

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Four men get 240 years in
N.Y. bombing frame-up

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 58/NO. 22 JUNE 6, 1994

U.S. Navy fires at ships, defends brutal Haiti embargo

BY JEAN LUC DUVAL
AND MAGGIE McCRAW

MIAMI — The U.S. Navy fired at two ships it claims were violating a UN-sponsored embargo of Haiti. The first ship, a vessel from the Bahamas, entered the port after evading the U.S. Navy May 21. The second, a Haitian ship, was stopped three days later after the navy fired a barrage of heavy caliber shells over its bow. After the Coast Guard boarded and searched the vessel, U.S. officials acknowledged it had only been carrying food, which is supposedly exempt from the embargo.

Washington also announced it was adding two Navy ships to the U.S. fleet stationed off the Haitian coast. This will bring to eight the number of U.S. vessels enforcing the blockade, along with a Canadian frigate and an Argentine frigate. A harsher embargo that covers all trade with Haiti except for medicines and certain foods went into effect May 21. Its stated purpose is to force the military government of Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cédras to resign and to allow Jean-Bertrand Aristide to return to power. Aristide, who was elected president of Haiti in December 1990, was ousted in a September 1991 coup.

At a press conference two days before the embargo took effect, U.S. president Bill Clinton defended the use of U.S. military might in Haiti. "First, it's in our backyard," he said. "Second, we've got a million Haitian Americans. Third, we've got several thousand Americans in Haiti." The U.S. president said that the crisis in Haiti would lead to a massive influx of refugees into the United States. He also claimed that drugs were coming from Haiti into this country. "Haiti and Cuba are the only two non-

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Strikes and protests on rise in China

BY PAT SMITH

Though scattered and often disorganized, resistance by working people in China to deteriorating living and working conditions is spreading.

China's Labor Ministry reported more than 8,000 illegal strikes last year. A report in the *Market News*, a government publication, said there were 12,358 instances of labor arbitration in 1993 — up from 8,150 a year earlier — many resulting from work slowdowns and strikes. "We're at the spontaneous-struggle stage," said Lee Cheuk-yan, an exiled labor organizer now living in Hong Kong.

To protest erosion of their pensions by rising prices, a group of pensioners in China recently commandeered cars and trucks to block a key bridge over the Han River. Soldiers broke up a labor demonstration in Guangdong province in April, in the same area where a day earlier they had teargassed thousands of farmers who were protesting inadequate compensation for land seized for factories.

Laid-off industrial workers protested in the streets of Nanjing in February during the Lunar New Year, traditionally a time for celebrations. In the industrial city of Chongqing in Sichuan province, several hundred workers have gathered outside city hall nu-

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Caterpillar workers in Illinois win victory

Most suspended workers recalled after walkout

BY PETER THIERJUNG

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — In a victory for the United Auto Workers (UAW) union, Caterpillar Inc. announced May 19 that it would reinstate 34 of 37 workers indefinitely suspended for union activities. Three workers remain suspended because the company alleges prior disciplinary problems.

"We kicked the company's butt," union committeeman Jim Sharpe declared as he and other workers returned to their jobs May 20 after a four-day strike. "We got what we needed to go back. In the shop or on the street we will continue to take the battle to them."

"The bottom line is, solidarity works,"

**Conrail workers strike over
safety conditions — page 10**

UAW Local 974 president Jerry Brown said in a statement to the press. "Our members were extremely disciplined on the picket lines during the past four days. That's what convinced Caterpillar that their threats and intimidation wouldn't work."

The strike of some 7,500 UAW members here was the eighth unfair labor practice walkout in the national Caterpillar chain since September 1993. Workers at the Mossville, Illinois, engine plant walked off the job May 16 after the company indefinitely suspended 37 workers who attached balloons with pro-union slogans to their tool boxes. The indefinite suspensions followed other disciplinary actions by the bosses after a May 7 UAW rally of 15,000 in Peoria, Illinois. The company charged 30 more Mossville workers with missing mandatory overtime, displaying union slogans, and demonstrating union solidarity. Workers at

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Strikers and supporters rally outside Caterpillar headquarters in Peoria, Illinois, May 19.

Mandela presents measures to benefit oppressed, exploited in South Africa

BY GREG ROSENBERG

In his first address to a joint session of the new National Assembly and Senate on May 24, South African president Nelson Mandela stressed that the African National Congress-led government will implement immediate measures to benefit the oppressed and exploited, who are reeling from the devastation of apartheid rule.

Mandela said the new government is committed "to the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation, freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression, and freedom from fear. These freedoms are fundamental to the guarantee of human dignity. They will therefore constitute part of the centerpiece of what this government will seek to achieve."

Within the next 100 days, the government will put into place several projects under Mandela's direct supervision. "Children under the age of six and pregnant mothers will receive free medical care in every state hospital and clinic where such need exists," Mandela said. "Similarly a nutritional feeding scheme will be implemented in every primary school

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In Impendle, rural KwaZulu-Natal, there is no running water. ANC proposes measures to bring immediate relief to millions of working people in similar conditions.

Behind the debate on London D-Day commemoration — page 4



Airline workers strike in France

Eleven thousand workers at France's main domestic carrier, Air Inter, held a one-day strike May 17. This action came as a consequence of workers' concerns over possible layoffs. British carriers have been demanding access to the French market. This could mean less air space for Air Inter, which was taken over by government-owned Air France in 1990. An aviation dispute between French and British carriers was resolved when Paris backed down from defying a European Union order to open its Orly airport to competition.

Workers in Britain plan actions

Union members at British Airways voted for some industrial action short of a strike because of disputes over a number of issues, including changes to terms and conditions of employment. The Transport and General Workers' Union said that talks with the airline were scheduled soon, but if the issues were not resolved action would begin next week.

Washington, European Union clash on aerospace subsidies

Tensions are mounting in negotiations between governments in Europe and the United States over government subsidies to commercial aircraft manufacturers. European aerospace companies are threatening to call on the European Union to tear up its two-year-old bilateral aircraft subsidy agreement with the United States unless Washington accepts tighter curbs on funding for research and development.

One European aerospace executive complained to London's *Financial Times*, "The Americans seem to think all the obligations are on us and none on them."

Russian pilots stage short strike

Commercial airline pilots in Russia walked out for 10 hours May 18. The independent Union of Pilots agreed to return to work for two weeks to allow more talks with the government. "That doesn't mean a surrender," a union official stated. "We made this decision for the sake of the passengers." The pilots say they will resume the strike unless the government tightens safety rules and increases pensions.



Kurdish refugees from Turkey in northern Iraq. The Turkish government is stepping up its campaign of terror against Kurdish forces fighting for an independent state. Since 1984, more than 11,000 people have been killed and 900 Kurdish villages destroyed by government forces. U.S. assistant secretary of state Stephen Oxman said Washington "support[s] the Turkish government in its fight against [the] PKK [Kurdish Workers Party]."

Crimea votes new constitution

Crimea's regional parliament voted May 20 for a constitution viewed by the Ukrainian government as a dangerous step toward secession. Crimean lawmakers also voted separately to halt the conscription of Crimean men into the Ukrainian army. Kiev fears that Crimea will try to break away and rejoin Russia. Crimea is the headquarters of the Black Sea Fleet, the former Soviet armada of more than 400 ships whose ownership has been a source of contention between Ukraine and Russia. About 70 percent of Crimea's 2.7 million people are ethnic Russians.

Crimea's new constitution claims several attributes of an independent state, including the right to confer Crimean citizenship, con-

duct a separate foreign policy, and establish an army. One Ukrainian lawmaker warned that secession could lead to violence.

No change on Iraq embargo

The United Nations Security Council ended its latest 60-day review of sanctions imposed on Iraq without making a formal statement. While not calling for actually easing the restrictions, most council members favored issuing a statement saying Baghdad is making progress toward meeting the conditions for lifting the embargo. Russia argued strongly for a statement saying Iraq needed "encouraging gestures from the international community."

Washington, backed by the governments of Britain, Argentina, New Zealand, and the Czech Republic, blocked any such move.

S. Yemen declares separate state

In a May 20 communiqué, southern Yemeni forces announced the reestablishment of a southern state with Aden as its capital. Meanwhile, northern Yemeni forces claimed they had captured a key artillery brigade and were closing in on a major southern base whose capture could open the door to the seizure of Aden.

Yemen was formally unified in 1990. Forces of the former regimes in the north and south have been battling over the distribution of resources and government posts for several months.

Protests in South Korea

Thirty thousand people rallied in central Kwangju, South Korea, to mark the anniversary of the May 18, 1980, uprising in that city. The demonstrators demanded punishment for two former presidents, Chun Doo-woon and Roh Tae-woo. Chun and Roh headed the military junta that organized the massacre of hundreds in quelling the rebellion.

Protests also occurred in nine other cities demanding that the two be brought to justice. In the capital, Seoul, 3,000 students clashed with police May 19 outside the office of the ruling party.

Japanese scholar wins ruling

A Japanese historian won a 31-year court battle against official attempts to whitewash the massacre of tens of thousands of Chinese by the Japanese army in 1937. Japanese forces stormed the eastern Chinese city of Nanjing and slaughtered 300,000, according to Chinese estimates.

The court ruled that censors had unlawfully ordered the historian, Saburo Ienaga, to delete from his textbook a reference to Japanese soldiers committing widespread rape. The ruling comes on the heels of the resignation of former justice minister Shigeto Nagano amidst the huge public outrage against his statements that the massacre never happened.

Trustee to restart Eastern Airlines

Martin Shugrue, the court-appointed trustee for the defunct Eastern Airlines, told a Las Vegas conference of plans to restart the airline as a low-cost carrier instead of pressing ahead with its liquidation. Shugrue said Eastern's creditors would get more money back through a restart than through liquidation and that the plan had the approval of the bankruptcy court. Shugrue said the airline hoped to begin operations in October 1995.

Eastern went into bankruptcy in March 1989 at the beginning of a 686-day strike by 8,500 machinists against the company's union-busting attempts. Shugrue was appointed by the bankruptcy court mid-way through the strike.

Immigrants kept in leg shackles

Eighteen Romanian immigrants who stowed away to the United States on a cargo ship were held in leg shackles in a Newark, New Jersey, hotel for more than a month. The shipping company, Sea-Land Service Inc., was required by law to detain the workers pending their asylum proceedings.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) said it knew about the conditions of the Romanians, but it does not have any legal responsibility for monitoring their treatment. Under federal law, shipping and airline companies are responsible for the custody of immigrants who use their vessels for traveling.

After substantial publicity, the INS intervened and moved the immigrants to a county prison in Pennsylvania.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

Working people in China fight back

China's "economic miracle" has meant harsh conditions, low wages, and a decreasing standard of living for working people. Millions of peasants, driven off the land and into the cities, have been forced into the working class. Now workers in China are fighting back. Read about it in the *'Militant.'*

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Israeli gov't hands control of most of Gaza Strip to PLO

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Most of Tel Aviv's occupation army withdrew from the Gaza Strip on May 18. Hundreds of Palestinian youths escorted them to the border with a hail of stones and shouts of "Get out! Get out!" Israeli forces responded with volleys of tear gas.

Following agreements signed May 4 by Palestine Liberation Organization chairman Yasir Arafat and Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, Israeli troops will remain at Gaza's borders and in so-called buffer zones surrounding 19 Zionist settlements in the territory.

The Israeli government also made it crystal clear that it will continue to use its military machine against anyone it considers a threat in the region. On May 22, Israeli troops using antitank missiles raided an area in Hebron, on the West Bank, killing at least one Palestinian, taking into custody two others, and demolishing several homes.

A day earlier Israeli commandos in helicopters penetrated deep into Lebanon and kidnapped Mustafa Dirani, a leader of the Faithful Resistance group. Tel Aviv claims Dirani might know the whereabouts of one of its air force captains shot down over Lebanon in 1986.

In Gaza, which the Israeli army took by force of arms in 1967, Palestinian residents celebrated the troops' departure. Meanwhile, Palestinian authorities deployed their police force and began to take over the administration of civil service, previously run by the Israeli military.

While glad to see most Israeli troops out of their daily lives, many Palestinians are dissatisfied with the extent of the accords. The agreement is "very far short of our expectations" said Hanan Ashrawi, the former spokesperson for the Palestinian negotiating team with Tel Aviv. "Israel will be calling the shots and looking over our shoulders every step of the way."

Ashrawi told the *Christian Science Monitor*, "We have to see how we can transform

[the agreement] from a severely restrictive sort of prison into a flexible first step in an incremental process."

Unable to military defeat the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, a dominant section of the Israeli ruling class favors turning over their problems in the territories to a Palestinian authority.

Israeli occupation forces in Gaza and the West Bank town of Jericho handed over to Palestinians control of education, health, social welfare, taxation, tourism, and internal security. Tel Aviv retains control of foreign affairs, external security, and its settlements.

Joint Palestinian-Israeli committees are to oversee almost every aspect of the Palestinian administration, giving Tel Aviv veto power over any decisions in the territories. In addition, guns issued to each of the 9,000 Palestinian police have undergone Israeli ballistics tests so that each bullet they fire can be identified.

Hamas and Islamic Holy War took responsibility for the killing of two Israeli soldiers at a Gaza border crossing May 20. A PLO statement condemned the act, arguing that "the operation was not only against the two Israeli soldiers. It is, in fact, directly pointed at Palestinian security regarding the strip and at the accord agreed upon."

Tel Aviv took rapid advantage of the shootings to clamp down on travel to and from Gaza. By ordering a cutoff in direct access to the territory at least until May 29, the order will prevent 30,000 to 40,000 Palestinians from going to their jobs in Israel.



Palestinian police in Gaza restrain man throwing rocks at withdrawing Israeli troops

'Militant' is now available on tape

BY SARA LOBMAN

The *Militant* is now available on audio cassette tape. This important service will make it possible for working people, students, and others who are blind or visually

impaired to follow the news and analysis of world events and working-class struggles covered each week in the socialist paper. To make this project possible, we are launching a special "Militant on Tape" fund.

Jim Miller, a long-time *Militant* reader in Pittsburgh, has been taping the paper for more than a year for a handful of readers around the country. Recently, he approached the *Militant* with a proposal to go public. "Eight people get the *Militant* on tape right now," he explained in a recent interview. "Most of them found out about the project by word of mouth. By publicizing the tapes in the paper and organizing to get subscriptions like we do for the printed *Militant*, we should be able to reach more people."

"Subscribers to the tapes," Miller said, "will be able to follow the *Militant's* excellent coverage on the struggles of working people in South Africa, for example. The first-hand reporting of the elections in that country were particularly interesting to record," Miller said. He noted that the *Militant* — whether in printed or taped format — is one of the few places to get accurate news of the South African revolution.

"I also really enjoy the articles on the struggles of UAW [United Auto Workers] members at Caterpillar," Miller added. These workers have been waging a two-year fight against the bosses at the giant earth-moving and construction equipment manufacturer.

Miller says that it takes him about three hours to tape a 16-page issue of the *Militant*. Until recently he used two-hour cassettes that held about 90 percent of the paper. While he always included every news article and editorial, he often had to leave out the

25 and 50 Years Ago column, In Brief, and the Letters column. Beginning with this issue, however, he is switching to two 90-minute tapes. This will make it possible to record the entire paper, including calendar items and book advertisements.

To ensure that subscribers receive the tapes in a timely way, the *Militant* sends Miller a copy of each issue of the paper by overnight mail as soon as it comes off the presses in New York on Thursday night. Miller picks the paper up first thing Friday morning and has the tapes in the mail by Saturday afternoon. Subscribers in most parts of the country receive the tapes on Monday or Tuesday. This is often the same time — or even a little earlier — as readers get the printed paper.

A year's subscription to the *Militant* on tape will cost the same as a regular subscription — \$45. Special reduced rates are also available. The tapes are mailed out in special containers designed for this purpose. Miller asks that subscribers return the tapes and mailing containers to him for reuse.

It will take about \$1,000 a year in contributions to maintain the project. This includes the express mail expenses, taping equipment and tapes, mailing containers, and donations to cover reduced-rate subscriptions. The *Militant* is encouraging local distributors of the socialist paper to contact organizations such as the National Federation of the Blind and schools for the blind and visually impaired to let them know the *Militant* is available on tape.

Contributions for the project should be earmarked "Militant on Tape" and sent to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

New Zealand anti-immigrant campaign gathers momentum

BY TERRY COGGAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Voices from several quarters have been raised recently calling for tightening New Zealand's immigration laws.

A new rightist group calling itself "Kiwis Against Further Immigration" staged a demonstration outside an Immigration Service office here May 10 to demand that permanent residence for immigrants be scrapped. The kiwi, a native flightless bird, is a national symbol.

More mainstream political figures have voiced similar sentiments. Winston Peters, a member of parliament and leader of the New Zealand First Party, told a rally in Auckland May 11, "It is nothing short of insanity to keep letting foreigners in when there were not enough jobs for New Zealanders." Peters said he was not anti-immigration, but advocated "a drastic reduction."

The dean of the Auckland School of Medicine, Peter Gluckman, told the May 6 *New Zealand Herald* that he was concerned "that immigrants are getting jobs instead of local medical graduates." He said there should be a limit to the number of doctors coming into the country.

Some prominent Maori commentators have been calling for Maoris, as the indigenous people, to be accorded greater control over immigration, which they portray as a threat to Maori culture and jobs.

