

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

D-Day hoopla spotlights rivalry among 'allies'

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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Washington threatens sanctions on North Korea

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

U.S. secretary of defense William Perry declared June 5 that the U.S. government may try to impose sanctions on North Korea, alleging that Pyongyang blocked inspections of a nuclear reactor. Washington will act on its own or with allies if the United Nations hesitates, Perry said. The Chinese government has expressed some opposition to sanctions, while Russian president Boris Yeltsin proposed an international conference as an alternative. The governments of Japan and South Korea joined Washington in issuing a statement urging that the United Nations "consider an appropriate response."

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South African gov't proposes initial moves on amnesty

BY GREG ROSENBERG

South African justice minister Dullah Omar announced plans June 7 for a truth commission to probe human rights abuses under apartheid rule. Omar added that an amnesty cut off date of Dec. 5, 1993, will be set for those accused of political crimes. No consideration will be given to those accused of crimes committed after that date.

Tens of thousands were tortured, murdered, and jailed under apartheid rule.

"I do not and will not equate those who fought in the struggle against apartheid with those who participated in all kinds of activities in order to keep apartheid in place," said Omar. "I do not see the two sides as having the same moral claims." He announced a moratorium on political pardons, following revelations of last-minute clemencies granted under the former

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Thousands protest layoffs in Tierra del Fuego, Argentina

BY AARON RUBY

At the end of May, three thousand workers marched in -10°F weather to protest mass firings and demand wage increases in the cities of Ushuaia and Río Grande in Tierra del Fuego, the southernmost province of Argentina.

Firing rubber bullets and tear-gas, police attacked some 500 workers occupying a factory in Río Grande, the second largest city of the province, wounding several. Workers at electronics assembly plants who have been on strike for three weeks maintain picket lines in front of the factories. This is the fifth Argentine province where serious protests by working people against government austerity have broken out in the last six months.

Argentine president Carlos Menem said ominously that the strikes were caused by "professional agitators who are limiting freedom to work and are trying to generate the class struggle, as Marxists do." Government officials threatened "to use force" to expel members of the Metalworkers

1,700 workers walk out in new Caterpillar strike

BY RUSSELL HALL

AURORA, Illinois — Some 1,700 workers walked off the job at the Caterpillar facility here June 7. It was the ninth strike by United Auto Workers union members at a Caterpillar facility since September 1993. Plant supervisors were forced to call in management personnel to help assemble excavators and wheel loaders as the entire first shift shut down production. They were followed by workers on afternoon shift, who refused to enter the plant.

The strike erupted after three UAW members were suspended on June 6 for having slogans protesting company attacks affixed to their lunch boxes. "Unhappy Cats don't purr," read one. "CAT treats its workers like dogs," said another. The following day the union negotiated the workers' reinstatement. But within hours, the company reneged on its agreement, suspending a fourth worker for the same alleged offense. Workers hit the pavement around 1:00 p.m.

"This walkout is not about money, it's about unfair labor practices," said one worker. "Cat claims that the strike is being orchestrated by 35 or 40 radicals. But when it comes to our jobs, our families, and our livelihoods, every damn one of us is a radical."

Caterpillar mouthpiece Keith Butterfield claimed it wasn't the slogans that bothered the company as much as the fact that they were displayed "inappropriately."

"They are being displayed on placards with sticks, in picket sign fashion," he whined.



Militant/John Votava

United Auto Workers members picket Caterpillar plant in Aurora, Illinois, June 9.

The company is taking a hard line that raises the stakes in the confrontation. Caterpillar management announced that whenever union picket lines come down, strikers will be locked out until the company decides to let them come back. Management also suspended strikers' health benefits.

The walkout is the latest in the ongoing battle by 15,000 UAW members employed by the heavy equipment and construction company. The employer has sought to impose its so-called final offer on workers, who broke off a strike at the urging of union

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Rightist North wins Senate nomination

BY GREG McCARTAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Casting his bid for U.S. Senate in terms of a new American Revolution to take back America "for the little people," Oliver North won the Republican nomination at a party convention in

Richmond, Virginia, June 4.

North, formerly a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marines and member of Ronald Reagan's National Security Council, won 55 percent of the votes of party delegates. Some 14,000 delegates attended the event, each paying a \$45 fee to cast their vote.

North was a central figure in the U.S. government's dirty war in the 1980s to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution. Following the 1984 passage of the Boland Amendment, which cut off U.S. aid to the mercenary army, North and other government officials ar-

ranged for millions of dollars to be sent to the contras. Money was raised from individual U.S. capitalists, the royal family in Saudi Arabia, clandestine arms sales to Iran, and other sources. After the operation was exposed, North and 13 other members of the Reagan administration were brought up on charges. North was eventually convicted of lying to Congress and altering documents. The conviction was subsequently overturned. During his last weeks in office, President George Bush pardoned six of the other officials.

North's nomination for Senate received prominent coverage in the big business media across the country and provoked a negative response from some high-up quarters in the Republican Party. Along with an emerging split in the state's Democratic Party, these divisions may well result in four candidates from the two parties on the ballot next fall. Republican Marshall Coleman and former governor Douglas Wilder have both indicated they will seek ballot spots as independents.

The Republican nominee advances an ultra-rightist agenda, which is now a permanent feature of U.S. politics. It is part of the same political phenomena that made possible presidential bids by Patrick Buchanan and Ross Perot. North says his campaign is "The beginning of a new movement." His supporters call themselves "Ollie's army."

North uses demagoguery to draw political support and emotional energy from tens of thousands of middle-class people and better off workers who are buffeted by growing economic and social uncertainty and political polarization in the country. He

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Virginia Republicans nominated former Reagan aide Oliver North (above) for U.S. Senate.

Why does Nation of Islam demagoguery get a hearing?— page 4



IN BRIEF

Beijing expands coal production

The Chinese government plans to mine 1.4 billion tons of coal by the year 2000, increasing its total output by 23 percent from 1993. The country produced 1.14 billion tons last year, while opening 45 pits with a total annual capacity of 110 million tons. China is the world's largest producer of coal, which is the source of 75 percent of the nation's energy. This has contributed to chronic pollution problems in some areas.

