

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Cuban gov't reorganizes
state farms into cooperatives

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 58/NO. 15 April 18, 1994

Teamsters on strike

75,000 workers shut down U.S. trucking companies

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — Battle lines were drawn one minute past midnight April 6 across the United States as more than 75,000 Teamsters left trucks, loading docks, mechanical shops and offices for picket duty when a five-day extension of their national contract with the nation's major freight bosses expired.

Deep job and pension-cutting concessions demanded by the employers, through a massive increase in the number of low-wage part-time workers, left the union with "no other choice but to strike," Teamster president Ron Carey stated in announcing the walkout — the first national Teamster strike in 15 years.

"We don't plan to call them," stated Robert Young, president of ABF Freight Systems and a spokesman for the bosses, "and we don't expect them to call [us]."

Large and determined picket lines

At Consolidated Freight (CSF) in the St. Paul, Minnesota, suburb of Burnsville, more than 100 Teamsters, a third of the workforce, massed in the company driveway. They were joined by CSF inside mechanics from International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 737.

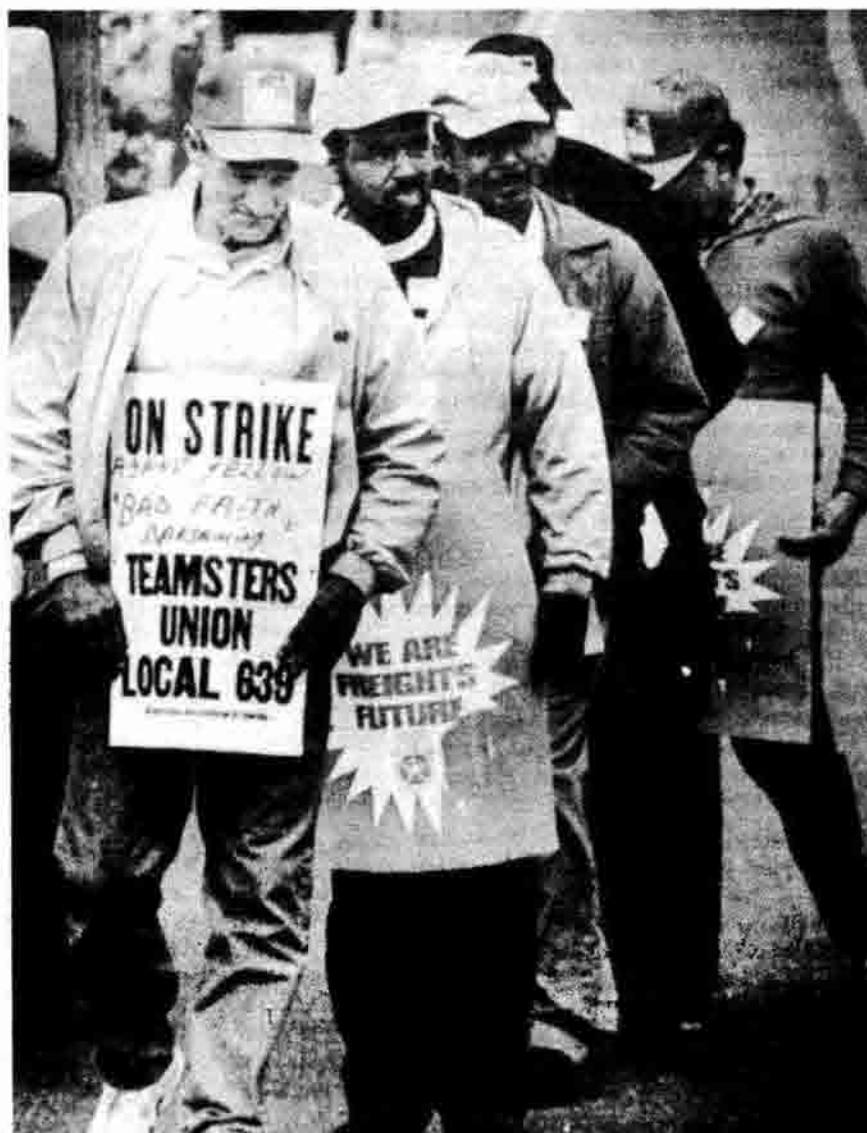
The IAM voted to honor the Teamster picket line until, one unionist said, "they decide to go back."

A few miles away, nearly 200 Teamsters — half the union membership — blocked the entrance to Yellow Freight. They were also joined by IAM-organized mechanics. Three workers suffered minor injuries when a truck drove through picket lines; a second minivan, however, failed to penetrate the strikers who successfully turned it back.

Hundreds more picketed in nearby Eagan, at Roadway, a national freight giant. In Minnesota and elsewhere, Teamster-affiliated office workers at the struck haulers honored picket lines.

In Miami, Teamsters Local 769, representing United

Continued on Page 14



Teamsters picket Yellow Freight Systems April 6 in Ardwick-Ardmore, Maryland.

Dozens join socialist youth group at Chicago event

BY ROBIN KISSINGER
AND NAOMI CRAINE

CHICAGO — Ninety-two young people signed up to be part of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee (SYOC) at a special meeting here April 3. The young socialists, who hailed from all corners of the United States and a few other countries, had just spent the weekend at a socialist educational conference discussing and debating key issues of world politics.

The purpose of SYOC is to organize a nationwide socialist youth organization that will participate in working-class struggles and political protest actions while winning young people to a socialist perspective.

The meeting was the product of several months' work. In January, members of the Young Socialists in New York and the Student Political Organizing Committee in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota, decided to begin working together toward forming a national organization. Members of both groups had already collaborated on work in defense of the Cuban revolution, organizing a speaking tour for leaders of the African National Congress Youth League, and other political activities. They had also organized to study and discuss the *Communist Manifesto* and other socialist literature.

Leaders of the two groups formed the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee in order to reach out to other young people interested in similar activities. They got a very positive response. The members of SYOC and other socialist youth worked together at socialist educational conferences in Miami and New York, at an anti-apartheid conference in Philadelphia, and on abortion clinic defense lines in Birmingham, Alabama, in the weeks leading up to the gathering in Chicago.

The participation at that educational conference

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South African government declares state of emergency in Natal province

BY VED MANGA

PIETERMARITZBURG, South Africa — Under pressure from the African National Congress and South Africa's Transitional Executive Council (TEC), President F.W. de Klerk declared a state of emergency March 31 in Natal province, which includes the KwaZulu Bantustan.

About 2,000 South African Defense Force (SADF) troops have been dis-

patched to KwaZulu in an effort to halt the violence and terror campaign initiated by the Inkatha Freedom Party there. More than 300 people have been killed in this region — many of them supporters of the ANC — in the past month. Many others have been injured and forced to flee their homes.

The emergency declaration has received a hostile response from Inkatha and the Kwa-

Zulu government. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu Bantustan, claimed this move would provoke more bloodshed. Even though some SADF troops are already in KwaZulu, his supporters "would not take kindly to blanketing the territory," he said.

The ANC announced its support for the emergency declaration, describing it as necessary to counter a systematic campaign of violence and bloodshed. "The election wrecking with its accomplishments of death and injury, cannot be allowed to continue," said an ANC spokesperson March 31.

ANC president Nelson Mandela described the emergency decree as a last resort to save lives. He added that the KwaZulu police will be confined to the barracks and that certain laws in KwaZulu will be suspended. He also explained that there would no longer be a local minister of police, a post held by Buthelezi.

The emergency regulations permit political activities to occur. South African army troops will provide protection for participants if necessary. The SADF now has the power to arrest and detain individuals, to search and seize, and to confiscate any illegal weapons.

Two days before the state of emergency went into effect, a meeting in the KwaMashu township between local leaders of Inkatha

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Marxist magazine launches \$100,000 fund

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN
AND SARA LOBMAN

The editors of *New International* magazine and its sister publications in French, Spanish, and Swedish have launched a \$100,000 fund to make possible the production and distribution of several new issues in all four languages. The 300 workers and youth attending the April 1-3 Socialist Educational Conference in Chicago got the fund off to a roaring start with contributions and pledges of more than \$28,000 following a presentation by Mark Gilsdorf, a leader of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee. The fund will run until the end of June.

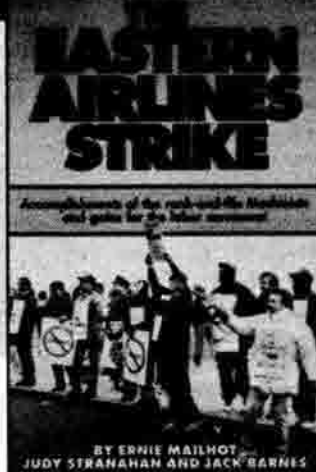
The fund comes at a crucial time. Issue no. 9 of *New International* — "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution" — is off the presses and ready for distribution. It documents the conquests of almost 10 years of workers and farmers power in Nicaragua — from the 1979 triumph of the revolution and the impulse it gave to a generation of fighters throughout Latin America

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SPECIAL OFFER

To Striking Teamsters and their Supporters

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



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Internment of Japanese Americans in World War II — pages 8-9



456,000 new jobs created in U.S.

More than 456,000 new jobs were generated in March — the largest number in six years. The official unemployment rate remained at 6.5 percent. Factories added 12,000 jobs, the sixth consecutive month of gains. A labor department report also showed that factory workers were putting in more hours, an average of 42.2 per week, and more overtime, at 4.8 hours, than at any time since World War II. In March alone, the average factory workweek increased by one hour.

Sharp rise in working poor

The percentage of full-time workers who earn low wages increased dramatically from 1979 to 1992. A Census Bureau study found that 18 percent of the 81 million full-time workers in the United States made less than \$13,091 in 1992, a 50 percent increase from 13 years earlier.

Women and youth were found most likely to take home small paychecks. The percentage of full-time workers age 18-24 earning low wages has more than doubled, to 47 percent in 1992, compared with 23 percent in 1979. For women, the figure rose to 24 percent, from 20 percent.

New York stock market dives

On a downswing since early February, the U.S. stock and bond markets dropped sharply in late March. By the end of trading April 4, the Dow Jones industrial stock average had fallen nearly 10 percent from its January 31 high, a long-expected "correction."

"Markets typically imply more about the future than the present, and thus a 10% market plunge in a matter of weeks is surely a warning," said an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*.

Florida Senate backs castration

The Florida Senate voted to empower judges to order the chemical castration of men twice convicted of rape. They would be forced to take a synthetic female hormone. The Florida House of Representatives has not yet discussed the bill.

Governor seeks to deport inmates

Arizona governor Fife Symington said he was exploring ways to deport Mexican citizens imprisoned in Arizona. Department of Corrections spokesman Mike Arra said that

Arizona officials have "been in communication with the Mexican authorities about what can be done to take some of the [Mexican] nationals out of our prison system and to make sure that they are not let out so they come back across our border." As of December 31, 1,579 Mexican citizens were in Arizona jails, nearly 9 percent of the total prison population. About half are believed to be undocumented workers.

Six states refuse to comply with order on abortion funds

Officials from at least six states are refusing to pay for abortions for low-income women in cases of rape and incest. Ray Hanley, chairman of the State Medicaid Directors' Association, said the governments of Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, South Dakota, and Utah, are not complying with a federal order mandating such payments. Last year Congress eased restrictions in the Hyde amendment to allow Medicaid-funded abortions in cases of rape or incest. Medicaid is jointly financed by federal and state revenues. The Clinton administration said there would be no immediate penalty for violating the law, which took effect March 31.

Clinton lifts high-tech trade ban

Washington ended virtually all export controls on telecommunications equipment and computers to China, and to Russia and other former Soviet republics. Trade limits remain for Cuba, North Korea, Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Libya. The move is expected to open a market worth roughly \$150 billion over the next 10 years. The Clinton administration says controls will remain on complex supercomputers and material used in the production of nuclear weapons.

Officials of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company welcomed the plan. AT&T is building a modern phone system in China, where only 2 percent of the 1.1 billion residents currently have telephones.

Executions in Georgia, Texas

Georgia state officials executed William Hance March 31 despite two jurors' testimony that the death sentence was not unanimous. Hance, who is Black, was convicted of



Some 500 students demonstrated April 2 in Seoul against Washington's deployment of Patriot missiles in South Korea. Police dispersed protesters, members of the Association of Korean Youth, who gathered in front of one of the U.S. Army bases.

a 1978 murder. Gayle Daniels, the only Black juror, said she opposed the death penalty at Hance's trial because she felt he was too mentally impaired. Psychiatrists had determined Hance was borderline mentally retarded. Another juror swore in an affidavit that the sentencing deliberations were marked by misinformation, misconduct, and racial bias.

Freddie Webb, 33, was executed by lethal injection in Huntsville, Texas, the same day. More than 2,800 inmates are on death row in the United States with no major legal challenges blocking their execution. Thirty-eight prisoners were executed last year, the greatest number since the resumption of capital punishment in 1976.

Chilean cops sentenced

Human rights activists demonstrated outside the courtroom in Santiago, Chile, where nine policemen were sentenced April 1 for the kidnap and murder of three political activists during the military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet. A civilian judge ordered the cops to serve prison terms ranging from 15 years to life for the 1985 killings. These are the longest sentences ever ordered regarding human rights abuses during Pinochet's rule. Judge Milton Juica also accused the commander of the national police force, Gen. Rodolfo Stange, of dereliction of duty in the case. The military court must now decide whether to formally charge Stange.

Tel Aviv and PLO resume talks

Representatives of the Israeli government and the Palestine Liberation Organization agreed March 31 to resume negotiations on Palestinian self-rule in the occupied territories. Talks ended after an Israeli settler killed Palestinian worshipers in Hebron February 25. The two sides also agreed to station a security force in Hebron of 160 Norwegian, Danish, and Italian troops and to the gradual establishment of a Palestinian police force

in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank city of Jericho. The full withdrawal of Israeli troops from Jericho and Gaza was originally scheduled for April 13.

Rally backs Macedonia embargo

More than 1 million protesters rallied in the northern Greek port city of Salonika to support Athens's trade embargo against the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. Demonstrators denounced the European Union's (EU) demand to lift the embargo or risk being sued by the EU court. Since February, the Greek government has blocked transport of goods to and from Macedonia through its border, including the port of Salonika, to try to force Macedonia to change its name, flag, and constitution.

UN issues statement on N. Korea

The United Nations Security Council voted March 31 to approve a statement warning the North Korean government that "further Security Council consideration will take place if necessary in order to achieve full implementation of the [International Atomic Energy Agency]-North Korean safeguards agreement." Washington says this is an implicit threat by the council to impose a trade embargo on North Korea if it does not agree to allow inspections of nuclear facilities and other sites the U.S. government claims may have nuclear materials. Washington had hoped for a more openly threatening resolution, but the Chinese government had warned it would veto such a statement.

The Clinton administration backed down on other threats. It agreed to wait before relaunching joint military exercises with Seoul and said it will resume high level talks it canceled in March with Pyongyang, if the North Korean government agrees to exchange envoys with South Korea and allows inspection of its nuclear facilities.

— PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

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The Militant

Vol. 58/No. 15

Closing news date: April 6, 1994

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Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax: (212) 924-6040.

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

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

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

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Italy election result shows rightist shift of capitalist politics

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The victory of the rightist Freedom Alliance slate in the March 27-28 parliamentary elections in Italy is a reflection of deep social and economic crisis wracking that country. It is an outcome of the continued shift of capitalist politics there to the right.

The Freedom Alliance, led by billionaire Silvio Berlusconi and his several-months-old Forza Italia (Let's Go Italy) party, captured 366 seats — an outright majority — in the Chamber of Deputies and a plurality of 155 seats in the 315-seat Senate. The two other parties comprising this rightist bloc are the Northern League led by Umberto Bossi and the fascist-oriented National Alliance headed by Gianfranco Fini.

This election ended the 46-year-long control of the government by the Christian Democrats and their Socialist Party allies. Many of the leading figures in these parties have been implicated in a widespread corruption scandal. Close to 5,000 businessmen and politicians have been arrested and indicted over the past two years on corruption charges.

Berlusconi, who commands a business empire with \$7 billion in annual sales that includes three television stations, vast real estate holdings, and the AC Milan soccer team, claimed that every one of the 267 candidates fielded by his Forza Italia party is new to politics. Behind his campaign promises of lowering taxes and creating 1 million new jobs, lay the mogul's program of slashing social services.

Berlusconi vowed to reduce the top income tax bracket to 30 percent from 50 percent and to reduce the number of taxes Italians pay to 20 from 200. At the same time he called for ending state-funding of pensions, welfare, and the health-care system. The media tycoon campaigned for "family, business, free markets, profits, and competition but also for values of the Christian tradition."

'American-style free enterprise'

"His recipe is a kind of American-style free enterprise system," stated an article in *L'espresso* newspaper, published in Rome. "Welfare will no longer be the responsibility of the state and guaranteed to everyone; the very poor will have their vouchers and the others will pay for their own health care by purchasing the best coverage they can obtain in the market."

An editorial in the April 4 *Christian Science Monitor* likened Berlusconi to "something of a cross between Ross Perot and Ted Turner." Perot is the billionaire from Texas who got nearly 20 percent of the vote in the U.S. presidential elections in 1992. Turner is the owner of the CNN television network.

A number of other big business media commentators have sounded a common theme. "They're All Speaking Perot's Lines" was the title of an April 3 *New York Times* article by Craig Whitney. "With so much cynicism about conventional politics and politicians around," he wrote, "it is hardly surprising that outsiders — many of them self-made businessmen with enough money of their own to run campaigns that defy the long-dominant party machines — have popped up in the United States, Poland, Peru, Japan, and now Italy with the message that they have the magic cure for unemployment, inefficiency, waste and high taxes."

Berlusconi has stated that after the new Parliament is installed April 15 he plans to ask the National Alliance to join the government for the first time since World War II. This party, which traces its roots to the Italian Social Movement founded by fascist dictator Benito Mussolini before World War II, won 13.5 percent of the popular vote and 105 seats in the lower house of Parliament, nearly 17 percent, tripling the number it had won in the election two years ago.

Commenting on the role played by Mussolini, who ruled Italy from 1923 to 1943, Fini told the Turin newspaper *La Stampa* four days after the election, "I would still say that he is the greatest statesman of the century." Berlusconi "will have to pedal if he wants to show that he belongs to history like Mussolini," he stated. "Two identical men are not born in a year, not even in a century."

Mussolini's granddaughter, Alessandra Mussolini, who was reelected to a seat in Naples on the National Alliance ticket, described fascism as "a very important part of history that can no longer be demonized or canceled out."

