm X thoughtful lessons on fighting racism and war and straight talk on who our enemies and allies are.

I quoted Malcolm X's broad view of the "race problem" in America from the Pathfinder book *February 1965: The Final Speeches*. "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the Negro as simply a racial conflict of Black against white, or as a purely American problem," Malcolm X said. "Rather we are today seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

Malcolm X denounced the U.S.-backed war against liberation fighters in the Congo (today Zaire) in the 1960s. The US government camouflaged its bombing of innocent people there by calling it a "humanitarian mission" just like they do today in Somalia and Bosnia.

If we look around for leaders like Malcolm X today, I said, our eyes would fall on the Cuban communists and the African National Congress of South Africa. The Cubans sent armed forces to defeat the racist South Af-

rican government's army in Angola. The ANC, led by Nelson Mandela, is leading a revolution to wipe apartheid off the earth and, in the process, uniting South Africans of all colors to build a democratic republic in its place.

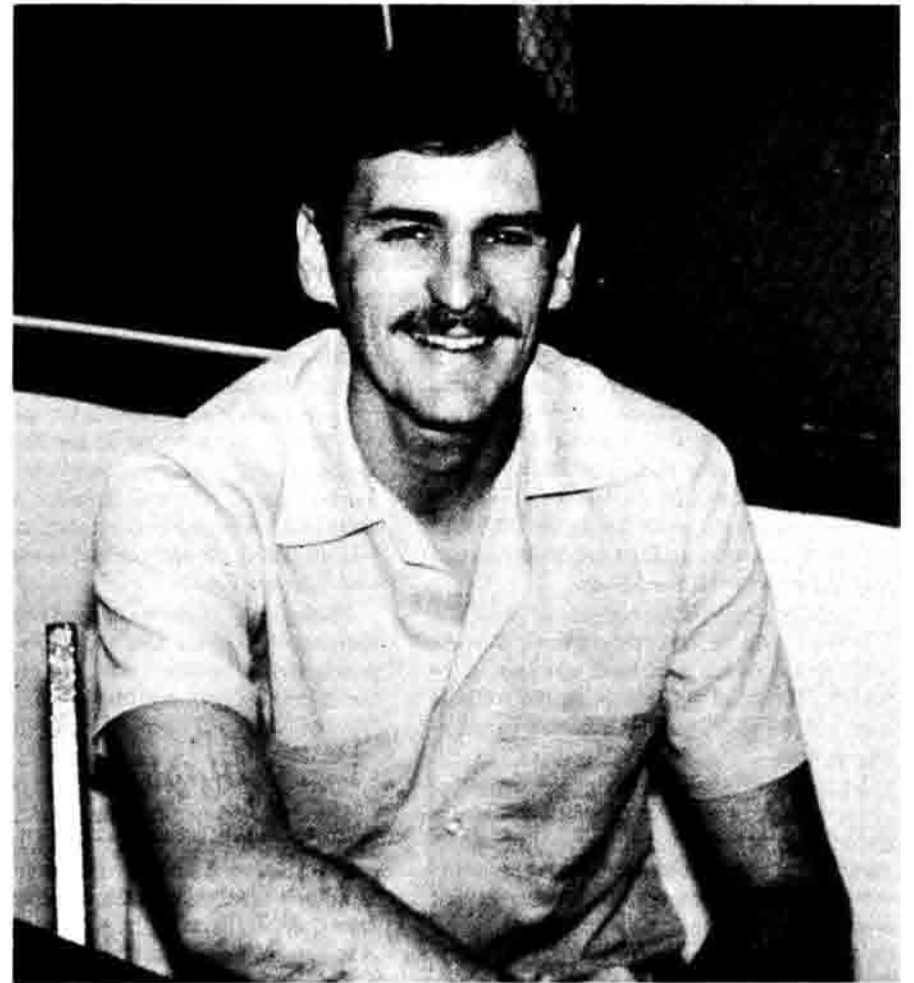
The program ended with three men leading the meeting in an *a cappella* rendition of the Black National Anthem.

On February 27 we viewed the video tape of the movie *Malcolm X* directed by Spike Lee. Everyone was served ice cream banana splits bought from a local store with money raised from more than 60 inmates. A cake decorated with the words "Black History Month" was made in the kitchen.

Organizers did not turn anyone away, even those who hadn't paid. More than half the men in the prison came for at least part of the program. I ate my share of ice cream and can certify it was good, maybe because it seemed nearly gourmet for this place. Or maybe it just tasted better because it was *ours*, and eaten amid the feelings of unity that seemed to prevail among all the prisoners there. This feeling came out in comments on how successful the program was. "We ought to do more things for ourselves," more that one participant said.

The program was organized by an ad hoc committee of inmates shortly beforehand. We collected donations, posted announcements, scooped ice cream, and negotiated with the prison administration.

We had proposed inviting Damon Tinnon, a student at the University of Minnesota and organizer of last year's Black History Month program there. Our request was denied due to the "lack of time" to get Tinnon a security clearance. Right before that, a total lockdown of the max-



Militant/Margaret Jayko

Union and political activist Mark Curtis

imum-security unit was ordered by the warden after five guards were allegedly assaulted by two inmates. This probably contributed to the security concerns.

The event has sparked continuing discussions and everyone here agrees we want more programs like it. A number of people have asked to see the new Pathfinder catalog and want to read Malcolm X's speeches and discuss politics some more.

Parole board rejects Curtis's request for hearing

BY JOHN STUDER

DES MOINES, Iowa — On February 17, the Iowa State Board of Parole rejected union and political activist Mark Curtis's request for a parole hearing.

Curtis, who has served five and one half years in prison on frame-up charges of rape and burglary, was denied a parole hearing last October. The board instead recommended that he be transferred to a psychological prison unit in Oakdale, Iowa, for evaluation to determine whether he was "able and willing to fulfill the obligations of

a law-abiding citizen."

After being evaluated by a psychiatrist assigned by the Oakdale facility, Curtis was refused admission to the medical prison facility because they had determined there were "no psychological issues" in his case.

William Kutmus, Curtis's attorney, then requested that the board, having had its question answered, grant Curtis a hearing and give him parole.

"At Curtis' annual review, the Board has recommended that he participate in the foren-

sic program at Oakdale," the Parole Board said in its February 17 answer to Kutmus. "The Board is still making the same recommendation and when he has completed the program, his case will be reviewed."

Curtis had also requested from his prison counselor a meeting to discuss whether he could be recommended for parole or movement to minimum security status.

Scott Stevens, Curtis's prison counselor, responded February 25 in a written memo that he would not prepare a progress report until Curtis's "evaluation has been com-

pleted." Furthermore, Stevens said, "I do not support movement to Minimum until programming in Medium is complete; specifically the Sex Offender Treatment Program [SOTP] at MSU [the Mount Pleasant correctional facility]. I do support movement to MSU at your direction." Curtis — who has now served out the required time on the frame-up rape conviction and is in prison solely on the burglary charge — has declined to enter the SOTP program, which requires all participants to proclaim their guilt.

'Neither fair nor defensible'

Kutmus responded to the parole board on March 2, writing "Your decision is neither fair nor defensible."

"There is no reason for you now to insist that 'The Board is still making the same recommendation' that he go to Oakdale and to refuse to review his case until he has completed a program that the Oakdale staff has already determined there is no need for him to go through," Kutmus added. "The effect of your stance is to place Mr. Curtis in a Catch-22 limbo. 'Mr. Curtis is an excellent candidate for release on parole,' Kutmus continued. "As he has finished serving out his conviction on sexual assault, the Sexual Offenders Treatment Program is irrelevant. In addition, I have strongly advised him, and he concurs fully, that he should not participate in this program as he has an appeal of his conviction currently active in Federal District Court and strongly asserts his innocence."

"Mr. Curtis is an excellent candidate for release on parole," Kutmus continued, pointing to his excellent prison record, a well-thought-out parole plan, and the "support and backing of a large community of supporters."

"I urge you to reconsider this decision," Kutmus concluded. "I earnestly request the opportunity, along with two or three representatives of Mr. Curtis' family, to meet with you to discuss his situation."

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has asked that supporters send letters to the Iowa State Board of Parole, Capitol Annex, 523 East 12th Street, Des Moines, Iowa 50319, to urge that Curtis be freed. Copies should be sent to the MDCD, Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa 50311.

Supporters demand: Release Curtis now!

The Mark Curtis Defense Committee has launched a campaign to urge the Iowa State Board of Parole to grant Curtis a hearing and release him. Below are excerpts from a few of the letters sent to the parole board on Curtis's behalf so far.

Richard Walker
Verdun, Quebec

I am hereby requesting that you grant Mr. Mark Curtis the right to a parole hearing.

As is clear to all, you have never given Mr. Curtis the right to be fully heard. Had Mr. Curtis been given a fair trial in the beginning, requesting a parole hearing now would not be necessary.

I hope that you choose to govern yourself accordingly.

Richard Walker is president of Canadian Auto Workers Union Local 1900, Chrysler Section.

Chris Spotted Eagle
Minneapolis, Minnesota

I would like to urge the Board to move for a hearing as soon as possible regarding Mark Curtis. As you know, Mark has completely served out his conviction for sexual assault. And, he has an excellent work and conduct record. Like all of us, he needs his family and they need him.

He has met the requirements of his imprisonment under Iowa State Law and is

eligible for release on parole. As I understand it, Mark's evaluation indicates that he is able and willing to fulfill the obligations of a law abiding citizen, and prison psychologists say there is "no psychiatric issue" in this case.

Please exercise the thoughtful compassion that Americans are known for, and recommend a parole for Mark Curtis as soon as possible so he may return to his life as a free citizen.

Chris Spotted Eagle is a filmmaker and Native American activist.

Jake Edwards
Cherokee, Iowa

I was one of those present at a meeting with you October 6, 1993, in support of immediate parole for Mark Curtis. I have subsequently followed with interest the progress of his case. I'm given to understand that he has been given a clean Psychiatric Bill of Health by the State of Iowa's own shrinks who apparently are not inclined to find anything wrong with him.

Why should we build new prisons when you keep them filled with people who are not dangerous and in fact are productive?

I believe that it would be inappropriate to further delay Mark Curtis's release.

Jake Edwards is second vice president of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 179.

Maire Leadbeater
Auckland, New Zealand

I was very concerned and surprised to learn that Mark Curtis has not yet been released on parole. I understand that he has already served a period of time in prison that represents the usual length of actual sentence served by others convicted of similar charges.

I also understand that Mark Curtis has now had a psychiatric evaluation as a preliminary to a Parole Board Hearing. I sincerely hope that a date for a Parole Board Hearing may by now have been set. If this is not the case then I respectfully request that such a date be set as soon as possible.

Maire Leadbeater is a peace activist and member of the Auckland Regional Council.

Rev. Donald Gruber
Ames, Iowa

I have for some time now reviewed the case of Mark Curtis and wonder why your board has repeatedly denied him a parole hearing. I believe he has met all the requirements you have placed before him. The cost to taxpayers for prolonged incarcerations is one sad thing but even worse is the seeming unwarranted delay of even giving this man a hearing. My conscience is troubled by your actions.

U.S. government presses frame-up of W. Virginia miners

BY STEVE CRAINE
AND ELIZABETH LARISCY

YOLYN, West Virginia—Eight coal miners from Arch Mineral Corp.'s Ruffner mine here are scheduled to go to trial April 4. The workers, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), face trumped-up federal conspiracy charges stemming from the shooting death of non-union contract worker Eddie York.

The incident occurred during the UMWA's seven-month strike against major coal operators in the eastern United States.

On July 22, 1993 the unionists, including UMWA Local 5958 president Ernie Woods, were on the picket line. York was shot in the back of the head while leaving the mine in a convoy of four vehicles escorted by security guards.

The union pickets were not attempting to prevent York or other contract workers from entering or leaving the mine to do maintenance work. York had used this entrance to the mine routinely without any interference from the strikers.

The pickets were in front of York's car. The shot that killed him came from behind. The miners face possible sentences of 25-50

years in prison.

Immediately after the shooting, some of the company's security guards were deputized to assist in gathering "evidence." They helped cordon off the area to prevent union members from getting near the scene.

Local prosecutors declined to indict anyone in the case because of the lack of evidence. A later investigation by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms led to charges of conspiracy to interfere with interstate commerce and to violate federal firearms laws.

Miner Jerry Lowe is charged with federal firearms violations and faces 50 years in prison and a \$1 million fine. The other seven could receive prison terms of 25 years and fines of \$500,000 each for conspiracy.

Company harassment of strikers

The shooting occurred after weeks of intimidation of the pickets by special security guards hired by Arch when the strike began in May. The hired goons threw rocks, shined high-powered flood lights at the picket shack, fired guns in the air, and tear-gassed the shack.

The company responded within hours of the shooting with a campaign designed to



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Miners at Arch Ruffner picket shack during last year's strike

convict the entire UMWA. Arch Mineral's vice president Blair Gardner told the press, "this ends the pretense of a peaceful UMWA strike. The circumstances of this tragedy point to a conspiracy to commit murder conceived in a UMWA picket shack."

A week later Arch filed a suit against the union under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO). The York killing was tacked onto a list of allegations spanning 10 years involving 30 dif-

ferent coal companies in six states.

A flyer now being distributed by the union declares, "Although the strike is over, the nightmare for the families of 'The Arch 8' has only begun. . . . The members indicted are longtime UMWA members whose only 'crime' is that of being decent, hard-working people. They have been falsely accused. Their persecution at the hands of the federal authorities has caused tremendous hardship for their families. We must band together to support them in their time of need."