U.S., S. Korea trade conflict

Trade officials from the United States and South Korea have been trying to resolve a range of trade disagreements over the last year. One issue involves a shipment of U.S.-made sausages seized by South Korean authorities for supposedly not meeting customs standards. U.S. trade officials said that the sausage seizure and the customs process amounted to a nontariff barrier to an increasingly lucrative market.

Washington has begun the process needed to take retaliatory measures under the so-called Super 301 trade law, which authorizes it to act against trade barriers it deems unfair.

Israeli planes kill 40 in Lebanon

The Israeli government launched a bloody raid into Lebanon June 2, killing dozens of young members of the Party of God while they slept in their tents. The death toll reached about 45 and more than 80 wounded, according to Lebanese officials. It was the second attack by Tel Aviv in Lebanon in two weeks, and the deadliest since Israeli forces bombarded Lebanese villages last July, killing 150 — most of them civilians.

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin justified the latest assault saying, "hurting those people is hurting people who will act against us in a few months." Tel Aviv occupies a so-called "security zone" in southern Lebanon.

Bosnia gov't boycotts talks

The Bosnian government withdrew from United Nations-organized cease-fire negotiations in protest of the refusal of rightist Serbian forces to comply with a six-week-old NATO ultimatum to leave the eastern Bosnian town of Gorazde. The Bosnian government has said it is willing to discuss the

territorial division of Bosnia, but not while the forces led by Serbian nationalist Radovan Karadzic continues to hold 72 percent of Bosnian land. The warring forces have rejected a proposed settlement developed by Washington, Moscow, and European Union governments that would reduce the Serbian control to 49 percent and give the rest to a Muslim-Croatian federation.

Job cuts in Europe

A study by six economic research institutes warned that more than 800,000 jobs may be slashed in Europe as governments move to privatize nationalized industries. Researchers predicted 290,000 jobs will be cut in France, 180,000 in Italy, and 140,000 in Germany. The estimates are based on privatization and corporate restructuring in Britain, where more than 300,000 jobs were shed in the 1980s.

Cuba in OAS?

The Mexican news agency NOTIMEX reported May 24 that foreign ministers from several countries belonging to the Organization of American States (OAS) have spoken in favor of readmitting Cuba to the organization. The ministers from Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, and Panama called for a revision of excluding Cuba from the OAS.

Honduran foreign minister Ernesto Paz Aguilar told the news agency, "Cuba is a brother country that belongs to the American hemisphere and it must be reinstated in the OAS." The Panamanian deputy foreign minister said that he disagrees with Washington's embargo against Cuba, and that the trade ban must be discussed at the OAS. Officials from Guatemala and El Salvador said their governments had not yet taken a position on the issue.

Washington, Ottawa in trade spat

While trade between the United States



Relief workers carry body of victim of Israeli air raid in Lebanon

and Canada expanded last year to a total of \$194 billion, conflicts are deepening over such goods as steel, lumber, wheat, beer, and pork. Canadian trade minister Roy MacLaren said the disputes stem from Washington's continued enforcement of antidumping laws, protectionist measures against selling goods at supposedly unfair prices on international markets.

MacLaren complained that the North American Free Trade Agreement between the governments of Canada, Mexico, and the United States should have eased these trade regulations. He called for opening NAFTA to other governments around the world, instead of just those in the Americas, and said the five-month-old trade pact is "somewhat precarious."

U.S. prisons hold nearly 1 million

The U.S. Justice Department issued a report June 1 stating that the nation's prisons held about 950,000 inmates last year, nearly triple the number since 1980. State prisons are estimated to be operating at 18-29 percent above capacity, while the federal system is overcrowded to 36 percent above capacity.

The Bureau of Justice statistics reveal that almost half the increase in prisoners was linked to drug related convictions.

Martin Marietta charged with bias

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportu-

nity Commission (EEOC) filed a federal lawsuit in May charging the Martin Marietta Corp. with age discrimination. The suit said that 2,200 of 3,500 employees terminated between 1990 and 1992 were 40 years of age or older. The EEOC suit accused the company of firing employees as a way to reduce its average labor costs.

A class-action lawsuit was filed in February 1993 against the company by a private firm on similar claims. One of the lawyers for 115 plaintiffs who filed the private suit said the EEOC's suit was "a vindication of what we've been saying for the last 15 months, which is that Martin Marietta basically discarded its older workers like yesterday's trash."

Denny's to pay \$54m.

An agreement was reached on May 24 between the Denny's restaurant chain and the U.S. Justice Department to resolve lawsuits filed against the company on behalf of thousands of Blacks who had been refused service, required to

pre-pay, forced to wait longer, or pay more than white customers. According to the Justice Department it was the largest and broadest settlement under the federal public-accommodations laws adopted 30 years ago to end segregation in restaurants and other public places.

Negotiations between Flagstar Companies, Denny's parent company, and the NAACP resulted in the corporation's agreement last July to spend \$1 billion in jobs and contracts for minorities over 7 years. Shoney's, another restaurant chain, agreed to pay \$105 million to thousands of Black employees and job applicants to settle a discrimination suit in 1993. — MAURICE WILLIAMS

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Republic of Macedonia: what's in a name?

Athens seeks to expand influence in Balkans, suppress rights of nationalities

BY BOBBIS MISAILIDES

ATHENS, Greece — During his visit to Washington in April, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu reiterated the Greek rulers' intentions to continue their campaign against recognition of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. Athens imposed a trade embargo on Macedonia in February shortly after Washington extended diplomatic recognition to that country. Papandreu stated that the aim of the embargo is to pressure Macedonia to change its name, flag, and constitution. The Greek government claims that the use of the name Macedonia implies territorial claims on the northern Greek province of the same name.

The dispute over the name of the former Yugoslav republic, however, is but a fig leaf for Greek imperialism. The nationalist campaign by Athens over Macedonia has little to do with historic symbols. It has everything to do with the efforts by Greek capitalists to expand their economic penetration



inches it has reached 40 percent.

To reverse their falling rate of profit the bosses and their government are on a campaign to increase productivity while laying off workers, driving down wages, and worsening working conditions. They are trying to reverse the gains made by working people through struggles in the late 1970s and the '80s.

One recent example is the proposed sweeping attacks on workers at the state-owned Olympic Airlines. In order to make the airline more profitable and competitive the bosses are demanding concessions that include laying off 1,700 workers, a four-year wage freeze, and cuts in health and other benefits.