Immigration from Asian countries has been a particular target of the anti-immigrant voices. There has been a rise in racist attacks against Asian immigrants.

The debate around immigration has been sharpened by a public campaign targeting the growing number of immigrants from South Africa. The campaign is led by two longtime anti-apartheid activists, John Minto and Dick Cuthbert, who have formed a

group called Stop White South Africans Today (SWAT).

On May 15 SWAT assembled 30 protesters at the home of Jan Smith in Auckland to present him with a mock deportation order. Smith, who had arrived in the country a week earlier, had been head of the South African chapter of the Church of the Creator, a white supremacist group.

That evening Cuthbert told a television interviewer that people like Smith would be a "disaster" for New Zealand. "I'm a Kiwi. I was born here," he said.

Matiu Rata, spokesperson on Maori and Pacific Island Affairs for the Alliance Party, was among those joining the call for Smith's deportation.

Another veteran anti-apartheid campaigner, Tom Newnham, disassociated himself from the campaign against South African immigrants, describing it as racist and misdirected. It could help lead to the kind of anti-immigrant attacks seen in Western Europe, he was reported as saying.

African National Congress representative Ndumiso Ntshinga, who toured New Zealand May 16-19, also distanced himself from the campaign. The ANC upholds freedom to travel, he told a lunchtime reception in Auckland May 16.

In the wake of the controversy, the minister of immigration, Roger Maxwell, announced that the government was considering the introduction of a declaration that would ask prospective immigrants if they held racist or other "extreme" views. The declaration could be used to deport immigrants if they were found to have falsely signed it, he said.

The government also imposed a temporary ban on immigration from South Africa.

Terry Coggan is a member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland.

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Behind debate on London D-Day commemoration

BY RICH PALSER

LONDON — When Prime Minister John Major announced British government plans to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Allied landings in Normandy, France, on June 6, he was greeted by a fanfare of approval in the capitalist press here. "Major mobilises Britain for a huge tribute to D-Day heroes" headlined the *Daily Mail*. The *Sun* newspaper called on its "family of 12 million readers to mark the 50th anniversary of D-Day by holding a giant street party," and advertised memorabilia such as hats, T-shirts, flags, and balloons as aids to the occasion. Government plans included a family day in Hyde Park, described by Heritage Minister Iain Sproat as a day of "dazzling entertainment."

This patriotic hoopla, which has generated considerable debate, obscures the actual reasons D-Day was launched — to advance the interests of British and U.S. imperialism.

Despite media support for the government's plans, veterans' organizations publicly objected to descriptions of the events as celebrations. "We don't feel it right this year to be approaching the Normandy landings as a celebration," said the press spokesman of the Royal British Legion. "Our veterans are going out there very much as a

AS I SEE IT

pilgrimage." Thirty-seven thousand British troops died in the course of the landings.

Defending its plans, the Heritage Department argued that while a powerful commemoration would be "the core of the events," there was an "element of celebration" to help communicate to younger people the benefits D-Day had brought in restoring democracy in Europe. Major said, "These [street] parties, so reminiscent of the wartime spirit, will give neighborhoods and local communities a marvelous opportunity to enjoy themselves — and be grateful."

However three weeks later the Heritage Department announced that the Hyde Park event, renamed a "Tribute to the Normandy Campaign," would have a more educational character, and has been moved back to August 14 to coincide with the anniversary of the completion of the Normandy campaign.

Divisions over European Union

This shift by the government reflects both the lack of enthusiasm for a celebration of the Second World War on the part of working people, and differences within the ruling class over London's stance towards Europe today. The anniversary of the landings will take place the week before the British elections for the European Parliament.

The Conservative Party, which suffered disastrous results in the recent local council elections, takes part with a divided stance over how British capitalism can strengthen its hand in the European Union against its competitors. Government minister Michael Portillo recently ruled out Britain participating again in a common European currency, while the official government position is that of not rejecting any possible outcomes.

Intent on taking advantage of divisions within the Conservative Party, the Labour Party boasts that it is for "Putting Britain at the heart of Europe."



U.S. troops during D-Day invasion. The slaughter was used to advance interests of U.S. and British imperialism.

The 199-strong Socialist Group in the European Parliament says, "It is a good thing to remember D-Day as a crucial moment in the overthrow of Nazi rule in Europe. . . . The end of the war was the rebirth of European democracy. . . . All of us must hope that the growth of democracy and the development of a union embracing all of Europe, will complete the processes which opened in 1945."

In all the references to the D-Day landings, few have pointed out what actually spurred the Anglo-American invasion of France at that point in the war. The May 12 *Independent* ran a column by former Special Air Services member M.R.D. Foot, who is now professor of modern history, titled "Why we remember that June day."

"For too long," wrote Foot, "soldiers in England felt that they had sheltered under the umbrella of the Red Army, which had inflicted a major setback on the Germans at Stalingrad in the winter of 1942-43 and was, by the late spring of 1944, poised near its own pre-war frontiers to begin a march on Berlin. Decency and rivalry both therefore demanded a substantial British land effort, unless victory over Hitler's Germany was to go solely to the Russians by default."

Real reasons for D-Day invasion

Whatever the feelings of the British troops, the motivation of British prime minister Winston Churchill and U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt, on behalf of British and U.S. imperialism, had little to do with decency. While the war waged on the eastern front and millions died, they hoped German imperialism and the Soviet Union would be worn down there to a point of near collapse. As this fighting continued, the Anglo-American imperialists had no interest

in opening a western front. Instead Britain concentrated on defending its interests in North Africa.

But by 1944 the war had turned decisively against German imperialism. Washington and London were determined to make sure that the inevitable collapse of the regime in Berlin would benefit neither the workers state in the Soviet Union nor the workers and farmers of German-occupied Europe. The collapse of the fascist government in Italy had already warned them of the dangers to capitalist rule.

In July 1943, following the defeats of the Italian army in Greece, North Africa, and Sicily, mass strikes swept northern Italy and the army began disintegrating. Benito Mussolini was pushed aside by the capitalists in favor of the regime of Marshal Pietro Badoglio and king Victor Emmanuel III — who for two decades had collaborated with the fascists — and won the backing of Churchill and Roosevelt.

As workers and farmers mobilized to sweep away the remnants of the fascist regime, the German army began to invade from the north. Workers demanded guns from the government in order to fight, but were left disarmed by the rulers. The allied forces conducted air bombardment of the cities rather than of the Brenner Pass through which German troops poured into Italy. Churchill and Roosevelt ensured capitalism survived under the rule first of German troops and later the invading allied armies.

D-Day cost hundreds of thousands of lives in a slaughter designed to advance not democracy, but the interests of British and U.S. imperialism. Its aim was to forestall an outright victory of the Soviet Union, and above all to maintain capitalism in Europe.

Meeting protests British rulers' immigration plan

BY PETE KENNEDY

MANCHESTER, England — More than 200 people involved in fights against deportations, frame-ups, and police brutality gathered at the Pakistani Community Centre here April 9 for a conference entitled "Communities against Racism and Fascism." Participants were protesting cop brutality and the repressive and racist immigration policy of the British rulers. They discussed the growing fightback against these attacks.

Aziz Rahman, who along with his family is facing deportation to Djibouti, described the conditions faced by hundreds of immigrant detainees at the Home Office's Campsfield House detention center in Oxfordshire. "They are herded like animals. Many of them are asylum seekers, fleeing death squads in Sri Lanka, 'ethnic cleansing' in Bosnia, or conflict and famine in Somalia," he said. "They are double victims — of war, and of British oppression."

Each year in Britain more than 9,000 people are held without trial by the Home Office and Immigration Service, some for as long as 18 months. Detentions under immigration legislation do not require the sanction of any court, have no set time limits, and usually are without access to bail.

According to the Greater Manchester Immigration Aid Unit, in 1992, 4,390 people were forcibly removed by the Home Office from Britain, the majority of them Black.

Rahman reported that 180 of the detainees at Campsfield House had recently con-

ducted a hunger strike and a rooftop protest against their imprisonment and violations of their basic human rights, including racist abuse and assaults. The strikers sent greetings to the conference.

"There's no such thing as a good case under immigration laws," Mohammed Id-rish, an immigrant from Bangladesh who successfully fought a deportation order in the 1980s, told the conference. "You just have to fight, to campaign, if you want to win."

Conference participants noted the support that victims of London's racist immigration laws have received from other working people in Britain. Florence Okolo and her two children are campaigning for their right to live where they choose. Okolo, who is from Nigeria, explained how teachers and pupils from her children's school were organizing petitions against their deportation. A representative of the Tahia Action Group, from the small Northumberland town of Blyth, reported that there is widespread support from local working people, including letter writing campaigns, activity in schools, meetings, and public protests, against the deportation of another family.

'We can only win by fighting together'

Anwar Dittar, who has beaten back government attempts to deport him, told the conference, "As the immigration laws tighten it is only by uniting together and fighting together that we can defeat them and win."

The meeting also addressed the growing

problems of racist police frame-ups and cop brutality. "I'm sick and tired of it — if its not one injustice its another," said Hazel Rowe, speaking on behalf of the M25 Three Campaign. The three — Michael Davis, Randolph Johnson, and Hazel's brother Raphael Rowe — were convicted of murder and robbery, and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1990 after a series of violent robberies just off the M25 motorway in Surrey. All three are Black.

Unfair trial

Rowe and Davis had seven independent alibi witnesses at the trial, whose testimony was unchallenged by the prosecution. There was no forensic, identification, confessional, or direct evidence against the defendants. Victims of the crimes stated that two of their attackers were white and one Black. The defense campaign cited a catalogue of suppressed evidence, suspects coached or pressured into giving evidence as prosecution witnesses by the police, and "a strong element of racism in the conduct of the case." Hazel Rowe described how armed police had raided a hostel to make the initial arrests and treated the men "like animals, guns to their heads."

"There are thousands of people in prison just because they're Black," she said. "There are thousands of innocent white people in prison too." But you're more likely to be incarcerated if you're Black, she added.

A speaker from the newly-formed Action for Black Justice reported that in the early hours of January 22 scores of young people, most of them Black, who were leaving

Checkpoint Charlie's dance club in central Manchester were confronted by a line of more than 100 cops, some with dogs. No incident had taken place at the club, which has been frequented by the same crowd for years.

Victims of the wholesale assault that followed insist this was an open and racist attack by the police. "I felt like I was in South Africa," said one woman. People were bitten by dogs. Some needed stitches. One woman, who was pregnant, was punched in the stomach by police officers. She subsequently had a miscarriage.

'They didn't count on us'

"The police probably felt their brutality would once again go unnoticed," one speaker said, "but they didn't count on us." He reported how angry victims had called a protest meeting and started a public campaign. They are demanding all charges against the youth be dropped, suspension of the cops who participated in the attack, and the opening of a public inquiry into the assault.

Representatives from several other defense campaigns also spoke. George Silcott, brother of Winston Silcott, explained how Winston had been framed by the cops for the 1985 killing of a police officer. Silcott, who is Black, is still in prison.

A spokesperson for the Tower Hamlets Nine Defence Campaign, also spoke. These nine youth were arrested at a protest against the vicious beating by rightist thugs of Qudus Ali in September 1993.

Magazine outlines stakes in S. Africa revolution

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Over the course of the next month, supporters of *New International* magazine face the challenge of collecting nearly \$70,000 to make the \$100,000 goal that will fund forthcoming issues of the Marxist magazine. *New International* and its sister publications appear in English, French, Spanish, and Swedish, making them accessible to militant workers, young people, and revolutionary-minded forces from Africa and Asia to Europe and the Americas.

The *New International* series addresses questions of the utmost importance for working people in a world marked by depression conditions, the rise of fascist movements, and growing threats of war. The magazine is rooted in 150 years of continuity of the revolutionary working-class movement. Readers will find rich lessons from the founding of the communist movement in 1848 as revolution swept across Europe, the Paris Commune, the Russian revolution, the rise and fall of workers and farmers governments in Nicaragua and Grenada, and the Cuban revolution.

One of the most important battles of our times is the revolution that continues to unfold in South Africa. In accordance with its importance for workers around the world, the big-business press does its best to confuse and mystify what is going on there.

In *New International* no. 5, readers will find a wealth of political weapons to help them understand and explain the events unfolding in South Africa. The issue examines the decades-long fight to abolish the apartheid crime against humanity and establish a nation for the first time.

This issue contains the Freedom Charter, a document drawn up by 3,000 delegates in 1955, giving voice to the democratic demands of the oppressed and exploited in South Africa. The Freedom Charter is the guiding document of the African National Congress. Former ANC president Oliver Tambo's speech "The Future Belongs to the Majority" is included, as is a speech by Fidel Castro explaining why thousands of Cubans traveled to Angola to fight off Pretoria's

invasion of that country. A valuable history of the struggle in southern Africa against apartheid's attempt to dominate the continent is also included.

A major article entitled "The Coming Revolution in South Africa" by Jack Barnes points out, "It is a revolution to overthrow the apartheid state and tear apart the apartheid system. It is a revolution to open the door to forging, for the first time, a nonracial South African nation-state" that will incorporate people of all skin colors willing to live and work as citizens with equal rights.

Barnes outlines the democratic character of the revolution "to conquer the right of the Black majority to own, work, and develop the land from which they have been expelled by the apartheid regime."

The author explains how the ANC conquered in struggle its role as the leading organization of the freedom struggle in South Africa, and takes up the role of the working class and peasantry.

"It is a revolution," says Barnes, "in which the toilers are seeking to replace minority apartheid rule with rule by the working people, the great majority. They will then use that new revolutionary power to ensure that not a single brick of the apartheid system is left intact and that the democratic program of the revolution is put into practice."

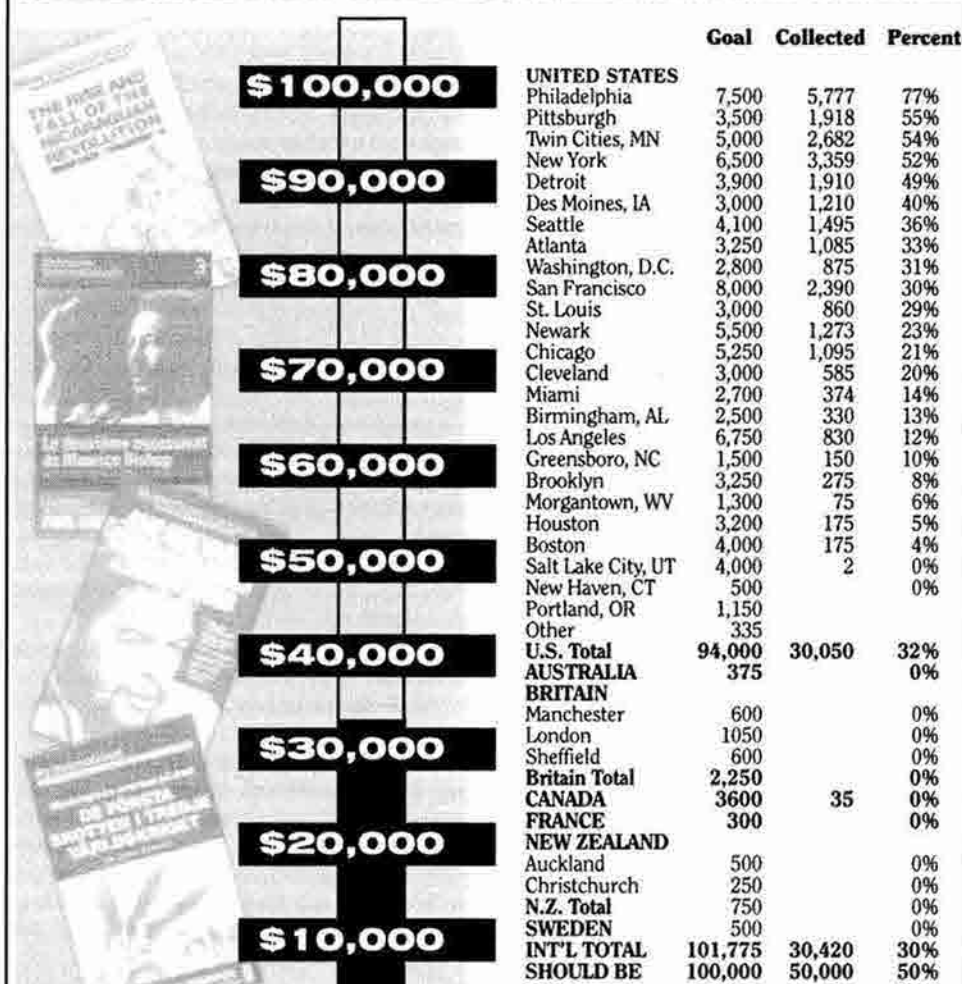
The battle unfolding today is a democratic revolution, which seeks to bring into existence a single nation for the first time, eradicating the caste-like status of Black labor and opening the door to the further development of the class struggle in that country.

Supporters of the New International Fund in Auckland, New Zealand, are planning a special meeting to celebrate the ANC victory in the South African elections.

At a meeting on *New International* no. 9, "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution," addressed by *Nueva Internacional* editor Martin Koppel, New York supporters of the fund announced a \$1,750 jump in their goal to \$6,500.

With efforts like these and accelerated collections, the fund will be in full and on time by June 28. Send in your check today.