Howard Green, UMWA international executive board member, said that government lawyers and the U.S. attorney's office are aggressively pursuing this case. "They have been convicted by law enforcement officials, the judiciary system, and by the press without setting foot in the courtroom," said Green. "Having the court packed on April 4 will be the best presentation of support for the miners and their families."

Contributions and messages of support should be sent to: UMWA Region II Defense Fund, 4500 MacCorkle Ave. SE, Charleston, West Virginia 25304, or phone (304) 925-6917. Green recommended that supporters who plan to attend the trial contact the union office in advance.

Coal bosses attack black lung benefits

BY JOHN HAWKINS

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama—If the coal operators have their way, miners suffering from coal workers pneumoconiosis—black lung—will have an even more difficult time proving they are eligible for benefits. The Supreme Court is to rule on a case that could have far-reaching implications on miners' and other workers' demands for disability compensation.

Spearheading the coal companies' attack is Greenwich Collieries, based in Ebensburg, Pennsylvania.

After working for Greenwich for 31 years, Andrew Ondeko sought disability benefits under the Black Lung Benefits Act. The company challenged Ondeko's claim as is standard procedure in the industry. Black lung is known to be caused by years of breathing mine air laden with coal dust.

The federal administrative law judge assigned to the case decided in favor of Ondeko. Ruling that the evidence presented by both sides was of equal weight, the judge invoked the government rule contained in the Black Lung Benefits Act requiring that any "true doubt" be decided in favor of the person seeking benefits.

The same judge ruled in favor of a similar claim for disability, medical, and death benefits made by Pasqualina Santoro, widow of longshoreman Michael Santoro, under the Longshore and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. A number of provisions in the Black

Lung Benefits Act, including the "true doubt" rule, are based on that act.

While a Labor Department review board upheld both Ondeko's and Santoro's claims, the Third U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia reversed the decision in each case. People seeking benefits must prove their cases by a "preponderance of evidence," the appeals court said.

The two cases are now on their way to the U.S. Supreme Court which will decide whether the "true doubt" standard should continue to be applied. The court agreed to hear the cases since other federal appeals

courts have upheld the rule.

"Obviously the Black Lung Benefits Act of 1969 was enacted as remedial legislation," attorney David Tulowitzki told the *Militant*. Tulowitzki's firm represents United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) District 2 and union member Ondeko.

"The law was passed to right a wrong. That's why the benefit of the doubt is given to miners," Tulowitzki said.

"If the appeals court decision is allowed to stand it will make it all the more difficult for miners to receive just compensation for black lung disability."

Scandal shakes Clinton administration

Continued from front page

quiet down the entire affair.

Fiske is also charged with looking into the death of Foster, Nussbaum's deputy and a former law partner of Hillary Clinton. Foster was found dead in a Virginia park in July in an apparent suicide.

The U.S. Park Police, who carried out the initial investigation, immediately concluded that Foster had killed himself. They did not take the normal steps to look for all possible evidence, even failing to seal Foster's office for more than 12 hours after his body was found. Two days after Foster's death, Nussbaum sorted through all his papers, showing very few to investigators. The White House attorney sent many of the files, including those on Whitewater, to the Clintons' personal attorney, a fact the president did not acknowledge for five months.

A college student who works for the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, Arkansas, told the grand jury in the Madison-Whitewater case he had been instructed to shred a box of Foster's papers in the company's basement in January, after news of the investigation had been made public. Foster was a partner at the Rose firm, along with Hillary Clinton, before moving on to the White House.

Hillary Clinton 'at center of questions'

The Rose firm began a system of shredding documents soon after Bill Clinton began his presidential bid in 1991. Several former employees said the pace of shredding picked up after the election. The lawyers denied any wrongdoing, saying they routinely destroy papers to maintain privacy and save storage space.

A front page article in the March 6 *New York Times* titled "Inquiry Is Putting First Lady At Center of Ethics Questions" noted that many of the key players in the scandal are close friends and business partners of

Hillary Clinton, including Nussbaum, whom she worked with during the Watergate investigation of the Nixon administration.

Nussbaum was forced to announce his resignation after word of the meetings between the White House and Treasury Department got out. He had been central in earlier fiascoes of the Clinton administration, such as firing White House travel office staff and replacing the agency with an Arkansas-based firm in May 1993. Nussbaum, who will return to a \$1.8 million-a-year corporate law practice, defended his actions around Whitewater, saying he was simply carrying out his duties as White House counsel.

On March 8, Clinton announced the appointment of Lloyd Cutler as interim counsel, until administration officials can find a permanent replacement for Nussbaum.

Webster Hubbell, one of Hillary Clinton's former law partners and now a high-ranking Justice Department official, has also come under investigation. He billed the government more than \$37,000 for work on a case involving Madison Guaranty while he was a partner at the Rose Law Firm. Hubbell's father-in-law was a borrower and consultant to the thrift.

Other records show the president's wife—while with the Rose firm—took part in pursuing a government lawsuit against Daniel Lasater. Lasater was a fundraiser for Clinton's campaigns who was later convicted for cocaine trafficking. The suit, initially for \$3.3 million, was settled for only \$200,000. Senior White House advisor Bruce Lindsey argued it did not represent a conflict of interests for Hillary Clinton to work on the case just because Lasater was a family friend and political supporter.

Responding to criticisms of his wife's actions, Bill Clinton declared at a March 7 news conference, "If everybody in this country had a character as strong as hers, we wouldn't have half the problems we've got

today. . . . Her moral compass is as strong as anybody's in this country."

The Whitewater scandal breaks at a time when the strong support for the Clinton administration among a broad layer of the ruling class is showing signs of wear. The president's health insurance scheme is coming under increasing attack, as is his policy in Bosnia. And just a year after he and his attorney general Janet Reno ordered a raid on the Branch Davidian complex in Waco, Texas, leaving scores of people dead, a court acquitted 11 members of the sect of murder.

William Safire, commenting on former U.S. president Richard Nixon's visit to Moscow in a March 10 column in the *New York Times*, writes that Clinton also faces big problems in Russia. "Clinton is still zigging, while Russia has zagged," Safire says, adding that the administration requires "at least a major course correction." Clinton could use Nixon's help, Safire adds, except for the "Whitewater Ain't Watergate" dilemma.

Republican senators have vowed to prevent the confirmation of Hillary Clinton's longtime friend Rikki Tigert to head the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.—and to hold up other appointments—until congressional hearings are held on the Whitewater issue.

A March 7 article in the *Wall Street Journal* attributed the Clintons' problems largely to inexperience, saying, "The worlds of business and politics overlap more often and more casually back home [in Arkansas] than is the custom in buttoned-down Washington."

Elliott Abrams said the problem is that "scandal rules" have gone into effect. Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, he argued that the Clintons' actions are legitimate and, in fact, standard procedure—until a scandal is declared. Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs in the Reagan administration, was convicted of withholding information from Congress in the Iran-Contra affair.

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Sales drive off to a good start

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

"On the first day of the subscription campaign in Sweden," writes Dag Tirsén, "many youths on winter vacation gathered around the *Militant* sales table set up in the center of Stockholm. One young man decided on the spot he wanted a subscription to the *Militant* after he heard the paper was the best source of information about developments in South Africa and the struggle against the U.S. embargo against Cuba."

Reports coming into the *Militant* business office since the March 5 launching of the circulation drive indicate that Sweden is no exception. The campaign is off to a good start around the world. The 10-week international effort, which runs through May 15, aims to sign up 3,000 subscribers to the *Militant*, 650 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and to sell 1,000 copies of *New Internationalist* magazine.

Writing from Greece, Georges Mehrabian reports, "We kicked off the drive with a regional team to the provincial town of Volos, a four-hour drive from Athens. We participated in a protest meeting of about 100 people, half of whom were working farmers." A Pathfinder table set up at the event featured *New Internationalist* number 4 on the crisis facing family farmers. A copy of this was sold along with a *Militant*, and several Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

Supporters in Auckland, New Zealand, launched the circulation drive by setting up daily tables at Auckland University. "A feature of the first day's sales was the number of students of South African origin who came up to the table," writes



Militant/Candace Wagner
 Steve Marshall, socialist candidate for Congress in New Jersey, sells 'Militant' March 5 and petitions to get Mark Rahn on ballot for mayor.

Janet Roth. "One recent immigrant from South Africa proudly explained his participation in an ANC youth group at his Afrikaans university. Another bought a subscription to the *Militant*." During the first three days of this effort, supporters sold 5 subscriptions to the *Militant* and 32 single copies. In addition, 14 students who bought single copies left their phone number to be contacted about getting a subscription.

Phoning from Laredo, Texas, Ernie Mailhot reports that participants in the U.S.-Cuba Friendship movement caravan had so far bought 2 *Militant* subscriptions, 2 to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 2 *New Interna-*

tionals, and 60 single copies of the *Militant*.

Supporters from Brooklyn and Manhattan sold 10 copies of *Nouvelle Internationale* at a March 5 Haiti solidarity demonstration held outside the United Nations in support of exiled Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide. After selling 13 *New Internationalists* during the first week of the drive, Manhattan distributors decided to raise their goal from 45 to 85.

A chart listing results from the first week of the drive will appear in the next *Militant*. To be counted, subscriptions and sales reports must be in the business office by Tuesday, 12 noon E.S.T.

	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	15	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	85
Newark, NJ	130	35	45
Philadelphia	115	30	35
Pittsburgh	100	10	20
Portland, OR	6	0	2
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	17	25
Washington DC	75	25	17
U.S. Total	2,364	560	788
AUSTRALIA			
BELGIUM*	2	2	1
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	2,945	657	1,033
DRIVE GOALS	3,000	650	1,000
* Proposed goal			

Jury convicts four in trade center bombing trial

BY NELS J'ANTHONY

NEW YORK — Despite the lack of evidence presented in the World Trade Center bombing trial, the jury handed down guilty verdicts on all 38 charges against the defendants here on March 4. The four — Mohammed Salameh, Nidal Ayyad, Ahmad Ajaj, and Mahmud Abouhalima — were charged with conspiracy and carrying out the bombing. All the defendants face life sentences.

During the five-and-a-half-month trial, the prosecution presented 207 witnesses and 1,003 exhibits. But all of the government's evidence was circumstantial. None of the witnesses saw any of the defendants doing anything illegal. The government failed to produce anyone who could place any of the defendants at the trade center or anywhere near it on the day of the blast. In fact one defendant, Ajaj, was in jail at time and had been for almost six months.

Despite the fact that the government had no proof, Salameh's defense lawyer, Robert Precht, told the jury in his summation that he believed there was a bombing conspiracy and that his client was involved. Precht argued that Salameh had been duped by Ramzi Yousef — who was also accused in the case but left the country — into doing things without knowing the purpose.

Salameh said he was shocked by Precht's statement, and that he had not agreed to it. The lawyer later claimed Salameh had "re-affirmed his confidence in me."

Calls for immigration restrictions

From the beginning the government has used the explosion, as well as a related conspiracy frame-up scheduled to go to trial in September, to wage a campaign against immigrants' rights and other democratic liberties.

Authorities immediately declared the Feb. 26, 1993, bombing to be the work of "foreign terrorists." This was used as a pretext for a nationwide campaign of spying and harassment against a wide range of legal political organizations, especially Palestinian organizations

in the United States.

James Florio, then governor of New Jersey, called for using the death penalty against "whoever is responsible for the terrorist actions at the World Trade Center."

Congressman Charles Schumer took the opportunity to propose new legislation to screen immigrants seeking to enter the United States.

FBI officials chimed in, saying the bombing showed they don't have enough leeway to spy on legal political and religious groups. The cop agency has used the case to push for greater powers.

Big-business journalists and pundits joined in smearing immigrants, especially those who are Muslim. An editorial in the *Newark Star-Ledger* the week after the blast called for tighter immigration laws and expanding the "register of undesirable organizations" maintained by the U.S. government.

"They're supposed to be houses of worship," stated one article in the *New York Post* soon after the bombing, "but three area mosques appear to have been the breeding ground for the heinous plot that culminated in last week's lethal blast at the World Trade Center."

The paper was referring to mosques in Brooklyn and Jersey City, New Jersey, where Omar Abdel Rahman preached. The Egyptian-born cleric has been routinely labeled a "radical Muslim fundamentalist" in the media. Most of those charged in the trade center bombing had attended his services.

After the first arrests in the explosion, the mosque in Jersey City was vandalized; every window was smashed. Six hundred people demonstrated in Jersey City March 20, 1993, protesting this attack and the virulent anti-immigrant propaganda in the media.

Without a shred of evidence that he was involved in the blast, a U.S. immigration judge revoked Abdel Rahman's legal resi-



Militant/Stu Singer
 March 1993 rally outside vandalized mosque in Jersey City, New Jersey, protesting government and media attempts to whip up anti-immigrant sentiment after World Trade Center bombing.

dence and ordered him deported a few weeks after the bombing.

Conspiracy frame-up

Along with 14 others, Abdel Rahman was later charged with conspiring to "levy a war of urban terrorism against the United States." The government claims the men, most of them immigrants from the Middle East and Sudan, plotted to blow up tunnels, bridges, and buildings in the New York area. No bombings actually took place, though, except for the World Trade Center explosion, and no evidence has been presented to link the men to any specific illegal act.

Following the first arrests in the conspiracy frame-up last June, Washington moved to place Sudan on a list of "terrorist" countries that includes Iraq, Iran, Libya, and North Korea. Around the same time, the

U.S. government once again bombed Baghdad with cruise missiles, killing 8 Iraqi civilians and wounding 12.

The main evidence in this case is the testimony of Emad Salem, a former Egyptian army officer and well-paid FBI informant. In a tape recorded conversation with an FBI agent, Salem actually says he was the one who built the trade center bomb.