In the last few years working people such as bus drivers and telecommunications workers, have resisted sales of state-owned enterprises accompanied by restructuring similar to that at Olympic. The bosses' nationalist campaign, echoed by the union bureaucracy, divides working people and hampers their ability to see themselves as a class fighting to defend their interests. The nationalist drive moreover leads to brutal attacks on immigrant workers.

Attacks on immigrants

In the recent period there has been a series of racist murders of immigrant workers from Albania. Although the culprits are known to the authorities, they have refused to conduct any serious investigation to arrest them.

The nationalist and pro-war atmosphere that the rulers are trying to create has also made the oppressed nationalities in Greece live under a state of terror. In defense of "hellenism" the Greek rulers refuse to recognize the existence of other nationalities living here. Since the 1950s, the population census include only the category of religion, not national origin.

By official figures there are 110,000 oppressed Turks, Pomaks, and Gypsies living in the region of Thrace, the northeastern province bordering Turkey. The Greek government designates them as Muslim Greeks. Successive governments have carried out expropriations of their land and have encouraged Greeks to settle there. The land owned by members of these oppressed nationalities is today 40 percent of what it was in 1923. Illiteracy among them is 60 percent, much higher than the national average of 12 percent. Under special laws Turks, Pomaks, and Gypsies are hampered from buying property, constructing houses, and obtaining drivers licenses. In much of western Thrace, they are severely restricted in their freedom of movement to a 30-kilometer [18-mile] radius of their residence. This area is controlled by the Greek army.

Athens's campaign around the slogan "Macedonia has been Greek for 3,000 years" also helps to create an atmosphere of intimidation. Its aim is to hamper workers' ability to openly discuss and chart a course of struggle to unite in defense of their interests. Professor. Karakasidou, an anthropologist in Salonika, has recently received death threats because of her study defending the existence of a "Slavo-Macedonian culture" in Greece.

History of conquest

The Macedonian question has been at the center of the expansion of Greek capitalism since the Balkan Wars at the beginning of the century.

When the imperialist Greek army marched to conquer Macedonia in 1913, Greek-speaking people there amounted to little more than 10 percent of the population.

The division of Macedonia among Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece was one of the most brutal features of the Balkan Wars. A spectrum of different nationalities, speaking various languages lived under the colonial domination of the Ottoman Empire.

Russian communist leader V.I. Lenin, writing in 1913, summed up the historic tasks confronting the Balkan peoples: "To form united national states, shake-off the oppression of the local feudal rulers and completely liberate the Balkan peasants of all nationalities from the yoke of the landowners."

These tasks could have been accomplished, Lenin wrote, with an alliance of peasants of all nationalities in a common struggle against landlordism and by forming a Federative Balkan Republic. But the democratic classes of the Balkans at the time were too weak. The working class was very small in numbers and the peasants were downtrodden and disunited.

Instead, the local capitalist forces with the backing of the "Great Powers" of Europe — Britain, France, and Russia — lead the toiling masses into the bloody Balkan Wars, a central feature of which was the conquest and division of Macedonia. In spite of this, Lenin noted, "a great step has been taken towards doing away with the remnants of medievalism." Autocratic power and feudal privileges were undermined opening the door to the formation of a free class of peasant landowners. But to promote their interests the local bourgeois forces continued to stoke up hostility between the Balkan peoples and put together different nationalities into patchwork states.

It is in this context that various peoples like the Macedonians were divided up within different borders in the name of "national unity" and their national oppression was perpetuated.

During the Balkan Wars 20,000-25,000 Bulgarians and 125,000 Muslims were expelled by Greek imperialism from the Macedonian provinces it had conquered. In 1924 a sweeping and brutal exchange of populations took place between Greece and

Turkey. Some 330,000 Muslims were uprooted from the Macedonian areas and moved to Asia Minor. In addition 66,000 Bulgarians were expelled from Greece between 1922-29. The land and houses of those expelled from Macedonia were taken in many cases by Greek-speaking refugees who were forced to move out of Eastern Thrace, Pontos, and Asia Minor.

In the 1920s and '30s Macedonians were brutally oppressed by the Yugoslav, Bulgarian, and Greek capitalist governments. Belgrade proclaimed them to be Serbian, Sofia considered them to be Bulgarian, and Athens characterized them as "Slav speaking Greeks" or "Slav-Macedonians."

As Greek imperialism prepared for the coming second world war, the military dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas launched a campaign to violently "hellenicize" the Macedonians living in Greece. In 1936, their language was declared illegal by law, those who spoke it were fined, imprisoned, and tortured. The names of towns were changed to Greek ones and most Macedonians were forced to "hellenicize" their names by adopting Greek ones.

Communist leader Pantelis Pouliopoulos wrote from the prisons of Metaxas in 1939, "The national question in the Balkans is destined to play once again an important role in the peninsula during this period of war." He called on revolutionary workers to fight against "the efforts of the ruling national bourgeoisies of the Balkans to launch under the guise of protecting and liberating the enslaved brethren, new wars of conquest (Bulgaria the Macedonians and Dobrujans, Serbia the Macedonians of the Greek part of Macedonia, Greece the population of Dodecanese, Cyprus, Albania, Monastir)." Pouliopoulos was national secretary of the Communist Party of Greece in the 1920s. He was expelled for his opposition to Stalin's course in the Soviet Union that led to the degeneration of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia.

Revolutions in Yugoslavia, Albania

During World War II, the Balkans were occupied by the imperialist Axis powers. Resistance against the occupation of Albania, Yugoslavia, and Greece by German and Italian troops turned into massive revolutionary social movements of peasants and workers. These armed movements united working people across national and religious lines in a common struggle that challenged the rule of the exploiting landlords and capitalists. By the mid-1940s workers and farmers governments came to power in Yugoslavia and Albania. This was a blow to Greek imperialism's plans to conquer Macedonia and southern Albania.

The Stalinist leadership of the National Liberation Army of Greece (ELAS) initially

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NEWS ANALYSIS

and political influence in the Balkans, deny property claims to tens of thousands of Macedonians whose land was confiscated as they were forced to flee Greece during the civil war in the 1940s, and suppress the rights of oppressed nationalities that make up a growing percentage of the working class here.