New International FUND



Contribute to \$100,000 Fund for Marxist Magazine

New International, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, has launched a \$100,000 fund to print a series of new issues of the journal, which will appear in English, Spanish, French, and Swedish.

The successful completion of this fund, which ends June 28, will enable these important publications to reach thousands of working-class fighters around the globe.

Write check to **NEW INTERNATIONAL FUND** and send to 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

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Four men get 240 years in N.Y. bombing frame-up

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

On May 24, federal judge Kevin Duffy sentenced four men who had been convicted on charges of bombing the World Trade Center here to 240 years in jail each. "It is my intention that you are in prison for the rest of your natural life," Duffy said to justify his decision.

The harsh sentences make it virtually impossible that the four men will ever get released from prison, unless their convictions are overturned on appeal.

The four — Mohammed Salameh, Nidal Ayyad, Mahmud Abouhalima, and Ahmad Ajaj — had been charged with conspiracy and carrying out the February 1993 bombing. Six people were killed and 1,000 injured in the blast.

Despite lack of evidence, a jury convicted the four defendants of all 38 charges on March 4. During the five-and-a-half-month trial, which began last September, the prosecution presented 207 witnesses and 1,003 exhibits. But all of the government's evidence was circumstantial. Prosecutors failed to produce anyone who could place any of the defendants at the trade center or anywhere near it on the day of the explosion. In fact one of the accused, Ajaj, was in jail at the time of the blast and had been incarcerated six months prior to the bombing.

During the trial, Reuters revealed that tape transcripts it obtained showed that Emad Salem, the main government informant in a related alleged conspiracy to blow up New York City landmarks, said he built the bomb detonated at the trade center. On December 7, one of the prosecution's witnesses misidentified one of the jurors as a defendant.

Even though the government lacked proof, Robert Precht, Salameh's court-appointed defense lawyer, told jurors in his summation he believed there was a bombing conspiracy and that his client was involved but had been duped by Ramzi Yousef, who was also accused in the case but had left the

country. Salameh said he was shocked by the lawyer's statement.

All four men dismissed their defense lawyers and asked to represent themselves during the sentencing. While being held at the federal penitentiary in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, the defendants went on a hunger strike to protest their treatment and conditions in jail. All appeared thinner in the courtroom.

"The government proved you guilty not only beyond any reasonable doubt, but to the point where it was almost beyond any possible doubt," claimed Duffy. The judge called Salameh a "coward and a sneak."

In an unusual move to bolster its case, the prosecution had the husband of one of the

trade center victims make an emotional statement and appeal for tough sentences before the judge announce his decision.

Federal authorities and capitalist politicians used this case over the last year to whip up hysteria over "Islamic terror cells" and win acceptance for anti-democratic restrictions on immigrants. The big-business media had basically convicted the accused even before the trial started. After the 1993 bombing, cops launched a nationwide harassment crusade against legal political organizations, especially those of Palestinians.

Speaking during the sentencing, Ajaj maintained repeatedly that he had nothing to do with the bombing. He referred to the

blast as a "horrible crime," for which "there is no justification and for which no excuses can be made." Ajaj, who is Palestinian, stated, "I have suffered since I was born from the ugly terrorism of the Israeli occupation, which makes me hate terrorists no matter who they are."

The other three defendants also maintained their innocence. "To Judge Duffy I say, I am not going to appeal for mercy. I will not beg," said Salameh. "If I had been judged truthfully, I would accept the truth. But I will not appeal for mercy for falsehood."

All four men indicated they will appeal their convictions.

South Africa election celebrated in St. Louis

BY RICHARD SORRENTINO

ST. LOUIS — "Now South Africa will blaze a trail for all African people" Osei Darkwa of the Dawn of Freedom Committee told 75 people gathered at the St. Louis Arch May 14 to celebrate the first nonracial elections in South Africa. Led by African drummers, they marched downtown carrying banners and chanting Amandla! and Viva Mandela!

Gladys Mabunda, a student at St. Louis University from Eastern Transvaal, South Africa, said people in her country wanted clean water, garbage collection, proper sewage systems, and shoes for their children. "I don't think those are high expectations. It's time to stand behind Mr. Mandela," she stated.

African National Congress member Wesi Masisi said, "I can assure you with the same spirit we had in undoing the apartheid system we are zealously going to put South Africa on the proper footing." Walle Amusa of the Industrial Development Authority for the city of St. Louis told the crowd, "There is no room for pessimism. The ANC is working with the Freedom Charter, so they're on the right

track."

Dick McBride, a steelworker and member of the Socialist Workers Party, noted on the role that working people in the United States played in the fight against apartheid. "Coal miners organized a successful boycott against Shell Oil and steelworkers held sit-ins at South African embassies," he said.

The Dawn of Freedom Committee, which organized the march and rally, was initiated by African students at Washington University. T-shirts have been produced with a picture of Nelson Mandela and the words, "Nelson Mandela President" on the front, and the new South African flag with the slogan "Breaking the chains of apartheid" on the back. The committee reports that more than 170 shirts have already been sold, as well as many buttons and South African flags. Steelworkers at Hussmann Refrigeration who participate in the committee sold 20 T-shirts on the job the first day they were available, and had orders for 50 more.

The Dawn of Freedom Committee plans future activities to educate people about the

importance of the victory in South Africa.

On the day Mandela was inaugurated as president of South Africa, about 200 people gathered at Grand center park to celebrate. The event was sponsored by the Vaughn Cultural center of the Urban League and the African-American Studies Institute at St. Louis University.

James Buford, the Urban League's executive director, said, "We celebrate liberation for humanity. When one man is in bondage, we are all in bondage." Michael MacMillan read a proclamation from Mayor Freeman Bosley announcing May 10 as "South Africa Day in the city of St. Louis." The proclamation was sent to President Mandela through the South African embassy.

William Stodghill, president of Service Employees' International Union Local 50, who went to South Africa as an election observer also addressed the crowd.

Richard Sorrentino is a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 1104.

Participants in Cuba conference defend free speech in Miami

BY JANET POST

MIAMI — Some Cuban-Americans living here are speaking out in defense of the right of free speech in Miami following their visit to Cuba where they attended "The Nation and Emigrés" conference in Havana April 23-24.

Several returning conference participants have faced a campaign of intimidation by right-wing Cuban-American groups and individuals. The attacks have included the loss of jobs and apartments, slander in the media, taunting, and physical intimidation.

One participant, Miami lawyer Magda Montiel-Davis, received death threats, bomb threats to her office, and faced a right-wing demonstration of hundreds at her home after a televised video showed her at a conference reception greeting Cuban president Fidel Castro with a kiss.

On May 12, the Antonio Maceo Brigade (BAM) and the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community (ATC) organized a press conference to speak out in defense of the Havana conference and to defend the right to free speech in Miami. The ATC and BAM are Cuban-American groups opposed to the embargo of Cuba by the U.S. government.

A press release from the organizations read, in part, "We energetically condemn those who in an irresponsible manner incite violence and

consciously feed a climate of generalized fear that hinders a rational debate on questions of importance for our fellow citizens."

On May 14, 70 people gathered at a Militant Labor Forum in Miami for a panel discussion with Cuban-Americans who had attended the Havana meeting. Ernie Mailhot, an activist in the Miami-Cuba Friendshipment Committee and a member of the Socialist Workers Party, welcomed the Havana conference participants to the forum. "The right wing and the U.S. government want two things to come out of the attacks on those who attended the conference," he said. "They want to say it accomplished nothing and they want to perpetuate the myth that it is the rightists in the Cuban-American community who run U.S. foreign policy. In fact the opposite is true. The U.S. rulers use these rightists as cover to continue their attacks on the Cuban revolution."

Elizardo Bascoy of BAM told the audience that since the conference the number of applications to visit the island has grown tremendously.

Bascoy was asked how the Havana meeting had been viewed inside Cuba. He said that there was not a consensus around it but "plenty of debate." While the Cuban economy faces difficult challenges, some people in Cuba "at all levels" find it difficult to promote special migratory measures for



Seventy people attended Miami Militant Labor Forum to hear report on conference in Havana, Cuba, on "The Nation and the Emigrés."

those who have left the island, he said.

Radio Progreso news director Marcos Castellón asked the audience to discuss the conference and attacks on the right of free speech with others. "Let's not keep this information to ourselves but discuss it with our coworkers and friends," he said.

On May 20 Castellón debated a reporter from *El Nuevo Herald*, the Spanish-language version of the *Miami Herald*, on Radio Fe in Miami. They discussed the conference and the fight for freedom of speech in Miami.

Roberto Solis of the group Cuban American Professionals and Entrepreneurs (PECA) said at the forum it is important

to view Cubans living in other countries as "emigrés" and not "exiles." The more than 1 million "Cuban emigrants outside of Cuba have to be part of the solutions," said Solis.

Rev. Jose Reyes, a Cuban-American pastor in Miami, spoke out about the tactics of the rightist Cuban-Americans. "We are struggling in the face of people who do not understand what democracy is and yet they call themselves the 'real democrats.' But these forces are on the defensive and they are losing ground," he stated.

The forum was covered by TV Channel 4, a Miami-based NBC-affiliate, which showed clips of all the speakers.

The *Miami Herald* published a column May 18 by Liz Balmaseda, who, up to that point, had expressed sympathy for the rightists' response to the Havana meeting, and especially their vociferous attack on Montiel-Davis. However in this column Balmaseda wrote more critically about intimidation by the rightists.

Janet Post is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 368.

Cuba solidarity activists meet in London

BY PAUL DAVIES

LONDON — "Faced with the blockade imposed against Cuba, any other political system would have fallen apart," said Roberto de Armas, a representative of the Cuban embassy in Britain. Armas addressed the opening session of a daylong education conference April 16 organized by the Cuba Solidarity Committee (CSC).

More than 200 people from throughout Britain attended the event, reflecting growing interest in the Cuban revolution. CSC vice chairperson Tim Young reported that membership had tripled in the recent period to 1,000 and that 22 local groups now existed.

Teresa Trujillo, from the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, spoke during the final plenary session. She is touring Ireland and the United Kingdom.

Trujillo reported on the recent "workers parliaments" — discussions at some 80,000 workplace assemblies in Cuba — that were called to discuss economic reforms being debated by Cuba's national parliament. "Coming out of these discussions," Trujillo said, "was a clear commitment to keeping the achievements of the revolution — social welfare, jobs — and proposals that the government crack down on illegal activity. There was a sense of sacrifice and realism, and above all patriotism and identification with the revolution."

Several national unions sent messages of support to the conference. Among those received was one from Bill Morris, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. Andile Maseko of the African National Congress and member of Parliament George Galloway also addressed the meeting.

Workshops generated discussion and debate on Cuba's new economic measures, the character of the U.S. government's economic embargo, and the role of women in the revolution.

The following day the CSC held its annual general meeting, and decided to center its activity for the coming year on campaigning against the U.S. economic embargo. More than 80 members of Parliament and 14 national trade unions have signed an appeal to defend Cuba's national sovereignty. The campaign projected building a national picket at the U.S. embassy and a tour of Cuban youth on college campuses in the autumn. Speaking from the floor of the meeting, Chris Ryan reported on her participation in the third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravan. She said that "the caravan was an opportunity to reach out and educate people in the U.S. about the embargo."

Meeting participants agreed to investigate the openings for organizing a similar type of

solidarity action in Britain that combined raising material aid with political campaigning.

Paul Davies is a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union in Sheffield and is participating in the 1994 International Work Brigade to Cuba. Anne Howie in Sheffield contributed to this article.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

DUANE STILWELL

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

In Defense of Marxism will soon be reissued by Pathfinder. In this classic work on the social and political contradictions of the Soviet Union, Trotsky explains why only a party that fights to bring growing numbers of workers into its ranks and leadership can chart a revolutionary course.

Also to be reissued with a colorful new cover is *Teamster Rebellion*, one of four volumes by Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the communist movement in the United States and organizer of the Teamsters union during the rise of the CIO. These four volumes on the strikes and the organizing drives in the 1930s, led by a class-conscious leadership, are manuals of revolutionary politics, organization, and trade union strategy. They tell the story of how the Teamsters union in Minneapolis and much of the Midwest was transformed into a fighting industrial union movement prior to World War II.

Pathfinder titles make their way around the world. *New International* no. 9 titled *The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution*, which is distributed by Pathfinder Press, hit the stands last month in Britain and Europe. Pathfinder Distribution in London filled orders for 215 copies.

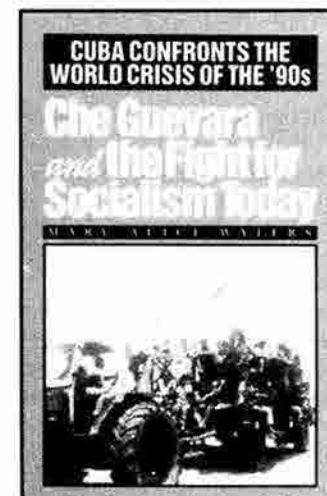
Tsuge Shobo Publishers released a Japanese edition of *The Assassination of Malcolm X* in March.

Pathfinder's recently published book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa* by the first democratically elected president of that country has been adopted for the class "Political Systems: Sub-Sahara" at St. Louis University.

The book was also reviewed in the section "Highlights of the New Season from Independent Presses" in the May issue of *American Bookseller* magazine. The review noted that Mandela tells the story of the "battle against apartheid.... The book's excellent glossary, chronology, map, and index make the story easy to follow."

A new reader at the Pelican Bay State Prison in Crescent City, California, writes: "I recently came across your 1994 catalog, and I was stunned to see such a catalog was even allowed in! As a prison activist I am going to do all I can to try and get our prison library to order some of your books. Unfortunately being in the 'hole' (a.k.a. security housing unit), this will no doubt take some doing as well as time. That, however, is not a problem, as all I have is time... when I do leave, if it hasn't been accomplished by then, I will have someone continue working on it."

Pathfinder offers books to prisoners at a 50 percent discount. To contribute to this effort, make checks and money orders payable to Pathfinder Press, earmarked "Prisoner Fund," and mail to 410 West Street, New York, NY, 10014.



For further reading

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Labor battles are on the rise in Indonesia

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

In recent months, workers in Indonesia in many sectors of industry have gone on strike over demands for a decent wage and the right to organize. Labor struggles have spread from the industrial regions in the vicinity of Jakarta, the capital, to other cities and provinces.

More or less spontaneous local strikes over wages and working conditions have become common in recent years. An independent trade union federation, the Indonesian Prosperity Trade Union (SBSI), was formed in 1992 and now claims a membership of 250,000. This is a direct challenge to the government-backed union, the All-Indonesia Workers Union.

Three-quarters of a million workers joined a one-hour work stoppage organized by the SBSI February 11.

The strikers made two central demands: the immediate repeal of a ministerial decree issued in January that reasserted that the government-backed union has the sole right to represent the workers, and the doubling of the minimum wage to about \$3 a day for all workers. This was the first national strike since the military seized power in 1965, massacring hundreds of thousands of trade unionists, Communist Party members, and others.

Labor tensions in the Sumatran city of Medan and other places have been rising since the national strike in February. In March alone there were 31 strikes. During a protest rally by rubber workers there, a young striker was killed when he was thrown into a river during clashes with the police.

Striking workers from 42 factories marched to the office of the North Sumatra governor April 14 to present four demands:



Riot police face off against workers during April 14 strikes that shut down the city of Medan

raise the minimum wage, grant freedom to organize workers outside the bounds of the government-controlled union, investigate the killing of the rubber factory striker, and grant compensation to nearly 400 workers who were fired following the rubber-factory strike.

The strike shut down Medan in mid-April. Riot police massed to prevent workers from entering the city's industrial area. Some protesters attacked some of the facto-

ries and shops along the major thoroughfares. The government brought in tanks to crush the workers' resistance and arrested more than 100 people.

An element of anti-Chinese prejudice was expressed among some of the workers, who attacked shops owned by Indonesian-Chinese businessmen. This fact was played up in the big-business press, which attempted to present the workers' struggle as an "ethnic" conflict.

Indonesia, a country in the Pacific of 186 million people, has undergone a rapid expansion of manufacturing industry since the mid-1980s, made possible because of cheap labor. For example, a \$79 pair of Reebok shoes contains \$1 in labor costs. Labor costs in Indonesia are among the lowest in the region.

The rate of exploitation has intensified. Labor productivity in the manufacturing sector grew 6.6 per cent annually from 1985 to 1990 while wages grew by only 2.6 per cent.

Textile, garments, footwear, toys, and electronic goods are a major source of foreign exchange for the Indonesian economy. In 1992, textile exports were worth \$4.2 billion and garments were worth \$3.42 billion. Shoe production, most of it for Reebok and Nike, totaled \$1.61 billion.

International protest

An international campaign of protest has been waged in response to the brutal rape and murder of a union activist, Marsinah, a year ago. The case was highlighted at the United Nations Human Rights Conference last June. The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation points to the military as the perpetrators of the execution, since she was last seen at its headquarters May 5. She had gone there to protest the army's interference in a strike at the watch-making factory where she worked.

U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor announced February 15 the postponement until August 1994 of a decision on whether to abolish the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) privileges for Indonesia. This means suspending a review over Jakarta's labor policies. Under U.S. law, GSP privileges allow duty-free access to the U.S. market for products of manufacturing industries in developing countries, a boon for capitalist investors who set up factories there. These privileges are supposedly not granted in countries found guilty of labor rights violations.