To strengthen their otherwise flimsy case, a column in the *Wall Street Journal* pointed out, prosecutors are likely to try to get some of those convicted in the World Trade Center blast to testify for the government in return for lighter sentences. All four have been named as unindicted co-conspirators in the alleged plot. Only a few of the defendants in the conspiracy trial even knew the men accused of bombing the trade center, however.

Hundreds attend Cuba caravan events

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

SEATTLE — "The youth of America should help the youth of Cuba: reach out hand in hand to end the embargo and come together with the people of Cuba. Together we are fighting for humanity and rights!"

High school student Tami Peterson brought this call to action to the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment send-off rally in Salt Lake City, Utah, February 26. This rally of 50 people was one of dozens of public events held across the country as more volunteers and vehicles joined the caravan, coordinated nationally by Pastors for Peace.

Some events attracted substantial coverage in local news media. The *Salt Lake Tribune*, for instance, ran a news story and an editorial February 23 stating: "Seeds of a different public attitude toward Cuba can be found sprouting throughout the United States."

The Friendshipment meetings demonstrate a growing interest in Cuba, especially among young people, and the opportunities to draw more workers and other political activists into discussion and actions to oppose the U.S. embargo.

Speakers at the Salt Lake meeting included Thabo Mzilikazi, member of the ANC Youth League; Cuban-American professor Marta Acosta; Harold Bauman of the Salt Lake City Interfaith Peacemaking Council; and Rob Hayworth. Hayworth is a member of the band "State of the Nation," which participated in a benefit concert that attracted 300 people, mostly high school students, and raised \$1,000 for the caravan.

Mzilikazi, speaking on behalf of the ANC



Participants in Friendshipment caravan passing through Atlanta on way to Laredo

Youth League, told of Cuba's decisive role in defeating the South African invasion of Angola in the late 1980s. "I look forward to the day when I will be able to visit Cuba," Mzilikazi said.

Trade unionists participate

Across the country a significant number of trade unionists have joined the efforts to build the solidarity caravan.

Fifty members of the United Transpor-

tation Union in San Francisco signed a petition to ask the Santa Fe railroad bosses to give coworker Kathryn Crowder a month-long leave of absence to participate in the caravan. An assembly mechanic at the Kenworth Truck plant in Seattle drove to Olympia, Washington, to bring a pair of crutches to a Friendshipment sendoff rally.

San Francisco activists, hearing that there were no wheelchair-accessible buses in

Cuba, raised several thousand dollars to purchase a used bus with a wheelchair lift. Three bus mechanics, members of the Amalgamated Transit Union, volunteered their time to get the vehicle ready for the long trip.

Two workers at Polo Clothing Co. in Lawrence, Massachusetts, took the initiative to ask others in the shop to contribute money to help buy school supplies for Cuba. This generated a lot of debate and discussion about Cuba — as well as \$120 in donations.

A sizeable donation of medical supplies came from Los Angeles, where Pediatricians and Parents for Peace raised \$100,000 worth of medicine and two ambulances to send on the caravan.

Several local elected officials spoke at Friendshipment events, including Morgantown City Council member Ron Justice, Oakland City Council member Igancio de la Fuente, and former Texas state legislator Sissy Farenthold.

The Houston send-off meeting, held in the Allen Parkway Village public housing complex, drew 125 participants and featured Pastors for Peace spokesperson Gail Walker and other Friendshipment activists.

Patsy Butler, a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 4-227, read a message welcoming the caravan to Houston. It was signed by Tom Gentry, president of OCAW Local 4-227, Sonny Sanders, secretary-treasurer of Local 4-447, and OCAW International Representative Jim Byrd.

The Houston meeting successfully warded off a disruption attempt by a small group of right-wing Cubans. A half dozen rightists attempted to break up a press conference held immediately before the rally by shouting anti-Castro slogans in Spanish. One disrupter eventually had to be escorted from the room by Friendshipment activists, and the subsequent send-off rally was held without problems.

Harvey McArthur is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 289 and an activist with the Seattle-Cuba Friendshipment. Also contributing to this article were Eileen Koschak from Salt Lake City, Kathy Rettig from Morgantown, Al Budka from Houston, Jim White from San Francisco, and Kevin Jones from Los Angeles.

Cuban diplomat speaks against U.S. embargo

BY YVONNE HAYES

FREDERICK, Maryland — "The true cause of the hostility of the United States against Cuba is that for 34 years we have tried to be independent and have refused to simply obey the orders of the United States. We broke the pattern of regional domination," said Rafael Dausá.

Dausá, representing the Cuban Interests Section, joined a panel of speakers at a meeting here February 24 to discuss the U.S. embargo of Cuba. Sponsored by the Frederick Peace Resource Center and departments at Hood College, Frederick Community College, and Mount St. Mary's College, the event drew 45 people. Gail Bowerman, vice president of the Frederick County commissioners, moderated the panel.

"The impact of this blockade is very great," Dausá said. "It has meant a loss of \$45 billion in 35 years. Not only is trade with the U.S. prohibited, but U.S. subsidiaries in other countries cannot do business with Cuba and pressure is put on other countries to end their trade with the island."

"The policy of the Clinton administration is the policy of the Reagan and Bush administrations, with a few modifications, mostly negative," Dausá said.

The Cuban official attributed the intransigence of Washington in its policy toward Cuba to "the weight of the Cuban-American vote in Florida and the influence of the

Cuban right wing on Congress and the White House.

"It's time for the United States to think about its national interests, not just the interests of a small portion of the Cuban-American community. We have opened up our country to foreign investment and U.S. businesses are losing ground while other countries enter into joint ventures with us," Dausá said.

"Cuba is facing very difficult problems," he said in conclusion. "But we are confident that we will pass through this special period and preserve our revolution."

Cliff DuRand, a professor of philosophy at Morgan State University, described conditions he witnessed on a January trip to Cuba. "Many of the gains won by the Cuban people over the last three decades in health, education, and other areas are being eroded," DuRand said. Many Cubans are forced to rely on a growing black market to get needed foods and medicines, a market that is supplied with goods stolen from state supplies.

Anamaria Goicoechea, a Cuban-American and professor of social work at the University of Maryland, urged the audience to join the efforts to force the U.S. government to lift the embargo. She has disagreements with some of the policies of the Cuban government, she said. "But I'm an outsider. Those who stayed, those who have truly gone through this process, they are the ones

who must decide the future for Cuba."

Jim Small, who runs an auto parts store in Taneytown, Maryland, described his experience on the first Pastors for Peace U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravan in 1992. He urged support for the third caravan, which was just getting under way. Nearly \$200 was donated on the spot for medicines for the shipment.

Yvonne Hayes is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 7886 in Frederick, Maryland.

Solidarity convoy crosses border

Continued from front page

State College in Washington state. "We organized a benefit concert, film showings, speakers, bake sales, and lectures," she told the *Militant*. "I feel like the most important thing we can do is to organize to end the immoral and unjust blockade against Cuba."

'A big opportunity to talk about Cuba'

Kitty Loepker, a steelworker in Granite City, Illinois, sold \$660 worth of raffle tickets on the job to raise funds for the trip. "I found that deciding to go on the Friendshipment was a big opportunity to talk about Cuba," Loepker said. "At first, people at work would call me crazy, but then they wanted to know why I was going. Everyone wants to hear about the trip," she said.

Molly Jenkins, a 16-year-old high school student from San Francisco, explained that few of her fellow students even knew of the embargo against Cuba. "The schools don't teach us what the U.S. government does to other countries," she said. On her return, Jenkins plans to report on her trip to other high school students.

Bernie Senter, a production worker at Mylan Pharmaceuticals in Morgantown, West Virginia, told how coworkers and the Cuba solidarity committee, along with his local of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union convinced the company to donate 500,000 doses of antibiotics and other medicine for the Friendshipment. In addition, 44 workers in the plant signed a petition calling for an end to the embargo.

"Some coworkers asked me why we should send aid to Cuba since it's not the poorest country in the world?" Senter reported. "I explained that Cuba is the only country with a popular revolutionary government based on the power of workers and

peasants, a socialist government. The Cuban people are fighters with a 35-year record of standing up to U.S. imperialism and selflessly aiding those under attack — from Vietnam to Nicaragua and Angola.

Cuban-Americans from Miami and northern New Jersey were prominent participants in the caravan. Fourteen members of the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community from Miami participated in the border crossing.

Although nearly all of the aid raised by the Friendshipment was allowed to cross the border into Mexico, a 10-foot satellite dish, which the leadership of Pastors for Peace had included at the head of the caravan, was held up by customs officials.

As part of the border crossing activities, about a dozen members of the caravan crossed the international bridge on foot, waving dollar bills to protest laws preventing U.S. citizens from spending money in Cuba.

Not all the caravan participants thought this was a good idea. "I thought it was wrong that we went across with all those dollars," Libby Mullins, a student at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington, said. "It doesn't represent justice, it represents imperialism and the state Cuba was in before the revolution. All that Cuba accomplished couldn't have been done with dollars," she added.

After leaving the United States the caravan headed for Tampico, Mexico, where the goods will be shipped to Cuba. A six-day program of activities in Cuba has been organized for the caravan drivers.

Jerry Freiwirth is an activist with the Houston-Cuba Friendshipment and a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-367 in Houston.

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ANC election campaign rally

Cuban youth begins U.S. tour in Midwest

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota — In frank exchanges with some 400 students, faculty members, community residents, and unionists at five campus meetings here March 3-8 Cuban youth leader Pável Díaz Hernández began a visit to more than a dozen U.S. cities. In most appearances Díaz affirmed that youth and working people in Cuba "will never renounce the revolution, never renounce socialism."

Díaz, a 30-year-old associate researcher for the Havana-based Center of Studies for Youth, is Cuba's representative to the Organization of Iberoamerican Youth.

These events were sponsored by a broad range of student governments, faculty, and campus organizations.

At the University of Minnesota here Díaz was introduced by Chris Brown, vice president of the Minnesota Students Association. Jessica Rio, a leader of Adelante, the Latin American student group, welcomed Díaz to Macalaster College in St. Paul.

The youth leader taped a one-hour radio interview. Articles about his visit appeared in the *Minnesota Daily*, the University of Minnesota student newspaper in Minneapolis.

Díaz also addressed 40 activists from the Twin Cities Cuba Friendship Committee, Freedom to Travel Campaign, and other groups opposed to Washington's 32-year economic embargo of Cuba. He met with staff members of Pastors for Peace, including national director Tom Hansen. The young Cuban spent hours in informal discussions, over meals, coffee, and after meeting with groups of students and youth activists through the region.

Díaz's visit is nationally coordinated by the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee at the University of Minnesota.

An intense national protest campaign waged by the lectures committee helped convinced the U.S. State Department to grant Díaz a visa February 22. Initially, U.S. officials denied him the right to accept the more than 50 speaking invitations extended by various faculty sponsors and student groups at colleges and universities across the country.

Díaz visited the offices of Congressmen Martin Sabo and Collin Peterson and Senator Paul Wellstone to thank them personally for their letters to the State Department.

The young Cuban leader was to have been

accompanied by Arleen Rodríguez Derivet, editor of *Juventud Rebelde*, Cuba's second largest newspaper. Despite protests, the Clinton administration has refused to grant her a visa to enter the United States.

Mary Bellman, a leader of the St. John's University Young Socialists, chaired a meeting of 150 for the Cuban youth leader at her school in Collegeville, Minnesota.

At Normandale Community College here, Díaz addressed two classes, while at other campuses professors encouraged students to attend his meetings.

"Why is the Clinton administration maintaining its hostile policy toward Cuba?" was a question several students asked at different meetings.

Washington's hostility to the Cuban revolution, Díaz said, stems from "the existence of the socialist revolution and the clear decision of the people to defend what we have won, the education, health care, social security, equality, and dignity. Because we will never renounce our ideals," he continued, "we will never renounce our sovereign right to determine our own social system, our own destiny, and our own leaders."

'A new level of awareness'

Díaz noted a "new level of awareness" in the United States in the fight against the embargo. He hailed the initiatives of Pastors for Peace, Freedom to Travel Campaign, visits like his own, and other attempts to discuss and challenge U.S. policy.

In 1993, Cuba hit "rock bottom," Díaz said in response to a question from a University of Minnesota student about Cuba's current economic crisis. "This was a very, very hard year. Slowly, however, we are coming back. But even if the [U.S. economic blockade] is lifted tomorrow, this will not solve our problems. It will allow us to begin to address some of our problems."

The Cuban youth pointed to the U.S. economic embargo, the loss of trade at preferential prices with the Soviet Union, as well as errors made in Cuba as the cause of the economic crisis today.

Díaz, a member of Cuba's Union of Young Communists (UJC), talked about Cuba's "integration in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance," the trade and commercial operation organized by the former Soviet government that Cuba joined in 1972. "We gave them nickel and sugar," Díaz said, "and they gave us everything."

This "generosity," Díaz told the students, "allowed us to develop and advance," but, it also resulted in Cuba "not developing agriculture at a national level. Imagine that! You all know Cuba is an agricultural country. But we imported nearly everything. The meat, the beans, the cereal, the cooking oil, all came from the lands of Europe. When those societies collapsed, we had nothing."

"It would be easy to criticize this now, to say what mistakes we made. And we copied thousands of errors [from the USSR and Eastern Europe]," Díaz said. "We had a tremendous naiveté. But the main thing is, we are not doing this now."

The crisis that erupted from such developments and errors, the youth leader said, "has forced us to look to the creativity of our people," for solutions, particularly in agriculture, in food production.

Díaz discussed the efforts to stimulate rural production through the transformation of state farms into agricultural cooperatives, called Basic Units of Cooperative Production (UBPCs), as part of the effort to alleviate the food crisis.