Southern Albania has become the other focal point of the Greek rulers' nationalist campaign. Albanian foreign minister Alfred Serreqi and his Greek counterpart Karolos Papoulias met in Zurich, Switzerland, in May. They discussed the aftermath of an armed attack on an Albanian army camp on April 10 by a commando unit of the North Ipiros Liberation Front, a Greek ultrarightist group. That attack left two Albanian soldiers dead and three others wounded. "Until the circumstances of the incident are completely clarified I cannot relieve the Greek government of indirect responsibility for the event," Serreqi told reporters.

Since the disintegration of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe, Greek capitalists have greatly extended their political and economic interests in the Balkans

Since 1993, Greek entrepreneurs have been the biggest investors in Bulgaria — with 60 percent of total foreign investments there. German businessmen trail in second place. Greek capitalists have also effectively established a "drachma zone" in Albania where they are the second largest foreign investors after their competitors from Italy. Annual increase of exports to Albania is at a rate of 46 percent, to Bulgaria 41 percent, and to Romania 27 percent. After Italy and Germany, Greece was third in exports to the Republic of Macedonia before Papandreu's government imposed the embargo.

A study by the European Commission in February projected that due to the increase in exports to Eastern Europe, industrial production in Greece will rise by 2.4 percent in 1995, a noticeable improvement over previous declines. The Greek rulers present their economic expansion into the Balkans as a hoped for way out of their current deep economic crisis.

Militarization drive

The Greek capitalists' predatory economic penetration into the Balkans is accompanied by an unprecedented military buildup. Athens has the highest per capita military budget among NATO countries. In the last three years it has obtained 600 battle tanks and 18 multi-launching bombers. It has also increased its naval fleet.

The militarization drive and economic expansion into the Balkans comes as Athens, one of the weakest imperialist powers in Europe, is crawling out of a long recession and is competing more fiercely for markets with its competitors in the region.

The Greek governments' budget deficit is expected to reach 17 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) this year, and inflation stands at 11 percent. Growth of GDP remained at zero in 1993, while for '92 it was 0.2 percent. For three consecutive years industrial production has been falling. Unemployment officially exceeds 10 percent, while in some industrial prov-

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Front cover of Greek edition of Truth about Yugoslavia, published in Athens, Greece, by Diakritis Vima (International Tribune), May 1994.

Why demagoguery by Nation of Islam gets hearing

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In recent months Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan and former top aide Khalid Abdul Muhammad have spoken to audiences of thousands of Blacks across the country. Extensive media coverage has been given to their demagogic attacks on Jews and some liberal Black capitalist politicians. Some critics of Farrakhan and Muhammad have

AS I SEE IT

been especially indignant that large numbers of Blacks turn out to hear them.

The media flurry surrounding Farrakhan and Muhammad and the denunciations of them by prominent bourgeois figures is part of a widening discussion on the consequences of the continuing racial oppression of working people who are Black under conditions of a world economic depression, sharpening conflict, and Washington's drive to war.

The 1993 Urban League report on the *State of Black America* gave a graphic exposition of the deteriorating conditions of life for working people who are Black.

Unemployment among Blacks remains double that of whites and almost 40 percent of Black teenagers are without jobs. On average Blacks continue to receive 59 cents to every dollar received by whites. The annual income of the bottom 5 percent of Black families has plummeted to a meager \$4,300.

A recent University of Chicago survey cited a sharp increase in support for an independent Black political party among younger, poorer, and less-educated Blacks.

Both reports only scratch the surface of the deplorable conditions that fuel Black resentment of racist capitalist exploitation and a deepening disenchantment with liberal politicians — Black and white. It is by tapping this sentiment that the Nation of Islam leaders seek to gain a hearing among Black working people and disaffected professionals for its radical sounding but reactionary program.

In the absence of a voice for the working class coming out of an upsurge in the labor movement, politicians like Farrakhan get a hearing through demagoguery — just like rightists Ross Perot or Patrick Buchanan do. They point to many of the real problems in society but scapegoat Jews, gays, or women for the social ills created by capitalism.

Crime, morality, and family values

The NOI's emphasis on reactionary themes such as crime among youth, the decline in morality, and family values sharply echo the central political campaigns against working people by capitalist politicians across this country, white and Black.

"Crime cost the government \$42 billion last year. That is why the government should be supporting me. The work of the Nation helps to reduce crime," Farrakhan told a large rally in Washington, D.C., recently.

The Nation of Islam has received accolades from some government and police officials for their organization of patrols to rid public housing projects of crime and drug trafficking. Out of desperation many Black workers welcome these self-appointed vigilance patrols.

"They want to operate outside the law," a former D.C. police chief told *Time* magazine. "But they are undeniably effective at chasing away crime and drugs in communities where nothing else works," the *Time* article commented. Eric Adams, head of the New York City Black cops asso-



Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan at public appearance in February

ciation, the Guardians, has publicly defended Farrakhan. Adams has received support from the Nation of Islam for his potential bid to unseat Congressman Major Owens.

The growing class differentiation and political polarization among Blacks is also reflected in the hearing the NOI has gained among Black college students and middle-class Blacks. In contrast to the Urban League report, this year's annual *Black Enterprise* report trumpets a \$10 billion year for the 100 largest Black-owned businesses.

This growing layer of "successful" Blacks increasingly sees its interests as separate from that of working-class Blacks. The middle class is more open to reactionary demagoguery. Like their white counterparts they increasingly see working people, Black and white, as a criminal class. They point to youth who are Black as a dangerous underclass.

Scapegoating women

Farrakhan's attacks on welfare and the breakdown of the father-headed family scapegoats Black women as a source of the social ills in the Black community.

In Washington, Farrakhan told a rally of Black men that welfare is a subsidy that destroys the dignity of Black men. "When the government pays your bills, your wife can't respect you and your children won't listen to you," he said. "And you wonder why they go out here and act all wild."

Women have been excluded from attendance at several of Farrakhan's most recent rallies, which have been held as builders for a proposed Black men's march on Washington. This approach reinforces the subordinate position of women and cuts across forging the broadest unity of working people male and female in the fight for our rights. The logic of this course is that women's place is in the home, as other rightist politicians like Buchanan propose.