Debate heats up on Quebecois rights

BY JOE YOUNG

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — A wing of the ruling class in Canada has launched a reactionary chauvinist campaign against the right of the nationally oppressed Quebecois to determine their own future. Leading the campaign are prominent figures in the New Democratic Party (NDP), a social democratic party with links to the unions in English-speaking Canada.

This campaign came in response to promotion across Canada, the United States, and France of "Quebec sovereignty" by Lucien Bouchard, the leader of the Bloc Quebecois (BQ), the official opposition in Canada's federal parliament.

The BQ is closely allied with the Parti Quebecois (PQ), a Quebec-based bourgeois nationalist party which is considered the front-runner in the provincial elections, which must be called before October 11. The BQ and Parti Quebecois, reflecting the interests of a wing of capitalists in Quebec, seek more powers for the Quebec government under the term of sovereignty, which some equate with independence. The PQ has pledged, if elected, to hold a provincial referendum on Quebec's "sovereignty."

On May 16 British Columbia premier Mi-

chael Harcourt, who heads an NDP government, attacked the rights of the Quebecois. "If they decided to separate we wouldn't be the best of friends, we'd be the worst of enemies," he stated. Commenting on what would happen after separation, Harcourt added, "They think it's going to be logical and civilized. Forget it, it won't be. There will be great bitterness and a nasty split. And they'll suffer, not just economically but they'll suffer every which way, the people of Quebec."

Harcourt's words were echoed by Roy Romanow, the NDP premier of Saskatchewan. "The notion that sovereignty can be attained by a gentle discussion at a conference table is pipe-dreaming," Romanow said.

Asked about the similarity between his views on Quebec and those of Preston Manning, the leader of the right-wing populist Reform Party, Harcourt replied, "I think all Western Canadians are saying it's decision time in Quebec. The consequences are real; this isn't make-believe."

Right to self-determination

French-speaking people in Canada as a whole and in Quebec in particular suffer discrimination based on their language. Francophones across Canada earn 14 percent less than English-speakers. Although Quebec contains 25 percent of the Canadian population, 32 percent of those living below the official poverty line and 37 percent of those on welfare in Canada in 1986 lived in Quebec.

On May 17, Federal Indian Affairs Minister Ron Irwin declared at a meeting on native self-government, [Native people] "have been here for 10,000 years and they want to remain part of Canada and I think they have that right."

Some native spokespeople concurred with this view. Mohawk chief Gerry Peltier of Kanesetake declared, "Political force, sanctions — they [the federal government] must use whatever force is needed. But Quebec has no right to take our land with them." Kanesetake, a Mohawk territory situated at Oka, Quebec, was the site of a major confrontation in 1990 between Mohawks defending their land from the expansion of a golf course and thousands of soldiers and police sent by both Ottawa and Quebec City. All federal and provincial governments, including Quebec, have historically fought native land claims every inch of the way. Native people have been forced onto reserves that are not economically viable.

Around 24 percent of adult Natives living on reserves in 1985 had no income. The life expectancy of Native people is eight years less than the Canadian average and the infant mortality rate is twice the average.

Irwin's comments provoked angry reactions from across the bourgeois political spectrum in Quebec. BQ leader Bouchard claimed, "Native people do not have the right to self-determination," adding to a previous statement that, "If there is one thing sacred in Quebec, as in any other country, it is territory."

Quebec premier Daniel Johnson, a strong proponent of Canadian unity, told the Quebec National Assembly May 18, "We will defend Quebec's territory no matter what happens."

Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien defended Irwin saying, "The best protection that exists for Quebec's territory is to stay within Canada." He added that Quebec has no right under international law to secede from Canada.

The trade union officialdom in Canada has not spoken out in defense of the rights of the Quebecois and Native peoples. At the Canadian Labor Congress convention held May 16-20 in Toronto not a word was said to oppose the reactionary campaign launched that same week by prominent NDPers against the right of the Quebecois to determine their own future.

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CORRECTIONS

The article in the May 23 *Militant* titled "Workers in Canada protest gov't wage cuts" inaccurately states that ballots in a strike vote "will contain various options — from one-day rotating strikes to a general strike of all public sector unions." In fact the ballots simply offered a vote of "yes" or "no" for strike actions. Union officials have the authority to decide how to exercise the mandate, if one is given — through rotating strikes, a one-day general strike or other options.

The article "2,500 protest cop killing of Aboriginal in Australia," printed in the same issue of the paper, should have credited Ray Jackson, of the Aboriginal Deaths in Custody Watch Committee, with saying 99 Aboriginals and Torres Strait Islanders died both in police hands and in prison, not just in police hands.

South Africa: victory to those who struggle

The editorial below is reprinted from the May 11 issue of *Granma Internacional*, a weekly published in Havana, Cuba. It appeared under the headline "South Africa: Victory to those who struggle." Sub-headings are by the *Militant*.

Almost three years ago, when he visited Cuba, Nelson Mandela pronounced these prophetic and generous words of appreciation to all those who were listening: "We too want to control our destiny. We are determined that the people of South Africa will make their future and that they will continue to exercise their full democratic rights after liberation from apartheid. . . . We in the ANC will always stand with the poor and rightless. Not only do we stand with them. We will ensure sooner rather than later that they will rule the land of their birth, that in the words of the Freedom Charter, 'the people will govern.' And when that moment arrives, it will have been made possible not only by our efforts, but through the solidarity, support and encouragement of the great Cuban people."

Cubans, who modestly are not given to talking about that epic 15-year struggle in the southern cone of Africa, felt sure then that that moment would arrive, as it had already arrived to ensure the existence of an independent Namibia and to guarantee Angola's territorial integrity.

Today the black people of South Africa have given the finishing touches to that process, which was set in motion by the bloody battles at Cuito Cuanavale. That change in the balance of forces in southern Africa has finally brought about a victory at the polls for which the best sons and daughters of South Africa gave their blood during long years of struggle.

This feat fills us with rejoicing. In accordance with the election results, the new president of South Africa is Nelson Mandela, a man who — as José Martí would have put it — carries on his shoulders the honor of an entire people.

When he takes over the presidency of a democratic, nonracist South Africa determined to create a society of equals, the world will have occasion to pay homage to the wisdom, revolutionary steadfastness and unwavering principles of Nelson Mandela.

It will be possible to appreciate fully that victory belongs to those who struggle, and once again thanks will have to be given for the example he has set. Its value is all the more precious in these shameful times in which so many have pulled down their banners and have repented what they once were.

'A man whose integrity is absolute'

This is what is most valuable about his example: the example of a man whose integrity is absolute, who is unyielding, brave, serene, intelligent and capable, who began his struggle 50 years ago when he founded the ANC Youth League, who spent 27 years of his life in the squalid jails of the white minority regime, 18 of them in solitary confinement; who even under the threat of death at the Rivonia trials, where he was condemned to life imprisonment, conducted his own defense and went from being the accused to the accuser; who with incomparable dignity turned down his jailers' offers to

set him free if he would give up the struggle.

Nelson Mandela and his brave people are today the fulfillment of hopes and dreams. With apartheid lying headless at their feet, they are the embodiment of one of the most remarkable symbols of our era. Mandela and his people struggled until they overthrew something as odious and repugnant as apartheid, which is the monstrous offspring and essence of capitalism, neocolonialism and fascism.

The regime of separate development which South Africans are burying today was the fascistic expression of capitalism and imperialism, conceptualizing and embodying in state structures the notion of inferior and superior races. This victory is even more important because apartheid also meant the most brutal inequality and political repression and the cruelest economic exploitation of the black majority.

And all of this represents an even greater belligerence, because the world is a hotbed of aggression and intervention unleashed by the developed countries under the leadership of the United States, the guiding power.

As the intellectual, material and moral force behind the apartheid regime, the capitalist world did its utmost to wipe the People's Republic of Angola off the map of the continent of Africa, and with it the Cuban forces present there during more than 15 years in numbers exceeding 300,000, representing what was perhaps the last internationalist mission of the 20th century.

This is the same system that seethed in anger as Nelson Mandela publicly proclaimed his friendship with Cuba, and his admiration for José Martí, Ernesto Guevara and Fidel Castro. It is no coincidence that the most shadowy elements of the Miami ultraright — a grotesque racist caricature of apartheid — went so far as to pronounce him persona non grata and prohibit a man decorated with the Nobel Peace Prize from visiting their city.

It gives us great pride to have been and to continue being close comrades-in-arms of Nelson Mandela and the people of South Africa. When we were faced with the difficult challenge of risking our own existence

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VICTORY FOR PEOPLE'S RIGHTS!

Front page of May 11 issue of *Granma Internacional*

Cuba has struggled tirelessly for Africa's liberation from colonialism and apartheid

in the battles of Cuito Cuanavale, our countrymen could look to the example of that man and that people, who had never ceased in their struggle for independence and national liberation. And we fulfilled our obligation with the certainty that nothing and no one could impede the victory of that noble and humane struggle led by Nelson Mandela from his jail cell. The Cubans' confidence was borne of their own experience, their

firsthand knowledge that it is the path of struggle, and never that of compromise and forced execrable conciliation, that leads to victory.

'A victory for all the peoples'

Today in 1994, this truth has become even more evident, for this victory goes beyond the borders of South Africa to be-

Continued on next page

FMLN nears split after El Salvador election

BY LUIS MADRID

SAN SALVADOR, El Salvador — Political disagreements and factional fighting among the five component organizations in the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) are leading towards a split of the organization.

The FMLN waged a decade-long guerrilla war against successive U.S.-backed regimes in El Salvador. The end of the war was codified by the signing of a peace accord with the Salvadoran government of Alfredo Cristiani in January 1992.

The FMLN presidential candidate, Ruben Zamora, was badly defeated by Armando Calderón Sol, the candidate of the ruling right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) party in the recent elections.

The latest crisis erupted publicly May 1, when the incoming Legislative Assembly met to elect its executive body. The

84-member assembly includes 39 deputies from the ARENA party, 21 from the FMLN, 18 from the Christian Democratic Party, 4 from the Party of National Conciliation, 1 from the Democratic Convergence, and 1 from the Unity Movement. Zamora was the candidate of a coalition that included the FMLN, the Democratic Convergence, and the National Revolutionary Movement.

A news release issued by the FMLN said that its Political Commission had decided by a majority vote "not to participate in the executive of the Legislative Assembly."

The FMLN leadership committee accused the outgoing assembly of rigging the executive body in favor of ARENA.

Seven deputies belonging to the People's Revitalizing Expression (ERP) and National Resistance (RN), however, opposed the FMLN decision. They voted to elect ARENA's Mercedes Salguero as president of the new assembly. The ERP and RN are two of the five groups that in 1980 formed the FMLN.

Later in the session, and with the support of ARENA's deputies, former guerrilla commanders Ana Guadalupe Martínez, from the ERP, and José Eduardo Sancho, from the RN, were elected vice-president and secretary of the assembly respectively.

The two groups, which claim to espouse social-democratic politics, boycotted an emergency meeting called by the FMLN to discuss the situation. The gathering voted to suspend all seven deputies from all duties assigned to them by the FMLN. Joaquín Villalobos, ERP's central leader and a former commander in the guerrilla formation, was also suspended after being charged with being "the main promoter" of the incident.

"These deputies do not represent the FMLN" and "none of their actions, opinions or commitments" bind the FMLN in any way," an FMLN press release stated.

Sancho said at a May 10 news conference that the ERP and RN "do not accept" the suspensions by the FMLN because this would be taking "the first step forward a permanent expulsion." Meanwhile, the FMLN leadership has called for an Ex-

traordinary National Convention in June to ratify its decisions.

Social pact between workers and bosses

The FMLN-led coalition has proclaimed its goal as "insuring that the country is governable."

The coalition's points of *concertación* — the same term used by the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua to describe its policy of pursuing a "social pact" between workers and bosses — are expressed in its "Agenda for the future of the nation." They include: implementing the agreements reached between the FMLN and the government as the war ended, judicial and electoral reforms, a social pact between different class forces in the country, some ecological demands, and defense of the consumer in terms of prices, wages, and productivity.

Addressing the capital city's mayoral inauguration the same day as the incident in the assembly, outgoing president Cristiani said that while an effort has to be made toward *concertación*, "we don't necessarily have to seek the support of the FMLN to have any laws passed."

In another development, former FMLN commander Nidia Díaz, who is also an assembly deputy, was the victim of an attempted assassination May 19 that she attributed to right-wing death squads. This was the second such attempt against Díaz's life in three months. Two FMLN candidates for the assembly were assassinated last year. Some 40 of its members have been murdered since the peace agreement was signed in January 1992.

The latest assassination attempt took place amidst allegations that a group made up of former guerrillas, the Salvadoran Revolutionary Front (FRS), had issued death threats against several former rebel commanders and what they term "other traitors." However, a communique signed by the FRS blamed "the death squads, financed by big capital and Armando Calderón Sol" for "any attack against members of the FMLN." In documents disclosed last November, Washington linked Calderón to the death squads; he has rejected the charges. Calderón will be inaugurated June 1.

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Mandela announces new gov't measures

Continued from front page
where such need is established. . . .

"A program is already being implemented to electrify 350,000 homes during the current financial year," continued Mandela. "A campaign will be launched at every level of government, a public works program designed and all efforts made to involve the private sector, organized labor, the civics and other community organizations to rebuild townships, restore services in rural and urban areas, while addressing the issue of job creation and training, especially for our unemployed youth." Unemployment is the most damaging aspect of the current economic crisis in South Africa, running at 50 percent.

The South African president said steps are already being taken to rapidly ensure the provision of clean water for all, an important step in a country where millions do not have regular access to potable water. Mandela said similar steps were being taken to introduce proper sanitation. This will benefit large numbers of working people in Black townships, where the sight of burning garbage heaps is common. The former apartheid regime refused to implement the most basic services in the townships.

Affirmative action

The ANC has pledged to implement affirmative action to redress the enormous inequalities generated by the apartheid state. Annual per capita income is \$4,720 for whites and \$560 for Blacks.

Opponents of the democratic mass movement have continuously charged that this would mean taking jobs and houses away from whites and turning them over to Blacks, a course and claim rejected by the ANC. Instead, the ANC has said it will use the power of government and the resources at its command to benefit the exploited and oppressed majority in South Africa, while forging a nonracial nation-state.

Mandela outlined this perspective in his speech in reference to civil service workers. "Let me also take this opportunity to reiterate our assurance to the rest of the public service that the government is firmly committed to the protection of the rights of all members of this service," he said. "We are also determined to work with the organizations of the service to ensure that we have the democratic, nonracial, nonsexist, honest and accountable corps of public servants which members of the public service themselves desire."

"In this context, we must also make the observation that the government will not waver from the principle of achieving parity in remuneration and conditions of service among all workers in the public sector," he said.

Mandela called for a rapid reform of labor law where "apartheid vestiges are removed." He said, "We must end racism in the workplace as part of our common offensive against racism in general. No more should words like Kaffirs, Hottentots, Coolies, Boy, Girl, and Baas be part of our vocabulary."

The 400-seat National Assembly and 90-seat Senate together make up the Constituent Assembly, which is charged with drafting a new constitution. On May 22, the ANC chose its secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, as chairman of the Constituent Assembly.

The senate was sworn in May 20. The post of Senate President was given to former justice and prisons minister Kobie Coetsee of the National Party. ANC leader Govan Mbeki was designated Senate deputy-president.

Mandela proposed an appropriation of \$714 million from the 1994-1995 budget toward implementing the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Program. These funds will come from savings as a result of spending cuts in various ministries, including the military.

A study released May 18 by the ANC's National Institute for Economic Policy estimated the full cost of the program will run from \$22 to 25 billion over the next five years. The plan is to be financed by the government along with nongovernmental entities. At a May 21 funeral for ANC leader Elias Motsoaledi in Soweto, Mandela said critics of the plan "feel it is too much because they have no tradition of spending such huge resources on blacks in this country."

Mandela told Parliament May 24, "The Cabinet of the Government of National Unity has reached consensus . . . on many elements of a plan broadly based on that program for reconstruction and development." The cabinet includes representatives of both the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, headed by former Bantustan ruler Mangosuthu Buthelezi, now minister of Home Affairs.

Mandela said the object of government monetary policy will be to promote financial stability in order to attract much needed direct investment from abroad. The new government faces the challenge of rapidly organizing to meet the basic demands of working people while reversing capital flight, bringing down inflation, and functioning amid a worldwide economic depression. This must be accomplished while the commercial unit of the South African rand is at a historic low and the incoming government has inherited a debt of \$57 billion.

'Radically change condition of women'

"The objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Program will not have been realized unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of the women of our country has been radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society," Mandela told the Constituent Assembly.

Mandela announced South Africa would sign onto the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At a May 25 ceremony in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, South Africa joined the governmental Organization of African Unity.

The ANC leader opened his speech to South Africa's new Parliament by quoting a poem by Ingrid Jonker, a poet of Afrikaner ancestry, entitled "The Child Who Was Shot Dead By Soldiers In Nyanga." It refers to the Sharpeville anti-pass-law protests and the subsequent massacre by the regime's troops in 1960.

South Africa's *Weekly Mail and Guardian* revealed May 20 that on April 25, one day before elections began, then-president F.W. de Klerk signed over 7.4 million acres of land to



Crowd at inauguration of Nelson Mandela. The ANC has pledged to use the power of government to benefit the exploited and oppressed majority.