"We have had different forms of production in the countryside," Díaz said, "state farms, co-ops, private farmers, yet we had no food. So we are trying this [UBPCs], to see if it will stimulate production. And the first results, after six months, are positive. Food production is up."

"You can walk around with [revolutionary] banners for years," he said, "but people cannot be political unless there is food in their stomachs."

At several of the campus events, Díaz was questioned about the impact of tourism on Cuba. The bottom line, he said, is that Cuba "has been unable to get credit anywhere in the world for the last 12 years. The [hard currency] generated by tourism and foreign



Pável Díaz Hernández speaking at University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, March 4.

investment is absolutely necessary. Without it we cannot buy food or fuel."

Díaz also responded to several students at Macalaster who asked about political prisoners in Cuba. Challenges facing the revolution have made Cuba a huge forum of debate, the young communist noted.

The themes of these debates were also reflected in the questions asked by the predominantly student and youth crowds Díaz addressed. At several meetings, for example, he was asked about Cuba's role in Africa.

Díaz served in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FAR) in Angola while Cuban volunteers along with fighters from the South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia and Angolan armed forces defeated the invading South African armies at Cuito Cuanavale in 1988.

Cuba's role in Africa

"I will tell you," he noted to the campus audiences, "this was the most important experience of my life, not because it was something fantastic, an adventure. Not because I learned what it meant when shots are fired at you. Angola was a school for me."

"I don't mean a school in a military sense," he continued, "but what it means to be with people who are willing to die for you."

The approaching elections in South Africa and the likely victory of the African National Congress, he said, "is the real conclusion, the climax of what the Cuban presence in southern Africa was all about."

Díaz was also asked about the world economic crisis. The worsening crisis of international capitalism, he explained, falls most

heavily on the Third World where "poverty, unemployment, and [economic] 'shock therapy' are growing."

"I do not wish to criticize the great country I am now visiting," he said, "but I know that the problems of workers and minorities have also increased over the last decade. The people of Russia and Eastern Europe are not happy with the prospect of life under capitalism."

These situations, he said, "are the basis of social explosions."

What did the Cuban socialist make of claims that "socialism is dead?" one person asked.

When it's said that "socialism and communism are dead," Díaz responded, "it is only true that the USSR and the socialist camp are dead, or that they killed themselves. But the ideas of [Karl] Marx and [V.I.] Lenin, of Cuban socialism, are alive."

"Perhaps over there, they never developed these ideas, these values," the young Cuban revolutionary continued. "The idea of setting an example, of an alternative to the crisis of capitalism."

"The slogan 'socialism or death' is popular in my country," he said, "at rallies, mobilizations, at dances, in clubs. It expresses the validity of our ideals in the world today. That they are still alive."

And, Díaz said, "we intend to continue proving this is true."

Following his visit to Minnesota, Díaz headed for speaking engagements in Ames, Iowa, and Salt Lake City, Utah.

Jon Hillson is a member of the United Transportation Union.

Schedule for Pável Díaz Visit

Pável 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 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

For more information contact Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, c/o Prof. Guillermo Rojas, 102 Scott Hall, 72 Pleasant Ave. SE, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN 55455. Tel: (612) 624-6005; Fax: (612) 624-3858.

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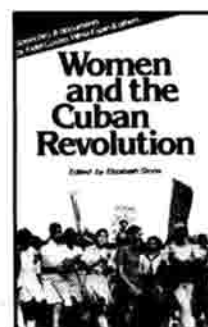
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'More than ever we need Che's legacy'

Director of Havana Center for Studies of the Americas urges rereading Guevara

The following article appeared in the April-June 1993 issue of *Casa de las Américas*, a quarterly published in Cuba. The author, Luis Suárez Salazar, is the director of the Center for Studies of the Americas in Havana.

The article is based on a presentation Suárez made during a relaunching of the book *Pensar al Che* (To Think of Che), published in 1989 by the José Martí publishing house. The event was held at the Moderna Poesía (Modern Poetry) bookstore in Havana, on the 25th anniversary of Ernesto Che Guevara's death in combat. Guevara, one of the leaders of the Cuban revolution, was killed by U.S.-trained troops in Bolivia in October 1967 while leading a guerrilla struggle that aimed to overthrow the tyrannical regime there.

Translation from Spanish and sub-headings are by the *Militant*.

BY LUIS SUÁREZ SALAZAR

A few days ago, in presenting the two-volume *Pensar al Che* to Cuban readers, I pointed out that in the context of commemorating the 25th anniversary of Che's physical disappearance, a recurring battle would again surely develop. On one side are those who by action or omission, by conviction or opportunism, wish to bury, mystify, distort, diminish, or downplay Che's theoretical and practical heritage. On the other side are those of us in our country and elsewhere who wish to return to his legacy, his intransigent anti-imperialism, his consistent internationalism, the timeliness of his thought and action, the way his words matched his deeds, and the enduring example he set for those seeking to understand and transform in a revolutionary way the reality that we face today.

I also pointed out that this recurring battle over Che and the relevance of his works today takes place under conditions much more difficult than in the past. We have witnessed the resounding collapse of "actually existing socialism" in Europe; the disappearance of the USSR; the difficulties of Asian socialism; the vicissitudes of revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles in the so-called Third World and in Latin America in particular; as well as the problems that must be resolved in our own country as a result, among other things, of our own errors and those of others. Without doubt all this will be employed by the new and old detractors of Che to try to demonstrate the incorrectness (or at least the inapplicability today) of his ideas. From the camp of our enemies there will continue to come forecasts of the coming defeat of the undertaking to which Che devoted his entire life and intelligence.

This, in our view, makes the call issued

by Fidel [Castro] five years ago now more urgent and necessary than ever: that Che's entire works should be made better known in Cuba and throughout the world. And they should be made known not merely for academic reasons, but out of the conviction that now more than ever before we need Che's legacy. In the midst of the daily heroism to which Che summoned us, we need his legacy to forge and solidify our individual and collective action in intransigently defending the socialism being built in Cuba as an indispensable part of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggles that, despite everything, are developing and will continue to develop in Latin America and throughout the world. We also need Che's legacy to steel our certainty in the final victory of our cause.

Some will see more than one contradiction in these affirmations. Applying simple and formal logic, some might perhaps ask themselves: How and why must we return to the theoretical and practical heritage of Che at a time when the socialist camp, to which Che attributed a central role in overcoming the principal contradictions of our epoch, has virtually disappeared? How and why must we return to Che under circumstances in which our country is forced to resort in some areas of the economy to what he defined as the "dull instruments of capitalism" in order to assure the survival of the revolution and continue fighting for the economic, political, and ideological self-reproduction of the socialism being built in Cuba?

How must we reread Che?

I think we would all agree there is only one possible way to reclaim the theoretical and practical heritage of Che, given the many contradictions that exist today between his ideas and the concrete reality we face. That is to reread and reanalyze his works without the slightest intention of transforming his ideas and actions into dogma. No effort should be made to convert Che, ever the iconoclast, into a saint. In approaching his legacy, no apologetics are necessary.



Ernesto Che Guevara at textile mill in Cuba

We should keep in mind the historic circumstances, the political and intellectual climate in which his beliefs and convictions were forged. We need to give consideration, whenever necessary, to the modifications that have occurred in the national, Latin American, and international situation during the twenty-five years since his death in combat.

In short, we should adopt the dialectical, theoretical-practical, and practical-theoretical method with which Che helped subvert dogmatism, oversimplification of every type, and the reformism that permeated (and permeates today even more) significant aspects of revolutionary theory and practice. Let us constantly remember Che's call to all Marxists that "if new events require new ideas, one must never take away from those who came before us their piece of the truth."

But the effort to reclaim Che's ideas in a dialectical, antidogmatic way should not (under penalty of turning them into a ritual) be confused with the effort to accommodate his ideas and his work — through extracting quotations of greater or lesser relevancy — to a possibilist or defeatist course of action when analyzing the development of the world revolutionary process. It would also be wrong to try to make Che's ideas conform to each and every one of the concrete policies that the leadership of our country today views as necessary to adopt in confronting the adverse relationship of forces facing us in Latin America and the world.

We cannot and must not turn to Che in order to transform, through magic, our objective necessities — sometimes unavoidable — into immortal and eternal virtues. Nor should we use him to legitimize the tactical measures taken to ensure the survival and reproduction of Cuban socialism today; such steps should not be transformed into petrified, rigid strategies to be applied in Cuba and elsewhere, at all times and in all places.

On the other hand, we cannot and must not turn to Che nostalgically, falsely supposing — as is sometimes done — that the course of history, our history, would have been different had Che abandoned his internationalist commitment, or succeeded in surviving it physically. Saying this does not deny that Che would surely have placed his legendary personal stamp on all activities he might have been involved in. I am simply trying to establish that the complexities of the historical process and of the development of society often put objective limits on the ideas or actions of even the most outstanding individuals. If not, how can one understand the synthesis of utopian and practical — not pragmatic — policies associated with other great men of history, in-

cluding our own Martí and Fidel?

For all these reasons I believe that under today's circumstances, we must return to Che, to a dialectical and revolutionary reading of his legacy. We must do so, above all, to gain fresh insight into the way his ideas and his actions can help shape our program.

Why must we reread Che?

To make clear the revolutionary value of his utopias and of his hopes concerning the essential and inevitable transformation of society.

To highlight anew his reflections on the insoluble structural crisis of capitalism in the underdeveloped countries. To set forth again his intransigent anti-imperialism.

To recall once again, together with Che, that socialism is and continues to be the precondition for the sovereign and independent development of our country, and for the sovereign and independent development of the majority of the world's countries.

To not confuse the errors committed in building socialism in other countries with congenital deformations of a new economy and society.

To continually enrich Che's reflections concerning objective contradictions, which are unavoidable in the transition to socialism, above all under the conditions of an underdeveloped country, physically and structurally dependent (much to our dismay) on a capitalist market that is increasingly multinational.

To bring out the creative dynamics of his views concerning society and, from that standpoint, to synthesize the experiences of socialism as it is being built in Cuba, in all its concreteness, autonomy, and individuality.

To see in his writings clear intuitions, premonitions, and lessons on how to find socialist and communist formulas aimed at trying to resolve the internal and external contradictions facing socialism, our socialism, and even to confront the unwanted effects of the policies that our country today views as necessary to implement both internally and in relations with the rest of the world.

But we must also return to Che to reencounter his concise explanations con-

“To recall that socialism is and continues to be the precondition for sovereign and independent development of Cuba...”

cerning the place and role of the political vanguard in the entire process of political and social transformation. To recall, at the same time, the dynamic role of human will (without voluntarism) and of the subjective factors (without subjectivism) in all revolutionary activity.

To continue to forge the political unity of the people around our vanguard, the Communist Party of Cuba. To assure that this organization, the party of the Cuban people, constantly deepens its selectivity, its internal democracy, and its links with the masses.

To retain a critical and self-critical spirit toward each and every one of our individual or collective acts.

To reject reducing democracy to the liberal ideas now being foisted on us from abroad, while also rejecting the idea that efforts to improve our socialist democracy should be limited to more or less specific changes introduced into our constitution and our electoral laws.

To remember at all times that our utopia

Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism

in *New International* no. 8

Articles by Ernesto Che Guevara, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, Carlos Tablada, Mary-Alice Waters, Steve Clark, Jack Barnes. Exchanges from both the early 1960s and today on the relevance and historic importance of the political and economic perspectives defended by Ernesto Che Guevara. Also available in Spanish. \$10



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Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

Cuba confronts the world crisis of the '90s

by Mary-Alice Waters

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

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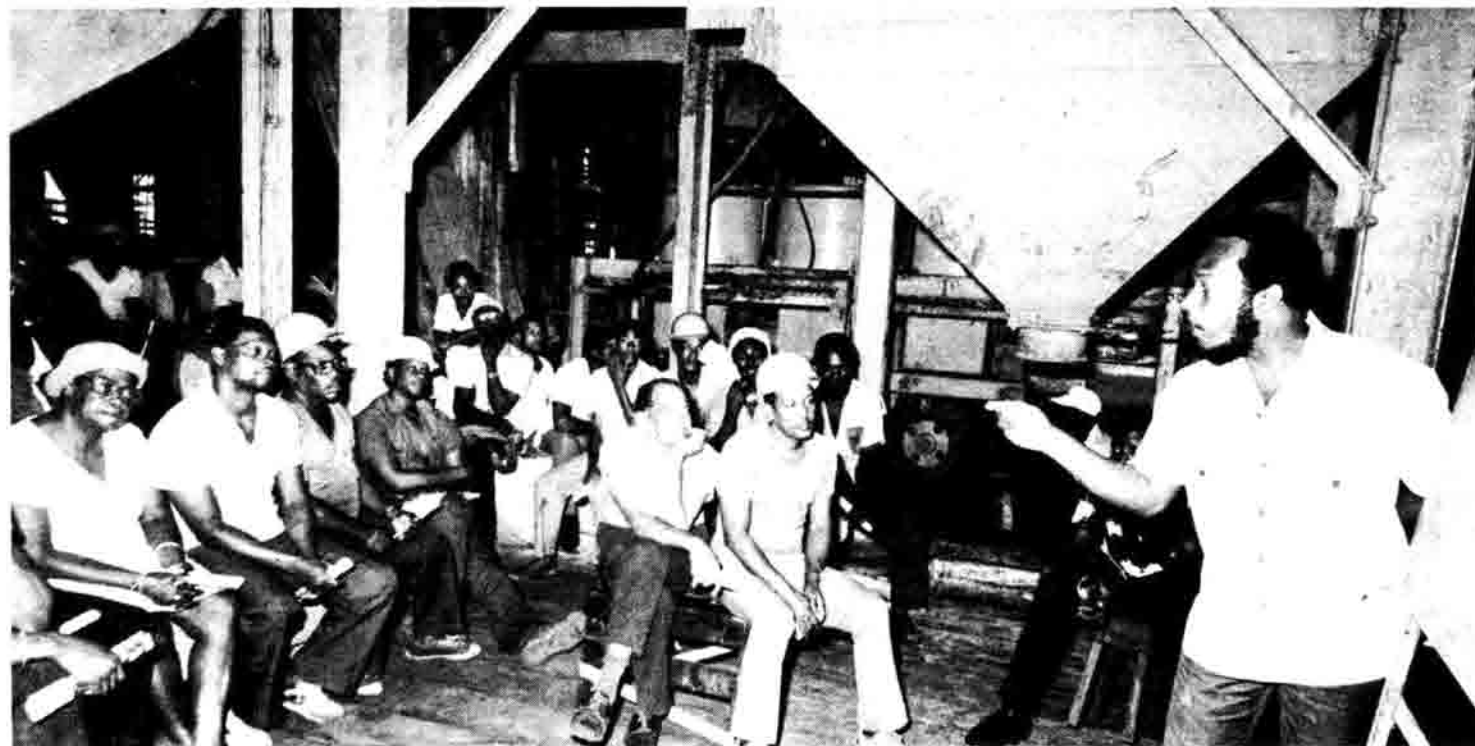
of socialist democracy is based above all on the people's participation in decision making and in solving all the problems that confront our people; for this they must be adequately and thoroughly informed about all the events affecting them.