It stands in sharp contrast to the championing of women's equality by Malcolm X who saw it as inseparable from social progress and revolutionary struggle everywhere in the world.

Upon his return from Africa in 1964 Malcolm explained, "One thing I noticed in both the Middle East and Africa, in every country that was progressive, the women were progressive. In every country that was underdeveloped and backward it was to the same degree that the women were undeveloped, or underdeveloped and backward."

Alliances with rightists, fascists, and racists

The petty bourgeois origins and the bourgeois program of the leadership of the NOI inevitably leads it in search of alliances with, and material aid from, reactionary,

fascist, and racist outfits.

In a speech just one week before his assassination, Malcolm X explained that Nation of Islam founder Elijah Muhammad attempted to make a deal for land in a Southern state with the Ku Klux Klan, and that Muhammad had ties to American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell.

Today, Nation of Islam leaders often appear on platforms with members of the U.S. fascist outfit headed by Lyndon LaRouche. They converge with the LaRouchite's anti-Semitic conspiracy theories of Jewish world domination and opposition to abortion and gay rights. Farrakhan's course runs parallel with politicians like Lenora Fulani of the New Alliance Party, which has tightened its links with the Ross Perot camp.

Black capitalism a dead end

The NOI's advocacy of a separate capitalist development is a dead end in the fight for Black rights. Unlike their counterpart of wealthy Blacks in the Democratic and Republican parties the leaders of the Nation of Islam don't seek integration into the broader U.S. capitalist class. Instead they fight for a separate niche in the capitalist set up.

Their "Separate and Do for Self" demagoguery is only a thin cover for the organization's hostility to any struggle to defend the interests of working people — from opposing police brutality, economic depression, and war, to fighting for jobs, decent housing, and equal education.

As Malcolm explained after his break with the Nation of Islam, "I felt the movement was dragging its feet. . . . It didn't involve itself in the civil or civic or political struggles our people were confronted by."

Malcolm's intransigent opposition to racist discrimination, to "Americanism" in any form, to any subordination to Washington or its political parties, and to imperialism's oppression of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific put him on a revolutionary course even while he was a prominent figure in the NOI. It was his refusal to retreat from this course that led to him being silenced by Elijah Muhammad and prepared his public break with the Nation.

Legacy of Malcolm X

As the class battles of the day intensify working-class fighters of all nationalities, skin colors, and languages will be drawn to Malcolm's political legacy.

Like Malcolm they will fight their way through barrier after political barrier as they forge a revolutionary course. They will internationalize the fight against racism and national oppression. They will reject the "lesser-evil" politics promoted by the majority of those who claim to speak and act in the interests of the oppressed. They will reject anti-Semitism and all unscientific views on race. They will come to see the important place of the fight for women's equality, and they will forge alliances with other groups of working people as equals, who have proven themselves in practice to be committed to revolutionary change.

Today, the only effective answer for youth who are Black and others who want to fight the moral degradation, alienation, racism, and other social ills rampant in capitalist society is to join the communist movement. It is also the only alternative to Farrakhan's reactionary course.

Sam Manuel is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the United Transportation Union Local 454 in Washington, D.C.

The culture war against use of public libraries

BY SARA LOBMAN

The St. Louis Public Library recently instituted a new policy. Library users under the age of 18 — at their parents' request — can be restricted to the children's collection. Horrifying as it may be, this policy is actually an improvement over the previous one. Until March 1, young people under 18 years old could not check out materials from the regular collection under any circumstances!

These restrictions, like attempts to ban certain books from the public schools, are part of the cultural war being

AS I SEE IT

waged by rightist politicians. As self-proclaimed "morality cops," they use the resentment of those among the middle classes, as well as layers of the working class, who are disappointed with the abysmal training offered to their children in the name of education, to wage war on the rights and dignity of the entire working class.

But, access to public libraries — for young people, old people, and everyone in between — is neither about protecting the morals of children or defending their rights. Rather, it's a class question.

There haven't always been public libraries. Rich people had their own collections of books. Working people weren't supposed to read. In the United States, the labor movement made the demand for public libraries part of its fight for the 10-hour day. In 1835, the National Trades' Union demanded that libraries be established in cities, towns, and villages "for the use and benefits of mechanics and workmen."

A Boston worker, on strike that year for a shorter workday, made clear the connection between reading rooms, libraries, and the 10-hour day when he explained, "By the old system we have no time for mental cultivation — and that is the policy of the big bugs — they endeavor to keep people ignorant by keeping them always at work." He was quoted in the *Boston Post*, April 17, 1835.

V.I. Lenin, a central leader of the Bolshevik Party, wrote favorably in a 1913 article of the public libraries in the United States compared with those in tsarist Russia. Just four years later, the Bolsheviks led Russian workers and peasants to take power out of the hands of the landlords and the capitalists. "Instead of regulations, discussed and elaborated by a dozen committees of civil servants inventing hundreds of formalities and obstacles to the use of books, they see to it that even children can make use of the rich collections; that readers can read publicly-owned books at home," Lenin said.

Education is not a youth question

"They regard as the pride and glory of a public library," he continued, "not the number of rarities it contains, the number of sixteenth-century editions or tenth-century manuscripts, but the extent to which books are distributed among the people, the number of new readers enrolled, the speed with which the demand for any book is met, the number of books issued to be read at home, the number of children attracted to reading and to the use of the library" [italics in original].

In contrast to Lenin's goal of making books and education available to all working people, old and young, capitalist society promotes the myth that education is a youth

question. But any society that sees education as such can never have education that's meaningful for human beings. To be meaningful, education has to create the possibilities for society as a whole to advance, not to perpetuate the exploitation of the majority by the few.

The only kind of education that is real, that has anything to do with advancing society as a whole, is education that's ongoing.

Continued on Page 14

From Pathfinder

Problems of Everyday Life

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Fund-raising events can help meet goal on time

BY GREG ROSENBERG

A round of successful international meetings has generated new support for the \$100,000 fund underway to aid the publication of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. A total of 10 new issues of the magazine are being published in four languages — English, French, Spanish, and Swedish.