King Goodwill Zwelithini, a traditional leader of Zulus. The land made up a large percentage of the former KwaZulu Bantustan, and constitutes about one-third of the new KwaZulu-Natal province. The deal was made unbeknownst to Mandela and other ANC leaders.

If allowed to stand, the granting of land to a trust under Zwelithini's sole control would significantly impair ANC efforts to implement a radical land reform in the province, where Inkatha leader Buthelezi maintains his strongest support. Buthelezi said the purpose of the deal "was to prevent it from becoming state land."

Land Affairs minister Derek Hanekom of the ANC condemned the gift, saying it violated a preelection moratorium on the transfer of state lands. A cabinet meeting appointed an investigative subcommittee to look into de Klerk's actions. When asked by reporters if the transfer might be repealed or amended, Buthelezi barked, "It seems to me you do not want peace in this country."

Divisions plague rightists

Rightist groups of whites, whose united front was shattered by the ANC-led mass movement over the past five months, are dividing anew as it becomes clearer to all that the attempt to preserve apartheid is dead.

An on-the-air fight broke out May 14 between different factions at Radio Pretoria, a rightist communications mouthpiece. The station, which has repeatedly been denied

licenses to broadcast, attracted a small group of reactionaries to support its fortified compound north of the capital at the beginning of the year. As one announcer called for the station to be shut down, another called for the expulsion of the old executive committee and the election of another.

Ferdinand Hartzenberg, leader of the right-wing Conservative Party, which boycotted the elections, called it unfair and demanded "an election . . . on an ethnic basis for those nations which so prefer."

Mandela met with Hartzenberg in Cape Town May 25. Mandela said he wanted a peaceful solution to assuage right-wing fears about the new government, and said he would ask for a meeting with Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB). Hartzenberg told reporters following the discussion with Mandela, "I am going to approach Mr. TerreBlanche because I think such a meeting will be to the benefit of our country and for peace."

Mandela called the rightists' demand for amnesty for 32 AWB members charged in pre-election bombings "premature." A judge granted them bail on May 20 over prosecutors' objections. The bomb blasts killed 21 people.

In the aftermath of the elections political violence has sharply declined. South Africa's Human Rights Committee said the death toll during the third week in May fell to 14 — the lowest in any seven-day period since December 1991.

Victory to those who struggle

Continued from previous page

come a victory for all the peoples of southern Africa and the entire continent. Its effects are obvious in the desperate attacks staged by the bandits of UNITA in southern Angola, for they surely foresee that with Mandela as president, their logistical rear guard is doomed.

There has been no lack of dirty tricks, traps, maneuvers and provocations designed to hinder the struggle of the ANC, including the stirring up of tribal conflict, the manipulation of the Bantustans, even terrorist attacks. Close to 18,000 sons and daughters of South Africa have died on the long road to dignity since 1984.

But all of those desperate efforts to keep the people from arriving at this day of glory have been crushed by the talent and wisdom of Nelson Mandela, the ANC and his people. In the furthest reaches of Cape

Town, Pretoria, Natal and Johannesburg, a rallying cry has grown to symbolize the people's determination to carry on the struggle. It has become like a chant, an invocation to keep the flame of revolutionary faith burning. In the language of the blacks of South Africa, this determination and faith come together in the word "AMANDLA," which could be considered the equivalent of "VENCEREMOS" for the people of Cuba.

And today, when the shining moment has come for the new South Africa to set out on the road to a free, democratic society of equal opportunity, where all of her children can call themselves brothers and sisters without shame or fear, we the people of Cuba raise our voices in appreciation and greeting to say to you:

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Amandla, people of South Africa!

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'We come to work, not to die'

Track workers shut Conrail for 13 hours over safety

BY STEVE MARSHALL

NEWARK, New Jersey — Some 3,500 railroad maintenance workers struck Consolidated Rail Corporation (Conrail) 6:00 a.m. May 20, protesting the company's refusal to provide a safe workplace. Within a few hours one of the largest U.S. railroads was shut down.

Workers expressed the elemental stakes in the strike with hand-lettered picket signs. "We come to work, not to die," proclaimed a sign at Oak Island Yard in Newark. One of the two dozen pickets at Conway Yard near Pittsburgh carried another sign. "The second-most dangerous job in the world," it said, acknowledging the lack of safety at nearby coal mines.

The Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees (BMWE) issued a strike flyer listing the bloody price being demanded of "the men and women who maintain and construct the railroad track, buildings, and bridges owned by Conrail." Since December, two track workers have been killed and two others horribly injured by moving trains.

Federal district judge Franklin Van Antwerpen declared the strike illegal 13 hours after it began and set a May 27 hearing on Conrail's request for an injunction. BMWE officials decided to abide by the judge's order and called off the strike.

The BMWE's show of union power to fight for physical safety struck a chord among thousands of other rail workers. Members of other rail unions honored the picket lines at Conrail yards across 12 states and Quebec province, stopping rail traffic and idling 30,000 loaded railcars.

Most Conrail workers stopped at the

picket lines, others already working left their jobs. Engine-house mechanics at Selkirk Yard near Albany, New York, walked out, as did trainmen and yardmasters at Oak Island. Some joined the BMWE pickets for a time.

There were a few reports of individuals crossing picket lines. Supervisors moved some trains over short distances, and engines were seen moving sporadically in some yards. But by mid-morning the strike had effectively halted Conrail's system.

In a press release company officials dismissed the track workers' concern for safety as "a pretext to force the company to reopen its labor contract." The carrier also claimed it has an exemplary safety record.

Workers at Conrail and other U.S. and Canadian railroads are organized in more than a dozen unions; among the largest are the United Transportation Union (UTU), the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and the BMWE. All are under attack from the rail bosses and their frenzied drive to cut costs.

Downsizing the workforce

The rail carriers have relentlessly "downsized" the workforce. Newly hired rail workers can expect lower pay, harder work, less training, longer hours across greater distances, and more danger. "Why is it," asked one newly hired brakeperson at Oak Island, "that every time I get hired somewhere, it's just turning from a good job into a bad job?"

The *Pittsburgh Press* reported that between 1980 and '87 U.S. track mileage declined only slightly. But the rail bosses cut track departments in half, eliminating some 86,000 jobs.

These moves have undermined safety.

Defective track is the main cause of train derailments today, and the BMWE notes that moving trains have killed 31 maintenance-of-way workers since 1988.

The rail carriers could have prevented these accidents, several strikers said, by assigning gang watchmen to warn workers of oncoming trains. The BMWE has won that right on Amtrak, the passenger railroad. But Conrail advises its track workers to watch out for themselves.

BMWE pickets at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, described changing ties on the Monongahela main line with a warning to "get out of the way" when a loaded coal train barreled by. And track workers in Philadelphia recently had to press up against the stationary train they were working with to escape a commuter train that rushed by them.

Tom Hudson, an assistant to BMWE general chairman Jed Dodd, noted that Amtrak employees have won the right to suspend track work until they agree the work area is safe and watch protection is adequate.

Strikers in Newark also criticized Conrail's refusal to temporarily close yard tracks adjacent to the tracks they are repairing.

The BMWE strike demonstrated the economic centrality of railroads — and the potential power of rail workers. Thirty-seven percent of freight in the United States moves



Derailed on Canadian Pacific railroad in North Dakota in February. Safety conditions have deteriorated sharply as rail bosses cut train and maintenance crews.

by rail, including much of the raw material and output of basic industries.

Coal, automobiles and parts, chemicals, food products, and lumber are Conrail's main freight shipments. The company claims it lost up to \$10 million during the strike; it may lose more from customer lawsuits.

The automobile industry, with its "just-in-time" system of low inventories, is closely dependent on rail deliveries. Workers at General Motors' truck plant in Linden, New Jersey, for example, reported "chaotic" conditions the day following the strike: hour-long breaks, assembly lines down, shifts released early.

Coal mining also relies on rail. Consolidation Coal's Bailey-Enlow Fork mines in western Pennsylvania normally load six 100-car coal trains every day. But with no storage facilities, the huge complex shut down underground production at 11:00 a.m. — five hours after the rail strike began.

The *Wall Street Journal* alerted its readership that the BMWE strike "could signal tough rail-industry bargaining next year." The *Journal* has expressed concern over recent hiring in basic industry, as well as strikes by Teamsters, Caterpillar workers, and others. These, it fears, may hint at a new mood of resistance among U.S. workers.

The BMWE strike flyer closed with a slogan that has become popular at protests against racism and police brutality: "No justice, no peace!"

Steve Marshall is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New Jersey's 13th district and a member of UTU Local 1445 at Conrail. UTU members Glova Scott in Philadelphia and Stefanie Trice in Newark; International Association of Machinists member Jon Flanders in Selkirk, New York; Oil, Chemical and Atomic workers members Bernie Senter in Morgantown and Deborah Higdon in Pittsburgh; and United Steelworkers of America member Tony Dutrow in Pittsburgh also contributed to this article.

U.S. Navy enforces brutal Haiti embargo

Continued from front page
democracies left in our hemisphere," he concluded.

While U.S. military vessels ring Haiti, the Coast Guard continues to send hundreds of fleeing refugees back to the island. Since 1991, more than 40,000 people have left Haiti to escape massive violence and economic devastation. On May 7, Clinton announced he would begin to offer political asylum hearings to refugees before forcibly repatriating them. U.S. officials, however, said they did not expect the new policy to lead to an increase in the number of Haitians granted asylum. Currently, only 5 percent of those who file for asylum, receive it.

Even this minor shift, however, has not been implemented. The U.S. government has forcibly returned more than 1,000 refugees — without hearings of any kind — since the White House announcement. Washington now claims it is waiting to implement its new policy until two giant Ukrainian cruise ships leased for at-sea processing are in place or until some third country agrees to allow U.S. hearings for the refugees to be held on their territory.

Several prominent U.S. politicians, including Randall Robinson, head of TransAfrica, and the committee of Roman Catholic bishops are demanding that the U.S. government reopen a camp for the Haitian refugees at the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. Thousands of Haitian refugees were held at the Guantanamo base in 1992 under concentration-camp-like conditions until protests forced the U.S. government to shut the center down.

Meanwhile, repression in Haiti continues unabated. On May 23, four supporters of Aristide were shot to death in Port-au-Prince. The same day as the killings, the U.S. Coast Guard returned 184 Haitians picked up at sea to the capital city.

The U.S. rulers are trying to use the crisis in Haiti to whip up sentiment in the United States against the refugees and other immigrants. Alcee Hastings, Democratic representative from Florida said that the wrong questions are being asked. "If you ask the question: Do you favor military intervention in Haiti, the answer is no," he said. "But ask: If you knew that 25,000 Haitian refugees were going to come to American shores, would you? The answer is, of course, yes."

However William Gray, Clinton's special adviser on Haiti, cautioned that there is not yet sufficient support for a U.S. invasion.

Military intervention and the fate of the Haitian refugees are widely discussed questions among working people in the Miami area.

Jacques Despinosse, president of the Haitian American Democratic Club, attended a White House meeting on Haiti May 13.

"All they are talking about is refugees, refugees, refugees. They are not talking about Haiti, the well-being of Haiti, the restoration of Haiti, the restoration of democracy in Haiti," Despinosse told the *Miami Times*.

Protests in Miami

On May 21 nearly 300 people took part in a demonstration to support democracy in Haiti and defend all the political refugees. Sponsored by the Haiti Solidarity Committee, the rally was organized by Rollande Dorancy, former director of the Haitian Refugee Center, and Monica Russo, regional director of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

U.S. Congresswoman Carrie Meek spoke in favor of U.S. intervention. Russo called on the Clinton administration to force the Haitian military to comply with the Haitian constitution. "We want a real embargo Mr. Clinton. We want no more promises," Russo said. "We want action!"

While some in the Haitian community

here oppose U.S. intervention, many who attended Saturday's rally expressed the view that "anything would be better than Cedras."

A Haitian woman who was at the rally also spoke in the discussion at a Militant Labor Forum program on Haiti that evening.

"I support U.S. intervention if they get rid of the military and leave. But if they go in and stay for American interests then I'm against it," she said.

The Militant Labor Forum panel included Lavarice Gaudin, a leader of the Haitian community group Veye Yo, and Jean Luc Duval, from the Socialist Workers Party.

Both speakers opposed U.S. intervention. Gaudin supported the recent tightening of the UN trade embargo, although he pointed to the ineffectiveness of previous such embargoes.

Duval spoke against the embargo which, he said, primarily hurts Haitian working people.

"There is no short-term solution to the crisis in Haiti," he said. "We must speak out against U.S., UN or OAS intervention and win more people to that view. We need to organize more demonstrations to expose the repression in Haiti and to pressure the U.S. government to open its borders to all Haitian refugees. This will help Haitian working people take the necessary time and political space to mount the kind of movement that got rid of the Duvalier dictatorship."

Workers protest cutbacks in Atlantic Canada

BY KATY LeROUGETEL

MONTREAL — Protests against government cutbacks and union-busting continue in Canada's Atlantic Coast provinces.

Some 8,100 Newfoundland teachers entered the second week of their strike against government plans to eliminate jobs and slash education spending. Talks between the union and government have broken off.

Newfoundland students have begun organizing protests against the government's intransigence. Their academic future is affected by the teachers' strike since grades will be based on academic performance up until the time of the strike, with no chance for students to improve grades through final exams in June.

Fifty students staged a protest May 18 in Goose Bay, located in Labrador, Newfoundland. Seventeen year-old rally organizer Sarah Power said, "I just hope there are more

student demonstrations in the province so that the government is really bothered by it. Maybe we'll get something out of it."

Thousands of people in Cape Breton, a region of Nova Scotia, rallied against health-care cuts during Health Minister Ronald Stewart's recent visit to Sydney, Nova Scotia. The government has announced the closure of three of the province's 47 hospitals while services are to be cut at 29 others. To be on target for its budget cuts, the government of Nova Scotia would need to eliminate 1,300 of the existing 4,159 beds in provincially run hospitals.

In Prince Edward Island, more than 1,000 angry workers descended on the provincial legislature in Charlottetown May 19 in the fourth such action over the past six weeks. This "Vigil of Concern" was aimed at rejecting the premier's new concession proposal. Instead of the initial wage rollback of 7.5 percent for all public sector workers, the

government now proposes this only apply to those earning more than \$28,000 a year. Lower wage earners would be rolled back by 3.75 percent.

The legislature was in session as the demonstrators arrived. When Premier Catherine Callbeck refused to come out to address the crowd, the demonstrators stormed into the building chanting, "Resign! Resign!"

"Charlottetown was the birthplace of Canada," said one demonstrator, referring to the 1865 Charlottetown politicians' conference, which led to the independence of Canada from Britain. "Today, it's the deathbed of democracy."

Callbeck and other politicians were forced to flee from the building by an underground maintenance tunnel.

Katy LeRougetel is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6932 in Montreal.

Caterpillar strike wins workers' jobs back

Continued from front page

the foundry in Mapleton, Illinois, and facilities in East Peoria walked off their jobs in support of the Moseville action.

"Whether you say it or sing it, whether you put it on a button, a T-shirt, a bumper sticker — or a balloon — you have a right to voice your opinion in the workplace," a union bulletin said. "Caterpillar wants to take that right away from you. That's what this strike is about."

Hundreds of UAW members joined daily picket lines at dozens of plant gates. Pickets targeted special gates used by the company to herd scabs. A flurry of strike activity dominated the union hall where informational meetings took place, every morning and afternoon.

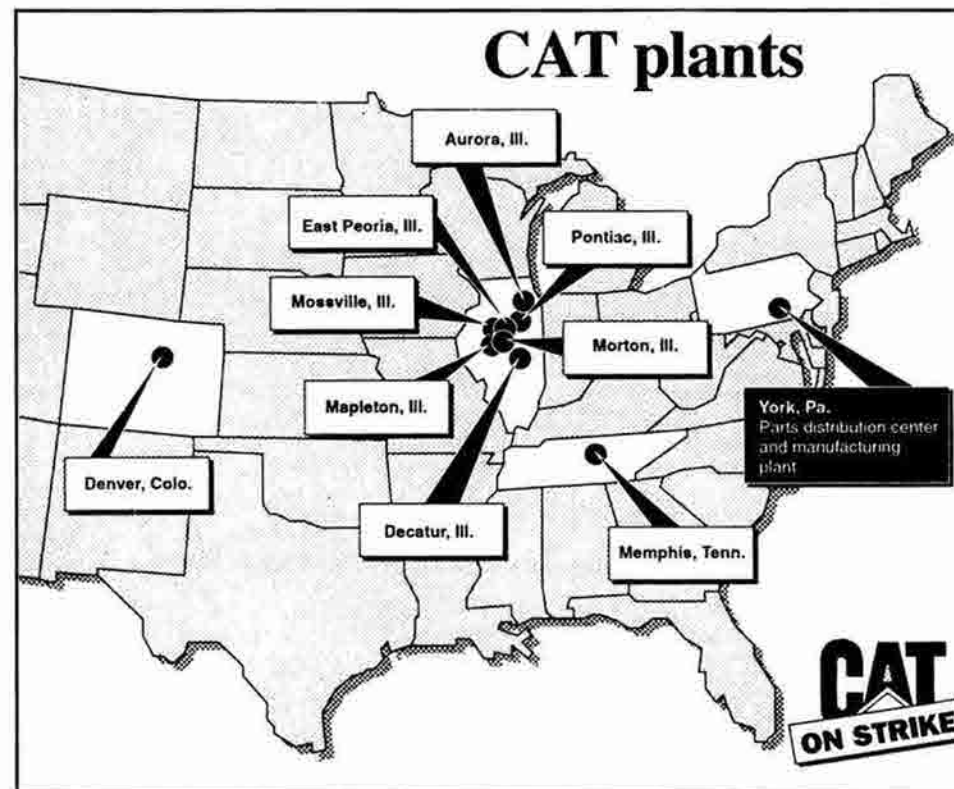
'Let's get everything taken care of'

Some workers hoped the strike would help resolve a more than two year labor dispute between Caterpillar and the UAW. "I think this is long overdue," one striker said. "Let's get everything taken care of while we are out. Going back without settling things isn't going to help our cause."