The National Alliance calls for strong curbs on immigration, reinforcing the powers of the police, a strong central government to maintain a unified Italy, and reacquiring the Adriatic regions of Istria and Dalmatia from the former Yugoslavia. Fini insists that he will not allow his party to be isolated in the way that other rightist movements have been "quarantined" from power by conservative governments in other European countries.

The Northern League focused its campaign on a pledge to secure greater autonomy for Italy's more affluent northern region.

Bickering within the rightist coalition over proposals by Bossi for a federated state in Italy with a weaker central regime has raised doubts, a week after the election, over whether Berlusconi will be able to put together a stable government. On April 5, Bossi called the head of Forza Italia "Berluskaiser" and claimed democracy would be jeopardized if the businessman became prime minister.

Assault on workers' living standards

The backdrop to this election is the capitalist rulers' ongoing assault on the rights and living standard of the working class in Italy and the intensified economic competition for markets among the capitalist powers within Europe and with Washington and Tokyo. Italy, among the seven industrialized powers referred to as the G-7, is one of the imperialist countries in Europe.

According to the president of the General Confederation of Italian Industry, the country's economy in 1994 is in a "slow but constant recovery." Industrial production, for example, rose 6 percent last December compared to the same month in 1992. But the official unemployment rate remains at 12 percent, and reaches as much as 30 percent in some areas in the southern part of the country. Some spokespeople for big business anticipate that despite the economic recovery, unemployment will rise this year another 1.2 percent, on top of the 2.8



Silvio Berlusconi (left), leader of Forza Italia party, and Gianfranco Fini of the National Alliance celebrate victory of their rightist coalition in Italian elections.



percent increase in 1993.

The Italian government has announced plans to raise about \$60 billion over the next few years by selling many state-owned enterprises to private capitalists. This will be accompanied by massive job cuts and factory closures as the capitalists attempt to restructure industry to increase labor productivity and slow the decline of their profit rates. Unlike France, however, where a similar privatization scheme is in place, the sell-off in Italy under the old Christian Democratic government had not been proceeding too rapidly.

The *Wall Street Journal*, which hailed Berlusconi's triumph as a "historic opportunity," expressed optimism that this newly elected government could get the job done. The *Journal* urged selling off the state's medical care system and the rest of what the paper's editors term "the state's industrial octopus."

In September 1992, Rome pulled its currency, the lira, out of the European Union's Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM), dimming prospects for a future European-wide trading block and common currency. But this step, which devalued the lira by about a fifth, led to a 20 percent increase in Italian exports in 1993, despite a shrinking economy and rising unemployment.

In December, Italian legislators passed an austerity budget for 1994 that includes big cuts in expenditures on social services. The rulers motivate these moves as steps to reduce the country's \$1.1 trillion public debt and a budget deficit of nearly 10 percent of current output.

Over the past year, workers in Italy have organized a number of protest actions against these attacks. Some 400,000 members of Ita-

ly's engineering unions conducted a one-day strike December 10 to protest growing unemployment. The action included more than 15,000 metal and machine workers marching through the streets of Rome. On October 28, thousands of workers demonstrated in major cities throughout the country as part of a four-hour general strike.

Labor resistance hampered

Working-class resistance, however, has been hampered by the fact that the labor movement is dominated by the Democratic Party of the Left (PDS) — the former Stalinist Communist Party — and other smaller parties with petty-bourgeois programs. The PDS won 20 percent of the vote in the elections.

While demagogically claiming to be a fresh, uncorrupted voice in politics, Berlusconi made his fortune by striking deals with some of the very same politicians now facing corruption charges, like former Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi. In 1984, when Craxi became prime minister, he promoted deregulation of state television, enabling Berlusconi to acquire the three commercial television stations at the center of his financial empire. Craxi also used his political influence in Milan to help ease zoning laws for Berlusconi's real estate projects in the wealthy Lombardy region.

Fini has also projected his rightist National Alliance as a party that takes the moral high ground. Speaking to a crowd of 50,000 supporters towards the end of the election campaign, he declared, "Italy no longer divides itself between fascists and anti-fascists, but between thieves and those with clean hands!"

Mexico protesters demand land, jobs

BY JUAN VILLAGÓMEZ

Since the beginning of the armed rebellion in Mexico by the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) January 1, there has been an increase in protests by working people demanding land, jobs, and democratic rights.

Some 25,000 Indians and peasants protested March 6 in three cities in Chiapas — San Cristóbal de las Casas, Tapachula, and Tuxtla Gutiérrez, the state capital. The actions were called by the State Council of Indian and Peasant Organizations (CEOC), a coalition of 280 groups that came together January 13.

The main demand of the protests was the resignation of 110 mayors in this state. Other demands included reinstating laws to protect communal lands, known as *ejidos*, withdrawal of the Mexican army from Indian communities in Chiapas, land for farm laborers who work on the big estates, cancellation of debts owed by peasants, and suspension of land taxes currently paid by peasants.

CEOC held the First National Indian and Peasant Conference March 13-14, which brought together representatives of 500 organizations from around Mexico. Participants demanded the government reverse laws it has passed that allow the privatization of communal lands. The right to these lands was one of the gains of the peasant struggles during the 1910 Mexican revolution.

The conference participants demanded the government guarantee the rights of indigenous peoples and launch an investigation into the deaths of three peasant leaders who were murdered in Chiapas in recent weeks. They

also demanded that the EZLN be recognized formally as a belligerent force and expressed support to the work of Samuel Ruiz, a San Cristóbal bishop. Ruiz, who has acted as mediator between the Mexican government and the Zapatistas, has been denounced by big landowners, businessmen, and officials of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) as being partial to the guerrillas.

Delegates to the meeting decided to carry out actions throughout the country April 10, the anniversary of the assassination of Emiliano Zapata, leader of the Mexican revolution. The actions will include marches culminating in a national demonstration in Mexico City. Demonstrations, highway blockings, hunger strikes, and occupations of agricultural agency offices and other government buildings are planned for other parts of the country, as well.

The presidential elections scheduled for August took a violent turn with the assassination of the PRI's presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, who was campaigning in Tijuana at the time. Five people have now been arrested in what Mexican government officials are calling a conspiracy. None have been indicted.

The major parties contending for the presidency are the PRI, which has ruled Mexico for more than six decades; the right-wing National Action Party (PAN), and the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD).

None of the parties participating in the elections represent the interests of workers and peasants in Mexico. Due to the world crisis of capitalism, the ruling class has bru-

tally attacked the living conditions of working people, hitting the peasants hard and forcing millions into unemployment. According to the Mexican stock market and the Bank of Mexico, 51 percent of the gross domestic product is owned by 0.2 percent of the population. The International Labor Organization estimates that there are 18 million unemployed and underemployed people in Mexico, one quarter of the population.

Cuahtémoc Cárdenas, presidential candidate for the PRD, the main liberal capitalist party, has spoken out in favor of the PRI-led privatizations. "The Party of the Democratic Revolution was not, and is not, opposed to privatization of state enterprises as such," he said recently. "What we oppose is the way these measures were implemented," adding that he was for more "fairness."

Cárdenas has gone out of his way to express his support for more foreign investment in Mexico. In response to public outrage at rampant police brutality, he has called for better training of cops.

Most of the left-wing parties in Mexico support the PRD in the elections.

The assassination of Colosio has highlighted the social and economic instability in Mexico. "Stability Is Threatened in the Slaying of Long-Governing Party's Candidate," moaned the subhead in a March 25 article in the *New York Times*.

In the days after the assassination, Mexico's stock market plunged. The U.S. government stepped in, establishing a \$6 billion account to allow the Mexican government to buy up pesos to stabilize the market.

'Militant' sets sales target week

BY NAOMI CRAINE

To help distributors around the world get back on schedule in the circulation drive, the *Militant* is setting April 16-24 as a special target week to sell the socialist press. Readers in every area will want to make a special effort that week to get the *Militant*, the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* magazine into the hands of workers, youth, and political fighters.

To help prepare for the target week, *Militant* supporters will want to draw up detailed sales plans and fax them to the business office by Tuesday, April 12.

Joan Paltrineri writes that readers from Greensboro, North Carolina, met with a tobacco farmer and his wife who had participated in a recent rally in Washington, D.C. "We spent almost two hours discussing the abortion rights fight, the crisis in the United States and worldwide economy," and other issues, she said. The farmers decided to get an introductory subscription to the *Militant*.

Distributors from Greensboro also got a good response from members of the United Mine Workers of America at the Island Creek Pocohantas mine no. 5 in Van Sant, Virginia. Many miners were familiar with the *Militant* from the coal strike last year. Most "were unhappy with some of the aspects of the contract, especially the medical coverage," says Paltrineri. "All of the miners are now working nine-hour days, and shifts are staggered to have continuous mining." Two miners subscribed, and seven others bought single copies of the paper.

Jon Teitelbaum reports *Militant* supporters in Philadelphia are finding that follow-up pays off. "One student at Temple University bought the first eight issues of *New International* when we called back to pick up his *Militant* subscription," he said. "He'll probably get issue no. 9 [on 'The Rise and Fall



Selling the *Militant* at Auckland University in New Zealand

of the Nicaraguan Revolution'], but we didn't have it in stock yet."

Another student, from St. Louis, met *Militant* supporters 10 days before the April 1-3 Socialist Educational Conference in Chicago. He decided to go to the conference, where he bought a *Militant* subscription and three issues of *New International*, and joined the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.

Some 140 students at three universities in British Columbia attended meetings to hear longtime anti-apartheid activist Joyce Meisenheimer, writes Dan Grant from Vancouver. "Two students at the University of Victoria purchased the book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*, two subscribed to the

Militant, and more than a dozen single copies of the *Militant* were sold from a Pathfinder book table at the event," says Grant.

Readers from Detroit set up tables at four university meetings where Cuban youth leader Pável Díaz Hernández spoke in Michigan. "On each campus interest in our newspapers and books was great," writes Toni Jackson. "We sold 38 single copies of the *Militant*, 7 *Militant* subscriptions, 1 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription, a copy of *Nueva Internacional* [in Spanish], and a copy of *New International* no. 8, on 'Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism.' Several students wanted to get books or subscriptions but didn't have the money. We promised to return to their campuses soon."

WHERE WE STAND end of week four

33% SOLD 983 **40% SHOULD BE 1,200**

	THE MILITANT			Perspectiva Mundial			NEW INTERNATIONAL		
	SOLD	GOAL	%	SOLD	GOAL	%	SOLD	GOAL	%
ICELAND	7	12	58%	0	1	0%	0	6	0%
NEW ZEALAND									
Auckland	47	85	55%	2	6	33%	4	40	10%
Christchurch	23	45	51%	1	2	50%	2	20	10%
N.Z. Total	70	130	54%	3	8	38%	6	60	10%
AUSTRALIA	13	25	52%	3	8	38%	5	15	33%
BRITAIN									
London	26	50	52%	0	2	0%	6	18	33%
Manchester	28	60	47%	0	5	0%	10	25	40%
Sheffield	8	35	23%	0	2	0%	3	10	30%
Britain Total	62	145	43%	0	9	0%	19	53	36%
SWEDEN	16	40	40%	9	18	50%	5	30	17%
CANADA									
Vancouver	32	75	43%	8	10	80%	4	45	9%
Toronto	31	80	39%	7	15	47%	3	40	8%
Montreal	18	70	26%	4	15	27%	8	40	20%
Canada Total	81	225	36%	19	40	48%	15	125	12%
BELGIUM	1	3	33%	2	4	50%	2	5	40%
UNITED STATES									
Albany, NY	4	5	80%	1	1	100%	0	4	0%
Detroit	44	90	49%	2	10	20%	16	40	40%
Atlanta	37	80	46%	9	13	69%	9	35	26%
San Francisco	61	135	45%	13	32	41%	28	105	27%
Houston	26	65	40%	3	12	25%	0	15	0%
Washington, D.C.	30	75	40%	8	25	32%	9	17	53%
Boston	46	120	38%	14	40	35%	14	80	18%
Greensboro, NC	18	50	36%	0	5	0%	4	22	18%
Los Angeles	68	200	34%	19	95	20%	15	90	17%
Miami	41	120	34%	7	50	14%	30	95	32%
Albuquerque, NM	1	3	33%	0	1	0%	0	1	0%
Chicago	43	130	33%	8	30	27%	0	30	0%
New Haven, CT	5	15	33%	1	3	33%	0	10	0%
Twin Cities, MN	35	110	32%	3	17	18%	20	65	31%
Salt Lake City, UT	27	90	30%	1	15	7%	1	55	2%
Philadelphia	33	115	29%	5	30	17%	23	65	35%
Cincinnati, OH	4	15	27%	3	2	150%	0	8	0%
Birmingham, AL	19	75	25%	1	5	20%	9	35	26%
Des Moines, IA	20	80	25%	12	35	34%	3	55	5%
Cleveland	20	85	24%	2	10	20%	0	17	0%
Brooklyn	30	130	23%	8	35	23%	40	110	36%
Seattle	17	75	23%	3	12	25%	3	20	15%
New York	30	135	22%	5	35	14%	44	85	52%
Denver	2	10	20%	0	2	0%	0	3	0%
Edinboro, PA	2	10	20%	1	0	100%	0	3	0%
Newark, NJ	26	130	20%	3	35	9%	29	45	64%
St. Louis	14	70	20%	2	8	25%	9	35	26%
Pittsburgh	18	100	18%	3	10	30%	1	40	3%
Morgantown, WV	8	50	16%	0	2	0%	5	30	17%
Portland, OR	0	6	0%	0	0	0%	0	2	0%
U.S. Total	729	2,374	31%	137	570	24%	312	1,217	26%
GREECE	3	10	30%	0	1	0%	1	5	20%
FRANCE	1	10	10%	2	2	100%	2	12	17%
GERMANY	0	10	0%	0	4	0%	0	10	0%
PUERTO RICO	0	2	0%	5	8	63%	4	12	33%
TOTAL	983	2,986	33%	180	673	27%	371	1,550	24%
SHOULD BE	1,200	3,000	40%	260	650	40%	400	1,000	40%

IN THE UNIONS

UNITED STATES									
UTU	32	72	44%	1	3	33%	0	22	0%
UAW	32	125	26%	5	10	50%	5	30	17%
ILGWU	3	12	25%	3	24	13%	0	8	0%
UFCW	8	35	23%	8	20	40%	1	15	7%
USWA	12	70	17%	1	8	13%	2	21	10%
ACTWU	4	—	—	4	—	—	2	—	—
IAM	20	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
OCAW	16	—	—	0	—	—	1	—	—
UMWA	1	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
U.S. Total	128	302	42%	23	41	56%	12	96	13%
AUSTRALIA									
AMEU	0	4	0%	0	—	—	3	—	—
FPU	0	2	0%	0	—	—	2	—	—
NUW	0	2	0%	0	—	—	1	—	—
Australia Total	0	8	0%	0	—	—	6	—	—
BRITAIN									
AEEU	0	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
NUM	0	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
RMT	9	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
TGWU	3	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
Britain Total	12	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
CANADA									
ACTWU	0	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
CAW	1	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
IAM	4	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
USWA	0	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
Canada Totals	5	—	—	0	—	—	0	—	—
NEW ZEALAND									
UFBGWU	5	6	83%	0	0	0%	0	1	0%
EU	5	9	56%	1	0	0%	0	2	0%
MWU	1	4	25%	0	2	0%	0	2	0%
N.Z. Total	11	19	58%	1	2	50%	0	5	0%
SWEDEN									
Food workers	0	3	0%	0	0	0%	0	2	0%
Metal workers	0	3	0%	0	0	0%	0	2	0%
Transport workers	0	2	0%	0	0	0%	0	1	0%
Sweden Total	0	8	0%	0	0	0%	0	5	0%

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

Socialists seek ballot spot in Utah

BY MIKE SHUR

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee in Utah hosted an open house March 19 to celebrate the successful completion of a petitioning drive to place candidates on the ballot in the state.

Brian Pugh, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, 2nd District, opened the event. He recently returned from a three-week trip to South Africa where he attended the African National Congress Youth League congress and reported on events leading up to elections there. Pugh, 25, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and of the Young Socialists in Salt Lake City.

During the three-week petition drive, Pugh explained, campaign supporters collected 2,400 signatures at shopping centers, door-to-door in working class communities, at factory gates, and at political events.

The socialist candidate reported that half a dozen young people had expressed interest in the campaign and signed cards for more information during the petitioning effort. "In 1992 I first met the Socialist Workers Party by signing one of these cards," he said. "The person you sign up next week might be up here speaking as a candidate next year," Pugh said.

Tammi Peterson, a high school student and member of the Young Socialists, explained that the group

had decided to support the Socialist Workers campaign "seeing as they are a revolutionary organization." Two members of the Young Socialists, James Gallanos and Brian Pugh, are socialist candidates. "The Young Socialists do not support the Democrats or Republicans because they are parties of the capitalist system," Peterson added.

More than \$400 was raised at the event to help pay for airfare to get members of the socialist youth group to a socialist educational conference in Chicago, as well as the meeting of young socialists from across the country that followed.

Gallanos, an activist at the University of Utah, reported on the third US-Cuba Friendshipment, which he had participated in as a driver. "The caravan was another successful challenge to the U.S. embargo of Cuba," he said. "We claim this victory and will go on to build broad support from around the world. We are seeing ever increasing opportunities for a new generation of young people interested in joining efforts in solidarity with the Cuban revolution."

More than 50 signatures for the Socialist Workers candidates were collected at the send-off rally for the Friendshipment, and at several meetings in Utah for Pável Díaz, a Cuban youth leader who is currently touring the United States.

The other socialist candidates in Utah are Nelson Gonzalez for U.S. Senate; Barbara Greenway for U.S.

Congress, 3rd District; John Langford for Utah House of Representatives, 23rd District; Eileen Koschak for Utah Senate, 3rd District; and Gallanos for Utah House of Representatives, 24th District.

Langford, a material handler at Magcorp, a member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), and a longtime labor activist in Utah explained that he was first introduced to the *Militant* and the socialist movement in 1978 by a sales team at the foundry where he worked. "One of the people distributing the paper was a candidate," he remembered. Langford recently joined the Socialist Workers Party.

Thirty-seven of Langford's co-workers, fellow members of the USWA at Magcorp, signed petitions to get the socialist candidates on the ballot. Another 22 Steelworkers members at the Geneva Steel mill in Orem, Utah, signed.

Gonzalez and Koschak also addressed the event. More than \$2,500 was raised in pledges and contributions in response to an appeal by Greenway, a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, for campaign funds.

The successful ballot drive was covered in election round-up articles in *The Salt Lake Tribune* and *The Deseret News*. A feature article on the campaign appeared in *The Private Eye Weekly*.