To remember that there is no genuine socialist planning without the conscious and organized participation of the producers; without a clear focus on the social, political, and ideological objectives of the economy; without a stubborn battle against tendencies toward reducing controls, toward indiscipline in political life and in work, toward the technocracy and bureaucracy that also exist under the conditions of our socialist state.

We must go to Che, moreover, to recover the ethical and moral inspiration of his example. To remind ourselves again that revolutionary cadres have to teach through example. They have to live — without excessive egalitarianism — just as our people live. They have to be creative, audacious, faithful to the ideology of the Cuban revolution; in culture, technology, politics, and ideology they must be trained in the best traditions of our country's thought and liberating actions, capable of critically assimilating ideas from abroad and theoretically and practically enriching our own.

To never confuse the changing needs of our state foreign policy with the indispensable reciprocal solidarity with the popular and revolutionary movement of the world.

To remember, in short, that our socialist



Workers' Education Class at sugar factory in Grenada during revolution there in early 1980s. Guevara emphasized need for working people to transform their consciousness and participate in building a new society through collective, voluntary labor and study.

and communist utopia does not simply pursue a different form of distributing social wealth. It must bring about a radical transformation in culture, in social relations among men, in human motivation. A revolution in ethics that, dialectically related to the transformation of material and social relations, produces new men every day who are capable of being active participants — without alienation of any kind — in the work of the revolution. And that in this endeavor the youth is the fundamental clay of our work.

To remember always, together with Che, "that socialism cannot exist without a

change in consciousness resulting in a new fraternal attitude toward humanity, both at an individual level, within the societies where socialism is being built, and on a world level, with regard to all peoples suffering from imperialist exploitation."

In short, we must conserve, recover, and enrich Che's legacy so that his example and his ideas continue illuminating the world, our America, and our society. We must preserve his symbol, his ideological, emotional, and moral weight in different countries of the world — Cuba above all — as an eternally subversive force against every injustice, no matter where in the world it is committed. As

a subversive force that impels us constantly to new revolutions in our revolution, and to new anti-imperialist and anticapitalist revolutions throughout the planet.

Let us remember every day that the duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution, both before and after the seizure of political power. Let Che's legacy help us find the most correct road to systematically overcoming the contradictions in the reality we face, as well as identifying and overcoming our own errors. For this road of identifying and overcoming our errors, as Fidel has said, is the one that will some day perhaps lead us finally to communism.

Marxist magazine: Nicaragua defeat not inevitable

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In mid-January Lawrence Walsh, the White House-appointed independent prosecutor, released his final report on the U.S. government scandal of the mid-1980s known as "Iran-contra" or "Contragate."

Central to this affair was White House and CIA sponsorship of a secret network that privately funded arms purchases and other aid to the mercenary counterrevolutionary army, the "contras," who were waging a war of terror and sabotage to overturn the Nicaraguan government led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN). Some of the funds came from reserves from the clandestine shipment of U.S. arms to Iran via Israel.

The report concludes that top White House officials in the administration of then-president Ronald Reagan were involved in carrying out and covering up this operation.

This affair highlights the trend in the latter half of the 20th century towards growing centralization of political power in the executive branch of government — and in particular, the secret military operations organized by the White House and CIA that have become a permanent aspect of U.S. foreign policy. The resources and energies the U.S. rulers poured into creating and sustaining the contras also reveals the extent to which the capitalists felt their class interests threatened by the advancing social revolution in Nicaragua.

But was the defeat of the Nicaraguan revolution inevitable, given the vast array of military and economic power set in motion by Washington in an effort to crush it? An upcoming issue of *New Internationalist* answers this question with a resounding "no!"

"The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution," issue number 9 of *New Internationalist*, will come off the press at the end of March.

Spanning the decade of the Nicaraguan revolution's triumph and demise from 1979 to the closing years of the 1980s, this issue includes reports and resolutions adopted by the leadership of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and its sister communist leagues in Australia, Britain, Canada, France, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden. *New Internationalist* is a magazine of Marxist politics and theory whose editorial board is composed of leaders of these organizations.

In July 1979 a popular insurrection in Nicaragua's cities and land seizures in the countryside toppled the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. The new FSLN government responded to and helped promote mobilizations by the workers and peasants to advance their class interests

against the exploiters — both at home and abroad. It encouraged the formation of unions, peasant organizations, women's groups, and youth groups; nationalized the banks and insurance companies; established controls on export trade; and expropriated some key factories. Through these and other measures that began to encroach on capitalist property and prerogatives, the FSLN-led power rapidly emerged as a workers and farmers government. This triumph occurred just four months after the victory of the revolution in the Caribbean island of Grenada, led by Maurice Bishop.

'Three giants rising up'

These developments in Central America and the Caribbean provided a new impetus to the socialist revolution in Cuba and to revolutionary struggles throughout the Americas. "Grenada, Nicaragua, and Cuba are three giants rising up to defend their right to independence, sovereignty, and justice, on the very threshold of imperialism," stated Cuban president Fidel Castro in March 1980.

But by the closing years of the 1980s, both the Nicaraguan and Grenada revolutions had been defeated. Cuba was once again the only revolutionary government in the Americas.

The new issue of *New Internationalist* traces the accomplishments and anticapitalist dynamic of the Nicaraguan revolution in its opening years, the heroic war fought by the workers and peasants of that country against the U.S.-organized counterrevolution, and the subsequent political degeneration of the FSLN into the radical bourgeois electoral party it had become by the end of the 1980s.

The documents in this issue, written by partisans of the revolution, were enriched by the week-by-week coverage in the *Militant* by correspondents for its Managua bureau, which was founded just weeks after the 1979 revolution and functioned until the end of 1990.

By the close of 1981, the U.S. rulers began training and financing the contra army, which was headed by Somoza's ex-officer corps. Over the next six years, the contras mounted terrorist assaults and waged a bloody war to destroy the revolution.

The workers, peasants, and youth in the Sandinista army courageously fought back. By the latter half of 1987 the Nicaraguan government had defeated the contra army, although the mercenaries continued to carry out sporadic raids from their bases in Honduras — with ongoing military aid from

Congress and the White House.

The revolutionary war the Sandinistas had fought and won had forged a new layer of worker and peasant cadres who could have been organized to help deepen the revolution's anticapitalist political course. Despite these opportunities, the FSLN leadership turned away from its previous tendency to rely on the organization, mobilization, and political consciousness of Nicaraguan working people.

Instead, in the face of the deepening economic and social crisis, exacerbated by massive destruction from the contra war and U.S. economic sanctions, the entire top Sandinista leadership increasingly looked to capitalist market relations and integration into the world capitalist system as the way out. They turned away from mobilizing the workers and peasants to tackle these pressing problems in ways that advanced their class interests against those of the landowners and factory owners. More and more of the burden of the crisis fell on the exploited producers.

This course of the FSLN leadership during the closing years of the 1980s, the reports in *New Internationalist* explain, had gutted the government's pro-working class orientation by the end of 1989. The February 1990 electoral defeat of the FSLN by a coalition patched together in Washington and Miami was a big blow to the country's sovereignty, and to working people both there and around the world. But the workers and farmers government that had emerged

in 1979 had already ceased to exist.

New Internationalist explains that this outcome was not inevitable. The Nicaraguan revolution was not defeated by the power of imperialism and its mercenary contra military operation, nor did it decline because of the weakening (and later collapse) of the Soviet Union and the resulting drop off in aid. These problems and pressures were real, as was the need for concrete tactical judgments and retreats by the vanguard of Nicaragua's workers and peasants. But the demise of the revolutionary government in Nicaragua was the product of conscious political decisions by the FSLN leadership to reject an anticapitalist course and the building of a communist party. And, as the introductory article in this issue of *New Internationalist* explains, this perspective has been reaffirmed and deepened since 1990.

Recent developments from Chiapas, Mexico, to Argentina, to resistance by workers and youth in the imperialist countries show that workers and farmers will not stop fighting back against the devastating effects of the deepening world capitalist economic depression. As these struggles intensify, a new generation of fighters in the factories, mines, fields, and schools will look for lessons and inspiration from the ongoing revolution in Cuba, from the real history of the Russian revolution under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, and from powerful anti-capitalist revolutions such as those in Nicaragua and Grenada. This issue of *New Internationalist* is for them.

Available March 30!

New Internationalist no. 9

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution

The achievements and worldwide impact of the workers' and farmers' government that came to power in Nicaragua in 1979, and the political retreat of the Sandinista National Liberation Front that led to the downfall of the government in the closing years of the 1980s. \$12.00

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

Israel gov't

Continued from front page
killed seven soldiers.

Protests by Palestinians living inside the borders of Israel have subsided for now, according to Michel Warshawski of the Alternative Information Center in Jerusalem. The explosive demonstrations in Arab towns had set off alarm bells in Israeli ruling circles. The newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* reported February 27 that "yesterday the Intifada arrived in Jaffa. Yefat Street on Saturday morning was as packed with people as any main street in Gaza: burning police cars, smashed windows, stones and bottles being thrown in every direction, tear gas, masses of border patrol policemen, helicopters circling above, and below hundreds of Arabs shouting: 'The army participated in the massacre in Hebron.'"

Warshawski reported that on March 5 the Israeli group Peace Now held a demonstration 25,000 strong in Tel Aviv to condemn the massacre. "One byproduct of the massacre in Hebron is the fact it has forced the question of the settlements back on the agenda," he said. "[Israeli prime minister Yitzhak] Rabin wants to keep the settlers as a pressure on the PLO."

"More than 1,800 students demonstrated March 7 at Bethlehem University," and were tear-gassed by Israeli troops, said Abbas. "Many leaflets are circulating here — not just from organizations, but special leaflets about what is happening in Hebron. The Israelis closed all the schools here. Black flags are flying all over the place."

Police in Cairo also fired tear gas March 4 at 10,000 demonstrators denouncing the Hebron massacre. At least 30 protesters were arrested and some badly beaten in the Egyptian capital.

Palestinian groups differ over response

PLO leader Yasir Arafat met with Israeli officials in Cairo March 7. It was the first meeting since the Hebron killings. No agreement was announced following the meeting.

According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, some prominent PLO leaders in the occupied territories have refused to travel to PLO headquarters in Tunis for meetings. A number of demonstrations in the territories are demanding a halt to negotiations with Tel Aviv and a fresh start beginning with the demand that all settlers be expelled from the occupied lands.

A leaflet signed by the Unified Leadership of the Intifada, the group that directed the Palestinian uprising in the territories, called for the "reinstitution of strike forces all over Palestine," and urged people to "begin with attacks on occupiers and settlers... Hit these criminals as hard as they hit us," the flyer said.

In some areas, members of the Fatah Hawks, a PLO group, and Hamas have joined together in demonstrations. Hamas is a Palestinian organization that is opposed to both the PLO and Israeli rule. It uses radical demagoguery to advance its goals. Hamas issued a leaflet March 7 saying it would attack residents of five Israeli settlements if they didn't leave their homes by March 15. "We have chosen our targets and our living martyrs have been instructed to carry out the suicide operations," it said.

Israeli government moves

At a March 6 meeting of the Israeli Cabinet, seven of the 15 members spoke against keeping the Hebron settlements. Rabin refused to change his position, which is that the settlements are not negotiable.

Rabin's government has been building settlers' housing at a faster pace than any other administration since Israel conquered the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. Before the massacre took place, Israel's housing ministry had announced plans to spend \$660 million on new "settlers only" roads. Tel Aviv recently confiscated thousands of acres of Palestinian land for road building and settlement expansion. Some 11,500 acres of West Bank land have been taken since the accords were signed on Sept. 13, 1993.

In another move to stem Palestinian anger, Rabin ordered the establishment of a commission of inquiry to look into the Hebron assault. The three judges, a university president, and the former army chief of staff began meeting March 8. Israeli army commander Maj. Gen. Danny Yatom repeated the assertion that Goldstein had acted alone, while admitting that five of six soldiers assigned to the mosque had failed to show up for duty on the day of the attack.