New support won at these meetings, along with the ongoing work of fund supporters worldwide, has boosted the total pledged to the fund to more than \$106,000. The big task in front of fund supporters is to bring into the New York office the more than \$60,000 in outstanding pledges over the course of less than three weeks. In order to complete the fund in full and on time, all contributions must be received by Tuesday, June 28.

Fifty-four people attended a June 4 meeting in San Francisco, which celebrated the recent publication of *New International* no. 9, "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution." The featured speaker at the meeting, Aaron Ruby, lived and worked in Nicaragua from 1980-85, and is currently a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

Meeting participants included a student from DeAnza College and several auto workers from the NUMMI plant and railroad workers on Amtrak, invited by fellow union members who have been discussing the fund at their workplaces. The meeting cleared \$177 above expenses and yielded new pledges that brought total commitments in the area to a couple of hundred dollars over the \$8,000 target for the Bay Area. Some 50 people have made pledges in the region, indicating a successful effort to reach out widely for contributions, small or large.

In response to a young person who asked how he became part of the communist movement, Ruby said that *New International* played an important role in the process. In Managua, he met a construction worker

from Britain who took him to visit the offices of the *Militant* in that city. There he picked up a copy of *New International* no. 1, which includes the article "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today." Ruby said this played an invaluable role in his understanding of the history of the fight to build working-class leaderships since the Russian revolution, including the fight against Stalinism — the counterrevolutionary counterfeit to Marxism.

London supporters of the fund launched their appeal in a big way on May 31, when they hosted a forum on "Iran, Azerbaijan, and the Central Asian Republics," presented by Marcella FitzGerald and Ma'mud Shirvani. The two had just returned from Iran. Representatives of Pathfinder Press, which distributes *New International*, had a booth at the Tehran bookfair. They found a warm reception to the ideas of the communist movement, from the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels to defense of the Cuban revolution.

This demonstrates the timeliness of *New International*'s expansion of its arsenal and its efforts to reach working people and revolutionary-minded youth worldwide. This week, for example, a \$50 contribution arrived from a supporter of the fund in Mexico.

Upcoming fund meetings include presentations by *Nueva Internacional* editor Martin Koppel who will speak on the accomplishments and decline of the revolution in Nicaragua in both Greensboro, North Carolina, and St. Paul, Minnesota; by *New International* contributing editor James Mac Warren in Miami, who will speak on South Africa; and Socialist Youth Organizing Committee leader Brock Satter, also speaking on South Africa, in Houston.

The meetings are a good opportunity to win new support, generate rich political discussion, and raise money. But don't wait for a meeting in your area. Send your check today!

New International FUND

	Goal	Collected	Percent
\$100,000			
\$90,000			
\$80,000			
\$70,000			
\$60,000			
\$50,000			
\$40,000			
\$30,000			
\$20,000			
\$10,000			
UNITED STATES			
Philadelphia	7,500	7,222	96%
Pittsburgh	4,250	2,713	64%
Twin Cities	6,000	3,557	59%
Brooklyn	3,250	1,845	57%
Detroit	3,900	2,120	54%
New York	6,500	3,419	53%
St. Louis	3,000	1,465	49%
Des Moines	3,000	1,325	44%
San Francisco	8,000	3,535	44%
Seattle	4,100	1,765	43%
Salt Lake City	4,000	1,597	40%
Atlanta	3,250	1,275	39%
Washington, D.C.	2,800	945	34%
Cleveland	3,000	920	31%
Greensboro	1,500	400	27%
Chicago	7,030	1,720	24%
Newark	5,500	1,293	24%
Boston	4,000	913	23%
Miami	2,700	594	22%
Birmingham	2,500	355	14%
Los Angeles	6,750	935	14%
Morgantown	1,600	220	14%
Houston	3,200	225	7%
New Haven	500	0	0%
San Diego	500	0	0%
Portland		1,150	
Other		405	
U.S. Total	98,330	41,913	43%
BRITAIN			
London	2,250	778	35%
Manchester	1,050	538	51%
Sheffield	600	240	40%
	600	0	0%
NEW ZEALAND	1,300	437	34%
Auckland	750	375	50%
Wellington	100	34	34%
Christchurch	450	28	6%
CANADA	3,600	35	1%
AUSTRALIA	375	0	0%
FRANCE	300	0	0%
SWEDEN	500	0	0%
INT'L TOTAL	106,655	43,163	43%
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Ruling challenges U.S. policy on gays in military

BY HILDA CUZCO

In a ruling that challenges the old policy banning homosexuals in the military, a federal judge in Seattle ordered the reinstatement of a highly decorated nurse in the Washington State National Guard. A new regulation recently adopted by the Clinton administration and approved by Congress referred to as "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue," is very similar to the old policy.

Col. Margarethe Cammermeyer, who served as chief nurse for three years, was discharged from military service in 1992 after she declared her homosexuality in a security clearance interview. U.S. District Judge Thomas Zilly said that, "the rationales offered by the government to justify its exclusion of homosexual service members are grounded solely in prejudice." Cammermeyer, who was dismissed with honorable discharge after 26 years in the military, was one of the highest-ranking officers ever to be thrown out for homosexuality.

"It's so powerful and so vindicating, not just of my own struggle but thousands of others," said Cammermeyer in an interview.

The new directive on gays in the military, which went into effect in February, was a compromise reached by President Bill Clinton, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Congress after Clinton backed off his campaign pledge to end the ban on homosexuals in the armed forces. While campaigning for election, Clinton saluted Cammermeyer in a televised appearance and promised to reverse the old policy.

The new policy says recruits will no longer be required to declare their homosexuality when applying to enter the armed services. However, a gay soldier is expected to keep his or her homosexuality silent, under threat of being dismissed. The rule also says that commanders are to investigate cases only with "cred-

ible" evidence of homosexuality.

The decision in Cammermeyer's case, one of at least half a dozen legal victories finding the old policy unconstitutional, has raised concern in the administration that the same arguments could be applied to the new policy. Pentagon officials announced that they are reviewing Zilly's ruling and are considering whether to appeal.

New policy?

Gay rights activists welcomed the latest ruling. "This is yet another statement from the courts that they're looking at the constitutionality of this policy, and it's failing the test," said William Rubenstein, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Lesbian and Gay Rights Project. There are a growing number of other court cases that challenge both the old and new regulations.