Mike Shur is a member of USWA Local 2701 in Orem.

New International Fund

Continued from front page and the world, to the political degeneration of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the subsequent demise of the revolutionary government.

Two more issues of *New International* — slated for publication in June — will address the evolution of international politics since the 1987 crash of the world's stock markets and the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. They look at the social and political consequences of the world capitalist economic depression, the mounting conflicts and trade wars between the imperialist powers, a working-class response to the reactionary "culture war" being waged by rightist forces such as Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot in the United States and others across Europe, and the new openings that exist to win workers and youth around the world to communism as a result of the weakening of Stalinism.

Gilsdorf explained that altogether the New International Fund will make possible the publication of 10 new volumes — issues 9, 10, and 11 of *New International*; issues 5, 6, and 7 of the French-language *Nouvelle Internationale*; issues 3, 4, and 5 of the Spanish-language *Nueva Internacional*; and a second issue of the Swedish-language *Ny International*.

Producing and promoting these weapons for the arsenal of revolutionary fighters costs money. Paper alone — an entire truckload will be needed — will cost more than \$20,000; warehousing more than \$6,000; and promotional work almost \$10,000.

Dozens of supporters of the magazine — from the United States to Canada, Sweden, and elsewhere — have volunteered the time, enthusiasm, and labor for most of the editorial, design, and production work. These volunteers include translators, editors, copy editors, typesetters, and press operators. Their contributions, plus the anticipated contributions to the New International Fund from hundreds of other supporters, are essential if the magazine's ambitious publication schedule is to be met.

Supporters urged to take goals

The *Militant* will publish a weekly chart and articles so that readers can follow the progress of the fund. Supporters in cities around the world will be taking goals and organizing to reach out to win the broadest number of contributors.

Greg Rosenberg, a staff writer for the *Militant* newspaper, has

been named director of the New International Fund.

The 10 new issues of *New International*, *Nueva Internacional*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Ny International* build on the magazines' already impressive history. "These publications apply to today's world the theoretical conquests of the communist movement over the past 150 years," Gilsdorf told the audience in Chicago. "They build on and add to the historic continuity of the working class and its vanguard."

Gilsdorf pointed to the decades-long history that the *New International* stands on, starting with the magazine published by the forces in the left wing of the Socialist Party (SP) in the United States in the opening years of the 20th century. These revolutionaries opposed the first World War, embraced the Russian revolution and the fight for socialism as the road to end imperialist war, and, inspired by the Bolshevik revolution, ultimately broke with the SP and formed the Communist Party.

The name *New International* was first used for the theoretical journal of the vanguard of the workers movement by communists who were fighting to continue the revolutionary course of V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the wake of Joseph Stalin's triumph in the early 1920s against revolutionary forces in the Soviet Union and the Communist International. In 1934 these communist fighters launched the magazine to supplement the weekly *Militant*.

"The fact that you have established a theoretical organ, I consider as a festival occasion," Leon Trotsky wrote at the time. "It's name, *The New International*, is a program of an entire epoch. I am convinced that your magazine will serve as an invaluable weapon in the establishment of the new International on the foundations laid by the great masters of the future: [Karl] Marx, [Frederick] Engels, Lenin."

The lead editorial in the founding issue in July 1934 promised to "fight to the death against Fascism, imperialism, [and] war."

The communist magazine of politics and theory was published over the next 50 years under various names until 1983 when, under the impact of revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean, particularly the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada and the resulting advances by the



Militant/Hilda Cuzco
Socialist youth leader Mark Gilsdorf

socialist revolution in Cuba, the Socialist Workers Party, in collaboration with its cothinkers in other countries, relaunched *New International*.

The inaugural issue of the magazine promised to "present political, theoretical, and historical material related to the most important questions of program, strategy, and organization confronting those building communist parties in North America and around the world."

Valuable tool for young fighters

Gilsdorf concluded his presentation by pointing to the importance of the Marxist journal to the generation of young fighters coming into politics today. "As a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee I helped draft a statement urging youth to attend this conference," he said. "But the young people and revolutionary workers who are here today need more than a hatred of the horrors of capitalism. We need to be armed politically. *New International* provides a guide based on the experiences, victories, and defeats of the workers movement and its communist vanguard. You and I can join this movement and become a part of it."

And every reader of the *Militant* and supporter and friend of the socialist movement around the world is encouraged to join the fight for the \$100,000 fund by sending in donations and taking goals to be added to the weekly scoreboard. Checks can be made out to New International Fund and mailed to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Army officer who led 1992 coup in Venezuela is released from prison

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Lt. Col. Hugo Chávez, the Venezuelan army officer who led an unsuccessful military coup against the government in February 1992 and became a popular hero, was released from jail March 27 after President Rafael Caldera stopped court-martial proceedings against him.

Chávez, 39, led the revolt at a time of seething mass protests against austerity policies decreed by social democratic president Carlos Andrés Pérez, who was forced out of office last year to face corruption charges. From jail, Chávez inspired a second failed coup in November 1992.

On his release from jail Chávez, who has resigned from the army, told a crowd of hundreds of supporters, "The Revolutionary Bolivarian Movement [MBR] will take to the streets, will lead a charge

to take political power in Venezuela."

Chávez's MBR is led by junior army officers, dozens of whom were arrested in the two coups, sparking numerous demonstrations by students and others calling for their release. Caldera released 61 of the 80 imprisoned coup participants.

Chávez denounces the corruption of the "political elite" and presents "clean," "moral," and disciplined military officers as an alternative. He also distances himself from openly right-wing military figures such as former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet.

Caldera, 78, won the December presidential elections by running against the two traditional capitalist parties, which were discredited by their devastating "free-market" policies. Caldera, a former president, ran independently with the backing of a coalition of parties ranging

from right-wing groups to the Venezuelan Communist Party (PCV).

Radical Cause, a group that arose from a split in the PCV in the 1970s, also won substantial votes. Its presidential candidate was former metalworkers union official Andrés Velásquez, currently governor of the state of Bolívar. Radical Cause calls for "honest government, efficient government, and democratic government," echoing Chávez's rhetoric. It too denounced the previous administration's austerity measures.

While the middle class in oil-rich Venezuela has enjoyed the fruits of economic growth, half the country's population lives below the poverty line and unemployment stands at 30 percent. Since 1989 the government has slashed social services, eliminated subsidies, and privatized state companies, eliminating tens of thousands of jobs.

NewInternational

A MAGAZINE OF MARXIST POLITICS AND THEORY

No. 9

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution

Traces the lessons fighters everywhere can learn from the rise and decline of the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua. \$14.00

No. 8

Che Guevara, Cuba, and the Road to Socialism

Exchange of views from the early 1960s and from today on the relevance of the political and economic perspectives defended by Ernesto Che Guevara. \$10.00



No. 7

Opening Guns of World War III

WASHINGTON'S ASSAULT ON IRAQ

by Jack Barnes

The U.S. government's murderous blockade, bombardment, and invasion of Iraq heralded sharpening conflicts among imperialist powers, more wars, and growing instability of international capitalism. Also includes "Communist Policy in Wartime as well as in Peacetime" by Mary-Alice Waters. \$12.00

No. 6

The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop

by Steve Clark

"Maurice Bishop and Bernard Coard personified two irreconcilable political courses for the Grenada revolution," Clark writes—one rooted in the revolutionary continuity of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the other in the Stalinist counterrevolution. Issue no. 6 also includes "Cuba's Rectification Process" by Fidel Castro and "The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation" by Larry Seigle. \$10.00

No. 5

The Coming Revolution in South Africa

by Jack Barnes

The world importance of the struggle to overthrow the apartheid system, and of the vanguard role of the African National Congress, which is committed to lead the national, democratic revolution in South Africa to a successful conclusion. Only from among the most committed cadres of this ANC-led struggle, Barnes writes, can the working class begin forging a communist leadership. \$9.00

No. 4

The Fight for a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States

by Jack Barnes

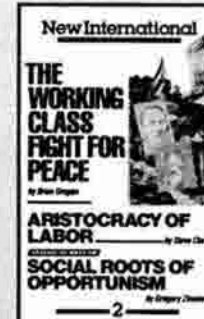
The shared exploitation of workers and working farmers by banking, industrial, and commercial capital lays the basis for their alliance in a revolutionary fight for a government of the producers. Also includes "The Crisis Facing Working Farmers" by Doug Jenness and "Land Reform and Farm Cooperatives in Cuba." \$9.00

No. 3

Communism and the Fight for a Popular Revolutionary Government: 1848 to Today

by Mary-Alice Waters

Traces the continuity in the fight by the working-class movement over 150 years to wrest political power from the small minority of wealthy property owners, whose class rule, Waters says, is inseparably linked to the "misery, hunger, and disease of the great majority of humanity." Also includes "A Nose for Power: Preparing the Nicaraguan Revolution" by Tomás Borge. \$8.00



No. 2

The Working-Class Fight for Peace

by Brian Grogan

Can lasting peace be achieved in the world until workers and farmers take political power—including the power to make war—from the hands of the capitalist rulers? This article says no. Also includes article on the aristocracy of labor by Steve Clark. \$8.00

No. 1

Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today

by Jack Barnes

From 1923 until his death, Leon Trotsky fought to build a movement to advance the revolutionary political course defended by V.I. Lenin against the counterrevolution eventually headed by Joseph Stalin. How do Trotsky's ideas and actions fit into the continuity of the movement for communism, from Marx's and Engels's time to our own? \$8.00



Many of the articles that have appeared in the pages of *New International* are also available in sister publications in Spanish, French, or Swedish.

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Cuban gov't reorganizes state farms into cooperatives in effort to boost production

(Third of three articles)

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS
AND AARON RUBY

CIENFUEGOS, Cuba — At the beginning of February, workers operating combines at *La Esperanza* (The Hope) cooperative were bringing in this year's harvest for one of Cuba's main exports — sugar. One of hundreds of Basic Units of Cooperative Production (UBPC), which are rapidly replacing state farms across the Cuban countryside, *La Esperanza* had been formed just four months earlier.

By the end of January, the vast majority of state farms producing sugarcane had been subdivided into these new, smaller units. The process has also begun in farms growing tobacco, citrus, vegetables, and other crops, as well as in cattle raising.

This is the most far-reaching change in the organization of the agricultural workforce in Cuba since the second agrarian reform of 1963. It represents a retreat from the state farm system established as one of the basic conquests of the revolution. But the leadership in Cuba hopes it will lead to a rapid increase in agricultural production.

The UBPCs will provide material incentives to each individual member by linking income to productivity.

The harvest will now belong to cooperative members, who will sell it to the state at guaranteed prices. Government policy also encourages the cooperatives to be self-sufficient in food by planting fallow lands. Government officials hope these measures, along with programs to build housing and provide other social services for cooperative members, will create conditions to assure an adequate agricultural workforce.

Most cooperative members we spoke to viewed the UBPCs as an opportunity not to become proprietors, but to democratically establish greater control over the organization of labor and the use of resources; cut down unnecessary waste; minimize theft, which is now rampant; raise morale; and produce more efficiently.

The establishment of the new cooperatives is one of three measures decreed since last year by the Council of Ministers and ratified by the National Assembly in December in an attempt to revive agricultural and industrial production. As reported in the last two issues of the *Militant*, the government has also decriminalized possession and use of U.S. dollars and legalized self-employment in some 140 occupations.

Referring to the severe shortages of fuel and other basic necessities triggered by the

collapse of aid from the former Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, on which the Cuban economy was highly dependent even for food, Cuban president Fidel Castro said in a recent speech that the establishment of the UBPCs is "the best and most appropriate step under the circumstances." Castro was speaking to the Havana provincial assembly of the Communist Party November 7.

"For the moment," Castro said, "It is a step of a definitive nature we have taken in the hopes that the Basic Units of Cooperative Production will work and be efficient... Because these days a large enterprise can hardly be run with serious fuel shortages, with serious transportation shortages. They have to be made smaller, more manageable; but there must also be an attempt to save on resources."

Crisis on state farms

The sharp decline in state farm production over the last four years has had a severe impact. Agricultural products, mainly sugar, represent 75 percent of export earnings.

The 1992-3 sugarcane harvest of 4.28

million tons, the lowest in two decades, was a "terrible blow," said Castro.

Lack of fuel and spare parts affected irrigation and transport. Drastic reduction of fertilizers and pesticides further lowered crop yields. In addition, three severe storms in 1993 caused damages estimated at well

over \$1 billion. However, Castro said, bloated administrative apparatuses resulted in even lower productivity. "The fact is that the same thing happened to the state farms as happened to the Pan American tourism complex east of Havana... as happened to many factories and many industries," said Castro in his November 7 speech. "The same thing happened to all of them: oversized staffs, a tendency towards excess personnel, paternalism, a less demanding attitude... Let's be frank; these problems were created by the revolution."

Journalist Eloy Concepción gave a concrete example of this problem in an article that appeared last August in *Trabajadores*, the newspaper of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

Out of a total of 3,685 personnel at the Camilo Cienfuegos Agro-Industrial Complex, some 2,000 worked in "non-productive" jobs, the article said. At the same time, there was a shortage of 250 industrial workers at the sugar mill and 600 agricultural workers

own their own land. These cooperative units were provided for in the first agrarian reform law and were established at an accelerated pace from the late 1970s on. Today, they account for 14 percent of the land under cultivation in Cuba. Another 11 percent is farmed by individual peasants who own their own land and work it by themselves. State farms comprised the remaining 75 percent of arable land.

"We had noticed that the best agricultural cooperatives had the lowest fuel consumption, the lowest herbicide consumption, and the lowest consumption of certain products, which is what we need now throughout the agricultural sector," Castro said.

Average yields of vegetables and tubers on state farms are 2,600 lbs per acre whereas the cooperatives average 4,900, nearly double. "There was, of course, greater direct interest on the part of the worker in the agricultural cooperatives," Castro stated.

Many of the UBPC members we interviewed made similar points.

Declining productivity

Declining productivity on state farms and in other state factories is not something new. This fact, and the reasons for it rooted in the adoption of political policies similar to those of the bureaucratic regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, was at the center of what is known in Cuba as the rectification process, launched in 1986.

Rectification aimed to strengthen the consciousness and combativity of the vanguard of the working class in Cuba and increase its leadership weight, through the organization of voluntary work brigades that built housing, child care centers, irrigation systems, and other projects, and began to address the problem of food production.

The brigades were later augmented by special volunteer contingents, initially concentrated in the construction industry. Participation in the contingents was voluntary, subject to being accepted. A flexible workday of 10 hours or more depended on the work to be completed. There was a single wage scale with no overtime pay or bonuses. Room and board was provided. Work discipline was not imposed by a separate layer of management personnel but was organized and maintained by contingent members themselves. Equipment was cared for and kept running by the workers who used it. Administrative tasks were taken on more and more by the workers, instead of being delegated to a distinct group of specialists increasingly distant from the work itself.

The rectification process stalled, however, as the economic crisis brought on by the sudden collapse of trade and aid from the Soviet Union accelerated. The sharp drop in productivity took on new and crucial dimensions.

The unrelenting and intensified trade embargo imposed by the U.S. rulers has made it even more difficult to find new sources of vital imports and establish new trading partners.

It is under these extremely difficult economic conditions that the government drew the conclusion last year that the leadership crisis of the state farm system could not be addressed by continuing along the course charted by the rectification process. That course had included sizable mobilizations of 15-day volunteer brigades in the countryside and the formation of vanguard agricultural work contingents.

Instead, the decision was made to retreat and transform the state farms into thousands of smaller cooperative units. While the course represented by rectification has been sidelined, the new cooperatives try to assure that the producers themselves will have greater control over basic economic decisions and conditions of work.

The state farms — the basic units of industrial production in the countryside — have had an important place in the socialist revolution in Cuba.

As Castro has continued to explain in recent speeches, "state farms have done



Members of *La Esperanza* cooperative near Cienfuegos, Cuba, take a break from cutting sugarcane.

Militant/Argiris Malapanis

in the cane fields. One-fourth of production costs were attributed to the administrative apparatus.

Productivity at the complex had dropped by more than 50 percent since 1985, from nearly 70,000 pounds of sugar per acre to 33,000 pounds per acre today.

According to figures given to National Assembly deputies in December, subsidies provided to state enterprises increased by 73 percent between 1989 and 1993. The biggest factor cited for this increase was rising subsidies to state farms, especially those producing sugar.

Precious fuel and other resources were wasted on state farms due to lack of leadership and low morale. "Of course, more fuel is wasted when there is not enough organization and a demanding attitude," Castro stated in his November 7 speech. "More herbicide is wasted when there is not enough organization and a demanding attitude; without those two elements, fertilizers sometimes get used inefficiently; without those two elements, the land is sometimes not properly prepared for planting."

There was a growth in "absenteeism... cutbacks in working hours, working for four or five hours when there was a need to work at least eight, all of which was tolerated," Castro continued.

"In order to offer higher salaries, each administrator became a labor ministry, virtually establishing a fixed salary and lowering production standards so that the workers would produce double or triple the minimum required and thereby make more money," Castro said.

He noted, however, that these kinds of practices were not common in the agricultural cooperatives formed by farmers who

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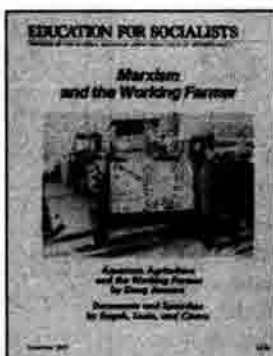
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things in our country that could never have existed under any other system."

Many state farms were established in Cuba as a result of the first agrarian reform. The 1959 Agrarian Reform Law was the measure that more than any other single act "defined the Cuban revolution," in Castro's words. Its rapid implementation consolidated the class alliance on which the revolution was based — the alliance of workers, including agricultural workers, and working peasants. And it brought the revolution in direct confrontation with U.S. imperialism and its Cuban allies.