Tel Aviv has released about 1,000 prisoners in a bid to get the PLO back to the negotiating table. It holds 9,000 more Palestinians in Israeli jails.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

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Stop the Attack on Day Laborers. Panel discussion. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

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How to Answer Right-Wing Attacks on Women's Rights. Panel discussion. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

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Abortion Under Attack — Defending a Woman's Right to Choose. A panel discussion. Sun., March 20, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767

TEXAS

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

BRITAIN

Sheffield

Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, Havana International Book Fair participant and contributing editor of *New Internationalist* magazine. Sat., March 26, 6 p.m. 1 Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £1. Tel: 0742-765070.

Corrections

The article "Meetings in Britain win new support for Curtis defense effort," in the February 21 issue of the *Militant*, quoted Gerry McCarthy as saying that he "subpoenaed the cops for my trial." It should have said that he subpoenaed "agents provocateurs who worked for the cops."

The final paragraph in the article "U.S. fighter jets down four planes over Bosnia" in the March 14 issue should have read, "Russian president Boris Yeltsin failed to prevent the release from prison of Aleksandr Rutskoi and Ruslan Khasbulatov at the end of February."

Also in the March 14 issue, the last line of the article "Argentine 'miracle': a nightmare for workers" listed the slogan painted on the wall as "The time of the sheep is over." It should have read, "The time of the sheep is over."

In the same issue, the article "Meeting celebrates new book of speeches by Nelson Mandela" should have identified Rhonda Williams as a student at the University of Pennsylvania, not Temple University.

CANADA

Vancouver

What's Behind Growing Censorship in Canada? Speakers: Janine Fuller, manager of Little Sisters Bookstore; Bonita Murdoch, Communist League. Sun., March 20, 3 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

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., March 19, 7 p.m. 203 Karangahape Rd. (Opposite McDonald's). Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

CALENDAR

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Celebrate the Publication of Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. Speakers: Hayelom Ayele, director, Advisory Council on African Affairs; Jim Campbell, professor of history, Northwestern University; representative, Chicago Public Library; Agber Dimah, professor of political science, Chicago State University; Harry Fouché, coordinator, Haiti Tenth Department; Prizgar Gonzalez, syndicated columnist; Sello Mkalipe, South African student, member of the African National Congress (ANC); Harold Rogers, chairman, Nelson Mandela Freedom Fund; Cathy Sedwick, Pathfinder Books, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1011; Janette Wilson, National Executive Director of Operation PUSH. Sat., March 19, 7 p.m. Reception 6 p.m. Harold Washington Library, Multipurpose Room B, 400 S. State St. Sponsored by Pathfinder Books, Africa News, Attending to Black Culture Committee of the University Church, Ethiopian Community Association of Chicago, Haiti Tenth Department, 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, Socialist Workers Party and member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. 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 Trades Union Congress (TUC). Sat., March 19. For more information, call 051-933-6067.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

Chicago

FRIDAY, APRIL 1

6:30 p.m. • **Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism: Report back from a recent visit by Mary-Alice Waters, editor, *New Internationalist*.**

SATURDAY, APRIL 2

9:30 a.m. • **Eyewitness Report from South Africa: the African National Congress Leads the Fight for a Democratic, Non-racial, Nonsexist Republic by Brock Satter, Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.**

1:30 p.m. • **A Working-class Perspective on the Fight for Women's Liberation by Naomi Craine, Socialist Youth Organizing Committee and *Militant* staff writer.**

4:30 p.m. • **World Capitalist Politics in the '90s: 'Downsizing,' 'Cultural War,' and Global Instability by Jack Barnes, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party.**

SUNDAY, APRIL 3

9:00 a.m. • **Trade Unions and the Fight Against Imperialist War: Young Merchant Seamen during World War II and the Korean War by Tom Leonard, long-time union activist and socialist.**

ALL EVENTS AT PALMER HOUSE
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NEW ZEALAND TODAY: Does it Show How Capitalism Can Defeat Economic Depression?

GEORGE FYSON

Editor of the *Militant* newspaper.

Saturday, March 19, 7:30 p.m.

59 Fourth Avenue

(Corner of Bergen Street, near Atlantic and Pacific subway stations.) Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (718) 399-7257 or (212) 388-9346.

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Regional Student Anti-apartheid Conference
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(rescheduled from February)

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Madole Mthembu, assistant chief representative to the ANC mission

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8:00 a.m. Registration
9:30-10:30 a.m. Plenary session
12:30- 2:00 p.m. Lunch
2:00- 4:00 p.m. Workshops
4:00- 7:00 p.m. Plenary session

Registration \$5 — all monies raised will go directly to South Africa to support the ANC election campaign.

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Ex-basher — "I've been called a bigot by so many people today that it's unbelievable. I wasn't planning to burn the Japanese flag; I was just planning to pound a couple of Toyotas." — An Oskaloosa, Iowa, car dealer who hurriedly cancelled a "Japan Bashing Day" after getting hit with some 200 protest phone calls.



Harry Ring

Brass roots — "We're now building from the top down," explains Volney Corn, a spokesperson for Ross Perot's United We Stand America. He says the organization is currently selecting people with military background as paid staffers for the "grass roots" organization.

Cultural war zone — School officials in Greenwood, South Carolina were ticked off on learning that "Springfield," the name chosen by students for their new elementary school, is the name of the school animated cartoon character Bart Simpson attends. Declared one educator: "He's an obnoxious, talking-back little kid. He's a rebel and most

kids need to be more respectful."

"Don't get mad, get even?" — "He wasn't like some unhappy postal employee, ready to blow up. He didn't whine, he didn't complain, he didn't cry about how they were treating him." — An acquaintance speculating that Aldrich Ames moonlighted for Russian intelligence because of a frustrating lack of advancement at the CIA.

Pink slip for Pluto — We reported the ad campaign by Japan's nuke industry, featuring Mr. Pluto, a cartoon character who plugs plutonium as almost better than broccoli. But the cute little fella didn't fly. The Japanese government is

tabling a projected series of nuclear power plants for at least 20 years.

Quake aftermath — Concerned about the consequences of future earthquakes, the Alcor Life Extension Foundation, which freezes corpses for possible future revival, has moved its inventory and sales office to Arizona.

Details were in the FBI warning — California officials are charging Blockbuster Video with false, misleading advertising. It had promoted the sale of *Beauty and the Beast* with a \$5 rebate offer. After you opened the box and dug out the rebate coupon you

learned you also had to buy four boxes of Nabisco crackers.

They're sure she was posing? — In Ohio, a woman got eight to 15 years for conning small sums from elderly people by promising them free medical benefits and more. Authorities said she posed as a member of the Clinton administration.

What sick society? — Dave Ryan, a Minnesota radio performer, made the winning bid of \$8,800 for Lee Harvey Oswald's toe tag and a lock of his hair. Charged with the assassination of President John Kennedy, Oswald was murdered while in police custody. The toe tag identified his corpse.

Women's oppression aids bosses, hurts workers

As part of our coverage for Women's History Month, we are reprinting below excerpts from the "The Capitalist Ideological Offensive Against Women Today," by Mary-Alice Waters. Waters prepared this article in 1985 as the introduction to the Pathfinder title *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*.

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Since the beginning of the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, capitalist expansion and the lash of competition have dictated the incorporation of larger and larger numbers of women into the labor force. This is so because capital always seeks to incorporate into the work force large numbers of workers in oppressed social categories (in this case women), the value of whose labor power under capitalism is less than that of others. This is a key way in which the employers drive down the overall average value of labor

numbers also begin to think in broader social terms and to act as political beings. They become increasingly class conscious. They play an expanding role in struggles by the labor movement that can wrest higher wages from the employers and social programs from the capitalist government, thus pushing up the value of labor power for the entire working class.

These were the kinds of economic and social developments that took place in the decades of the post-World War II capitalist expansion, weakening the foundations on which the entire edifice of women's oppression is built. As these objective preconditions combined with the political changes of the 1950s and 1960s above all, the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements the "second wave" of feminism exploded onto the scene. As a result of the women's liberation struggles since the end of the 1960s, further broad advances have taken place in women's attitudes toward themselves and their place in society, as well as in the views of men on these matters.

Today the employers are once again making a concerted political effort to roll back, or at least slow down, some of the changes in consciousness about women's place in society. They are taking aim at concrete gains won through hard struggle in the 1960s and 1970s, such as abortion rights and affirmative action programs.

So far defeats and setbacks for working people continue to outnumber victories, and the bosses and their politicians retain the initiative. But that has not put a stop to resistance. To the contrary, the willingness and desire of working people to fight back continues to assert itself.

The capitalists' offensive against women's rights is not aimed at driving women out of the work force. That is historically precluded. The percentage of wage and salaried workers who are female has been rising, from one plateau to another, ever since



Woman working on aircraft during World War II. Entry of millions of women into workforce after war weakened entire edifice on which women's oppression is built.

the beginning of the industrial revolution. Instead, the aim is to make women more vulnerable to increased exploitation. The goal is not to push women out of the labor

market but to push them down to jobs with fewer paid holidays, more piece work, less safety, shorter lunch breaks, less union protection, and lower wages.

FROM PATHFINDER

power by heightening competition among workers for jobs.

The development of capitalism, however, creates real — and ultimately insoluble — contradictions for the exploiting class. The capitalists' increasing purchase of women's capacities as wage laborers inevitably brings in its wake greater economic independence for women. It contributes to further disintegration of the family, and expands the need for household appliances and prepared foods. These factors, in turn, tend to raise the value of women's labor power, to raise the wages they can command in the labor market on average, other things being equal.

Through their experiences in the work force and the unions, women in growing

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



A police attack on a peaceful sit-in of students at Carver Junior High School here [Los Angeles] has sparked a massive revolt in the city's high schools, colleges and black community. According to eyewitness accounts, 150 club-swinging policemen attacked approximately 200 12- to 14-year-old students on Friday, March 7, when they sat down in front of the principal's office at the school to protest the "trespassing" arrest of a Black Student Union [BSU] member from Southwest Junior College who had been invited onto the campus by the Carver BSU.

In protest against this assault, the meeting held that night by various groups and individuals in the black community, including the Black Student Alliance (the citywide coalition of college BSUs), the BYA (high-school Black Youth Alliance), the Black Panther Party, the NAACP, ministers and others, called for a boycott of classes to begin Monday, March 10.

In an interview with *The Militant*, Warren, vice-chairman of the BSA, stressed that this was a movement of the whole black community. "The citywide boycott is the natural evolution of our struggle," he said. "We have seen walkouts at single schools produce black principals, but the second-rate education remains. Black administrators can relate to the community, but as long as they are responsible to City Hall and not to us, that second-rate education will continue. The Carver incident was just a spark. Given the conditions, the boycotts would eventually have occurred anyway."

City Councilman Thomas Bradley, black

liberal Democrat currently running for mayor, insisted on the need for "law and order." "Police must respond," he said, "when they are called by school authorities.... In this country, not even the church ground is sanctuary from the police."



Britain's ruling class stands panic-stricken as over 100,000 striking coal miners enter the second week of their militant struggle, the greatest demonstration of British working class power since the 1926 General strike. The majority of the South Wales miners, who represent the heart of the strike movement, at rank and file pit head meetings today rejected the demands of their treacherous leaders that they resume work. These leaders over the week-end sought to drum up a back-to-work vote with frantic patriotic appeals and glib promises that all the miners' demands will be granted after they return to work. But the labor bureaucrats have, for the time being, lost all control of the situation. The rank and file members are fighting mad.

The strike was launched early last week by 85,000 workers in the key South Wales collieries and quickly spread with thousands of other miners walking out all over England and Scotland. The conflagration sweep of this struggle in Britain's most vital industry immediately evoked hysterical and fear-ridden agitation by the entire capitalist press.

A United Press dispatch recounts: "The scene of Richard Llewellyn's best-seller 'How Green Was My Valley' today has a tint of red. The coal miners talk admiringly of communism.... One man, who said he earned 4 Lbs. a week after forty years in the pits, said: 'Our only hope for this country is to have the Communists take over.'"

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Behind Whitewater scandal

U.S. president Bill Clinton's statement that Hillary Clinton's "moral compass is as strong as anybody's" has a grain of truth in it — if you're talking about the employer class. The Clintons' actions in the Whitewater affair and cover-up are typical of the corruption that is standard among the capitalists and their representatives in government.

But the subpoenas, resignations, and grand jury aren't really about whether the Clintons skimmed some money off a thrift and a realty company, or even over unethical meetings in the White House corridors to discuss the impending investigation. This flap, like other scandals, can be viewed as a barometer of the capitalist rulers' confidence in the Clinton presidency.

Its wake up time for Clinton. The president's health care scheme is faltering. The employers want more thoroughgoing inroads against Social Security and other entitlements. Clinton has failed to contain the Bosnia fiasco and has been unable to decisively advance imperialism's interests in Russia. The administration is under fire for moving to quickly escalate the trade war with Japan, and hasn't brought North Korea to heel. The president can't even convince a jury to support the slaughter he and his attorney general ordered last April in Waco, Texas. The U.S. capitalist class is sending him a warning.

If the employing class had utter confidence in Clinton, the Whitewater inquiry would slide over easily. And if things take a turn for the better (from the capitalists' point of view), the hubbub about who met with whom, what papers were shredded, and where the money went will die down.

Some columnists have wondered at how Hillary Clinton

and White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum could carry out such a blatant cover-up, since both were involved in moves to impeach Richard Nixon 20 years ago. The answer is they couldn't learn the "lessons of Watergate" because this is how their class always behaves.

One *Wall Street Journal* article said the problem is things are more "casual" in Arkansas than in Washington, and the president is still adjusting. It may be true that this administration is more ingrown than most, but the Clintons and their cohorts are not that unusual.

That's why Elliott Abrams — convicted of lying to Congress about illicit operations to arm counterrevolutionary mercenary thugs in Nicaragua under Ronald Reagan — said what the Clintons did is legitimate and normal, until a scandal has been "declared."