A Federal district judge in Washington, D.C., blocked the Pentagon from dismissing six service members who had challenged the new military policy on homosexuals. In his April 4 ruling, Judge Eugene Nickerson barred the Defense Department from investigating or discharging the six, two in active duty and four in the reserves, until their suit was resolved.

Shortly after the new regulations went into effect, the Clinton administration appealed in a federal court to uphold the Pentagon's previous ban on homosexuals in an effort to set precedents that would make challenges to the new policy more difficult. "In sum, the military's conclusion that the policy prevents homosexual acts that would interfere with the military mission provides a rational basis for the policy," said documents filed by the Justice Department last March.

Two of the cases the government is appealing appear likely to go to the Supreme Court — those of Keith Meinhold, who won a lower court ruling in Cali-

fornia on grounds that the military's exclusion of homosexuals was unconstitutional, and Joseph Steffan, who resigned under pressure from the U.S. Naval Academy after admitting he was gay.

Brass pursues harassment of gays

Meanwhile, the California National Guard threatened First Lieut. Andrew Holmes with discharge in May for admitting last year that he is gay. Holmes' lawyer reported that his client was one of the first facing termination for not keeping his homosexuality private since the new military policy took effect.

An editorial in the May 10 *New York Times* noted that even with the new policy commanders are "launching witch hunts to

find homosexuals and expel them from the military."

The editorial highlighted two examples of continued harassment by the military brass of soldiers they accuse of being gay. A female marine in North Carolina is under investigation because, under questioning from her supervisor, two marines said that they saw her kissing or dancing with another woman. Another marine sergeant stationed in Okinawa, Japan, reported that his friends are being accused of engaging in homosexual act with him.

The *Times* editorial called for easing such investigations, but defended the Clinton administration's new policy towards homosexuals in the military overall.

From Pathfinder

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Documents of the Socialist Workers Party 1971-86

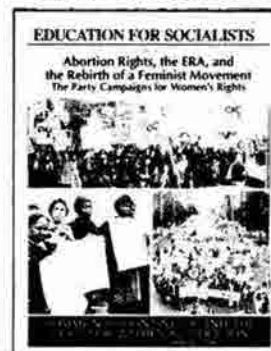
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Mandela government announces moves on amnesty, clemencies

Continued from front page
National Party government.

Omar, who was detained without trial frequently by the former regime, said amnesties would be granted only when accompanied by full confessions.

Three South African rightists who received a reprieve from execution from former president F.W. de Klerk will stay on death row while the African National Congress-led cabinet reviews the clemency decision.

President Nelson Mandela's cabinet will consider the case of the three, along with those of 70 others who received similar reprieves or indemnity from prosecution. A spokesperson for Omar said that de Klerk's order had been suspended and that the men remain on death row for the time being.

De Klerk, now a deputy president in the new government, signed the orders despite an agreement by the multi-party Transitional Executive Council to declare a moratorium on amnesties until after the elections.

Among those benefiting from the clemency was Major General Eddie Webb, former commander of the army's covert Civil Cooperation Bureau, which organized a terror campaign against ANC supporters.

Defusing tension in KwaZulu-Natal

A provincial ANC meeting in KwaZulu-Natal on June 3, attended by Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa decided to drop ANC protests of election fraud in the province. The final vote totals put the rightist Inkatha Freedom Party of Mangosuthu Buthelezi into the regional parliament with a 51 percent majority.

Ramaphosa said he hoped the decision would "enhance the spirit of reconciliation" in the province, the scene of the worst political violence since 1990.

Inkatha and the ANC agreed to end a dispute over the composition of the provincial cabinet after the ANC protested Inkatha's handling of appointments. Among the shifts agreed to by Frank Mdlalose, the Inkatha figure elected premier of KwaZulu-Natal, was to appoint an ANC leader to the post of deputy police minister.

The Johannesburg *Weekly Mail & Guardian* reported that the Goldstone Commission, which is investigating political violence in South Africa, "has information linking the new minister of police in KwaZulu-Natal, Celani Mtetwa, to illegal gunrunning for Inkatha." The paper reported "Sources inside and outside the commission confirmed this week that they have information tying Mtetwa to the receipt of weapons from

the network alleged to have been set up by renegade South African police members."

Land seizures

The demands of millions of working people in South Africa for land and housing, among a host of other pressing social needs, are coming to the forefront of the challenges faced by the new ANC-led government.

On June 6, the Johannesburg City Council, dominated by holdovers of the old regime, ordered police to flatten a squatter camp near the southern white suburb of Alberton. Bulldozers demolished dozens of shacks.

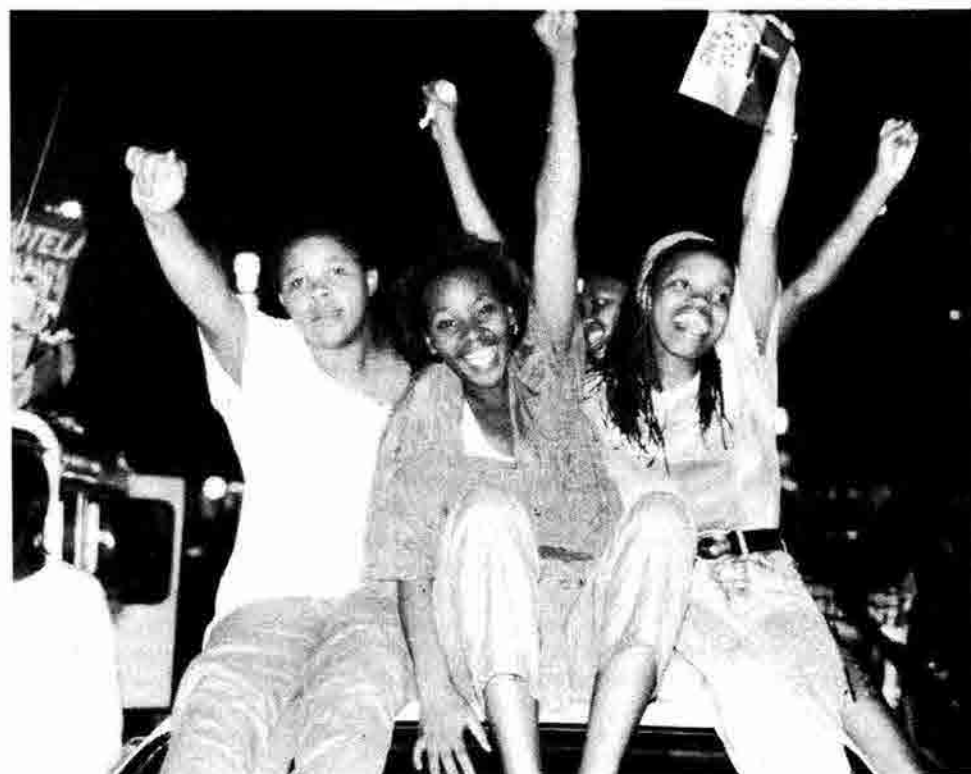
Immediately following the move, Tokyo Sexwale, ANC premier of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) province, cancelled a meeting with city council representative Ian Davidson in protest.