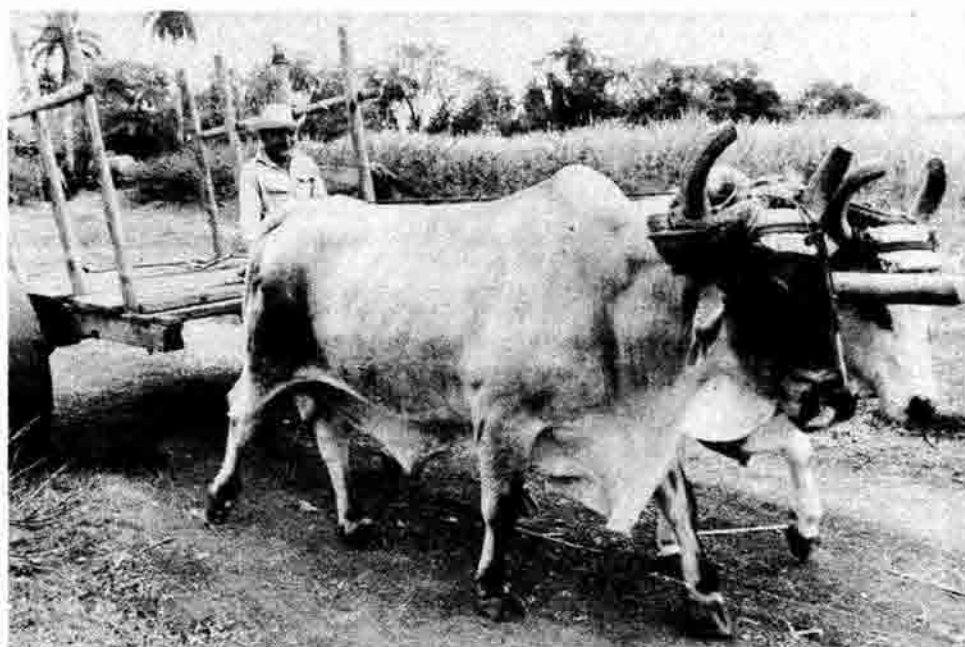
The two agrarian reforms

The first agrarian reform law expropriated the large plantations, eliminated the system of rents and mortgages crushing the peasantry, and guaranteed use of the land to those who worked it.

Prior to the revolution, 85 percent of Cuba's small farmers rented rather than owned land. They lived under the constant threat of eviction. Some 200,000 peasant families didn't have a single acre of land to till for their own use. The 1959 law guaranteed each peasant family a "vital minimum" of 67 acres. Every tenant, sharecropper, or squatter cultivating up to 165 acres was given clear title to that land.

Privately owned land could only be mortgaged to the state, which made financing available to poor peasants at favorable rates. Land could not be divided and could be inherited by only one person.

The amount of land an individual family could own was limited to 1,000 acres in most



Animal-drawn carts, like the one pictured above near Abreus, Cienfuegos, have replaced many trucks and tractors throughout Cuban countryside. Lack of fuel and spare parts has affected irrigation and transport.

ings nationalized.

The agricultural proletariat in Cuba, based in the sugar industry, was one of the strongest sections of the working class and a decisive bastion of support for the revolutionary struggle to bring down the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

Initially, the agricultural workers in the sugarcane fields were organized into some 600 cooperatives. But cattle ranches, rice plantations, and virgin lands were organized as *Granjas* (state farms) right from the beginning.

Two years later, Cuban revolutionaries assessed this experience and, at a congress of members of cane cooperatives in August 1962, decided to reorganize the cooperatives into state farms. In a speech to that congress, Castro explained why this step was necessary in order to strengthen the proletarian vanguard of the revolution.

While the initial formation of the cane cooperatives might have been a step forward over capitalist ownership, Castro said, from the point of view of the working class "the cooperative was a backward step."

"Those who worked on the state farms were workers who did not exploit anyone," Castro said. "Everyone was equal. But on the cooperatives, where a determined number of people were members of

the cooperative who shared in the profits, a problem existed. What were the others? Second class citizen-workers; marginal ones. They were nothing. Since they were not members of the cooperative they were workers and the cooperative members were employers. When profits were distributed, they received nothing. The cooperative members got the first houses and other advantages."

The sugar industry was the largest and oldest in Cuba, employing hundreds of thousands of agricultural workers generation after generation. "Traditionally, the group with the best fighting spirit, the most revolutionary of the agricultural proletariat, was the cane worker, the worker of the cane latifundios," Castro said.

"At the moment when the proletariat began to guide the destiny of the country, a great proletarian and exploited group of yesterday ceased being proletarian," Castro said, referring to workers who had been organized into the cane cooperatives.

To rectify the situation, Castro proposed that the cane cooperatives be reorganized as state farms run by the workers.

"To be a proletarian is an honor and title above any others in our society," Castro said, "more than material advantages you may be able to acquire."

"Today, the highest honor, the master of our country, is not the Yankee, nor is it the landlord exploiter. It is the proletarian!" he added. "Is it not correct to take one more forward step?"

"With this step, the agricultural proletariat begins to advance, becomes the most numerous sector of the working class in our country... a great and formidable force for

the revolution."

Castro emphasized the distinction between the cooperatives of farm workers on the sugarcane plantations and "the true cooperative which is formed from independent producers who are not proletarians."

Castro reiterated these points later. "I've always thought and still think that state enterprises are the highest [form of production]," he explained in a speech to the 1982 congress of the National Association of Small Producers (ANAP). "I've always liked the idea of having agriculture develop like industry and of having agricultural workers be like industrial workers," Castro said. "An individual worker doesn't own the industry or production, except as part of the people, for the people are the owners of industry and production."

The Cuban president has consistently defended this viewpoint. At the same time, he has recently explained in a careful way that, in his opinion, the decision to establish the UBPCs is necessary in the context of the current economic crisis.

Reorganization into UBPCs

By the end of January, 1,563 UBPCs in sugarcane production were already established, of a projected 2,000 units nationally.

In addition, another 838 UBPCs have been established in non-cane agriculture. They include: 407 co-ops in cattle raising, 226 in miscellaneous crops, 65 in tobacco, 29 in citrus plantations, 23 in fish farms, 14 in rice, 12 in coffee, and one in forestry. These non-cane cooperatives encompass some 2 million acres with 78,000 workers.

The degree of success of the new cooperatives in sugarcane will determine the pace of reorganization elsewhere.

Castro said that 10 million acres of land are projected to be transformed into UBPCs involving some 1 million workers, or 3-4 million people including family members. This represents the majority of state farms.

The cooperatives are created by dividing state farms into smaller plots of an average size of 850-1,000 acres. La Esperanza, for example, is one of 16 UBPCs established by sub-dividing the former state farm. The workforce in each cooperative unit averages about 100 workers.

The land remains state property and can not be sold, rented, or passed on as inheritance by the members. But the cooperative members own the machinery and whatever they produce, which they sell to the state. They pay for the seed, fertilizer, pesticides, fuel, and other products they use.

The Guillermo Moncada state complex, a former state farm near the town of Abreus in the Cienfuegos province that included the land of La Esperanza, is now reduced to the sugar mill and the seed bank. This enterprise provided a loan of 162,000 Cuban pesos to La Esperanza at its founding on November 1, so that members could purchase two cane-cutting combines, three trucks, and other farm equipment, said Tania Corcho, who now keeps the books for the cooperative. Corcho worked at the office of the state complex before.

All loans are to be repaid over 25 years, after a three-year grace period, at an annual interest rate of 14 percent.

To begin with, the state enterprise also provides the cooperative with an advance to pay wages.

Earnings will be divided between paying off the loan to the state, reinvesting in machinery and other improvements, and bonuses to cooperative members.

Workers' democracy and incentives

"The UBPC is 100 percent more democratic," said Corcho, comparing it to the former state farm. This assessment was given by numerous cooperative members.

An assembly of all members of each cooperative unit meets once a month. The assembly elects a leadership council and a manager and discusses and approves work norms. At La Esperanza, members elected an executive board of three men and two women who meet weekly to take up problems that come up between assemblies and prepare the agendas for the monthly membership meetings.

At the initial stage of setting up the cooperatives, the management of the state enterprise brings in a proposal for a manager who has to be approved by the assembly. But UBPC members can nominate someone else from their ranks to assume the position. The manager must receive 70 percent of the votes to be elected, we were told.

Wages depend on the job performed. At La Esperanza, for example, drivers of the sugarcane-cutting combines are the highest paid at 11 pesos a day. Others receive vary-

Continued on Page 10



Trabajadores/Tomás Barceló

Camilo Cienfuegos Agro-Industrial Complex where 54 percent of workforce was administrative personnel, while there was lack of 850 production workers in sugar mill and cane fields.

cases and 3,300 acres for some types of agriculture such as cattle raising. The law prohibited ownership of Cuban land by foreigners. Before 1959 more than 50 percent of the most productive land was owned by foreigners, most of whom came from the United States.

Large estates that had previously been worked as single units were kept intact and, after initially being run as cooperatives, soon became state enterprises.

The 1959 law laid the basis for farmers who held title to their land to form cooperatives. Over the subsequent 30 years, roughly half the Cuban peasants, holding some 60 percent of land with private title, voluntarily joined cooperatives.

The second agrarian reform in Cuba, implemented in October 1963, was of a different character than the first one. It was a socialist measure. It followed by several years the nationalization of imperialist- and Cuban-owned industrial enterprises, and was designed to bring property relations in the countryside into harmony with the social ownership of other productive property.

The 1963 reform expropriated the land in excess of 165 acres owned by capitalist farmers, who still controlled 20 percent of agricultural land. By nationalizing these sizable holdings, which could be cultivated only by hiring wage labor, the second agrarian reform eliminated the capitalist sector of Cuban agriculture.

1960s debate on state farms, co-ops

During the first years of the revolution, workers and farmers in Cuba debated how to organize the large sugarcane plantations, which were among the first capitalist hold-

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Help the 'Militant' provide you with firsthand coverage of world politics!

From Cuba to South Africa, Ireland, and Mexico, *Militant* reporters traveled throughout the world in January and February to give our readers the best, most accurate news and analysis of major international events.

A team of *Militant* reporters, including Martin Koppel, Argiris Malapanis, Francisco Picado, Michel Prairie, Aaron Ruby, Mike Taber, and Mary-Alice Waters spent more than four weeks in Cuba. These reporters contributed to the series of articles that continues this week.

The cost of these trips exceeds \$20,000. The *Militant* depends on the generous contributions of workers, students, and others who value the coverage they can find nowhere else to make such reporting possible.

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Militant/Argiris Malapanis
New International editor Mary-Alice Waters interviews members of La Esperanza cooperative.

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Washington's concentration camps

Book tells story of forced internment of Japanese Americans in World War II

Prisoners Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II by Roger Daniels. Hill and Wang, New York, 1993, \$7.95, illustrated, paperback.

BY PATTI HIYAMA

This year is the 52nd anniversary of the initial roundup and internment without trial of tens of thousands of people of Japanese descent in the United States.

Roger Daniels, an American History professor at the University of Cincinnati, is one of the foremost academic authorities on the history of Japanese Americans, especially their internment in U.S. concentration camps. His latest book, *Prisoners*

IN REVIEW

Without Trial: Japanese Americans in World War II, is a well-written summary of the most up-to-date research on this injustice. Daniels provides an excellent overview of the history of discrimination against Japanese in the United States, the concentration camp experience, and the fight by Japanese Americans to obtain redress and reparations.

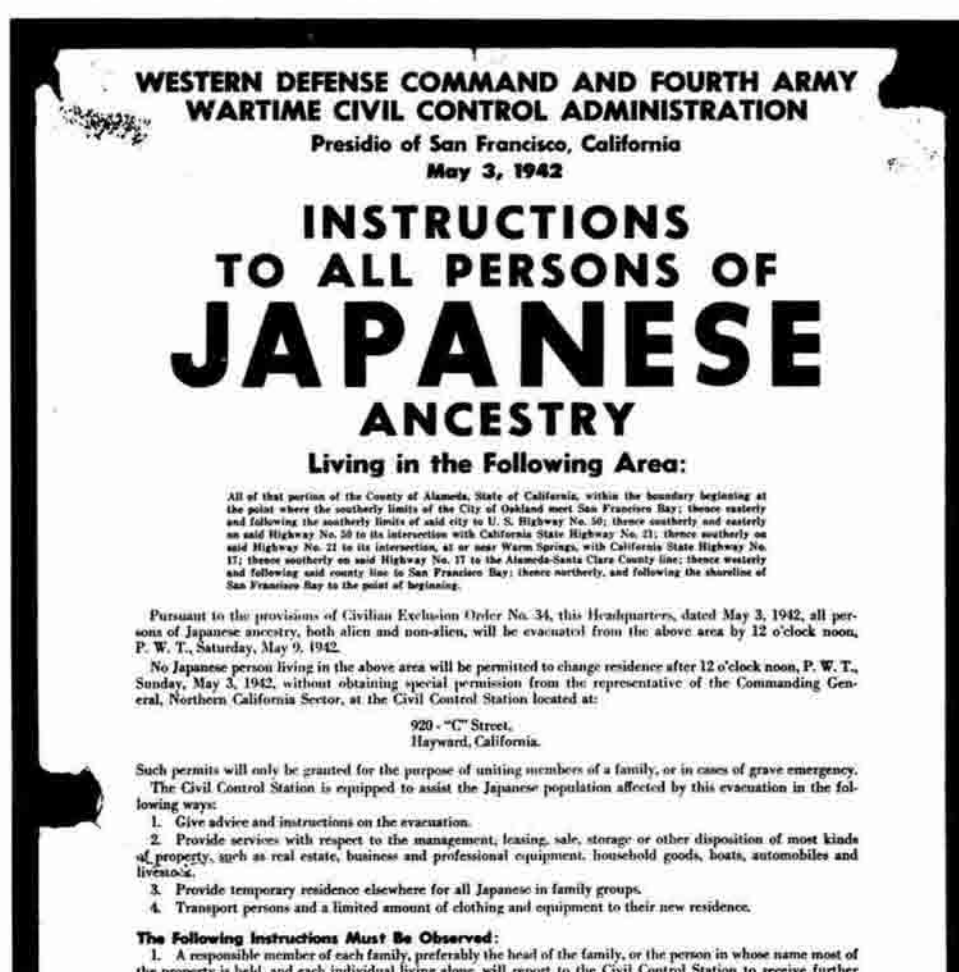
In 1942 more than 120,000 men, women, and children were incarcerated behind barbed wire in concentration camps euphemistically called "assembly centers." Two-thirds of the evacuees held illegally without trial were citizens of the United States. Their only crime was their Japanese ancestry. And for that they served one-five years. The last camp was not closed until 1946, six months after World War II ended.

"The American camps were not death camps, but they were surrounded by barbed wire and by troops whose guns were pointed at the inmates," Daniels says.

This policy was not a mistake or an aberration, as many would like to believe. Japanese residing in the United States were, because of their race, singled out as a target. But their evacuation and internment was only the most blatant and vicious aspect of a general policy of repression excused by the needs of war.

The East Asian theater of World War II was essentially an interimperialist conflict between two capitalist powers, Tokyo and Washington, for control of markets and natural resources in the Far East. The U.S. ruling class appealed to racist prejudice against Japanese to justify the war and disguise its true character. The creation of racist hysteria against the "sneaky, dishonest, sly Japanese" was necessary for the ruling class to ensure that U.S. workers would fight.

This racist dismissal of the Japanese as less than human reached its logical conclusion when the U.S. government ordered two atomic bombs dropped on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. Tens of thousands of people were killed in the blasts and their after-



Poster ordering roundup of Japanese Americans was put on billboards throughout West Coast in early 1942. Takeuchi, above, was given the number 21393 before being sent to a "relocation" center.

math. Although President Harry Truman claimed this atrocity was necessary to make the Japanese government surrender, the fact is that before the bombs were dropped Tokyo had already requested to surrender on terms that the U.S. government accepted in September. In reality, Japanese lives were sacrificed to show the world that Washington had emerged as the top imperialist power, unafraid to act ruthlessly to maintain its might.

Racism used to divide working class

Racism has traditionally been used by U.S. rulers to divide the working class and to consolidate their rule. Japanese in the United States have faced widespread discrimination since they began arriving in the late 19th century. As with the Chinese before them, they could not by law become citizens, buy land, or marry whites. Japanese were denied entry into the United States after 1924, some 42 years after legislation banning immigration of Chinese laborers.

Racist agitation against them reached a crescendo following the Japanese military attack on Pearl Harbor. The U.S. government claimed the mass internment was necessary because it was impossible to distinguish loyal from disloyal Japanese because they all look alike.

General John DeWitt, who was in the

Western Defense command of U.S. Army, said, "A Jap's a Jap. . . There is no way to determine their loyalty. . . It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen; theoretically he is still Japanese and you can't change him by giving him a piece of paper."

Daniels examines the U.S. government's justification that internment was a "military necessity" to avoid sabotage and espionage by Japanese Americans. No cases of sabotage or espionage were ever proven against any person of Japanese descent living in the United States.

The Supreme Court upheld the doctrine of the military necessity of the concentration camps. The author points to evidence that came to light 40 years later proving the U.S. government withheld, suppressed, and altered evidence indicating that there had been no military necessity to incarcerate Japanese Americans.

A 1981 report by the Presidential Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians concluded that the roundup of Japanese Americans "was not justified by military necessity. . . The broad historical causes which shaped these decisions were race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership. . . A grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry."

With the president, Congress, and Supreme Court joining together at the time to implement and justify internment, it is not surprising that few spoke out for the constitutional rights of the Japanese. The only union to oppose evacuation was the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Even the supposedly revolutionary Communist Party not only failed to protest the concentration camps but actually supported the internment of Japanese Americans. As one CP member noted in 1972, "Immediately after Pearl Harbor, the *People's World* [the West Coast daily newspaper reflecting the views of the CP] dismissed its Nisei [U.S.-born Japanese] woman office worker and the Party suspended all Nisei from membership saying that 'the Party was the best place for any Japanese fifth columnist to hide and we don't want to take any chances.'"

This support for internment was an integral part of the CP's policy of subordinating all struggles to the U.S. war effort in compliance with Joseph Stalin's wartime alliance with U.S. imperialism.

In sharp contrast the Socialist Workers Party attacked President Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 as "an indiscriminate and brutal witch-hunt . . . having

the character of a racial pogrom." It criticized the evacuation as a violation of the rights of Japanese Americans — "a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desire of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy.'"

Only 72 hours to pack

With few allies to withstand the power of the U.S. government, the Japanese Americans obediently turned up at train or bus stations as they were instructed to by notices placed on telephone poles and in store windows. They suffered enormous financial losses during the hasty evacuation. Most were given only 72 hours to pack and dispose of their property, including farms, fishing boats, houses, and cars. They could take only what they could carry in two bags per person.

The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco conservatively estimated in 1942 that the total loss to evacuees, not including lost interest, wages, income, and appreciation, was \$400 million.

The U.S. concentration camps were not like Auschwitz or Buchenwald; there were no gas ovens, firing squads, or torture chambers. They were essentially prison camps, each relatively isolated on land where no one else chose to live — the desert or swamps. Guarded by armed military police and surrounded by barbed wire, the inmates maintained the upkeep of the camps under the supervision of white personnel.