The Whitewater affair gives working people an instructive glimpse of who the ruling class is and how it functions. It makes the idea that these people have any "moral compass" laughable to most workers.

Nevertheless, this corruption isn't the real problem facing workers. Rightist demagogues such as Patrick Buchanan try to whip up indignation around issues like Whitewater to win support for their anti-working-class agenda. But endemic corruption is just one small facet of the normal workings of capitalism.

This system generates wars, unemployment, hunger, and racism on a daily basis, as the bosses seek to squeeze more profits out of the sweat and blood of working people.

It's the criminal capitalist system that working people need to keep our fire on.

World Trade Center travesty

The trial and conviction of four defendants accused of bombing the World Trade Center in New York registered a blow to democratic rights. The U.S. government can be expected to use this fact as a precedent to victimize union militants, fighters for Black and women's rights, and opponents of its wars abroad.

When the government, in a related case, indicted Omar Abdel Rahman and 14 others last August on sweeping charges of seditious conspiracy, attorney Ronald Kuby made an appropriate comment. He said Washington's case, which goes to trial this September, was "so big, so vast, that it is almost impossible to prosecute, impossible to try, and impossible for the jury to understand. They are hoping that the jurors will see just one large indistinguishable wad of Arab terrorists."

This was exactly the federal prosecutors' *modus operandi* in the World Trade Center case.

On day one of the trial, a government prosecutor admitted that evidence in Washington's case was entirely circumstantial. Not one witness or other piece of evidence could physically tie the defendants to the scene of the explosion. Instead, prosecutors spent week after week presenting shards of metal and simulating blasts. The government's strategy was to recount the explosion and its impact on those inside the building, including graphic descriptions of deaths, injuries, and terrifying experiences. The aim was to get the jury emotionally worked up.

A concurrent campaign by the big-business press served to convict those accused before the trial even began. Warnings of "Arab terror" and "Islamic terror cells" were aimed at winning acceptance for the democratic abuses needed to gain a conviction. Cops launched a nationwide harassment crusade against legal political organizations, especially those of Palestinians. Big-business politicians used the charges to advance demands for furthering anti-democratic restrictions on immigrants.

The presumption of innocence was junked at the trial, which was surrounded by police barricades, double metal detectors, and extra cops to create a besieged atmosphere. Even blatant contradictions to the prosecutors' story were buried in this avalanche. A key witness for the government couldn't even identify one of the witnesses — and instead pointed the finger at a juror. He "recognized" the defendant the next day.

The right to be presumed innocent is a right treasured by working people. The burden of proof is on the accusers to show hard evidence — in this case the government had none.

The same tactics will be employed in the upcoming trial of Abdel Rahman, and the April trial of eight West Virginia miners on frame-up conspiracy charges. The labor movement should expose the racist anti-Arab hysteria and violations of rights being peddled as justice in the capitalist courts.

Cancel Africa's foreign debt

The decision to devalue the African franc brought millions of working people closer to the knife's edge of survival. The governments of the African Financial Community ostensibly made the choice. But in reality the deed was done at the urging of the former colonial master — Paris — which dominates much of the economic and political life in the 14 countries in the franc zone.

Working people throughout Africa confront calamitous social and economic conditions — from famines brought on by imperialist oppression to the deaths of half a million people annually from tuberculosis, a curable disease.

"The total wealth of Africa, with twice the population of the United States, is little more than that of Belgium," an article in the March 5 *Economist* stated.

The protests and strikes that erupted in Senegal, Gabon, and elsewhere in West Africa are a sign of more instability to come as Africa is wrapped more tightly into the world economic depression. The franc devaluation is a large-scale move to "downsize" and "restructure." These are terms that workers in the United States, France, Britain, and elsewhere in the imperialist world have become acutely familiar with.

The French ruling families hope the devaluation will make companies they own in Africa that export petroleum, minerals, and agricultural products more fit to compete with their rivals on the world market.

The immediate effect is to skyrocket the price of staples

such as rice. The cost of a range of needed commodities, from antimalarial drugs to schoolbooks, has been doubled — yanked beyond the reach of many workers and peasants.

The devaluation registers the relationship between the semicolonial countries of Africa and the imperialist ruling classes who grew fat off the sweat and blood of toilers in those countries. Africa is a continent that was carved up by vultures: the bosses of Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, and so on. As Thomas Sankara, leader of the 1983 revolution in Burkina Faso, pointed out, when the colonial powers were driven out new capitalist governments, subservient to their former masters, grew up in their place. Today working people are squeezed between the two.

This underlines the truth of Fidel Castro's assertion that capitalism has nothing to offer humanity.

In 1993 the total foreign debt owed by African governments to creditors in the imperialist world reached almost \$229 billion, or a shocking 55 percent of the entire gross domestic product of the continent.

The debt is a vehicle for the massive transfer of wealth created by the labor of workers and peasants into the coffers of the bosses in North America, Europe, and Japan.

Working people around the world have an obligation to demand that this crushing burden be lifted — and that the debt be completely cancelled. This is essential to uniting ourselves as a class with common interests in the face of the worldwide catastrophe that capitalism is preparing.

Did Marx, Engels support Radical Reconstruction?

In this week's letters section Paul Montauk from Oakland, California, comments on the review of *Marx and Engels on the United States* that appeared in the February 21 issue of the *Militant*. What basis did I have for stating that nineteenth century communist revolutionaries Karl Marx and Frederick Engels "supported Radical Reconstruction — the fight for political power by Blacks" after the U.S. Civil War, he asks.

Montauk also cites Friedrich Sorge, a leader of the International Working Men's Association in Hoboken, New Jersey, who collaborated with Marx and Engels. Sorge, Montauk says, referred to freed slaves as "voting cattle" for the Republican Party.

"The organized Marxist movement here was preoccupied with the intensifying struggle emerging between the

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

early unions and the capitalist bosses," Montauk writes.

The correspondence of Marx and Engels and documents of the International Working Men's Association (IWMA), however, show that these two leaders were partisans of the fight for the rights of Black toilers in the former slaveholding states.

In May 1865, in the wake of the victory of the North in the war against slavery, the General Council of the IWMA sent a letter — composed by Marx — to U.S. president Andrew Johnson. Johnson had taken office after the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln in April. "Yours, Sir, has become the task to uproot by the law what has been felled by the sword, to preside over the arduous work of political reconstruction and social regeneration," Marx wrote. "A profound sense of your great mission will save you from any compromise with stern duties."

By June it was clear that Johnson was bending to the pressure of the Southern oligarchy, which was moving to institute "Black Codes" and to block efforts by former slaves to gain rights and land. "Johnson's policy likes me not," Marx wrote to Engels in June 1865. "The reaction has already set in in America and will soon be much fortified if the present lackadaisical attitude is not ended immediately."

Engels wrote back in July, "Mr. Johnson's policy is less and less to my liking, too... Without coloured suffrage nothing can be done, and Johnson is leaving it up to the defeated, the ex-slaveowners, to decide on that. It is absurd."

In a September 1865 letter "To the People of the United States of America," leaders of the IWMA expressed concern over erosion of the gains of the Civil War. After congratulating the Americans on the great victory of the war against slavery, the IWMA leaders advised, "Let your citizens of to-day be declared free and equal, without reserve."

"If you fail to give them citizens' rights," the General Council letter continued, "there will yet remain a struggle for the future which may again stain your country with your people's blood. The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon your efforts at re-construction, and enemies are ever ready to sound the knell of the downfall of republican institutions when the slightest chance is given."

'Remove every shackle from freedom's limb'

"We warn you then, as brothers in the common cause, to remove every shackle from freedom's limb, and your victory will be complete," it stated.

In November 1866, after the defeat of Johnson and the victory of the Republicans in Congress who supported Radical Reconstruction, Marx wrote to Francois Lafargue (his daughter's father-in-law), "You will have been just as delighted by the defeat of President Johnson in the latest elections as I was. The workers in the North have at last fully understood that white labour will never be emancipated so long as black labour is still stigmatised."

In the February 21 review, I cited the letter Marx wrote to Engels in July 1877 after President Rutherford Hayes aided the violent overturn of Reconstruction by withdrawing troops from the South. Marx expressed his hope that the workers movement, which was in the midst of a national railroad strike, would make an alliance with exploited farmers and support the resistance of southern Blacks.

Friedrich Sorge, who led the IWMA in the United States for a number of years, exemplified the strengths and weaknesses of the IWMA leadership in the United States. Sorge carried out politics in a rather narrow milieu of German-speaking immigrant workers, and he didn't readily lead the IWMA members to participate in the social movements of the day. His view that many Blacks were manipulated by Republican politicians was accurate in itself, but he erred in seeing that as the main fact, instead of focusing on the need to mobilize the ranks of labor, Black and white, to take up defense of Reconstruction as a life-or-death question.

—MAGGIE TROWE

Workers conduct five-hour strike at Union Pacific

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

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

More than 7,000 members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) conducted a systemwide

Atlanta unionists support fight of Dallas workers

Some 40 unionists made an unexpected visit to the corporate headquarters of Home Depot in Atlanta to show their solidarity with workers fighting for a contract at one of the company's suppliers in Texas. The workers demanded that Home Depot pressure its suppliers to come to terms with the union. The action was organized by the southern regional office of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) located in Atlanta.

Home Depot, which owns a rapidly growing chain of stores selling home repair materials, distributes

who make only \$5 an hour. The company has denied the Occupational Safety and Health Administration access to the plants.

Representatives from ACTWU locals at Arrow Shirt in Austell and Cedar-town, Georgia, and Greenwood Mills in Lindale, Georgia, as well as members of the United Steelworkers of America, Service Employees International Union, the building trades unions, striking American Signature workers, staffers from ACTWU's southern and southwestern regions, and other unionists, were part of the February 24 meeting. □

ON THE PICKET LINE

work stoppage March 1 against the Union Pacific railroad (UP). The strike began at 2:00 p.m. Central Standard Time and was halted less than 5 hours later when U.S. district judge Thomas Shanahan issued a temporary restraining order.

In the Salt Lake City, Utah, switch yard the strike shut down operations, including at the diesel repair facility, where workers are organized by other unions.

The main issue in the strike was the railroad's implementation of new work rules in a number of western terminals in violation of the union contract. Union Pacific has been requiring conductors on some freight trains to leave their trains and drive company vehicles in order to deliver paperwork and carry out other duties. With the conductor gone, the train continues toward the terminal with the engineer as the only crew member on board. Engineer-only-run trains are not allowed under the union contract and are a safety hazard to workers and the public.

The judge included a ban on forcing train service employees from operating off-track vehicles as part of the temporary restraining order. □

windows and screen doors made at four plants in the Dallas area. The plants — Skotty and HR Windows — are owned by Joseph Fojatek. Last spring, workers at the four sites voted overwhelmingly to join ACTWU. Since then, Fojatek has refused to bargain seriously with the union and the workers, who remain without a contract and are subject to harassment, firings, and miserable wages and working conditions.

"The conditions are very hot in the plant, up to 150 degrees," explained a worker, who has been employed at one of Fojatek's plants for three years and recently lost his job due to union activity. "We are constantly harassed by the supervisors. We start at 6:00 in the morning and often they won't let us eat until 2:00 in the afternoon. We get no help when we're injured; we have no protective clothing."

Of the 850 workers at the four facilities, 340 suffered injuries in 1993, including being cut by glass, respiratory problems, and back injuries caused by lifting heavy loads. The company offers health insurance for \$37 a week — a cost that's way out of reach for most workers,

N.J. textile workers accept concessions

Members of ACTWU in northern New Jersey were dealt a blow when a long-standing basic contract covering 1,800 textile workers at 29 plants was broken. Workers at 11 of the plants are now working without a contract, while a state-mediated concession agreement is in place. Workers at six plants are working under the contract proposed by the union.

Some 1,600 members of ACTWU locals 1733, 1790, and 1932 struck 23 textile, dyeing, and printing shops Oct. 23, 1993, after their contract expired.

In mid-December, the strikers ratified a government-negotiated agreement with the 10-member companies of the Silk and Rayon Printers & Dyers Association by a 587-362 vote. Two independent companies signed the agreement at a later date.

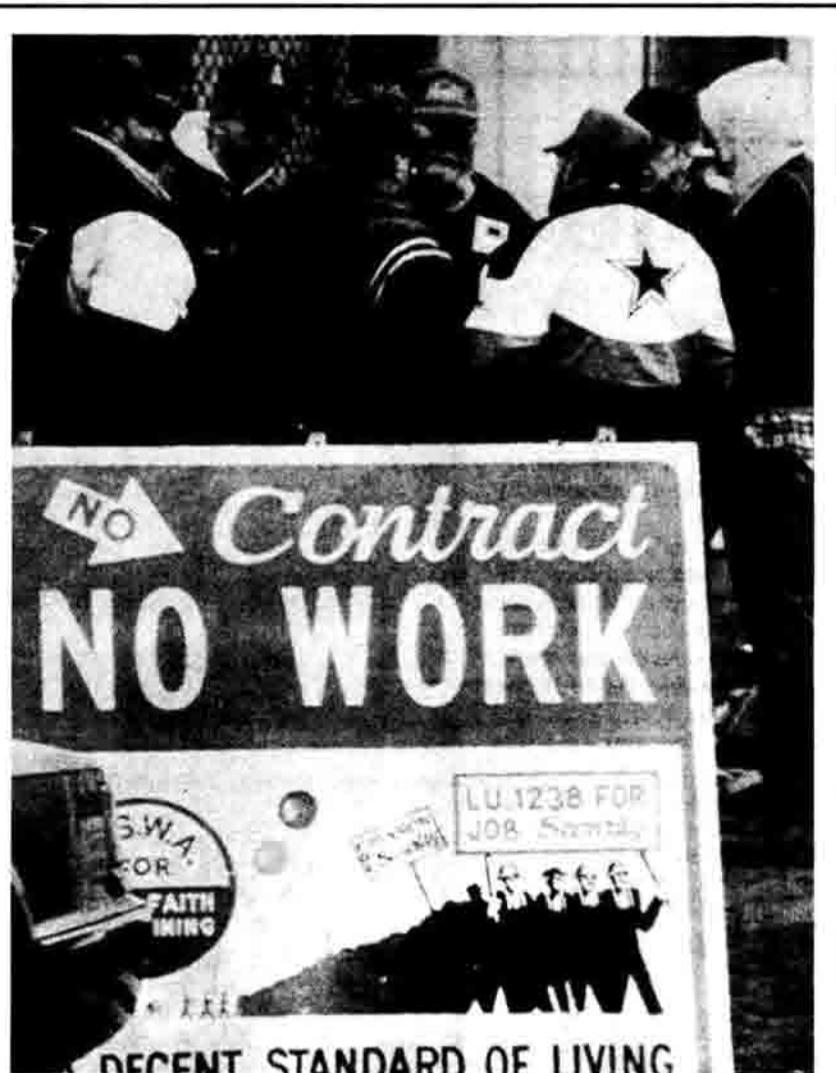
The contract includes a modest wage increase for each year of the

three-year contract and an increase in the number of machines each worker is required to run from two to three.