In April 1992, top union officials ended a more than five-month systemwide strike of 15,000 UAW members after Caterpillar threatened to hire permanent replacement workers. Since then, workers, who struck for a decent contract, have been working under the company's "final offer." They have faced increasing speedup, worsening working conditions, and harassment by management. Caterpillar is the world's largest manufacturer of heavy construction and earthmoving equipment.

Some 1,000 strikers and their families took their message to Caterpillar international headquarters in Peoria May 19. The militant, determined crowd jammed the sidewalks around the office building and roared chants of "Bring 'em back!" "We are — union!" and "No justice, no peace!" Sounds of a trombone, whistles, and honking horns of passing cars filled the air. Unionists briefly took to the streets and prevented police from towing a participant's car.

The protest was a powerful answer to the company and big-business media campaign to intimidate the strikers and sap their unity. A



Workers throughout Caterpillar chain have held walkouts resisting company's attacks

May 19 Peoria *Journal Star* headline blared, "CAT: We are hiring today." The company "began recalling laid-off workers and hiring new ones to counter the United Auto Workers strike," the accompanying article said. Caterpillar also announced a cutoff of medical benefits for striking workers.

Hiring new workers

These tactics had little impact on picket lines. Most strikers dismissed the company's hiring threats. "They have to hire new people anyway. They are short now," one unionist said. This "is not surprising to us." Press reports noted that Caterpillar had been running its plants at up to 17 percent overtime prior to the strike.

Strikers and many local union officials

learned May 19 that the strike had been called off when a news bulletin interrupted regular television programming. A statement issued from Detroit by Local 974 president Jerry Brown called on workers to return to work beginning with the first shift on May 20. The statement also announced that a mass membership meeting slated for May 22 was canceled. Brown and officials from other UAW locals in the Caterpillar chain had earlier been summoned to Detroit for a meeting with UAW international officials.

'One skirmish in larger war'

Picket lines grew as strikers heard the news. They exchanged available information and began to assess their experiences. The discussions continued the next day in-

side and outside the plants. Clumps of UAW members gathered in parking lots for discussions before and after shifts.

"We've been through a lot in two and a half years and we're just trying to assess where we are at," a foundry worker said in an interview. "We'll probably have to go through a lot more before this is over."

"This is just one skirmish in a larger war," another worker said. "This was a test of our unity and strength," a third added. One UAW member reported that the atmosphere back in the plants is tense.

Don Cutler, employed by Caterpillar for 30 years, called the back-to-work decision a "short truce." He said the company had broken it in less than 24 hours when management moved to victimize some UAW members for participating in strike activities. Caterpillar management said it was indefinitely suspending six unionists, claiming that they had been involved in "physical abuse" against workers who had crossed picket lines. Union officials denied the charges and said the company had only informed them of two suspensions for activities during the strike.

Company spokesman Keith Butterfield claimed the union leadership had ended the strike because "their members were deserting them in droves." Butterfield claimed that 1,000 workers had crossed picket lines.

But UAW members and officials reported that fewer workers had crossed the picket line than in previous strikes here. Pickets at the Mapleton foundry reported that only 10 workers had crossed the line. Strikers learned that management told supervisors and salaried personnel to drop car pools, drive their own vehicles to work, and to "dress down" to create the impression that many workers were reporting to their jobs. Workers said they witnessed the same cars coming in one gate, out another, and in yet another to raise the company's count of strikebreakers. At Building LL here semitrailers and metal containers were set up to hide the parking lot from the street.

Returning to old contract?

Following the UAW's May 7 solidarity rally of 15,000, top union officials presented a proposal to Caterpillar management to start up negotiations that broke off in May 1992. The union proposed going back to the terms and conditions of the 1988-91 contract or accepting "baseball" style arbitration that requires an arbitrator to decide in favor of the total proposal of either the company or the union.

Caterpillar executives rejected the proposal to return to this contract because they said it would not allow the company to be globally competitive. Caterpillar has, however, hammered its main competitor, Komatsu, a company based in Japan. Komatsu has lost ground in most product categories while Caterpillar has posted gains of up to 10 percentage points.

Peter Thierjung is a member of UAW Local 538 in Cleveland.

'We're human beings, not bought servants'

Spouses of Caterpillar workers form group to support fight against bosses

BY PETER THIERJUNG

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — Spouses and children of United Auto Workers (UAW) union members are an important contingent in the fight by the union to win a contract with Caterpillar Inc.

In recent interviews here, several wives of Caterpillar workers described what motivated them to become active in the struggle. Some belong to a group called Families in Solidarity (FIS), which is organized by the UAW to support the struggle. Others just pitch in and help with support activities.

Lynne Hawkins, who said she's been working three jobs to help feed her family and send her children to school, became active about a year and a half ago. Her husband has been employed by Caterpillar for 22 years. But "he never brought any fliers or information home," she said.

"When that attitude comes home, when my kids' medical benefits are affected, when my retirement is affected, I wanted to know what's happening," Hawkins explained. "So I came down to the union hall."

Hawkins said her husband was stressed by conditions on the job ever since workers went back to work in 1992 without a contract after a more than five month strike. The walkout was called off by top union officials when the company threatened to hire scabs.

Since then, management has imposed its "final offer," which has meant worsening working conditions, speedup, harassment by supervisors, cuts in medical benefits, and other takebacks.

'Everyone's future is at stake'

"I personally don't care about my husband getting a raise," Hawkins said. "It's not the money. It's the future that I care about. Just don't take my benefits. And where will the wages and benefits be for the next generation? That's why everyone should support the union."

"That company didn't give us a thing," Hawkins explained. "We fought for and earned it. Caterpillar's making the biggest profits ever. We're making it for them. What

else do they want from us? We're human beings, not bought and sold servants."

Colleen Christopher chairs the Families in Solidarity group here at UAW Local 974. She also became active a year-and-a-half ago. "We all had to rally around," Christopher said. "When the men see the wives involved, it helps. Everyone's future is at stake."

Christopher said the family group has organized fund-raising events to help workers fired by Caterpillar for union activities since 1992.

Plant-gate rallies to boost the morale of workers in the plants have also been sponsored by Families in Solidarity. "The women get the same intimidation by the cops out there" when rallies are held, Christopher said.

Organizing '24 hours a day'

More recently, FIS has organized informational meetings for family members to discuss the "ins and outs" of unfair labor practice strikes. There have been eight such walkouts in the Caterpillar chain since September 1993.

Sharon Fisher said that she was a housewife who did volunteer work and "never caused waves anywhere" until April 1993.

"It starts with the family," Fisher said. When her husband's seniority was ignored and the company bumped him from a high-paying job to the lowest wage, denied him a promotion, and then suspended him for union activities, Fisher became angry. "Our family's sole support was sent out the door."

Fisher said she learned of other injustices inflicted by the company and can now spend "24 hours a day" organizing support activities.

At the end of April, Fisher, several other spouses, and children of UAW members organized a union rally at Caterpillar's Morton, Illinois, parts plant. They arrived at the plant just before the noon lunch break and quickly set up tables right outside the building's entrance on company property.

Threats by company security guards to have the women arrested for trespassing had no effect. Hundreds of sandwiches were

unpacked and refreshments poured. Before long almost 150 first-shift UAW members, many wearing red union T-shirts, joined the lunchtime union rally.

Security guards videotaped the event, but workers were not intimidated. After brief speeches, everyone joined in chants of "We are — union!" and "No contract, no peace!" Workers then returned to the plant.

Donations collected for the lunch were sent to workers in Decatur, Illinois, who are locked out by the corn processing A. E. Staley Mfg. Co.

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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers Party, lived in Nicaragua from 1981 to '86. Recently reported for the *Militant* from Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Sat., June 4, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 5:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Donation: Program \$5. Dinner \$5. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

Benefit for the New International Fund: The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers Party, lived in Nicaragua from 1981 to '86. Recently reported for the *Militant* from Cuba, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Sun., June 5, 6:30 p.m. Reception 5:30 p.m. Class: "Challenges Facing the Cuban Revolution" 1 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: Class \$2; program \$5; both \$6. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

End Forced Return of Haitian Refugees! Clinton Government Continues Criminal Repatriation Policy. Speakers: Pierre Labossier, Bay Area Haitian American Council; representative,

Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 11, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Sat., June 4, 7:30 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (305) 756-1020. Donation \$3. Translation to French and Spanish.

IOWA

Des Moines

Birth of a New South Africa: Victory for Humanity. An evening to celebrate and benefit the New International Fund. Speaker: Greg Rosenberg, staff writer for the *Militant*, recently returned from a reporting trip to South Africa. Sat., June 4, 7:30 p.m. Buffet dinner 6 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: Program \$5. Dinner \$5. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Capitalism's March to War and Depres-

sion: The Socialist Alternative in 1994. Speakers: Toni Jackson, Socialist Workers candidate for Governor of Michigan, and member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 26; Cindy Jaquith, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress from Detroit, and member of United Auto Workers Local 155; and John Sarge, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Michigan, and member of United Auto Workers Local 900. Sun., June 5, 5 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, member of United Auto Workers Local 155, and member of the *Militant's* Nicaragua bureau in the 1980s. Sat., June 11, 7:30 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

"How Workers and Youth Can Fight Capitalism's March Towards War and Fascism." Speaker: Mark Gilsdorf, national leader Socialist Youth Organizing Committee, recently returned

from France, where he attended International Solidarity Conference with Cuba sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Hill Hall, Room 108, Rutgers Newark Campus, 360 Martin Luther King Blvd. Sat., June 4, 7:30 p.m. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

U.S. Hands Off Korea! Speakers: Kelly Koh, Korean Church Coalition; Alyson Kennedy, Socialist Workers Party, and member of United Transportation Union. Sat., June 4, 7:30 p.m. 523 8th St. SE. Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 547-7557.

CANADA

Vancouver

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution: Celebrate publication of *New Internationalist* no. 9. Speaker: Harvey McArthur, *Militant* reporter in Nicaragua, 1986-88, and member of International Association of Machinists Local 289 in Seattle. Sat., June 4, 8 p.m. Barbeque, 6 p.m. 482 E. 37 Ave. Donation: \$10 for dinner and program. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

Strikes and protests in China

Continued from front page

merous times in recent months to demand payment on back wages. City transport workers staged a paralyzing strike there last year.

Causes of the resistance range from demands for pay raises to dignity and safety on the job. "Working conditions in some areas resemble those once described in 19th-century Britain, where [Karl] Marx proclaimed the inevitability of social revolution," a May 19 *Wall Street Journal* article warned.

The *Journal* described the conditions common in China through the experiences of Peng Lingbo. The 18-year-old woman is one of a million migrant workers who traveled from farm villages to the southern county of Dongguan looking for a job.

Peng works 13 hours a day in a garment shop. Management cut her wage from about \$34.50 a month to about \$28.75. She earns 1 cent for every three pairs of pants she completes. The plant manager will fire anyone who protests pay cuts or working conditions, Peng said. He can always find newly arrived migrant workers to fill their shoes.

The company does not charge Peng for housing — a walled-off section of the shop floor she shares with 30 coworkers — but it deducts nearly a quarter of her wages for meals. Local officials have come to the factory twice since she has worked there, not to inspect safety or working conditions, but to check registration papers. Workers said that those who don't register, which costs more than one month's wages, are shipped to labor camps where they produce without pay.

"I think this is what happens when you have private companies," Peng said. "In private companies, you know, the workers don't have rights."

Work sites are hazardous. Some 750 coal miners were killed in explosions in the first three months of this year, for example. Forced overtime at straight-time pay, unhygienic living quarters, and child labor are not uncommon.

Industrial restructuring

The Wuhan Iron and Steel Company, China's seventh largest state-owned enterprise, pushed 70,000 of its 120,000 workers into lower-paying jobs at eight subsidiaries. Liu Benren, Wuhan Steel's president, said management plans to double its output of 5 million tons per year within six years and further reduce its workforce to 40,000 to reach current world-standard productivity levels.

Industrial restructuring has rendered at least 4 million urban workers officially unemployed. China's state-owned factories still dominate the economy, employing 109 million workers and 20 million pensioners. Two-thirds of these plants are heavily dependent on central bank loans to cover payroll expenses. Output from the state industries grew only 2.2 percent in the first quarter compared to an annual rate of 30 percent for private businesses.

Inflation is running at 25 percent in China's largest cities and wages are not keeping up. The latest statistics show inflation rising significantly slower in March and April than earlier in the year in China's 35 largest cities, where government price controls are more strictly enforced. But strong

inflation continues in smaller cities and rural areas where more than two-thirds of China's 1.2 billion people live.

Officials are debating how quickly to lay off workers, close unprofitable plants, and cut back on government loans to state industries. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has instructed managers to avoid the kind of shock therapy that could trigger strikes. "Without stability, there is no point in talking about anything," said Deputy Prime Minister Zhu Rongji. "A small incident can disrupt the historical process, so we must not pursue speed only — our work must be solid." In May, Zhu announced that under a new State Council credit policy, major new loans will be provided to state-owned industries to pay back wages and avert the layoff of millions of workers.

The Chinese government also said in May that it would now require joint-ventures to have labor unions. The government's publication, *Economic Daily*, admitted in a recent editorial that investors from abroad "act completely lawlessly and immorally and lust after wealth."

"They [the government] threaten every once in a while to tighten up on labor standards and protect workers," said Norman Givant, a Shanghai-based lawyer who represents international businesses in China. "In reality, the Chinese [rulers] consistently back the managers."

Workers form unions

The government-run All-China Federation of Trade Unions is the only legal union in the country. A Hong Kong magazine reported more than 800 underground unions have been formed in Guangdong, China's most industrialized province. The *Globe & Mail* of Canada said these trade unions function like secret societies and lack formal



Woman makes sewing machines at Singer Co. plant in Shanghai, China.

rules but are feared by employers.

In rural China the worsening conditions have increased the number of peasant protests. Farmers have contested everything from government corruption and unjust taxation to Beijing's forced abortion policy.

Peasants in Anhui province presented an eight-page petition accusing the local CCP chief of misusing tens of thousands of dollars in public funds, turning the village party office into a center for selling abducted women as brides, and ordering the militia to beat opponents. Last year about 400 villagers drove their tractors, adorned with banners demanding justice, to the county CCP secretary's office to demand the local official's ouster. "Now they [the authorities] are afraid of us," said Shi Jinghe, a 60-year-old peasant.

"We must never underestimate the effect of rural unrest on our national situation," said Ren Jianxin, president of the Supreme People's Court, May 22. "Security problems

are escalating enormously," he stated.

The Chinese government leaders argue that they must maintain "social stability" in order to provide investors with "economic stability."

It has become clear that U.S. president Bill Clinton plans to renew Beijing's most-favored nation (MFN) trading status, despite some posturing over human rights in China.

House Speaker Thomas Foley said the withdrawal of trade benefits would cause "a trade disruption" and would make Washington "less influential, not more influential" with Beijing on human rights. One hundred six other House members signed a letter urging unconditional renewal of China's MFN status. At the same time, U.S. companies have made their desire to continue to profit off Chinese investment known. Nearly 800 major corporations informed Clinton that denying China the trade benefits would cost them billions.

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No temps available? — Recently in Arkansas, two men were



Harry Ring

executed on the same night. AP news agency reported a prison official as explaining that "more such multiple executions were being considered as a way to save on overtime pay for prison employees and to reduce the stress of conducting frequent single executions."

If you'd just shut up — "Because of the hostility and litiga-

tion, making a less hazardous cigarette would imply that the company's other products were hazardous. ... If the situation were less hostile between the antismoking people and the tobacco industry, we probably would have some much improved cigarettes on the market." — Gio Gori, a scientist who has worked for the coffin-nail industry and the government.

New HMO — Insurance companies routinely deny life and health insurance to women known to have been beaten by their husbands. One report says, "Some insurers say their practices are designed to protect battered women by not giving their attackers, who could be beneficiaries, a financial incentive to kill the women."

And far more enlightened — A Florida school board controlled by supporters of the rightist Christian Coalition voted to comply with a state mandate to teach about other cultures, but would also instill "an appreciation of our American heritage and culture," including "capitalism ... patriotism, [and] strong family values ... that are superior to other foreign or historic cultures."

Ms. Dairy Queen? — Dairy Queen is remarketing Mr. Misty drinks as Misty Slushes. A spokesperson explains: "We're getting gender-sensitive here."