Most of the evacuees were resigned to their fate, but resistance, both active and passive, did occur — more frequently and significantly than is generally known. Daniels writes that protest rallies, demonstrations, work stoppages, and even general strikes of evacuees took place at all 10 camps around the issues of living conditions — especially food and housing — the availability of employment, wages, and working conditions.

The author effectively summarizes two of the most important controversies in the camps — the loyalty oath all evacuees were asked to sign and the draft resistance at Heart Mountain, Wyoming, which resulted in the largest mass trial of draft resisters in U.S. history. Sixty-three were found guilty and sentenced to three years in jail.

Altogether 33,000 Japanese Americans served in the U.S. Army in segregated units under white officers during World War II. The most famous formation, the 442nd

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Combat Team, was the most decorated unit in the U.S. Army during World War II.

In the racist tradition of the U.S. military, however, the 442nd was consistently used as the first wave of assault troops whose bodies paved the way for the white troops following them into battle. They suffered 9,486 casualties, 314 percent of the unit's original strength.

The U.S. armed forces were able to use the 442nd as shock troops by exploiting the Japanese Americans' desire to prove their loyalty. Washington felt confident that there would be no protest from troops who believed that only their blood could win freedom for the Japanese still interned at home.

By the summer of 1943, in response to the critical labor shortage caused by the war, the War Relocation Authority, which administered the camps, began a program encouraging permanent relocation outside the camps. Most evacuees returned to the West Coast several years after World War II, in spite of a campaign of intimidation waged in 1945-6 in Oregon and California by growers in the produce and floral industries, as well as officials of AFL unions like the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, aimed at keeping them away.

In 1948 the government began to adjudicate claims for losses due to evacuation. The payments were stingy — an average of 10 cents per dollar at 1941 values, not including inflation. The average award per claim in one year was \$40 while it cost the government \$1,500 simply to process a single claim. The final claim was processed in 1965.

Demands for redress and reparation

The redress movement — the term used by Japanese Americans to describe their struggle for official recognition that a grievous wrong was done to them — originated in the early 1970s under the impact of the victorious civil rights movement and growing support for the anti-Vietnam War movement.

At first it was raised by only a few activists but soon it gained the support of virtually the entire Japanese American community. In 1978, the community's major organization, the Japanese American Citizens League, passed a resolution calling for an apology by the government and a cash payment. Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1988, which officially apologized to Japanese Americans and provided reparations of \$20,000 to each of the 56,000 survivors of the concentration camps. A few days later President Ronald Reagan signed the bill into law.

One of the few weaknesses in Daniels's book is that he focuses only on the legislative and judicial processes that resulted in redress and reparations. He thereby neglects the movement of groups and individuals that organized speakers to reach out to many organizations, like churches and veterans groups; petitions and resolutions by city councils; letter-writing campaigns to legislators and the president; and intensive lobbying efforts. Redress was won by Japanese Americans and their supporters, not simply granted because of a change of heart by legislators.

Were centers 'concentration camps'?

A review that appeared in the *New York Times* attacked Daniels for daring to use the term "concentration camp" when referring to the internment centers.

Herbert Mitgang, the reviewer, says it is not accurate to equate the U.S. relocation centers — which "resembled American communities" with schools, libraries, hospitals, newspapers and churches — to Nazi "murder factories," which killed 6 million Jews.

Mitgang misses the point. The Nazis did not invent concentration camps. All forms of capitalist rule, from bourgeois democracies to military dictatorships to fascist regimes, have resorted to concentration camps when they felt the need. And more often than not, they have felt the need during wartime.

The term "concentration camp" actually



Evacuees waiting in San Francisco, with their luggage, for buses to take them to an Assembly Center from which they were shipped to internment centers. They were not permitted to take anything along they could not carry by hand.

originated during the Spanish attempts to suppress the movement for Cuban independence in the 1890s. The whole population of a district was herded into camps as part of a policy of forcible pacification. Many died of starvation, disease, and exposure.

Just a few years later, the British government used the term to describe the detention centers it set up in South Africa during the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Approximately 20,000 Afrikaner civilians and more than 12,000 Africans died in these camps.

The British also set up concentration camps during World War I — for German prisoners of war and temporarily for Russian revolutionaries — in Nova Scotia. The Weimar Republic of Germany set up six state concentration camps to hold thousands in "protective custody."

The fascists under Francisco Franco in Spain incarcerated more than 1,600 people in the Canary Islands from 1936-37 both in prison and in the Gando concentration camp.

When Franco's forces won the Spanish Civil War in 1939, more than 450,000 anti-fascist fighters fled to France. Paris put the 270,000 considered "military personnel" into 16 French concentration camps. They were held in the camps until 1940 when the men were drafted into the French army or were permitted to volunteer for foreign legion units to fight Germany.

Some 8,000 of these veterans had the dubious distinction of being held in concentration camps of two capitalist powers. They were captured by the Nazis and held at Mauthausen concentration camp until the end of the war.

During World War II, virtually every imperialist government used concentration camps to hold without trial populations considered to be "politically unreliable." London had at least one concentration camp in Great Britain for politically "undesirable" Europeans who had fled the German fascists.

Paris incarcerated Austrian intellectuals, artists, and literary figures at the Camp des Milles in France. The unoccupied French government built the Montreuil-Bellay concentration camp to detain vagrants and gypsies ostensibly because they were spies.

Austria had two concentration camps for "social misfits" and gypsies in Weyer.

Tokyo built concentration camps in the Philippines for enemy civilians, as well as in other Asian nations it invaded.

The German government, of course, developed concentration camps the most methodically of all. They had concentration camps for persons who were not charged with any specific offense but were considered "politically incorrigible." They had punitive labor camps for those charged with specific offenses, including Russian civilians and soldiers. And they had extermination centers to eliminate the so-called "Jewish problem."

So the U.S. government was not alone or unprecedented in its use of concentration camps for an entire population. While the camps varied from country to country and

within each country in terms of starvation, brutality, and torture, the only ones used as extermination centers were run by the Nazi regime.

In short, concentration camps have been endemic in modern times. They have historically been used to hold "undesirables" — unwanted races, political dissidents, immigrant workers, prisoners of war.

After World War II, the term became synonymous with the Nazi extermination centers that executed millions of Jews, Russians, gypsies, trade unionists, political prisoners, and others. But even the majority of Nazi concentration camps were not death camps.

As Daniels points out, Roosevelt, senators, and nationally syndicated columnists publicly used the term "concentration camps" to describe the places where Japanese Americans were sent. Only after the massive publicity surrounding the liberation of Nazi death camp inmates did many shy away from this terminology.

So-called democratic governments have needed to resort to concentration camps particularly during wartime because they need to trample on democratic rights in order to conduct the war. The camps don't only punish their enemies and focus on scapegoats. By their very existence, they terrorize working people and deter them from even contemplating resistance.

During World War II, for instance, "liberal" president Roosevelt initiated an entire program curtailing civil rights and liberties in the United States. He imposed censorship on the media, suspended the right of habeas corpus, and arrested and imprisoned leaders of socialist organizations and trade unions who opposed the war.



Members of 442nd Regimental Combat team in France in November 1944. This segregated U.S. army unit, comprised of Japanese Americans under the command of white officers, often provided the first wave of assault troops, resulting in huge casualties.

To his credit, Daniels has a final chapter in his book titled "Could It Happen Again?"

Executive Order 9066, which authorized the camps, was repealed by President Gerald Ford in 1976. The Emergency Detention Act of 1950 that authorized keeping concentration camps in readiness for people who "probably will engage in acts of espionage or sabotage" was repealed in 1971.

But, "Japanese Americans were quick to point out that they had been shipped off to camps in 1942 even without such a law," Daniels says. There was no legislation on the books in 1942, but the president issued an executive order, Congress passed laws to enforce it, and the Supreme Court backed both as constitutional.

As Daniels also points out, the U.S. government has debated using concentration camps several times since World War II. Tule Lake, one of the Japanese American concentration camps, was even reactivated as a standby camp for political dissidents during the height of the Cold War in the 1950s.

The last three presidents have considered mass incarceration of nationalities with whom the U.S. government was in conflict — James Carter considered internment of Iranians in the United States during the overthrow of the Shah of Iran in 1979; Reagan detained Haitian refugees, many in the notorious Krome Avenue camp, after the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship; George Bush weighed the incarceration of Arab-Americans before and during the Gulf War of 1990-91.

Daniels concludes, "While most optimists would argue that, in America, concentration camps are a thing of the past... many Japanese Americans, the only group of citizens ever incarcerated simply because of their genes, would argue that what has happened before can surely happen again."

Given the historical use of concentration camps by imperialist governments, if the U.S. ruling class needs to establish concentration camps again in order to be able to wage war, it will not hesitate to try.

The only force capable of stopping them is the working class. That is why Daniels's book is an important introduction to this subject. By learning the lessons of our past, we will better be able to arm ourselves to fight and take on the new challenges posed in the coming period by depression, wars, and revolution.

Patti Iiyama's parents were interned at Topaz, Utah, concentration camp. She is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 4-227 in Houston, Texas.

Cuban government reorganizes state farms

Continued from Page 7

ing wages down to 7 pesos a day. Bonuses are distributed on the same basis. The assembly can also expel a member if he or she does not observe norms of work or other rules set by the collective.

The UBPC members who belonged to the CTC as state farm agricultural workers remain members of the union.

CTC leaders have hailed this reorganization of the agricultural workforce as a move toward greater control by members of the new cooperatives over the organization of labor and husbandry of resources.

Salvador Valdés, general secretary of the National Trade Union of Agricultural and Forestry Workers, said in an interview in *Trabajadores* that the full-time union staffers on the state farms will become part of the workforce of the UBPCs.

We were also told that there was real opposition from within the government ministries running the state farms to the establishment of the UBPCs. Within the bloated administrative apparatus there is fear that the relatively better paying, non-productive management jobs will be eliminated, if the UBPC reorganization is carried through to the end.

Where co-op members come from

The UBPC members, all of whom join the cooperative voluntarily, are largely made up of former agricultural workers from the state farms. Government officials hope, however, that these cooperatives will attract others. Many already have. Most members of the vanguard volunteer agricultural contingents are now joining the new cooperatives, we were told.

"In an area of 10,000 caballerías [1 caballería = 33 acres] around Cienfuegos the number of workers in sugarcane went from 5,000 in October to 8,500 in January," said Gonzalo Nuñez Cruz, a leader of the Union of Young Communists in the province who accompanied us during the trip to La Esperanza.

Maria de los Angeles Gonzáles Miranda, a 26-year-old former special education teacher, had joined La Esperanza three months earlier. Her wages increased to 198 pesos a month from 148 pesos she earned as a teacher, she said. But she was quick to point out that "the greatest difference is the possibility of producing our own food."

Cooperative members have cleared 123 acres of brush where freshly planted vegetables, potatoes, and other tubers were already growing. In addition to 9 horses, co-op members now have 70 lambs, 6 dairy cows, and a chicken farm, which supply food hard to find in the cities. Any surplus they may eventually generate, they said, can be traded with other cooperatives or sold to the state.

Current law prohibits sales to individuals. But given the scope of shortages and the extent of black market activities, few believe it will be possible to prevent it.

With the current changes in the countryside, "agricultural workers... will be given preference in terms of being able to make their families self-sufficient in food and having priority in housing construction," said Carlos Lage, secretary of the executive committee of the Council of Ministers. Lage said that in the coming period "70 percent of the housing program will be for agricultural communities, for farm, and sugar industry workers."

At La Esperanza and the nearby 12th of November UBPC, members are projecting building 10 houses in each co-op this year. "The state provides us with sand, cement, wood, and other materials at low prices," said Raúl Santana Ramos at the 12th of November cooperative.

Workers build houses through voluntary labor in the evenings and weekends. The assembly then decides how the houses will be allocated based on who has the greatest need. The homes are then sold to UBPC members for low prices — 1,800 pesos to be paid over 20 months. But if a member leaves the cooperative they also lose the house.

In the midst of the current economic crisis in Cuba, this represents the best opportunity for many to obtain housing.

Increased labor force in fields

At what is now La Esperanza, "the 43 caballerías [1,419 acres] of cane fields were in poor condition, maintained by only nine farmworkers," said Corcho. "In addition, no one worked well because they got paid the same whether they worked two hours or eight."

Corcho said there was a growing shortage



Militant/Argiris Malapanis
Volunteers harvesting cabbage near Güines, Havana province, January 1993. Massive mobilizations in agricultural work brigades have been cut back.

of permanent agricultural workers, which is being reversed through the UBPCs in the area. There are 43 workers at La Esperanza today, instead of 9. "Now we are improving the conditions of the fields," she said. Corcho and other cooperative members said they don't expect the reorganization will result in a qualitative increase in the harvest this year. They hope results will show in 1995.

The UBPC also pay the costs of any extra labor they contract. This has resulted in a reduction in demand for labor through short-term mobilizations, as cooperatives seek to lower costs.

Several UBPC members we interviewed told us they didn't want or need voluntary mobilizations of workers or students from the cities because of the extra costs involved, and the fact that most of the volunteers were unskilled.

Trabajadores reported that in Havana province about 6,000 less people were mobilized to bring in the harvest this January as compared to the same period in 1993.

Decline of voluntary brigades

The 15-day volunteer agricultural brigades were expanded in 1991 and 1992 to reverse growing food shortages. The organization of these massive mobilizations initially carried through the momentum of rectification. Hundreds of thousands of students, workers, and professionals joined these brigades to help with planting, harvesting, or other tasks.

At the first stage of this process, many volunteers had reported that work brigades resulted in rising vegetable and fruit production and a resulting increase in their self-confidence to solve the food problem.

Several people we interviewed, however, said that over time the massive voluntary labor mobilizations became largely another administrative means to try to fulfill bureaucratically conceived plans on state farms —

not a lever to help transform consciousness, leadership, and organization of labor along a democratic and proletarian course.

"Before, the state-farm managers used large numbers of people who came as volunteers to make up for the decreasing efficiency of the state farms," said Sergio Lamote, Communist Party secretary at the Guillermo Moncada state Agro-Industrial Complex.

The lack of serious leadership attention on the part of many administrators on state farms, Lamote added, resulted in disorganization and waste, demoralizing many volunteers.

Several UBPC members and others who had participated in the agricultural mobilizations made similar points.

In the area near the town of Güines 50 miles southeast of Havana, for example, volunteers would sit in the fields with nothing to do, sometimes for the entire day, after having cut the cabbage or other crops. Lack of political leadership resulted in disorganization. The trucks to pick up the cabbage simply didn't show up, often not because of lack of fuel or mechanical breakdowns. The produce rotted in the fields and many hours of labor were wasted unnecessarily, demoralizing volunteers.

Castro, however, praised the accomplishments of contingent members in his November 7 speech. "The contingents and the groups mobilized for 15-day periods have done a tremendous job in agriculture, a tremendous job!" he said.

"The food program has been an admirable effort. More than a million Havana residents have worked for short periods in agricultural camps in the two and a half years," he said. "It is appropriate to explain this because some people were asking whether the contingents had been successful in agriculture."

Debate over the role of the voluntary brigades and contingents remains a vital question that kept being raised in many interviews. Like Castro explained in his 1987

speech on the 20th anniversary of the assassination of Ernesto Che Guevara, one of the central leaders of the Cuban revolution, many technocrats were always opposed to these massive volunteer mobilizations. "The bureaucrat's view, the technocrat's view," said Castro, was "that voluntary work was neither basic nor essential... The idea was that voluntary work was kind of silly, a waste of time."

Many economists and administrators today think that the voluntary work brigades, whether in construction, agriculture, or elsewhere, were always a deviation.

But others we talked to stressed the opposite, like Castro did in his November 7 speech.

"Now many thousands of contingent members, the overwhelming majority, are voluntarily and enthusiastically joining the Basic Units of Cooperative Production," Castro said.

All of these views are part of the real debate in Cuba today over the communist road and how to move the revolution forward.

Clashing perspectives

Jorge Domínguez, a Cuban-American who teaches at Harvard University and is opposed to the revolution, told the *Miami Herald* he hopes the formation of the UBPCs is "the first step toward privatization of state agriculture." This view is shared by more than a few in Cuba as well.

Domínguez pointed to the fact that the land remains nationalized, however, as a serious obstacle to realizing his perspective. "If you can't own the land, if you can't subdivide it, if you must sell to the state, the changes are not going to be really radical," he told the *Washington Post*.

UBPC members we interviewed had a different view. Asked whether the fact that the cooperative members now owned what they produced changed how they thought of themselves, even the newly elected manager of La Esperanza, Gualberto Hernández, responded emphatically, "We're workers not owners."

"Nothing has changed," added Urbano Ferrer Sarmiento, a combine operator, as he returned from work in the cane fields.

Jesús Sacerio Vidal, on the other hand, an administrator in the Guillermo Moncada state complex, pointed to this attitude as a problem. "The fact that they still refer to themselves as workers and speak of earning wages is an indication of the challenge we have before us," he said.

Most workers at La Esperanza and 12th of November UBPC viewed this reorganization as a chance to gain democratic control over decisions about how to organize their labor in order to increase productivity and cut waste.

"Now workers have much more control of production," said Ernesto Rodríguez, a member of La Esperanza. "The cooperatives are resulting in a reduction of administrative personnel."

Cuban youth tours Washington, D.C.

BY BRAD DOWNS
AND AARON RUBY

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Cuban youth leader Pável Díaz Hernández addressed some 200 people during his tour here March 24-25. Díaz spoke at Howard University, American University, and the University of Maryland in Baltimore County.

About 100 people, mostly students, attended the meeting at American University. The audience included some 35 Cuban-American opponents of the revolution.

A number of right-wing Cuban-Americans had disrupted two previous gatherings on campus, when lecturers from Cuba spoke at the invitation of college groups, preventing a civil discussion period. Threats to carry out similar disruptions were made prior to Díaz's engagement.

For this event, however, student organizations and several academic departments were determined to have an open and democratic exchange of views.

The strong support for the meeting by the many sponsoring organizations and the fact that the majority of the audience was bent on having a serious discussion obliged the

right-wingers to restrain themselves.

"How is it possible that with so much pressure in 1994 the Cuban revolution hasn't fallen?" Díaz said, giving the audience a brief update of the critical stage facing the socialist revolution. Referring to statements that it is Cuban president Fidel Castro who is the problem in Cuba, Díaz emphasized that one person cannot make a revolution or defend it single-handedly during such difficult times. "This is the work of the Cuban people," he said of the country's determination to defend the fundamental conquest of the revolution.