A month later, 360 strikers narrowly voted to return to work without a contract. Ten companies, members of C.P. Associates, have refused to lay off the scabs, so only a handful of strikers have been recalled to work. The rest were put on a list and will be called back as openings occur. The bosses have

imposed their final offer, which includes overtime pay only after 40 hours worked and a freeze on wages. □

The following people contributed to this column: Susan LaMont, member of ACTWU Local 365 in Austell, Georgia; Lisa Hickler and Eileen Koschak, members of UTU Local 1366 at Union Pacific in Salt Lake City; and Nancy Boyasko in Newark, New Jersey.



United Steelworkers of America members picket Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. in Martins Ferry, Ohio, March 1 during two-day strike. The 4,700 workers from eight plants in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia returned to work after a tentative agreement was reached. The proposed contract includes work rule changes, a \$2,250 bonus, and wage increase.

LETTERS

Radical Reconstruction

In Maggie Trowe's article on "Marx and Engels on the United States" in the February 21 issue of the *Militant*, she notes that "Marx and Engels supported Radical Reconstruction — the fight for political power by Blacks . . ." after the Civil War. I would be interested in her reference. There is no mention of this in their speeches, documents and letters in the period from 1866 to 1877. Friedrich Sorge, a leader of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) from the United States, was quite backward on this issue. He referred to the Freedmen as "voting cattle" for the Republican Party in his history of the U.S. labor movement. The organized Marxist movement here was preoccupied with the intensifying struggle emerging between the early unions and the capitalist bosses.

Paul Montauk
Oakland, California

'Schindler's List'

I write this letter having just returned from seeing Steven Spielberg's movie *Schindler's List*. This much talked about and reviewed movie, centered around the systematic extermination of over 6 million Jews by the Nazis during World War II, and the efforts of one man, Schindler, to save the lives of over 1,000 men, women, and children, is both powerful and moving. And yet, one of the concluding scenes stirred me to anger because of the utterly false per-



spective it advances, and because of the disgraceful manner this was expressed.

The war has just ended. Schindler has left his factory and bid farewell to the hundreds of Jews who worked for him and whose lives he courageously saved. What are they to do? Where should they go? A Russian soldier tells them not to go east because there, they are hated. But neither should they go west. Then, looking beyond he says, "But over there, there is a city." As the camera closes in on their faces, their gaze is into the distance and filled with hope. The music that accompanied this image stuck in my throat like so much sawdust.

Called "Jerusalem of Gold," the

song sings the beauties of the Old City and a yearning to be there once more. It came out a short while before the Six Days War, whose result was Israel's brutal occupation of the Gaza Strip, the Golan Heights, and the West Bank, including the old city of Jerusalem. With the war's end, a final verse was added celebrating the just accomplished conquest of the Old City.

It is one of history's travesties that in the aftermath of the Holocaust, Zionism should have stepped forward to embrace tens of thousands of Jews who survived the concentration camps and bring them over to what was then Palestine. Once there, many of these survivors were drafted into Zionism's

war of occupation as the new colonial settler state came into existence and in the process disintegrated an entire Palestinian population. From being victims of one of history's worst crimes, these Jews were transformed into the tools of colonial oppression.

The triumph of *Schindler's List* lies in its searing and brutally accurate portrayal of the true face of barbarism in our epoch — fascism.

The failure of *Schindler's List* lies in taking an historic fact — the migration of a mass of holocaust survivors to Palestine — and, to the accompaniment of a war song, transforming this fact into a crude artistic metaphor whose patent purpose is to advocate the political vision of Zionism, which is a dead end.

John Rubinstein
New York, New York

UPS strike

Seattle was one of the cities where the February 8 Teamsters strike at United Parcel Service (UPS) was very effective and I think it is worth adding a few points to the report that appeared in the February 21 *Militant*.

As the report in the *Militant* indicated, UPS backed off a little in order to end the one-day strike, agreeing to talk with the union on how to implement the higher weight limit, to provide special labels for heavy packages, and to have two workers on hand to handle boxes weighing more than 70 lbs.

However, the company immediately violated the agreement. Two

days after the strike, our local UPS driver delivered the weekly bundle of the *Militant* to the Seattle Pathfinder Bookstore and told us he had a 98-pound box with no warning labels and no one to help him that day. "We should have struck for more than one day," he concluded.

The day after the strike UPS announced it was filing a \$50-million lawsuit against the Teamsters, claiming damages to its "business" and "reputation" due to the strike. The bosses are seeking to pressure the union, taking advantage of divisions amongst the Teamster officialdom, many of whom did not support the strike. In Washington state, for example, only Local 174, which represents 1,600 UPS workers in the Seattle area, struck. Strikers here told me that Tacoma union members had voted to strike, but their local president refused to call them out.

The UPS suit is an attempt to punish the workers for striking and to intimidate and weaken the labor movement everywhere. We should give all the support we can to brothers and sisters at UPS as this confrontation continues.

Harvey McArthur
Seattle, Washington

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.

London vigil protests rightist attack

BY IAN GRANT

LONDON — More than 400 opponents of racist violence gathered by candlelight here February 11 to protest the latest and most horrific attack in a series of organized assaults by rightist thugs.

Muktar Ahmed, a 19-year-old student was attacked February 8 by a gang of up to 30 rightists, yards from his home in London's predominantly Asian and working-class East End. As he lay on the ground he was kicked and beaten with weapons. All the blows were aimed at his head, where he sustained three separate fractures. His injuries were so severe that his own father was unable to identify him. Working people have been shocked by pictures of Ahmed that appeared in national newspapers and on television.

Five men were arrested and released on bail within a short time of the attack taking place.

This assault occurs as the community is mobilizing for the March 19 national antiracist demonstration called by the British Trades Union Congress (TUC). The march was initiated by the Transport and General Workers Union following a September 8 assault that left 17-year-old Qudus Ali in a coma. Police took weeks to make any arrests in connection with that beating.

Nine Bengali youth were arrested on charges of rioting following a police attack on a vigil organized shortly after Ali's beating.

More than 80 supporters of the Tower Hamlets Nine Defence Campaign picketed



Demonstration against racist assaults last October in East London, England. The British Trades Union Congress has called a national antiracist demonstration March 19 to protest continuing attacks.

the court February 1 at a hearing for the youth. The Tower Hamlets College Student Union had a prominent banner at the picket and many of those present were students from the college. They led the crowd in chants of "Racist Attack: We Fight Back!" and "Who are the Racists? Police are the Racists!"

A gang of rightists wielding batons and garden implements leaped from a van February 10 and set upon Tower Hamlets College students eating lunch in a park beside the college. Student Union officials told

Militant reporters February 16 that security on campus had been tightened by the authorities and the students had been subjected to a heavy police presence in the immediate area. Students had been prevented from leaving the college in groups larger than four or five, they said.

Several students expressed interest in the *Militant* coverage of the ANC Youth League Congress, which reported on the debate over how to respond to Inkatha attacks in South Africa's townships.

"They're doing what the BNP [British National Party] tried in the elections last year," said one student.

Last September, Derek Beackon, a racist right-wing politician in the BNP, won an election for the local council in Tower Hamlets. There are allegations that BNP supporters intimidated Asian voters near polling booths prior to Beackon's win. Local community leaders also link an increase in rightist attacks over the last five months to his victory. Some 30,000 people marched in the vicinity of the BNP's organizing headquarters last October to protest against racism and rightist attacks.

"Some people say we should just go and get one of them [rightists], but there's another side to that argument," a student said. "It's not just the BNP, the police are behind them and we've already got nine of us arrested."

In a letter printed in the national daily *The Guardian*, Kumar Murshid, chairperson of the Tower Hamlets Anti-Racist Committee, called on antiracist fighters to back the March 19 TUC demonstration.

Asylum and immigration bill

As Britain's economic and social crisis deepens government attacks on foreign-born workers are being stepped up. One hundred ninety passengers on a flight landing from Jamaica December 21 for a vacation with relatives were detained by immigration cops on suspicion of trying to enter the country illegally. Twenty-seven were deported Christmas day.

An asylum and immigration appeals bill being debated by Parliament aims to further reduce the rights of visitors refused entry to Britain by removing their right to appeal.

In his message of solidarity following the assault on Ahmed, Communist League leader Pete Clifford pointed to the importance of opposing all attacks on immigrant workers. "We join with antiracist fighters everywhere in condemning the growing racist attacks in the area," Clifford said. "These attacks are inspired by the government's racist policies as they deepen their offensive against working people. We join with you in demanding the prosecution and punishment to the full extent of the law of the individuals responsible for carrying out these brutal and vicious attacks. We pledge to redouble our efforts to build the broadest possible support for the March 19 TUC antiracist demonstration."

Ian Grant is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union. Joyce Fairchild and John Shrapnell also contributed to this article.

Athens steps up drive against Macedonia

BY NATASHA TERLEXIS

Three weeks after it announced it was closing its ports to goods shipped to and from the Republic of Macedonia, the Greek government is continuing to whip up nationalist sentiment against the former Yugoslav province. Athens has also shut down the Greek consulate in Skopje, Macedonia's capital. Five ships carrying goods to or from Macedonia have been blockaded in Thessaloniki in the northern Greek province of Macedonia.

One oil company after another stated they would voluntarily abide by the ban on selling oil to Macedonia. The leaderships of the unions representing oil workers and dock workers have added their voices to the pro-war campaign demanding the compliance of all companies with the measures. Earlier in the year the oil workers union had itself carried out a boycott of oil shipments to the republic.

What has been put in place is a virtual embargo of Macedonia, which was getting its oil through Greece. Using other routes such as through Albania or Bulgaria would be much more difficult because of the lack of facilities and greater distances involved. Seventy percent of Macedonia's trade passes through Greek ports. After Italy and Germany, Greece is the third largest exporter to Macedonia, with 65 percent of that trade being in petroleum products.

These measures come on the heels of the long-expected recognition of Macedonia by the U.S. government. Their stated aim is to put the squeeze on Macedonia to change its name, flag, and sections of its constitution. Athens claims the use of the name Macedonia by the former Yugoslav republic implies territorial claims on the northern Greek province of that name. This question has been part of the propaganda arsenal of the Greek rulers in their efforts to play a role in, and benefit from, the Balkan crisis. They are attempting to take advantage of the conflicts

and disagreements among their more powerful imperialist competitors in an effort to further their own interests in the region. They have openly allied themselves with the Serbian and Russian governments in their endeavors. This course has put the Greek government on a collision course with many members of the European Union, whose rotating presidency Athens currently holds.

The measures were announced the day after a well-orchestrated march of tens of thousands in Thessaloniki called by the Orthodox church hierarchy. Schools were emptied out and teachers shepherded students to the rally site. The nationalist, pro-war slogans ranged from "Macedonia, 4,000 years Greek" to "Traitors — Americans" and "To arms! To arms! Lets take Skopje." In the nearby city of Drama, streets with American names like Roosevelt had their plaques torn down and their names changed overnight.

On March 3 another demonstration was held in the port city of Pireas near Athens. Schools, shops, and public offices were closed so that students and employees could participate. Thousands took part in the government-sanctioned event. Another rally was held the same day in the city of Corinth. Schools there were also closed by the local government decision. The actions have in general been smaller than those a year and a half ago. Demonstrations like these have taken place in several cities and plans are being set for another mass rally in Thessaloniki on March 31.

The three main capitalist parties — the social democratic PASOK, New Democracy, and Political Spring — have all enthusiastically lined up behind the government's actions, beating the drums against "Skopje's intransigence."

Disagreement within the capitalist class, however, is also being expressed more openly as the international repercussions of the embargo are weighed out. A March 8 editorial in the *New York Times* commented that while

Athens "is a valued ally," its "latest threat to commerce and its invitation to a wider Balkan war go too far. . . . It needs to be told firmly, by its friends, that its tactics on Macedonia are dangerously wrong."

Former prime minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis has raised the possibility of splitting from New Democracy, citing his opposition to the embargo as one of the bones of contention. Also, Theodoros Pangalos, Alternate Foreign Affairs Minister in charge of European Affairs, has expressed concern with allowing the issue of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia to "dominate public opinion."

The only party in Parliament to oppose the embargo is the Communist Party, which has also objected to schools being shut by administrative decision for these rallies. The Communist Party is also organizing public protests in solidarity with rightist forces in Serbia and Bosnia.

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