Horatio Alger story — An ad for *Forbes* magazine, ("A capitalist tool"), noted that its readers include

Scott McNealy, top dog at Sun Microsystems. It says that in 1977 McNealy was a mere auto shop foreman and all he dreamed of was owning his own machine shop. The ad forgot to mention that the ex-foreman's dad is a vice prez of American Motors.

And your increase was? — Chief execs at the 800 top U.S. corporations took home the biggest bundle yet, according to *Forbes* magazine. It reported that 63 percent of the 800 made at least a million last year, with increases of 11 percent over 1992.

Postgraduate education — Corporations are offering lower starting pay to college grads and getting more choosy about who they

hire, reports Associated Press. A DuPont campus recruiter said, "We used to hire from among the top 10 percent in a graduating class. Now we look only at the top 1 percent."

Payriots — Boeing aircraft paid \$75 million to settle charges of systematically mischarging and overcharging on government war contracts. No criminal charges will be filed.

Thought for the week — "People get awfully upset when there are no raises, then there are layoffs, and the CEO gets a \$500,000 bonus. This growing disparity plays into it." — A "crisis management" psychologist explaining why it isn't just the availability of guns that's sparking mayhem in the workplace.

Building a revolutionary, working-class party

Communist leader's 'Letters from Prison,' written during World War II, offers lessons for today

Letters from Prison: A Revolutionary Party Prepares for Post-WWII Labor Battles by James P. Cannon. 362 pp. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1994. \$21.95.

BY MARK CURTIS

To follow the events in South Africa is to feel the awesome power of a revolution. Much of the leadership of the African National Congress, which has mobilized millions of workers and farmers to bring down apartheid and begin building a nonracial society, was forged and tempered in Pretoria's prisons.

Today's rebel youth will be as attracted to this powerful democratic revolution as they are repelled by capitalism's racism, wars, and poverty. That is why *Letters From Prison*, recently reprinted by Pathfinder, should be in their personal library.

IN REVIEW

Letters From Prison is a book that might have been titled "How to Make a Revolution" or, more exactly, "How to Build a Revolutionary Party." James P. Cannon, who spent his life building such an organization, develops his ideas on communist leadership, education, journalism, and tradition in these practical but exciting letters.

These letters were written in 1944 and '45, while Cannon, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, was serving a 16-month sentence in the federal prison at Sandstone, Minnesota.

He and 17 other leaders of the SWP and Teamster union in Minnesota — known as the Minneapolis 18 — were the first to be jailed under the thought-control Smith Act for the "crime" of speaking out against the imperialist slaughter of the second World War.

The frame-ups were used by the government to go after antiwar and union rebels. They also hoped to effectively outlaw the SWP and destroy it.

In this the government failed. Other leaders of the party stepped forward and the

SWP expanded its work. From prison Cannon contributed his ideas, suggestions, and accumulated wisdom.

The SWP was the only party that condemned Washington's imperialistic aims in the war and supported the struggles against racism and the bosses. The labor officialdom and other parties that called themselves communist all fell into line behind the rulers in demanding that workers put their struggles on hold.

By 1943 there were signs of a changing mood in the country after three years of war. The militant strike by coal miners, rebellions by Blacks in Harlem and Detroit, and the support for freeing the Minneapolis 18 among workers who saw it as a labor case signaled the coming radicalization.

Cannon urged the party to launch a program of expansion in response to these openings: enlarging the *Militant* from four to eight pages, publishing four new books, putting eight new party organizers into the field, starting a communist "university" and education department, and raising a fund to pay for it all.

The *Militant* must serve "as a combination tool which can be used on several different jobs," Cannon explained. It needed to lead both the newly interested reader and the experienced communist into deeper study. "Our language and our arguments must be simplified and made more accessible to the new type of reader," wrote Cannon, without "talking down" to him or her.

"Appeal to the young," he said. "This is the key to all our work. The young relate the word to the deed. They are moved and inspired by example. That is why they demand heroes; nobody can talk them out of it."

Many of the weaknesses and faults of the communist movement through its 150-year history have been caused by a shortage of leaders drawn from the working class. Cannon wanted to end these deficiencies. "I am bent and determined on the training of a proletarian leadership for the proletarian party of the future," he vowed. His solution: A full-time, tuition-free school where workers beginning to take on leadership in the party could study Marxism, the history of the revolutionary movement, and knowledge denied them by schooling under capitalist society.

Additionally, Cannon proposed a party education department charged with creating a culture of learning in the entire party through organized classes. "The cadres of the new generation must be inspired to study by the general atmosphere of the party," Cannon wrote. "They must be required to study in order to qualify for recognition in party work; they must be aided and guided in their studies in all stages of their development."

Letters From Prison can help inspire and guide us to do the same. Among the many other subjects covered in this book are how to democratically select a leadership, the Democratic and Republican parties, and the history of the communist movement in the United States.

Cannon's personal comments have happily been left in these letters. They reveal his humor, impatience to move ahead, and warm concern for family and friends — in short, his humanness.

Shortly before he was released, Cannon drew some lessons about his own experience in prison. "The most important thing of all we have to say to the young militants who



Cops teargas picket line at U.S. Electrical Motors Inc. in Los Angeles, January 1946. Cannon encouraged revolutionaries to prepare for such postwar battles.

have to do time in the future is that they should immerse themselves in intellectual work," he wrote. "The concrete walls and the steel bars are real. But, after all, they are only one kind of prison. There are also the prisons of ignorance and prejudice, of selfishness and of thought limited to the present day. If one sets himself to the task of break-

ing out of these prisons; if he feels that with every day's work and study he has made a little headway; then the time passes and the concrete walls don't crowd in so closely."

Mark Curtis is a framed-up union and political activist currently incarcerated in Ft. Madison, Iowa.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —



NEWCASTLE, N.H. — This quiet, out-of-the-way New Hampshire resort town was the scene of a quite unusual demonstration on May 13.

The occasion was a special banquet, sponsored by America's legal elite, at which the honored guest was Judge Cancio of Puerto Rico, the judge who has been presiding over the draft registers' trials in Puerto Rico.

As the bejeweled, dinner-jacketed crowd gathered at Wentworth-by-the-Sea, a particularly elegant resort spot, they were greeted by a crowd of demonstrators chanting their support for the 96 Puerto Rican youths who have refused to serve in the U.S. Army.

Numerous signs called for an end to colonial rule in Puerto Rico, an end to the drafting of Puerto Rican youth, and asked why Judge Cancio's son joined the National Guard rather than go to Vietnam.



June 3, 1944

Seven years ago, on Memorial Day, occurred the massacre of the Chicago Republic

Steel workers during the 1937 Little Steel strike. In one murderous assault by the police agents of the Kelly-Nash "New Deal" politics machine, the true picture of capitalism and the role of its political hirelings was unveiled. Never will class-conscious workers forget that this slaughter of 10 workers, the maiming, blinding and wounding of scores of others, was the vile work of [President Franklin] Roosevelt's closest political collaborators, and that his only response was his smug dictum, "A plague on both your houses."

On May 30, 1937, a peaceful column of several hundred strikers, their wives and children, were marching in a demonstration to the plant of the Republic Steel Corporation in South Chicago.

Two hundred cops were guarding the grounds. According to an eye-witness account, "The strikers stopped, face to face with the police, waiting quietly while a union spokesman asked Police Captain Mooney for permission to picket on the public street." Suddenly, without a word of warning, the police cold-bloodedly fired into that peaceful holiday crowd; the shooting "was thick as machine-gun fire," said one witness. Men, women, and children turned and fled in confusion, and as they ran, scores fell, shot in the back.

Newsreel photographers had taken pictures of the entire event. These newsreels were released in Chicago, but ran only one day, before the city administration ordered them withdrawn.

From Pathfinder

LETTERS FROM PRISON

by James P. Cannon
Prison correspondence of a revolutionary leader jailed during World War II. Discusses how to educate and organize a communist movement able to stand up to wartime repression and prepare for the big labor battles that were emerging during the closing years of the war. 362 pp. \$21.95



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

End U.S. embargo of Haiti!

The U.S. government's use of military might to enforce a brutal economic embargo of Haiti has nothing to do with defending the interests of working people, either in that country or in the United States. The decision to fire on two vessels — at least one of which was attempting to transport food supplies into the country — is the inevitable outcome of the imposition of economic sanctions. Both the embargo and the use of force will be used as a club against the toilers in Haiti and throughout the region. Both should be condemned.

Washington has a 100-year history of imperialist intervention and thuggery in the Caribbean, beginning with the seizure of Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898 and going right up to the present day. Its goal has always been the same — to defend the profits and prerogatives of the capitalist class in the United States. From the 19-year occupation of Haiti itself in 1915-'34 to the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic and the 1983 invasion of Grenada, not one of these military forays has been anything but a blow to the sovereignty of workers and peasants of the region. Washington has used its military might to squelch the struggles of the toilers and to attack the rights of working people around the world.

U.S. president Bill Clinton's statement that "Haiti and Cuba are the only two non-democracies left in our hemisphere," should stand as a warning that the Cuban revolution is one of the real targets of the imperialist warships.

The U.S. rulers don't care one iota about the lives of the Haitian people — any more than they care about working people in the United States. Their insistence on shipping Haitian refugees back to death squads in Port-au-Prince is at one with the sanctions and blockade. Their goal in Haiti is not a democratic government that will advance the interests of the toilers, but a stable regime that will do the bidding of the bosses in Washington. If they think they can get away with installing such a government by force, they

will try to do so. But the continuing fighting spirit and opposition of the Haitian toilers to the military dictatorship, as well as opposition to U.S. intervention by working people and governments in the region, has held them back.

The sanctions and frigates have nothing to do with ending the slaughter on the Caribbean island. Washington supported decades of torture, murder, and disappearances under the reign of the U.S.-supported Duvalier dictatorship. Rather, they are being used to whip up an anti-immigrant campaign at home. If you don't want 25,000 Haitian refugees showing up at your door, support military intervention, U.S. congressman Alcee Hastings said, echoing Clinton.

Some who claim to speak for the Haitian workers and peasants, like Randall Robinson and the conference of bishops, argue that instead of the forced repatriation of refugees, Washington should establish a prison camp at the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. The U.S. government tried this once before and working people — in Haiti and elsewhere — rejected these brutal concentration camps.

What the toilers in Haiti need above all is time and space to organize and develop a leadership that can chart a course forward against both the military regime and imperialist exploitation. The labor movement in the United States and around the world, as well as youth and all democratic-minded people, should fight for demands that make this possible. These include an end to the economic embargo and military blockade of the island and the opening of U.S. borders to all Haitian refugees. They, along with all immigrant workers, should be guaranteed full democratic rights, decent living conditions, medical care, and the right to look for work.

U.S. hands off Haiti!
End the blockade now!
Open the borders to Haitian refugees!

Canadian rulers fan divisions

Working people and supporters of democratic rights should oppose the chauvinist campaigns that are being led by capitalist politicians in Canada against the rights of Quebecois and Native people to self-determination and to their efforts to play off one oppressed nationality against the other. Fostering divisions among working people of different nationalities, languages, and skin color is a central aspect of the rulers' efforts to break up the growing resistance to the capitalists' drive to make workers and farmers pay for their economic crisis.

The reactionary anti-Quebec campaign warns of dire economic and political consequences if Quebecois should decide to separate and form an independent country. At the same time Ottawa is attempting to pit Quebecois and Native people against one another by sparking a campaign by Native leaders threatening to split away from an independent Quebec. But the rulers' campaign is not aimed at defending the rights of Natives, which they have always opposed, including with armed force, but to convince working people to oppose Quebec's right to self-determination.

Working people in Canada, however, have no stake of any kind in whether or not the country remains a single nation-state. Canada, like the United States, Britain, and other capitalist countries is controlled by a tiny handful of capitalist billionaire families who rule to defend their profit system against the overwhelming majority of working people whom they oppress and exploit both at home and abroad. Uniting all working people against the capitalist rulers regardless of language, nationality, sex, or skin color is essential if the labor movement is to defend our common interests against the rulers' attacks.

A key element of forging such unity is defending the national rights of both Quebecois and Native people and opposing the capitalist politicians' threats, blackmail, and chauvinist campaigns against them. This includes defending the right to self-determination of both the Quebecois and Native people and rejecting the reactionary campaigns being waged by both the capitalist rulers in Ottawa and the bourgeois nationalists of the Bloc Quebecois and Parti Quebecois who demand that the federal government quell the struggle of Mohawk Indians for their rights.

Class battles ahead in China

The market reforms that put China's economy more at the mercy of world capitalism will continue to generate mounting class struggles. Forcing millions of peasants off the land, brutal industrialization, and pauperization of millions will produce explosive resistance. The working class and peasantry in China have changed the course of history more than once.

The world bourgeoisie's dreams of the great miracle of more than a billion Chinese consumers and cheap laborers to exploit is becoming a headache that will develop into a more serious problem for them. U.S., British, Japanese, and other investors predicted the new economic openings in China would strengthen capitalism. The environment seemed more stable than what they faced in Eastern Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union, where workers resisted their "shock therapy."

But in fact, market reforms in China will speed up the crisis of world capitalism by bringing millions of peasants into the working class and growing numbers of urban and rural toilers into struggles on a scale not seen in decades. The strikes and peasant protests are scattered and often disorganized, but as Shi Jinghe points out, they are having an impact. "Now they [the authorities] are afraid of us," said the 60-year-old peasant.

The capitalist wannabes in China are in quite a bind and so are their friends in Washington, London, Seoul, and Tokyo. They must drive ahead with closing more unprofitable factories, forcing more peasants off the land, squeezing more from workers, and taking less responsibility for social services, in order to fatten their coffers and keep China appealing for investors.

At the same time, the Stalinist rulers in Beijing and their

imperialist allies abroad cannot prevent the production of their own gravediggers. They must face a growing working class that proved in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union that it is stronger than, and will outlive, the Stalinist murder machine.

What will begin to open up is the possibility of political life for working people out of the horrible crisis that is shaping up in the deformed and degenerated Chinese workers state. Through the battles ahead, workers in that country too will have the chance to build communist leaderships.

To maintain their positions and drive working people out of politics, the Chinese Stalinists have committed terrible crimes against humanity. They continue to rely on these abuses to try to guarantee the stability needed for profitable capitalist investment. Washington hypocritically denounces these abuses while pushing Beijing to open its markets even broader to U.S. capital.

The U.S. government has every intention of taking advantage of opportunities to make profits in China no matter what the cost for working people. Washington tries to exploit the crimes of the regime in Beijing to project itself as a champion of democracy and defender of civil liberties around the world.

But the U.S. government's actions speak louder than words. From the slaughter of millions in imperialist wars to the misery brought by capitalism through racism, sexism, unemployment, and homelessness, Washington has proven it has no intention of protecting workers and farmers in any corner of the globe.

The working class in China and around the world is the only force that can transform and salvage the future.

The 'Brown vs. Board of Education' decision

BY SARA LOBMAN

Forty years ago, on May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional. The massive civil rights movement that shook the United States in the decade following the *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education* decision smashed the system of legal segregation, known as Jim Crow, in the southern part of the country. In doing so it demolished one of the greatest barriers to the unity of the working class and its ability to fight in its own interests.

Jim Crow segregation was the attempt by the capitalist rulers in the south to institutionalize and codify into law the oppression of Blacks beginning in the 1870s. It was the reaction of the capitalist class to the governments of radical reconstruction that had come to power following the defeat of slavery in the civil war. Through land reform and other measures, these revolutionary regimes sought to advance the interests of the toilers.

The bosses used Jim Crow to separate Blacks from the economic, political, and social activity of whites through a host of racist laws — backed by both state-organized force and violence and extra-legal goon squads like the Ku Klux Klan. Blacks became a source of cheap labor for the rulers, with little right to own land or compete for jobs as equals with whites. Black and white working people were divided up and down the line — from separate water fountains and bathrooms to segregated schools. Through poll taxes, literacy tests, and other means, most Blacks were effectively denied the franchise.

Most factories in the south were segregated, with the cleaner, safer, and better-paid jobs reserved for whites. Black and white workers had separate lunch rooms, locker rooms, and toilets. The massive movement to forge industrial unions in the 1930s began to break down segregation in workers' organizations. But until the civil rights movement, most union locals in the South were Jim Crow locals, even when the parent union was not.

Separate and unequal

The *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" had its roots in the struggles of Blacks against racism during World War II, especially the fight to end segregation in the army, and the labor struggles of the 1930s and in the years immediately following the war.

The lawsuit was filed by the NAACP on behalf of Linda Brown, a seven-year-old student who was bused to an inferior "colored" school, while a white school stood only a few blocks from her house. The NAACP argued that segregated schooling was, by definition, harmful for Black children. The lawsuit itself was part of a legal campaign to end segregated education in the South.

The *Brown* ruling helped crack the legal framework of Jim Crow, but, by itself, it didn't desegregate a single school. In the decade that followed, however, millions of people — Black working people in the south, Black and white students from the north, and many others — took to the streets and through sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and marches successfully ended legal segregation.

Many working people knew that ending *de jure* segregation by itself wouldn't end segregated workplaces and schools, let alone guarantee Blacks equal pay for equal work, equal education, or anything else. In fact, in a May 31, 1954, article, the *Militant* pointed out that unless "the segregation of the Negro people in housing and in the community as a whole" was eliminated, the *Brown* decision would mean nothing. To combat this legal segregation, working people and other opponents of racism have fought for affirmative action quotas, busing, and other measures.