The young communist ended his presentation by appealing to "Cuban exiles who are part of the Cuban nation" to attend a three-day conference at the end of April in Cuba. The conference, called "The Nation and its Exiles," will be the first time since 1978 that a dialogue has been established between the Cuban government and the more than one million Cubans living abroad.

The first person recognized by the chair during the discussion period was a right-wing Cuban who thanked Díaz for his over-

ture to the Cuban-American community.

A man from the Caribbean nation of Dominica praised Cuba's achievements in the areas of education and medicine and explained that the first person to attend medical school from his island, after 300 years of British colonialism, studied in Cuba.

"Only one man separates" Cuban emigres from those in Cuba, said a participant who left Cuba in the early 1960s. He said he was persecuted in Cuba for practicing his Roman Catholic faith.

"Mistakes were made concerning religion in the early years of the revolution, but now there is complete religious freedom in Cuba," Díaz responded. He rejected the assertion that the Cuban government is primarily responsible for the breaking of relations between Cuba and the United States.

"We're not responsible for the wall put up between us. The U.S. administration is responsible. It's not realistic to think that Cuba's problems can be solved from Miami or Washington, D.C. It is the 11 million Cubans in Cuba who have to solve our problems," he said.

Three hundred attend socialist educational conference in Chicago

BY RAY PARSONS
AND ROBIN KISSINGER

CHICAGO — The Socialist Educational Conference held here April 1-3 attracted nearly 300 participants. The event, sponsored by the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee (SYOC), took on an international character with youth and workers hailing from Maine to California, Canada, Cuba, Britain, and South Africa.

The gathering was multigenerational as well. Participants ranged in age from 15 to 82. Many were trade union activists, including two locked-out workers from the A.E. Staley company in Decatur, Illinois.

More than a third of those participating were age 28 or under; 72 identified themselves as young socialists at the start; 73 in attendance were at their first socialist conference.

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *New Internationalist*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, presented the first talk titled, "Cuba confronts a crossroads in the fight for socialism."

Ruth Roitan, a 24-year-old activist from Minneapolis, came to the conference because she didn't want to lose the political momentum she had gained participating in the U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan last month. She noted that Waters's talk captured everything she had seen in Cuba. "She didn't try to hide the economic disparities or rationalize them," Roitan said. "She acknowledged what I saw and posed, 'What are we going to do now?'"

Roitan was one of several caravan participants who attended the conference.

Mangezi Nkomo, a South African anti-apartheid fighter now politically active at the University of Pittsburgh, said his experience underlines "the need to demystify world politics. Capitalist oppression was created by human beings and can be destroyed by human beings," he said.

Brock Satter, of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee, presented an eyewitness report from South Africa. Satter was part of a delegation of young socialists who attended the African National Congress Youth League conference in January. During the discussion period, he answered questions about the state of emergency in Natal province. Satter and other participants stressed that this move was at the initiative of democratic forces. It is aimed at forcing the apartheid regime to control the violent forces of its own creation, ensuring that those who live in Natal and the KwaZulu Bantustan are able to participate in the elections.

A message from Mark Curtis was read and warmly received by the conference. Curtis is a trade unionist and political activist from Des Moines, Iowa, who was convicted on frame-

up charges of rape and burglary. A message of support was sent to Curtis. Many at the conference received further information on efforts to win Curtis's release.

Debate on women's rights fight

Many conference participants have been involved in the struggle for women's rights. This was reflected in the lively discussion and debate that followed "A working class perspective on the fight for women's liberation," presented by Naomi Craine, a *Militant* staff writer and member of SYOC.

Some participants said they disagreed with articles that appeared in the *Militant* that were critical of a sexual conduct code at Antioch College. The policy, which requires verbal consent for each and every sexual act, is put forward by some as a way to combat rape. "Even if it's not socialist, doesn't the code help" the fight for women's liberation asked one young man.

Craine and others argued that such attempts at social engineering do nothing to stop violence against women and give a handle to the right wing to attack women's rights. "It's fighting side by side in a social movement that changes how men and women look at each other," one participant said. The discussion went on informally throughout the rest of the conference.

A high school student from Cleveland said that "frustration at the fact that my school doesn't address international politics and things that affect us" motivated her to come to the conference.

A student from Long Beach, California, said that political discussion with young socialists in Los Angeles prompted him and 11 others to raise \$4,000 to attend the conference.

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, presented a talk titled "World capitalist politics in the '90s: what workers and youth really face." Barnes stressed the need for socialists to reach out to young workers being hired by the thou-



Militant/Jon Hillson

Participants in April 1-3 socialist conference listen to eyewitness report from S. Africa

sands in major industries. Many of the young activists were inspired by the idea that the struggles of young people and workers against the employers should, can, and will converge in politics today.

Susan Smythe, a young member of the Communist League from Sheffield, England, said, "While the talk focused on the grim realities of capitalism, it convinced me that workers and youth will have their chance before fascists do."

Pável Díaz Hernández, a member of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) in Cuba on tour around the United States, attended the conference, participated in the discussion after the various presentations, and addressed the gathering on Sunday. His presence added to the internationalist spirit of the conference. Díaz said he was impressed with "how deeply and scientifically the conference studied the Cuban revolution." He added that he had gained a greater understanding of the class struggle in the United States. The conference sent greetings to the UJC in Cuba.

Two members of Allied Industrial Workers Local 837 staffed a table at the conference to win support for their fight against the A.E. Staley company. The corn processing giant has locked out 800 unionists since June 1993. Frank Travis, a self-avowed "road warrior," talked about his experiences

speaking to workers and youth all over the country. He invited conference participants to come to an April 9 solidarity rally in Decatur, and announced that a picket line tour had been arranged for Díaz.

The final presentation on Sunday linked the struggles of today with those of World War II. Tom Leonard, a longtime union activist and socialist, spoke on the experience of socialists in the maritime unions during and after the war. The political scene was marked by the influx of 100,000 young seamen who "didn't know what they couldn't do," he said. Hundreds of sailors joined the Socialist Workers Party in those years, Leonard noted. But keeping them in the socialist movement was difficult, in part because books on Marxism were just not available. "You have no idea what it means to have that," Leonard said, pointing to the large display of Pathfinder literature on sale at the conference.

Those attending the conference bought more than \$1,000 worth of Pathfinder literature, including 30 copies of *New Internationalist* no. 9 titled "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution."

Ray Parsons is a member of United Transportation Union Local 620 in Chicago. Robin Kissinger is a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.

Communist youth host festival in Cuba

BY GREG ROSENBERG

HAVANA — Hundreds of thousands of young people participated in the Cuban youth festival held across the island April 1-4. Cuba's Union of Young Communists (UJC) sponsored the event to mark the 32nd anniversary of the founding of the UJC and the 33rd anniversary of the Pioneers children's organization.

Students and working people turned out for cultural, sports, and recreational events in

Cuba's 14 provinces and the Isle of Youth. On April 2 thousands participated in a day of voluntary labor in the harvest of sugarcane and other agricultural products, and construction related to developing tourist facilities.

"The message of this event," said UJC leader José Antonio Concepción Rangel, "is that here the youth have their own life. Young people are defending the social project of the revolution. We are ready to defend our dignity, independence, and the revolution itself from all forms of aggression," he said. "Youth are ready to work in order to get out of the situation that we are in."

The Cuban economy is under extreme economic duress. The festival provided a chance to relax and the opportunity to contribute to badly needed food production.

In Havana, about 10,000 people attended an outdoor concert given by the popular Cuban singer Pablo Milanés. More than 50,000 jammed the Latin American stadium to cheer for either Thunder or Lightning, whichever was their favorite team in an all-star baseball game. Leaders of the UJC went south into Havana province to pick potatoes for a day. The Pioneers organization hosted a fair for children.

At the ExpoCuba exhibition center, the youth technical brigades displayed many of the inventions they have created to confront the fact that Cuba cannot obtain spare parts for machinery and medicines as a result of the U.S.-imposed embargo and the lack of hard currency.

International guests attending the festival spent a morning of voluntary work with the 5th Brigade of the Blas Roca contingent, which is working to complete a hotel by early December to bring in more hard currency.

The guests included Andile Yawa, president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY), from the African National Congress Youth League; delegations from the

Mexican Cuba solidarity organization ¡Va por Cuba!; October 8 Revolutionary Youth of Brazil; the Association of Kunas University Students of Panama; the Italian Party of Communist Refoundation; young socialists from Canada; young socialists from the United States; the Popular Socialist Youth of Mexico; and Party of the Cardenista Front for National Reconstruction of Mexico.

National assembly to meet

On May 1, Cuba's National Assembly will convene in Havana to discuss the results of the tens of thousands of workers parliaments that were held between January and March. At these meetings, workers discussed economic measures being proposed and implemented to cope with the economic crisis, and put forward their ideas on how to improve production in their factories, cut down on theft, and meet other social and economic challenges.

The National Assembly will take up the results of the measures already implemented and discuss proposals for new ones.

On May Day, traditionally a time for mass demonstrations, there will be no large march or rally in Havana. "The economic conditions are extremely critical," said a front page article in the April 4 *Trabajadores*. This situation "requires the concentration of all the resources of the country on all the fundamental tasks." Instead there is a call for a national day of voluntary work.

Following the youth festival, member organizations of WFDY from Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, and the United States held a consultation in Havana. Yawa announced plans for a world youth gathering in South Africa tentatively scheduled for August 1995. The gathering was called by the ANC Youth League, which plans to reach out to various international youth and student federations and build the event throughout the world.

Dozens join socialist youth group

Continued from front page

ference showed the real possibilities to build a nationwide organization of students and young workers who want to build the communist movement. Members of newly formed socialist youth groups in Chicago, Cleveland, Miami, Pittsburgh, and Salt Lake City, Utah, came to the conference and youth meeting, in addition to members of the groups in Minneapolis and New York.

Many other young people who had already started working together on different political activities came from Boston; Detroit; Los Angeles; Northfield, Minnesota; Richmond, Indiana; and elsewhere. The discussion reflected the work they had been involved in — defending immigrant rights in California, organizing campus meetings for Cuban youth leader Pável Díaz Hernández, and building the educational conference through regional teams in the Midwest.

The meeting also included young socialists from Britain and Canada, several students from South Africa, a student from Germany, and Díaz from Cuba. The large majority of the more than 100 young people at the conference signed up to be part of the now greatly enlarged Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.

The young socialists shared their experiences and laid out a number of projections for political activity in the coming months — building events to support and celebrate the first nonracial elections in South Africa, organizing a youth brigade to Cuba, supporting labor struggles, joining in immigrant rights demonstrations, and participating in abortion clinic defense actions.

They decided to come together again in August during the Socialist Workers Party national convention in Oberlin, Ohio, to take the next steps in forging a national organization.

To carry out these projections, SYOC members selected coordinators for each city where there is at least one member — 24 in all. These coordinators elected a six-person steering committee to organize the work nationally.

Those interested in joining the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee, getting more information, or contributing financially can write to Box 113, 561 Hudson St., New York, NY 10014.

Robin Kissinger and Naomi Craine are members of the steering committee of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.

S. Africa

Continued from front page
and the ANC was broken up by armed men. The five ANC participants were separated out and assassinated.

Some 3,000 people, many of them youth league members from the ANC and Inkatha, joined together April 1 in a peace march in Durban, the commercial center of Natal province.

'We won't postpone our freedom'

A report issued April 5 by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the South African and KwaZulu governments concluded that "in the current political climate, elections cannot be held in KwaZulu." However, IEC chairman Johan Kriegler made clear that this did not mean postponing the voting date in Natal. It's the political climate, not the election date, that needs changing, he pointed out.

Addressing ANC Youth League members in Durban the following day, Mandela stated, "There will be no postponement of the elections in this province. We won't postpone our freedom."

More than 20,000 Inkatha supporters armed with spears and machetes marched through the streets of Empangeni April 5 to support the demand of King Goodwill Zwelithini — a traditional leader of Zulus — for a sovereign state in the KwaZulu Bantustan. The action defied the emergency decree that prohibits the carrying of weapons.

A summit meeting with the stated aim of defusing tensions is scheduled for April 8. De Klerk, Mandela, Buthelezi, and Zwelithini have all agreed to attend.

In one of the most violent incidents since the emergency regulations were imposed, nine members of the Mzelemu family were massacred April 2 in their village huts outside Port Shepstone in southern Natal. Men claiming to be policemen forced their way inside and demanded to see Inkatha membership cards. All nine were hacked or stabbed to death; the youngest was just five months old.

Ndukuzeni Mzelemu, the sole survivor of the attack, said the men who massacred his family were Inkatha members. "My heart is very sore," he said, "but I am still going to vote ANC." More than 110 people have been killed in Natal in the week since emergency laws took effect.

Hospital workers strike in KwaZulu

In other developments in Natal, workers at the Edendale Hospital, which is under jurisdiction of the KwaZulu government, struck March 29. Edendale is a Black township outside of Pietermaritzburg.

The workers are demanding increased pay, job security, protection of their pensions, and TEC scrutiny of benefits owed to them. The 2,000-bed hospital has been closed and patients evacuated. An ANC flag has been hoisted at the hospital. Strikers carry posters saying, "What happened to the Freedom Alliance?" and "Buthelezi and his gang must go!" The Freedom Alliance was a right-wing bloc that included Inkatha and pro-apartheid white separatist groups.

Two weeks earlier administrators at this hospital went on strike demanding salary increases and payment of service bonuses.

More than 5,000 KwaZulu government employees marched in Ulundi March 31 to demand payment of pensions prior to the elections. Some of the workers fear they might lose benefits under an ANC government.

A day earlier, several hundred KwaZulu public workers, demonstrating in Durban in response to a call for mass action by the ANC, demanded the South African government and the TEC take immediate control of this Bantustan.

Finally, the commander of a KwaZulu police unit, Phillip Powell, has publicly admitted that a 5,000-strong brigade is being trained in the use of automatic weapons and ambush vehicles in preparation for military action against a future ANC government.

Labor news in the 'Militant'

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

IOWA

Des Moines

The Stock Market Crisis and Clinton's Offensive Against Working People — How to Fight Back. Speaker: Norton Sandler, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member, International Association of Machinists Local 264. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

North Korea: What's Behind U.S. Military Threats? Speaker: Gary Cohen, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass Ave.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Grand Opening. Celebrate the Gains of the Freedom Struggle in South Africa and the Publication of Nelson Mandela Speaks. Sun., April 24. Open House: 2 p.m.; International Buffet: 4 p.m.; Program and video of Nelson Mandela: 5 p.m. 59 Fourth Ave. (Corner of Bergen, near Atlantic and Pacific Subway stops). Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish and French. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Politics in Mexico Today: From Chiapas to the Elections. Speaker: Gerardo Sánchez Corona, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lt. Governor of Pennsylvania, member, United Food and Commercial Workers Local 23. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 23, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South St. Donation: \$5. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

Pittsburgh

Elections in South Africa: ANC Leads Fight for Democratic, Nonracial, Nonsexist Republic. Speakers: Dennis Brutus, South African poet, longtime anti-apartheid activist; Thomas Mathoma, African National Congress; Edwin Fruit, Socialist Workers Party member, International Association of Machinists Lodge 1976. Sun., April 17, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

The Nuclear War at Home. Speakers: Steve Erickson, The Downwinders; Dave Salner, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 16, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Barbara Greenway, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Sat., April 23, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

D.C. Statehood, the City's "Budget Crisis," and Government Assault on Social Programs: A Panel Discussion. Speakers: Greg McCartan, Socialist Workers Party, others to be announced. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 1802 Belmont Rd., N.W. (at 18th St., N.W.) Tel: (202) 387-2185.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Unfolding Revolution in South Africa. Speakers: Steve Dixon, CFMEU organizer, who recently returned from a union delegation to South Africa; David Adams, Communist League. Sat., April 16, 6 p.m. Surry Hills Neighbourhood Centre, corner of Norton and Collins Streets. Donation \$3. Tel: (02) 281 3297.

CALENDAR

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Socialist Educational Weekend. Sat., April 16: Reception and Dinner, 6 p.m.; Program, 7 p.m. Where Racism and Anti-Semitism Come From: How to Advance the Fight for Black Rights. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party and member, International Association of Machinists Local 1726, Boston, Massachusetts.

Sun., April 17, 10 a.m. The Origins of Women's Oppression and the Fight for Equality Today. Speaker: Francis Farley, SWP candidate for governor of Alabama, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 2122; 12:30 p.m. Youth Gathering—to discuss the opportunities to build a nationwide socialist youth organization. 172 Trinity Ave. SW. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

South Africa Today. A Four-part Class Series. Saturdays at 4 p.m. April 16: The Democratic Revolution. April 23: The Role of the Working Class and Peasantry. April 30: The Leadership

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

"Family Values," Women's Rights, and the Working Class. Speaker: Brigid Roth-erham, Communist League. Sat., April 16, 6:30 p.m. Friends Meeting House Library, 7 Moncrieff St. (off Elizabeth St., opp. Clyde Quay School), Mt. Victoria. Tel: (9) 569-3723.

Role of the ANC. May 7: The South African Revolution and World Politics. Pathfinder Bookstore, 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene Street. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Socialist Educational Weekend. Sat., April 16, 1:30 p.m. The Fight Against Racism: The South African Example; 4 p.m. Women's Liberation and the Socialist Revolution; 7:30 p.m. Building a Movement of Socialist Youth.

Sun., April 17, 11:30 a.m. The Cuban Revolution and The Fight for Socialism. 199 High St. Tel: (3) 656-055.

Wellington

Cuba — Surviving in the Shadow of the Eagle. Speaker: Marcelino Fajardo, Cuban consul-general in Australia. Thurs., April 14, 7:30 p.m. Wellington YWCA, Vivian Street (by corner with Tory Street).

NEW YORK CITY

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Check behind the posters — The Detroit office of the FBI marked Black History Month with a special display including pictures



Harry Ring

of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and other rights fighters. One civil rights activist suggested they include a display of the electronic surveillance equipment used against Black leaders.

The fat and the thin — New

York Times Bombay correspondent John Burns has a literary near-orgasm describing how foreign investments have spurred the "unbound power" of India's economy. He writes with gusto about the slugs that erupt among the 5,000 traders fighting for space on the stock exchange floor, and how trading spills over into the streets where, "Stick-thin men trundle up with handcarts piled high with stock application forms."

Jail break — Pumpkin, a California sea lion, escaped from navy trainers during a practice run clearing dummy mines. After a week's search by sea and air, he was spotted and captured, but wrestled his way free again. A navy spokesman said,

"The fact is he's out there on his own and may want to stay out there."

Juice squeezers — In 1991, Coca-Cola paid then-chairman Roberto Goizueta \$86 million in salary and stock bonuses, pointing to the company's escalating profits. Now Coke subsidiary Minute Maid has broken its contract with the United Farm Workers through a rigged sale of its Florida orange groves to a newly created company. The UFW estimates that it takes a farm worker six years to make what Goizueta did in an hour.

Making the criminal the victim? — A Cleveland jury awarded \$200,000 to a cop who claimed he was denied a promotion because he was white and because during his

years of duty he had shot nine people, all nonwhite, two of them fatally.

One standard they do meet — "Some level of overcrowding, I think, is acceptable. Prison is not supposed to be a nice place." — Iowa state senator Michael Gronstal arguing against expanding the state prison system to relieve overcrowding.

Chutzpah, Inc. — Phillip Morris had tried to buy the main Los Angeles library and rent it back, with appropriate tax credits. But the deal stank so bad the city council rejected it. Now the coffin-nail company is demanding the city pay \$221,000 in legal expenses it says it incurred on the failed proposition.

That includes \$400 an hour for one company lawyer who, according to his swindle sheet, put in as much as 17 hours a day.

The art of diplomacy — Charging on-the-job discrimination, women employees of the State Dept. have a class-action suit pending. Their lawyer is reported as saying that resolution of a key issue — discrimination in promotions — is "within sight." The suit was initiated 18 years ago.

Waste not, want not — Last year's jump in profits didn't deter corporations from increasing charitable contributions by less than 1 percent. In 1994, zero increase is expected.

London rejects pardon for executed WW I troops

BY JOHN SHRAPNELL AND PETER ROSNER

LONDON — "It is for my late grandmother and my mother that I am seeking to clear my grandfather's name. Also for the families of the other executed men who have had to live with the shame. The majority of these soldiers were suffering from shell shock and should never have been executed," said Janet Booth, whose grandfather, Harry Farr, was executed for desertion in World War I.

Booth was speaking on the television program *Comment* last November. She and other relatives of those executed have been stepping up their campaign for posthumous pardons, in the light of secret files that have been made public after 75 years. More than 300 cases have come to light so far of soldiers in the British army who were executed for cowardice, desertion, mutiny, and similar charges.

In October, Labour member of Parliament Andrew McKinnley proposed a bill requesting pardon for all those executed. Prime Minister John Major objected. "We have reached the conclusion that we cannot rewrite history by substituting our latter-day judgment for that of our contemporaries, whatever we may think," he said.

Farr's widow, like many of the other relatives of the men executed, received no war widow's pension and was left destitute with a young daughter.

An imperialist war for profits

Hundreds of thousands of working people died during World War I in a fight between the rulers of the major capitalist powers for markets, raw materials, and territory throughout the world. The British rulers recruited working people from Ireland, Canada, Australia, and other colonies to fight in the British armed forces. Many of these soldiers are among the ranks of those executed.

Initial popular support for the war soon evaporated. In battle after battle, officers ordered the soldiers out of the trenches, to advance in their tens of thousands, only to be gunned down by machine gun and mortar and shell fire that included phosgene poison gas.

The generals on both sides saw their own men as cannon fodder and aimed to slaughter the opposing army's men until none were left. "They used men's lives like confetti at a wedding," Alf Razell, now 96, told the *London Guardian*.

In just one day, in a battle at the Somme on July 1, 1916, for example, 60,000 British soldiers suffered casualties — 20,000 were killed. By the end of that battle in September there were 650,000 casualties among the British and French troops, and 450,000 among the German. Razell recounts that at the Battle of Ovillers only 64 out of 800 men came back unscathed. Casualties were so great that in 1916 sailors from the navy were shifted to the battlefield in special naval infantry battalions, to replace soldiers that had been slaughtered.

In order to force working people to fight this war, the military brass relied on the threat of executions for those that refused to go to combat. "[The troops] were beginning to feel that you only had to walk off during a battle and come back afterwards and you escaped any penalty of death or mutilation," one general said. The number of executions were greatest in 1916 and 1917 when battles

involving the highest number of casualties took place.

Judge Anthony Babbington is the only person to have been granted access to all the court-martial trial documents. He points out that the trials were grossly unfair. They typically lasted for only 20-30 minutes, with brief testimony from three or four prosecution witnesses. There was no proper legal representation for the accused. Usually his platoon or company commander defended him — or else he defended himself. "In many cases the defenses weren't put across properly," Babbington says. "I can recall a man who deserted who said, 'I was blown up by a shell and reported that to a casualty station.' The court should have immediately said, 'Right, we're going to adjourn and find out.' ... I've never come across such a case in all 346 cases where the court adjourned."

Farr was a regular soldier for several years and in 1914 was sent with the British Expeditionary Force to fight in Flanders. In 1915 he was hospitalized suffering from shell shock.

In September 1916 at the Somme, Farr said he could not fight, and for this he was sent before a court-martial tribunal where he defended himself. In his submission he describes that on his return from the front, he reported to the sergeant major, saying he was sick. "I couldn't stand it," he said. The sergeant major called him a coward and ordered two men to drag him back to the front. He struggled and as a result the sergeant major grabbed his rifle and threatened to kill him.

Julian Putkovsky, who has spent 10 years researching the cases of the executed, says that there is no record in the file of a proper medical examination of Farr.

"The charge of cowardice appears to be clearly proved and the sergeant major's opinion of the man is definitely bad to say the least of it," Farr's report reads. "The general officer commanding the sixth division informed me that the men knew the man is no good. I therefore recommend that the sentence be carried out."

A similar contempt by the army top brass for working people in uniform is shown in the case of H. McDonald, who also fought at the Somme and was thrown to the ground by an exploding shell. Two and a half months later he absconded from the front, was arrested, court-martialed, and executed. In his comments in McDonald's file, Major General Deveril, commander of the Third Division, stated, "From the evidence produced, the accused is evidently a worthless soldier with no heart for fighting." Another general states, "I don't think shellburst near a man should be admitted as an excuse for desertion."

The issue of posthumous pardon is not just about history.

The British capitalist class and its counterparts in Washington, Tokyo, Paris, and Bonn, want to retain their prerogative to send working people to their deaths once again. They want to prepare workers and farmers for today's and tomorrow's wars in a world increasingly wracked by economic crisis and competition between imperialist powers.

Just two months after refusing the posthumous pardons, for example, Major's government announced that 900 more British troops would be sent to Sarajevo and other parts of ex-Yugoslavia.



British troops at the Somme. London executed hundreds of soldiers during World War I.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
April 18, 1969 Price 10¢

April 5 was the greatest success scored in the history of the Chicago antiwar movement. More than 30,000 people marched, led by a contingent of 30 GIs from the Chicago area. Most of the demonstrators were young, including a large number of high school students.

More than 20,000 onlookers lined the route of the march, some of them joining in as the parade went by. The response of the onlookers was friendlier than ever before. More black people participated this time than at previous antiwar demonstrations, including many Easter shoppers.

On the Thursday before the march, 6,000 National Guardsmen were sent to Chicago to crush outbreaks in the black communities of the West and South sides. This triggered speculation that Mayor Daley would revoke the permit granted to the Peace Council for the march. However, due to the enormous support and publicity that the march had received, the city officials took no such action.

THE MILITANT

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

April 15, 1944

A drastic slash in bonus rates effective April 1 is the award handed down by the Mar-

itime War Emergency Board to seamen of the American Merchant Marine who risk their lives delivering war materials across submarine-infested waters and who have suffered "greater proportional casualties," according to the March 24 *Seafarers Log*, official organ of the Seafarers International Union, "than has either the Army or the Navy."

The Maritime War Emergency Board, set up by the Maritime Commission ostensibly to arbitrate disputes between the union and shipowners, on March 14 ordered bonus rates cut in some areas of the high seas from the former rate of 100 percent of base wages to 66 2/3 percent.

In face of the sky-rocketing cost of living, the income of seamen has thus been reduced, according to the *Seafarers Log*, "to figures below those granted the seamen prior to the active participation of the United States in the war."

The Maritime Commission, however, has treated in more generous style the shipowners whose nearest approach to dangerous war areas is a Wall Street office. On March 28, three days before the bonus slash went into effect, Senator Aiken placed in the *Congressional Record*, pages 3212 to 3224, a startling exposé of the profits which the Maritime Commission has poured into the pockets of the shipowners.

"An investigation," declared Senator Aiken, "would ... reveal that unconscionable profits have been made through the payment by the Commission for almost worthless vessels at 13 to 16 times their legal valuation. Investigation would further reveal that ships have been sunk at sea which were insured for as high as 64 times their legal valuation as determined by the Maritime Commission itself."

Solidarity with Teamsters strike

The national strike being waged by the Teamsters union against the country's major freight bosses is a fight in the interests of working people everywhere.

In deciding to walk out April 6, in their first national strike action in 15 years, tens of thousands of Teamsters are taking a stand against the same type of concession demands that bosses have been attempting to ram down the throats of working people in mines, mills, and factories throughout the country.

A striker in New York summed up the sentiment of many others quite well when he explained, "We've given concessions before, but we've had enough." At the center of this fight are moves by the employers to replace full-time workers with part-timers at lower pay and with no benefits.

In the first days of the strike, other unionists have organized some important acts of solidarity. At a hub in Burnsville, Minnesota, for example, members of the International Association of Machinists, representing inside mechanics, voted to honor the Teamsters picket line.

This show of union power is already beginning to have an effect. The day before the strike began, the big trucking outfit Carolina Freight Corp. gave in, saying they would

abide by whatever contract is ultimately signed. After just one day of strike action, 18 small members of Trucking Management Inc. signaled interest in signing "interim agreements" with the union.

The large and determined picket lines at many trucking centers throughout the country demonstrate anew that while the working class has suffered some serious blows over the past 15 years, they have not been decisively defeated by the bosses in battle.

The Teamsters strike takes place in the context of an upturn in the economy, forcing employers to hire new labor, including younger workers who aren't aware of what they can't do and who tend to be more rebellious. This sets the stage for more fights and other strike battles.

The labor movement should solidarize with the Teamsters fight and help get out the truth about this important strike battle. Workers, students, and others can join the Teamsters on their picket lines and invite the striking workers to speak to their unions and on high school and college campuses. Working people should take to heart the comments by a striker in Minnesota who said, "We need everybody's help, especially labor. This isn't just our strike. It's something bigger."

The rise of rightism in Italy

For the first time since World War II, a party openly identifying with fascism and tracing its continuity to Benito Mussolini is about to enter a coalition government of rightist parties in Italy. This is the most important fact in the outcome of the recent parliamentary elections in this Mediterranean country.

Gianfranco Fini's National Alliance tripled its number of seats in Parliament and emerged as the third-biggest political party. Combined with an even bigger chunk of votes for billionaire Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia and a strong showing by Umberto Bossi's Northern League, the ballot gave the rightist alliance a clear-cut majority in Parliament.

The demagoguery of the Berlusconi-Fini-Bossi trio was tailored to appeal to radical attitudes throughout the population — including in the middle class and demoralized layers of the working class — which begin to grow in a period of economic depression.

The rightists tapped into the increasing conviction among millions of people that the established bourgeois politicians are incapable of addressing the social crisis.

No wonder! One-third of the outgoing members of Parliament have been indicted on corruption charges.

The breadth of this scandal, however, does not make it qualitatively different from similar scandals that have surfaced in Japan, the United States, or elsewhere. Corruption is endemic to all capitalist regimes. Occasionally, some among the rulers spill the beans on a few bribes and outright robberies when they lose confidence that those currently in office can successfully defend the profit rates of the capitalist class.

Rightist demagogues thrive on such scandals and use

them to push their anti-working-class proposals to bestow more powers on the executive and the police, curtail democratic rights, and slash social programs.

Fini, who hails Mussolini as the greatest statesman of the century and who is followed by gangs of youthful supporters shouting "Duce," proclaims, "Italy no longer divides itself between fascists and antifascists, but between thieves and those with clean hands!"

Whether Fini belongs to the thieves cartel or not, he is definitely part of the fascist bunch. The ascendance of his National Alliance as part of the rightist coalition is the outcome of the previous shift to the right of bourgeois politics there. It means that the prospect of fascism and war looms larger for the working class in Italy today.

But the victory of the rightist coalition and the electoral growth of the National Alliance do not mean another Mussolini is about to sweep to power in Italy.

Italian fascism in the 1920s, a plebeian movement in origin that was directed and financed by the big capitalist powers, was the immediate outgrowth of the betrayal by the social democrats and later the Stalinists of the uprising of the Italian proletariat.

The working class in Italy today has not yet had its chance to take power away from the capitalist class. But if last year's strike actions in several Italian cities are any indication, resistance by workers to attacks on their standard of living and democratic rights will grow.

As these battles unfold, building a communist party based in the industrial working class that can replace the misleadership of the Democratic Party of the Left (PDS) and other "reformed" or "refounded" Stalinists is the only answer to Fini, Berlusconi & Co.

Abolish the death penalty!

The execution of William Hance in Georgia should make every worker's blood boil. His case offers further proof of the racist, inhuman, and anti-working-class nature of capitalist society. Hance and Freddie Webb in Texas, became the 230th and 231st victims of capital punishment in the United States since it was reinstituted in 1976.

What right does Washington have to carry out these murders through its courts and prisons? This is the same government that has committed innumerable crimes against humanity — the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the internment of Japanese Americans in World War II, the indiscriminate slaughter of tens of thousands of working people in Iraq in 1991, the cold-blooded massacre last year in Waco, Texas, and a host of other atrocities.

The capitalists sacrifice the lives of working people around the world daily on the altar of profits. They don't care one iota if there is starvation, if children die from preventable disease. Their cops routinely assault working people on the street and on the picket line. What moral authority do these people have to pass judgment over who should live and who should die?

Capital punishment accentuates all the racism and bias bred by capitalism. It is reserved almost exclusively for workers, and applied disproportionately to those who are

Black or from other oppressed nationalities. Forty percent of those awaiting execution are Black. Despite the fact that two jurors came forward to expose the openly racist framework of Hance's sentencing, he was sent to his death.

The rulers also don't care if you're innocent or guilty. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in January 1993 that evidence of innocence need not even be considered if it is presented late.

The Clinton administration's so-called anticrime package calls for applying the death penalty to more crimes, speeding up executions, and further limiting the right to appeal. This policy is already being carried out in practice; last year a record 38 prisoners were put to death, and thousands more sit on death row.

The death penalty poses a serious threat to the labor movement. Its expanding use comes in the context of a deep social and economic crisis, one in which the employing class needs to sharpen its weapons of repression and terror against working people. Executions have been used many times against working-class fighters — from Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1927 to the Rosenbergs in 1953 — and they will be used the same way in the future.

Workers, farmers, young people, and all fighters for democratic rights should join in demanding: Stop the killings! Abolish the death penalty!

Truckers' strike

Continued from front page

Parcel Service (UPS) workers, has agreed to honor their fellow Teamsters picket lines.

In Newark, New Jersey, 75 strikers, more than a quarter of the workers at TNT Red Star Express, launched picketing in the predawn rain.

In New York City, 50 Teamsters chanted "no part-timers! no givebacks!" outside CSF and ABF, another national freight company. "We've given concessions before," Teamster Local 560 striker Joe Pageunza said, "but we've had enough." "The main thing here is that the union is making a stand," said another striker from Local 560. "We gave up stuff in one contract after another, and it's got to stop somewhere."

The walkout came in the wake of the collapse of four months of bargaining between Trucking Management Inc. (TMI) and the Teamsters. TMI represents 23 freight companies, whose 88,000 unionized workers load and transport 15 percent of U.S. dry freight. Teamsters voted in local areas March 19 and 20 to authorize the strike, should negotiations bottom out.

Strikers here and across the country stated the vote to take on the freight bosses was overwhelming. "Something like 98 percent," said one member of Teamster Local 120 at CSF in Burnsville, Minnesota. "People know what's at stake."

'Future of our union is at stake'

What is at stake, Ted Meyers, a picket captain at CSF said, is "our future, the future of our union."

The freight magnates' final offer demanded that part-time workers do as much as 24 percent of the work at terminals. "They get low wages, no benefits, and pay into their own, separate pension fund. Just think what this would do to the union. You won't be able to retire," Meyers said.

"We cannot go back [to work], we won't go back until this part-timers thing is resolved," Meyers said softly, as a group of workers nodded their heads and seconded his remarks with shouts of approval. "This is the bottom line," Meyers said.

"If they can hire part-timers at \$8 an hour," one Newark striker said, "they'll never hire another full-time worker. They'll get rid of the senior guys."

TMI uses the club of competition with UPS to hammer away at the need for part-timers. Years of pressure have netted the owners of UPS a workforce that is almost half part-time employees. UPS is organized by the Teamsters.

At the same time, the freight bosses seek to cut the wages for newly hired full-time workers from \$14.45 an hour to \$11.90, while increasing to two years the time required to reach the top hourly wage of \$17.

TMI also has demanded the right to move up to 35 percent of its freight by rail. Under the expired contract, TMI companies shipped a maximum of 15 percent of their tonnage on the railroad.

"So if you're laid off here [in Minnesota]," Meyers explained, "and there's an opening on the East Coast, either you take it, or poof. Out of work."

Anger over the idea of chasing a job sparked discussion among CSF strikers in Miami. "If the truck companies start having unlimited access to the railroads," Teamster Local 390 striker Jerry Elliot said, "then the truck drivers will be forced to move around the country following the freight to have a job."

"Just like the farm workers," said fellow unionist Larry Gonzales, a truck driver for 19 years.

Right next door to the Miami CSF terminal is Conway Southern Express — a nonunion operation set up by CSF. This practice of unionized freight companies buying and opening nonunion operations is called double breasting. CSF also owns the nonunion Emory Air, CCX, and other freight operations.

The fight against double breasting in the nation's coalfields sparked the 1993 strike by the United Mine Workers of America against the coal barons.

The freight bosses, a CSF striker said, use double breasting "just like Eastern Airlines put all their assets in Continental to try and break the unions in the airline industry."

He visited with the Conway workers, most of whom, he said, were young and "making pretty good money." The Teamster striker told them, "Once you have no union, you will never get a better deal. And over time, they will come and cut what you're earning."

Double breasting is also being carried out by "Roadway and New Penn," said Philadelphia Teamsters Local 107 business agent Bill Hamilton, "nonunion, naturally."

By standing up to the freight bosses' onslaught, the Teamsters are inspiring nonunion workers in the industry. "I tell my coworkers, I don't think I'd be making \$12.46 an hour if there wasn't a union out there," said Laura Kamienski, nonunion office worker at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, ABF. "If they [management] ask me to operate a forklift, I'm saying, 'no way.'"