The fight to unite the working class

These demands remain important. Liberal columnist Bob Hebert, in a May 18 *New York Times* article, argued that segregation still exists because of the "bad faith and racism of enormous numbers of white Americans." But this turns things on their head. It's not working people — Black or white — who benefit from racism. In fact, racist prejudice among workers and farmers in the United States greatly diminished as a result of the civil rights battles. This massive movement was a blow to the rulers because it helped transform the political consciousness of the working class and affected society as a whole. It also produced a small but significant layer of middle-class Blacks who increasingly seek to become capitalists and have divergent interests from most Blacks who are workers.

Segregation exists because it's good for the bosses. It divides and weakens the entire working class and lowers the value of all labor power. Today, under the impact of the capitalist economic crisis, the gap between the economic and social conditions of workers who are Black in the United States and those of the working class as a whole have widened in comparison to the 1970s. Schools, housing, and other facilities have become increasingly re-segregated. Rightist politicians use racist demagoguery more and more in their attacks on working people. In a May 15 article in the *Washington Post*, for example, conservative columnist George Will paid lip service to the *Brown* decision, and at the same time condemned attempts today to fight against racist discrimination, including affirmative action quotas and school busing.

But working people and youth who want to fight against the racism and economic devastation bred by capitalism have everything to gain by demanding measures that continue to break down the divisions between working people. This is the best way to celebrate the battles by millions of fighters that led to the *Brown* decision and other civil rights milestones.

Electronics workers prepare for contract fight

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.

Members of approximately 35 union locals across the eastern United States rallied May 14 at the hall of the United Electrical, Radio,

mands from the Dry Cargo Coalition and the Tanker Service Committee for wage cuts as high as 60 percent and reductions in health-care and pension benefits. The companies are also seeking the right to refuse work to any seafarers dispatched by the unions.

Lykes Brothers Steamship Co., which has been bargaining independently, is demanding permission to cancel its union contract for any vessel that loses government subsidies.

The NMU began talks with tanker operators in New York May 17. A couple weeks earlier Louis Parise, the union's president, reportedly instructed members to form strike committees to prepare for a possible walkout.

ON THE PICKET LINE

and Machine Workers of America (UE) Local 506 in Erie, Pennsylvania, to demand a decent contract from General Electric.

Agreements at GE, Westinghouse, and Martin Marietta expire June 26. The rally was the second of four scheduled around the country. Workers came from some of the largest GE plants, including those in Erie; Lynn, Massachusetts; and Evendale, Ohio. The 15 unions that comprise the Coordinated Bargaining Committee with the electronics industry include the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Salaried, Machine and Furniture Workers; International Association of Machinists; United Steelworkers of America; Teamsters; and UE.

Seafarers ready for battle with tanker, cargo bosses

Some 9,000 members of District 1 of the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association and the National Maritime Union (NMU) are preparing to strike two U.S.-flag shipping groups. The separate container and tanker contracts for the seagoing unions expire June 15.

Both unions have rejected de-

The International Organization of Masters, Mates & Pilots and the American Radio Association, which represent deck and radio officers, have said they would honor picket lines set up by striking unions.

Garment workers back contract fight in Georgia

More than 600 Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) members and their families filled a state park in Greensboro, Georgia, May 7 for a labor picnic and rally. The gathering backed workers fighting for their first contract at Chipman-Union Inc.

Workers at Chipman-Union hosiery mills in Greensboro and Union Point voted last July to join ACTWU. F. Sibley Bryan, the owner, has contested the election and refused to negotiate a contract. Several workers have been fired for union activity. Most of the mainly female workforce at Chipman-Union is Black.

"We're trying to get a contract," Charlotte Hunt told the crowd, to cheers and applause. Hunt, a sewing machine operator, has worked at Chipman-Union for 16 years. "We



Some 1,500 nurses and their supporters marched May 7 for a decent contract from Swedish Hospital in Seattle. The nurses are members of Local 1199 of the Service Employees' International Union.

need better insurance. We need vacations. We need an end to favoritism. We're going to do what we have to do to get a contract. If we stand strong and fight, we'll get one."

The unionists were joined by other garment workers. Among those attending the picnic and rally were Sweet Orr workers from Madison, Georgia, who voted to join ACTWU in December 1993, and several workers from Wilen Manufacturing Co. in Atlanta, who voted April 15 to join ACTWU.

Many ACTWU members from the Healthtex Inc. mill in Warrenton, Georgia, who waged a successful two-and-a-half day strike in mid-March along with workers at two other Healthtex mills, were also on hand. They sported gold T-shirts reading, "Get on board the union train." Workers from other ACTWU-organized plants near Atlanta and elsewhere in north Georgia also attended.

Bosses shut Utah mine without paying workers

Once employing almost 400 miners, Sunnyside Coal has now shut down, laying off the last 94 mine workers at the end of March. The company owes at least half a million dollars to union miners in back wages and a similar amount to Carbon County, Utah, in back taxes. Unpaid medical bills will mean disaster for many workers.

The bosses are still maneuvering to sell off the last of their coal and equipment, while walking out on what they owe to the miners and the community.

Sunnyside Coal is refusing to give workers their vacation pay, a year's medical insurance, and other benefits owed to them under the United Mine Workers of America contract.

The county attempted to halt the flight of company resources with a seizure order. But the bankruptcy court is protecting the company's

sales.

The miners had attempted to stop one of the last trainloads of coal. They decided to let it go after being promised that income from sale of the coal would be used to pay back what the company owed them. When they discovered this was a lie, they asked the customer, Geneva Steel, to hold up the check, which Geneva refused to do. Workers wanted to picket the mine, but were told it would prejudice the bankruptcy court against them.

"We have to obey the law, we can't strike or picket — why is it OK for the companies to violate the contract, but not us?" one miner asked.

The following people contributed to this week's column: Susan LaMont, member of ACTWU Local 365 in Austell, Georgia, and David Salner, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 8319 in Salt Lake City, Utah.

LETTERS

Teamsters strike

Recent coverage of the nationwide truckers strike reflects the point of view that the Teamsters pushed back the trucking industry; that while the truckers made some concessions, they felt that the agreement was a victory in that the issue of part timers was resolved in favor of the union position.

On April 30 *Militant* supporters from Philadelphia and Pittsburgh attended a mass meeting of International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) Local 776 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. This local, comprising around 3,000 truckers and dock workers, is based at huge ABF, Roadway, and other terminals in the Harrisburg-Carlisle area of central Pennsylvania. The 500 or so workers at the meeting heard a report-back from their representative to the IBT national committee on the proposed contract. He explained that he was in a minority and was against the proposal. Rank and filers then took the microphones and as a whole voiced opinions against the contract, saying the agreement, didn't go far enough. In a straw voice vote the gathering agreed unanimously to vote down the proposal.

Militant salespeople spoke to many workers after the meeting who expressed their dissatisfaction that the issues of moving freight by rail (from 12 percent to 28 percent of total freight) and double breasting (non-union subsidiaries) had not been resolved in their favor. Over 20 papers were sold to these workers.

At a Militant Labor Forum held in Pittsburgh on May 22, an IBT member who works in Carlyle at one of the union truck terminals said that a coworker showed her a letter from the IBT International urging rejection of the contract. If this is accurate it would be a change from the original position of the International union.

The position of one IBT local does not necessarily represent what people think nationwide, but the *Militant's* coverage did not reflect any of this sentiment. If the proposed contract were to be voted down, I think readers of the *Militant* would be surprised, not realizing that union members felt that they could have attained more of their demands as a result of their successful work stoppage.

Edwin Fruit
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

First Amendment rights

On May 9th, the Director of the Human Rights Watch Free Expression Project, Gara LaMarche, sent a scathing letter to American Public Radio, the U.S. distributor of BBC World Service News.

The letter to APR's President, Stephen L. Salyer, made an irrefutable case that the BBC is subject to the broadcast ban, which amounts to "institutionalized stated censorship" and that it was an "inappropriate news source for a publicly funded entity such as American Public Radio."

Human Rights Watch points out that the broadcast ban forbids direct broadcast of words by any person

that support or solicit or invite support for proscribed organizations, and prohibits the broadcast of any statement by a person "who represents or purports to represent" one of these organizations.

Human Rights Watch states, "This type of politically defined censorship is a dangerous intrusion by the state into the realm of free expression. In this case, it severely restricts efforts to provide equitable and complete coverage of the events in Northern Ireland."

The [Public Broadcasting] Act specifically does not authorize control by any U.S. government official over the content of public telecommunications. According to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting itself, it is required by the Act to "strive for objectivity and balance in the controversial programs that it funds."

American Public Radio, (soon to be called Public Radio International) is actively undermining our First Amendment Rights by disseminating British government censored "news" in the U.S., and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting is aiding, abetting, and financing a multitude of lies.

James Mullin
Moorestown, New Jersey

Fighting racism

Congratulations on your May 17 article about racism in Britain. There are only a handful of fascists here at present, but millions of racists. The Conservative government is furthering this by insisting children are

taught about Britain's imperialist wars. But many teachers and their unions are struggling against this.

All of the *Militant's* UK readers should join the Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA), which is a broad organisation of Labour Party members and other leftists doing excellent work to fight racism, especially in the police forces.

F.E. Silberman
London, England

Philippine sugar workers

The sugar workers, not only in Negros island but in other sugar areas of the Philippines, continue to receive low wages and little benefits. The minimum wage law of the government is rampantly violated by the sugar planters and mill management. There has been no significant wage hike since the wage law took effect in 1989.

The human rights violations under the present Fidel Ramos administration keep mounting. The National Federation of Sugar Workers-Food and General Trades (NFSW-FGT) has lost seven members already since President Ramos was elected to office in 1992. Although the military operations have not been as massive in scale in comparison to the 1988-90 period, they are still ongoing in the rural areas. Our organized members are still harassed, detained without any court order and threatened to leave the union.

The Philippines sugar industry, the majority of which is based on Negros island, is now reeling in a sugar trade crisis. With the Philippines sugar

quota in the United States now being reduced due to the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement, it has a resounding effect on the local industry. The stiff competition in the world sugar market, where the price is lower than in the U.S. market, has resulted in the unstable condition of the whole sugar industry here. Naturally, the sugar elites (planters, millers and traders) have recouped their losses in the domestic or local market. It is an irony that given the abundance of sugar in the country, the consumers have to pay a high price for it.

The NFSW-FGT will again launch actions to oppose the sugar elites' move of increasing the local sugar price. The sugar elites have already reaped enough profits but they still do not pay their workers even the minimum wage set by the government.

Thank you for your continued concern and past support to our struggle.

Arturo Jacoble
National Federation of Sugar Workers—Food and General Trades
Negros Island, Philippines

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.

Socialist youth plan summer activities

BY MARK GILSDORF

The work of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee (SYOC) has gotten a big boost. Brock Satter, a member of the SYOC steering committee from Minneapolis, and Jack Willey, the SYOC coordinator for Detroit, have moved to New York for the summer to help organize the group nationally.

They, along with SYOC steering committee members Mark Gilsdorf and Naomi Craine, have begun meeting daily. This makes it possible to work more closely with the SYOC members and young socialist groups around the country, and join with other young people who want to fight against the wars, racism, and austerity of the capitalist system. For instance, Willey traveled to Boston May 21-22 to take part in a socialist educational conference.

Sixteen students and young workers attended a meeting there to learn more about SYOC's efforts to reach out to young people who are beginning to reject the horrors of capitalism. The conference schedule also included classes and discussions on the Cuban revolution, the struggle in South Africa, and the lessons of the rise and decline of the Nicaraguan revolution. Workers and students from across the northeastern United States and from Quebec, Canada, participated in the weekend's activities.

Summer education series

Five members of a socialist study group in Longueuil, Quebec, described the struggle of the Quebecois people against discrimination and the fight against the ultraright in Canada. They had decided an understanding of Marxism is important for those involved in these struggles because capitalism is what breeds these evils.

Altogether, nine participants from the



Militant/Eric Simpson

Socialist Youth Organizing Committee members Brock Satter (left) and Jack Willey

Boston area signed up for more information about SYOC. As part of following up on the success of the conference, SYOC members are planning a class on *Socialism on Trial*, which contains the court testimony of James P. Cannon — a founder of the communist movement in the United States — while he was on trial in 1941 for his opposition to the second imperialist war.

This will fit right in with SYOC's "Summer Young Socialists Educational Series."

Satter explained these classes "can provide young people who are interested in attending an international socialist youth

gathering at Oberlin College this August with an opportunity to discuss some of the basic ideas of the communist movement. It will give us a common political framework to discuss how we can respond to political developments in the world such as the rise of right-wing and fascist movements and the U.S. government's threats of military intervention in the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, and North Korea," he added.

The series includes classes on books such as the *Communist Manifesto*, the founding document of the modern workers movement, written by Karl Marx and Frederick

Engels when they were in their twenties.

Young socialists will be reading *The History of American Trotskyism*, *Socialism on Trial*, and *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* by Cannon. Discussions on the readings include "World War, Fascism, and the Russian Revolution," "Democratic Centralism and the Building of a Revolutionary Party," and "The Overthrow of Capitalism and the Construction of a Socialist Society."

Discussions on South Africa

Young socialists are jumping into discussions among youth on campuses and elsewhere on political developments in South Africa. Members of the Student Political Organizing Committee in Minneapolis are organizing a speaking tour for Kevin Naidoo, for example. Naidoo, a student in Philadelphia and member of the African National Congress, was recently in South Africa to take part in that country's first ever nonracial elections.

Robin Kissinger and Brian Taylor, both members of SYOC and the Chicago Young Socialists, visited Richmond, Indiana, and Cincinnati, Ohio, in mid-May. They spoke about the elections in South Africa at campus meetings in both cities.

Fifteen people attended the meeting at Earlham College in Richmond, organized by SYOC member Matt Bird. Students raised numerous questions about different aspects of the South African revolution, from the ANC's land reform proposals to the reports of so-called tribal violence.

One student asked whether there would be any activities in South Africa that young supporters of the anti-apartheid struggle could participate in. Taylor explained that the ANC Youth League has called an international conference for 1995, which young people around the world can help to build.

SYOC steering committee member Gilsdorf will be attending a May 29 International Solidarity Conference with Cuba sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Paris. When he gets back, Gilsdorf will be speaking on "How Workers and Youth Can Fight Capitalism's March Toward War and Depression" at forums in Newark and elsewhere.

Members of the New York Young Socialists will also be holding a fund raiser as part of a Militant Labor Forum in Newark on May 29. The forum will be an eyewitness report back by James Warren from his recent trip to South Africa as part of a *Militant* reporting team that covered the elections. The Young Socialists will raffle items from South Africa and Cuba to help contribute to the national fund drive that was launched by SYOC in last week's *Militant*.

Jason Coughlin, SYOC coordinator in Boston, and Jack Willey contributed to this article.

London students protest education cuts

BY GAETAN WHISTON AND HELEN WARNOCK

LONDON — More than 200 students have occupied University of North London, Kentish Town site, to protest cuts in courses. In line with the government attack on education, humanities subjects are being withdrawn in favor of more job oriented courses. In Kentish Town, the administration decided to abolish Classical Civilization and South Asian studies to increase profits. This will cut teaching time by 20 percent and replace lecturers with videos.

In early May students voted by a two-thirds majority for "an immediate and indefinite occupation of the university." They immediately occupied the Humanities facility at

Kentish Town. This was done two weeks before their examinations. Catherine Bennett, a final year student of Classical Civilization said, "This is more important than my exams." This was the feeling of many students who are taking part in the occupation.

In a statement, students called the university "the flagship for the government's reconstructing of higher education."

The administration is carrying out attacks on teaching time and financing of the student union, and introducing new teaching methods. At the same time the university is increasing enrollment to raise revenue without carrying out renovation of the building or expanding facilities for students.

Management sent out a number of letters

trying to dissuade students from occupation. In one letter they threatened that those who did not take their exams would not be given postponement on the grounds of the action. However, because of the strength and solidarity of the occupation, the administrators were forced to back down and delay the exams by a week.

Vice chancellor and chief executive Brian Roper said that those occupying the building were responsible for stopping exams. He added that "the occupation of the buildings is not acceptable, nor does it contribute to proper debate of the issues." In response, the occupying students have gone out of their way to conduct themselves in a democratic manner — they have two mass meetings a day — and keep the college open for those wishing to study.

One example of this is that students have kept the library open for more hours than it was before the occupation. They also have a policy of phoning part-time students to inform them of the new hours. At one of the public meetings they voted to open the library in the evenings, but not allow books to be taken out as they could not be responsible for them. The library is staffed by volunteers from the elected library committee. The administration retaliated by confiscating returned books at other campuses so students cannot get to them until the occupation is over.

Students set up committees for publicity, security, and cleaning the building, and have an information table for people coming to find out what is happening. Other volunteers have gone around the building doing repair work, fixing windows and performing other tasks neglected for years.

One student said, "The occupation has achieved media coverage and solidarity from other students. We've had messages of support from across the country and we've inspired others. We've raise awareness and opened up a wider debate on education."

The occupation has also received support from the lecturers union, whose members are being affected by the cuts.

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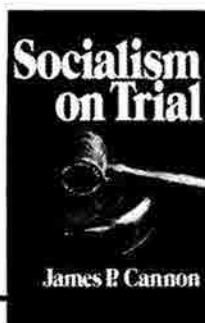
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