"We need everybody's help," said a striker at CSF in Burnsville, Minnesota. "Everybody. Especially labor. This isn't just our strike. It's something bigger."

Jon Hillson is a member of the United Transportation Union in St. Paul. Janet Post in Miami, Steve Marshall and Bob Robertson in Newark, Nancy Rosenstock in New York, Debra Liatos and John Teitelbaum in Philadelphia, and Laura Kamienski in Sunbury, contributed to this article.

3,500 unionists strike Allegheny Ludlum Steel

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.

Three thousand five hundred members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) at Allegheny Ludlum Steel walked out April 1.

ON THE PICKET LINE

Most strikers work in the Pittsburgh area, with smaller plants in New York, Connecticut, and Indiana. Allegheny Ludlum is the largest specialty steel maker in the country. Stainless steel is its primary product line. This is the first strike against the company in 35 years.

Workers say they are fighting against cuts in pensions and health-care benefits and for better vacation scheduling and employment security.

"We're lucky in the caster department," said the picket captain at the Brackenridge, Pennsylvania, plant. "We're working only about 40 hours per week. But in other areas, they work seven days, 12 hours per day, indefinitely. They should hire more people, but they figure it's cheaper to pay the overtime."

The company has been shifting some work from the Brackenridge plant to its Vandergrift, Pennsylvania, factory, which it bought from US Steel in 1989. The USWA got the company to hire back some of the former employees, but in return, Allegheny Ludlum gained a separate union contract with lower wages, less incentive pay, and job combinations. Several workers expressed the hope that the union will win a common contract for the Vandergrift plant.

Canada public employees turn lockout into strike

More than 500 members of the Canadian Union of Public Employ-

ees (CUPE) who work for Vidotron, a cable distribution company in Montreal, transformed their two-month lockout into a strike March 23. Initially, the company locked them out, refusing union demands to give 90 part-time workers union protection. While this issue was settled to the union members' satisfaction, the back-to-work protocol was rejected.

The company wants to fire two union members and reserve the right to suspend others for strike-related activities, such as putting stickers on windows.

As he prepared to board a bus for a demonstration outside company offices, one worker said, "What do I get out of this contract? Nothing. I'm fighting for the young ones. We need

more people who will stand up." The CUPE members have joined other unionists who are on strike or locked out — such as those of *Le Journal de Montreal* — in public marches and demonstrations.

Five-month lockout ends at Montreal newspaper

Workers at the French-language daily, *Le Journal de Montreal*, in Quebec, returned to work March 8 after having been locked out for the last five months by the newspaper's owner, Pierre Péladeau. A February 14 Quebec government labor board ruling ordered Péladeau to end the lockout.

When the lockout began last September, the typographers, who are members of the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers union (CEP), and the press operators of the International Graphics and Communications union (IGC) faced formidable odds. Péladeau had demanded that one-third of their jobs be cut because computer modernization had made them obsolete.

Péladeau planned the logistics of a union-busting campaign a year prior to the lockout. He spent \$25 million to set up a scab-printing operation in Cornwall, Ontario, (93 miles west of Montreal) and hired a large security force to guard the Cornwall and Montreal plants.

The day Péladeau locked out the 350 workers at *Le Journal de Montreal*, the scab presses in Cornwall

were already operating so the newspaper never missed a day of printing.

The CEP and IGC members participated in several joint demonstrations with workers from *La Presse* and *Gazette* newspapers, whose union members have faced similar union-busting threats. A boycott campaign of the *Journal* was organized, which the locked out workers took to Montreal's shopping centers, subway stops, and commuter traffic bridges. The unionists spoke to dozens of different unions across the city, asking other workers to boycott the *Journal* and assist them financially.

After the labor tribunal ordered an end to the lockout the CEP members voted to accept a contract offer that cut the typographers jobs from 156 to less than 80. The contract also included 25 percent wage cuts as well as a provision that gave Péladeau the right to slash jobs by up to 25 percent at each subsequent contract renewal.

Within days of the typographers' settlement 61 workers in the shipping department accepted a similar contract.

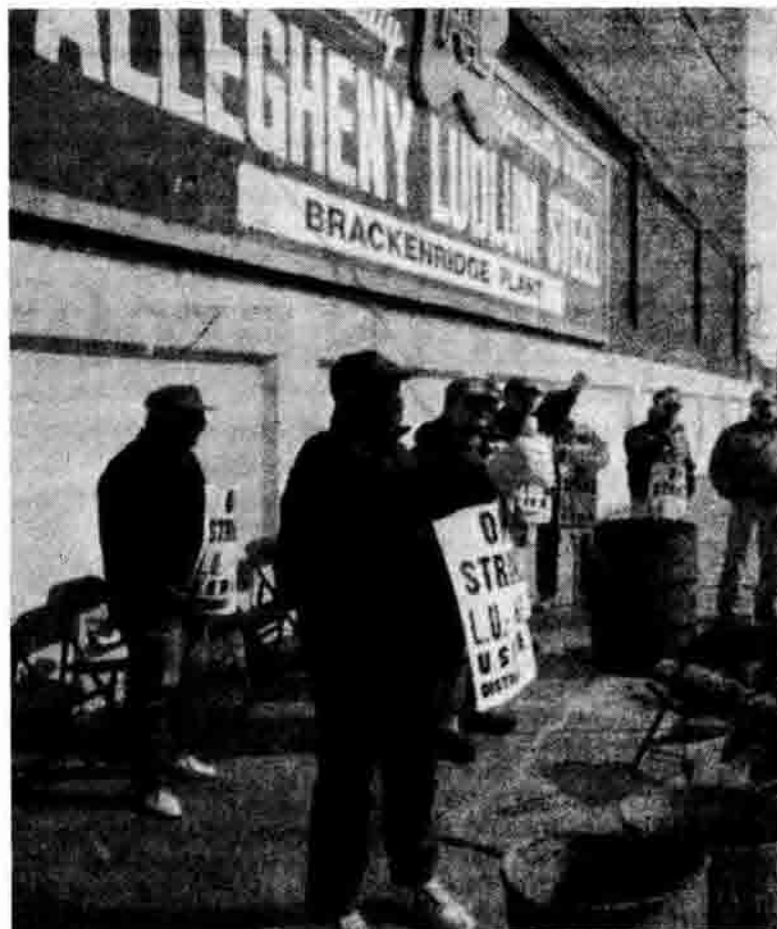
On March 4 the press operators of the IGC demonstrated outside the *Journal* plant saying they would not accept such deep cuts. The press operators returned to work March 8 under terms of their old contract while negotiations for a new agreement proceed through a labor arbitration board.

Rail workers protest union-busting plan

One hundred rail union members and their supporters met in St. Albans, New York, March 22 to discuss the progress of their fight against the union-busting sale of the Central Vermont Railroad — a subsidiary of the Canadian National Railroad.

A group of Central Vermont managers wants to buy the railroad through an employee stock ownership plan (ESOP). They would operate the rail line as a new outfit called CV Newco.

The proposed ESOP would devastate workers. Under this plan CV Newco would eliminate 46 jobs, get rid of the current workforce and hire a new set of employees, dump existing union contracts, cut wages by about 20 percent, and evade job-security protections required by federal law when a railroad takeover occurs. In contrast, all other



Striking steelworkers picketing plant in Brackenridge, Pennsylvania.

legal contracts and financial obligations of Central Vermont would be honored by CV Newco.

At the meeting, rail workers heard reports concerning their campaign to have an Interstate Commerce Commission hearing in Vermont, where they could mobilize their supporters to attend. They have gathered 13,000 signatures demanding such hearings. The workers also plan a regional support rally for their fight sometime in early May.

Greyhound striker wins settlement against cops

In an out-of-court settlement, Salt Lake City, Utah, officials awarded former Greyhound striker Scott Prettyman \$330,000 and a job driving the airport shuttle. Prettyman was viciously beaten while on strike in 1990 by two city cops.

This settlement opened up a sparring match with David Greer, the president of the so-called police union, who said he was outraged by the agreement. "We didn't have our day in court," he told the media.

Assistant City Attorney Randall

Edwards defended the settlement, saying the city couldn't risk a jury trial because "the Rodney King case has extended all the way to Utah."

The cops seized Prettyman while he was peacefully picketing, slammed his face against the hood of a car, and picked him up and threw him on the street, where they kicked and stomped on him. Prettyman had a steel rod supporting his back from a previous injury. He and other picketers pleaded with the cops to stop the attack. But the cops continued the beating until emergency medical personnel called by the strikers intervened. The steel rod was shattered and Prettyman suffered permanent back and kidney damage.

The following people contributed to this week's column: Marc André Ethier in Montreal; Rosemary Ray, member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1900 also in Montreal; Jon Flanders, member of International Association of Machinists Local 1145 in Selkirk, New York; and David Salner, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 2-591 in Salt Lake City.

LETTERS

Thanks for 'Militant'

I've finally found a paper I can relate to. One that has the interest of working people in mind. It is clear that the ideas expressed in your paper are sincere and not influenced by the influx of concepts from politicians and the rich. This paper, I found, represents the true struggles of the working-class people in this country and abroad. Because of the internationalism of the paper, I am able to maintain and even broaden my scope. The *Militant* is everything I had hoped for and more.

Enclosed is my subscription for six months. I thank you for your sample paper.

A prisoner
Angie, Louisiana

Grenada's 'Pol Pot group'

An opinion column by Barbara Crossette entitled "A Decade of Disillusionment in Grenada" appeared in the March 13 *New York Times*. Most of the article describes how the country has gone downhill since Washington invaded it and installed a puppet regime in October 1983. But in the second paragraph Crossette couldn't resist slandering the Cuban government by

falsely stating it had backed the Coardite "hard-liners."

The "radical hard-liners" were the Stalinists in Grenada led by Bernard Coard, who ordered the execution of Bishop after seizing power in the October 1983 coup. Fidel Castro and the central leadership of the Cuban Communist Party never supported Coard. In fact, in addition to his warm personal relations with Bishop, Castro strongly supported Bishop politically and viewed Coard's actions as criminal.

Fidel's Nov. 14, 1983, Havana speech found in [Pathfinder Press's] *Maurice Bishop Speaks* is a convincing refutation of Crossette's lie. The fact that a big business journalist is parroting this falsehood 11 years later shows that imperialism still needs to resort to lies in order to discredit the Cuban Revolution.

In this 1983 speech, Fidel stated, "Imperialism... presented the [Grenada] events as the coming to power of a group of hard-line communists, loyal allies of Cuba. Were they really communists? Where they really hard-liners? Could they be loyal allies of Cuba? Or were they rather conscious or unconscious tools of Yankee imperialism?"

"Look at the history of the revolutionary movement, and you will find

more than one connection between imperialism and those who take positions that appear to be on the extreme left. Aren't Pol Pot and Ieng Sary — the ones responsible for the genocide in Kampuchea — the most loyal allies of Yankee imperialism has in Southeast Asia at present? In Cuba, ever since the Grenadian crisis began, we have called Coard's group the 'Pol Pot group.'"

Kevin McGuire
New York, New York

Cuban art exhibit

More than 200 people, the majority students at the Maryland Institute College of Art, turned out for the premiere showing in the United States of 30 prints by Cuban artists. The one-night exhibit in Baltimore also included a program of speakers, as well as a dance performance and poetry reading by the Malcolm X Park Drummers.

The exhibit featured a number of artists of the generation that has come into its own since the revolu-



Fragment of silkscreen by Cuban artist Alicia Leal, featured at Baltimore exhibit.

Frederick, Maryland, appealed to the audience to assist in promoting cultural exchange between the people of Cuba and the United States. Yost volunteered his time to frame the exhibit. Funding for the project came from private donations. "Additional funds are needed to frame another 50 prints," he explained, "and to make it possible to get this show to galleries throughout the state and across the country." Galleries in Washington, D.C., and Frederick have already set dates for the Cuban printmaking show.

Yvonne Hayes
Frederick, Maryland

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.

tion. Works by Cuban masters such as Wilfredo Lam, René Portocarrero, Manuel Mendive Hoyos, and Víctor Manuel García are included. Homer Yost, a sculptor from

Youth in France celebrate victory; workers protest concession demands

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS — In celebration of their victory over Paris's subminimum wage scheme, 150,000 students and young workers rallied March 31 in cities across France. The same day 200 Air France workers blocked runways at Orly Airport near Paris to protest a new concession plan. Under these pressures, the government of Prime Minister Edouard Balladur appears weaker than ever.

The March 31 mobilization was the fifth in as many weeks, as young people fought to overturn the government decree that would have cut the minimum wage for workers aged 25 and under. While celebrating Balladur's withdrawal of the decree, the protesters demanded that the government drop all charges against several thousand arrested during earlier demonstrations and that two young people deported to Algeria for their involvement in the actions be allowed to return to France.

The backbone of the movement has been in the high schools and two-year technical colleges, which many working-class youth attend, with more modest mobilizations at the universities.

The daughter of one worker at the Renault auto plant near Paris participated in the protests with other students from the secretarial school she attends. She had worked in the plant for the last three summers on various youth training programs. These jobs often pay less than the minimum wage and are limited to one or two months. The proposed new law would have allowed subminimum wages for up to two years.

Another young worker who came to the demonstration had worked as a "temp" at the Renault plant. He was demonstrating with a high school contingent, giving them a hand with their marshaling squad. The automaker has done almost no hiring in the last 10 years, and most of the young people in the factory are hired through temporary agencies. With the recession, these workers were laid off.

There was some union participation in the March 31 rally, although less than in the previous marches. One contingent from the General Confederation of Labor (CGT) carried a banner reading "For a 35-hour week with no loss in pay."

The big business media in Europe and the United States has been generally critical of Balladur's retreat on the subminimum youth wage.

"Balladur's latest climb-down, over youth



March 3 rally in Paris. Hundreds of thousands of youth across France joined in demonstrations against subminimum wage, forcing the government to withdraw the proposal.

wage cuts, has triggered a period of political instability that will probably last until next May's presidential election," stated David Buchanan in London's *Financial Times*.

"We can root for Balladur in France to be dumped by rightists who can then present a candidate with *le gumption* to face down rioters and end the tyranny of the minorities," declared *New York Times* columnist William Safire.

When the government withdrew the youth wage decree, it announced a plan to instead pay employers a \$175 monthly bonus for nine months for each young person hired for an 18-month contract. The bonus would be double for those hired before October 1. This would supposedly create 500,000 new jobs.

Philip Seguin, president of the National

Assembly, said the program would create a maximum of 10,000 jobs, however, and most employers have told the media it will make no difference in the number of workers hired.

Continued fight at Air France

The struggle over the youth wage coincides with other fights by working people in France.

Air France, the state-owned airline, demanded that the 40,000 workers there agree to a concession pact by March 31. The proposal included a three-year wage freeze, longer workweek, and cutting 5,000 jobs through attrition and voluntary layoffs.

Workers at Air France carried out a two-week strike last October against an earlier austerity package. They succeeded in shutting down Paris's Orly and Charles De Gaulle airports.

Several of the 14 unions representing the airline workers rejected the company's latest proposal, and some workers held up air traffic at Orly in protest. In response, Air France chairman Christian Blanc, who was put in place after the October strike, said he will call a referendum of all employees.

Workers at the Renault plant won some gains around job transfer rights April 4 after calling the largest assembly in the factory in 11 years. The

company has used arbitrary transfers to reduce wages by assigning workers to posts that are a lower qualification — and therefore pay less — than their regular jobs. Many of the auto workers compared this to the government's attempt to impose a lower youth wage.

Nat London is an auto worker at Renault near Paris and a member of the CGT.

Racist attacks condemned in New Zealand

BY FRANK EVANS

CHRISTCHURCH, New Zealand — A rash of racist attacks and intimidation here have been a focus of public discussion. On March 12, the *Christchurch Press* gave front-page coverage to a number of incidents of Indian dairy owners being harassed by youths wearing the clothes and hairstyles associated with skinhead organizations. Police are prosecuting one alleged offender.

The week after these attacks were reported, three rightist youth beat a Japanese student unconscious in a Christchurch park. The 29 year old required hospitalization and

had 32 stitches to his lip.

Racist attacks have been reported in other parts of the country as well. In Auckland a 15-year-old boy was beaten by rightists at a cultural festival in March. Crosses were burned on the lawns of Asian families last October in Nelson and in Christchurch in December. Other reports have surfaced of racist abuse and violence directed at Maori and Pacific Island youth.

At a Militant Labor Forum organized March 19 in Christchurch to oppose these attacks, Communist League speaker Patrick Brown called for "the prosecution to the fullest extent of the law of those guilty of this violent and intimidating behavior."

Brown put the responsibility for the violence on the employers and the government, "who profit politically and economically from racist and other divisions among working people. The drive is on today by the capitalist ruling class not to lessen those divisions, but to deepen them," he said.

Divide and rule

The current National Party government has a platform encouraging immigration, but legislation gives the police and authorities wide jurisdiction to harass foreign-born workers. These powers are especially used against workers from the Pacific Islands.

"Immigration is strengthening the working class in New Zealand as it is all around the world," said Brown. "Immigrants bring the experiences of their struggles to fellow workers in their new home. Objectively these developments undermine the divisions that weaken the working class."

"This explains why working people today are less inclined to go along with blatant racial

discrimination, let alone racist violence," Brown said. He quoted a workmate whose reaction was typical. "She remarked that the attacks reminded her of Hitler in Germany: 'that was yesterday and this is today,' she said."

Scapegoating

The employers and their government attempt to reverse these progressive changes. "Capitalist politicians seek to sharpen working people's false consciousness of being New Zealanders, to block our understanding that we are part of an international class that knows no borders."

"Rightist-minded groups and individuals take this propaganda to its logical conclusion," said Brown. "The scapegoating attacks by some right-wing youth here are most clearly seen in this context."

During the days that followed the publicity given to the increase in racist incidents, one or two voices spoke up to "explain" the skinheads' actions. A small Christchurch group called the National Front, while "condemn[ing] all acts of violence and intimidation," stated that "all Asian immigration must cease or we will see an explosion of neo-Nazi-type politics as witnessed in Germany."

An article by Kyle Chapman in *The New Zealand Skinhead News* received some prominence. Chapman, a youth worker, had earlier told the media that poverty fuels racism. In his article he wrote that "skinheads are meant to be politically motivated towards the survival of skinheadism and national pride of being a New Zealander."

Chapman has been allotted a City Council grant for \$NZ15,000 for his work among skinheads.

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Edited by Doug Jenness

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On France



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