The South African Press Association reports an upturn in the number of land occupations in the PWV region.

The PWV housing and local government ministry said in a May 27 statement, "The ministry recognizes the deprivations of the past and the shortages of houses for the majority in the PWV region. But it is of the view that such campaigns were aimed at the previous government, which closed all avenues of addressing basic and fundamental demands of our people."

Saying that the aim of the provincial government is to build 150,000 housing units in the year ahead, the ministry said it "will organize an urgent meeting with all interested parties to seek ways and means of resolving the current impasse and to ensure the development of a people-centered program to alleviate the problem."

"In this context, the ministry appeals for a moratorium on new land occupations



Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Youth celebrate ANC electoral victory in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal province, May 2.

pending the outcome of such consultations," the statement continued. "The ministry will also hold urgent discussions with the Transvaal provincial administration to ensure an end to the harassment of our people."

Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom of the ANC has pledged to rapidly implement the ANC's proposals on land reform. The new government has already been criticized by one group, the National Land Committee. A committee spokesperson told a press conference in early May that 300 landless communities have threatened to occupy land if restitution and land redistribution clauses in the interim Bill of Rights are not revised.

No troops to Rwanda

Responding to a query on whether the South African government would send troops to Rwanda as part of a so-called peacekeeping force under United Nations auspices, Mandela flatly rejected such a move.

"Certainly not, not troops, that is out of

the question," said the South African president. Mandela said South Africa would provide a field hospital and 50 armored personnel carriers.

The head of Armscor, the state-run arms industry, announced projections for a sharp rise in weapons exports in the year ahead. This has brought criticism from some quarters.

In a televised interview, Mandela remarked, "I don't think it would be fair to say that a particular country should not engage in trade in arms. Arms are for the purpose of defending the sovereignty and integrity of a country. From that angle, there is nothing wrong with having trade in arms."

In recent weeks, South Africa has joined the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth group, and the Non-Aligned Movement. On May 26 the UN security council voted to drop the last of the sanctions remaining on South Africa, an arms embargo.

King damage suit yields mixed results

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — The final verdict in the second part of Rodney King's damage suit reflected important differences among the jurors, as well as pro-cop moves by the presiding judge.

In the first stage of the trial, the federal jury ordered the city of Los Angeles to pay King \$3.8 million in damages for the beating he suffered at the hands of the police in 1991.

In the second stage of the trial, after 11 days of deliberations, the jury found that the cops who beat King had acted with malice, but did not order punitive damages against

them. King had sued for \$15 million in addition to the earlier award.

The mid-trial decision by the presiding judge to drop former police chief Daryl Gates as a defendant in the damage suit may well have contributed to this outcome.

After casting a reluctant "yes" vote, a juror who is a Black garment worker voiced anger over the refusal to make the individual cops pay damages.

She declared, "It's very unjust, very, very unjust — the whole judicial system." She held Gates responsible for the beating.

The nine-member jury included six Anglos, the Black woman, a Latina and a Philippine-American.

Responding to the jury's decision, King said he would not have sought punitive damages if the cops who brutalized him had shown any sign of remorse.

"None of them," he declared, "came up to me and said they were sorry."

Federal Judge John Davies, who presided in the damage case, also was the judge in the federal trial in which two cops were convicted of violating King's civil rights.

That trial came in the wake of the massive anti-police riot sparked by the whitewash of the cops in a county felony trial.

Four cops were charged in the federal trial and two of them — Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell, were convicted.

Pro-cop bias

In sentencing Powell and Koon, Judge Davies brazenly displayed his pro-cop bias. According to federal sentencing guidelines, the two cops should have received minimum sentences of six years. Davies gave them 30 months.

In a lengthy statement justifying this unusual decision, Davies, for all practical purposes, nullified the jury's verdict.

He declared that the first 55 seconds of the beating were legal, and only the last 19 seconds were not.

He decided that Powell's nightstick blows to King's head were "unintentional," because he had further opportunities to him in the head and didn't do so.

He declared the two club-happy cops good family men with a good police record. He pointed to King as an unsavory character who provoked what happened to him.

An appeals court denied King's request that Davies be removed from the damages trial. In those proceedings, the judge continued to use his authority to thwart King's efforts to win justice.

His most blatant act of bias was the decision to drop Gates as a defendant in the suit. Before being dropped from the case, Gates testified.

Even before the King episode, Gates was despised for his unabashed racism and his steadfast defense of police violence. One of his more notorious declarations was that more Blacks succumbed to police chokeholds than whites, because Blacks react differently than "normal" people.

In his trial testimony, Gates reiterated his ongoing assertion that the beating of King had been an "aberration." And, he testified under oath, racism in the police department is "minimal."

Gates had been compelled to retire in 1992 because he had come to personify and symbolize the violence and racism that saturates police activity.

In dropping Gates as a defendant in the damage suit, Judge Davies asserted that it had not been established that the police chief was directly accountable for what happened to King. Davies noted that, "the Christopher Commission report is silent on the issues here."

That's true enough. The Christopher Commission did compile extensive evidence of the violence and racism of the police. And it did recommend that Gates step aside.

But it carefully avoided the fact that a police chief, with ample authority, is responsible for the criminal policies and conduct of the force.

In taking Gates off the hook, Davies gave comfort to the fake argument that the problem of the police is simply a matter of "a few bad apples." And, as far as the judge is concerned, the apples really aren't bad at all.

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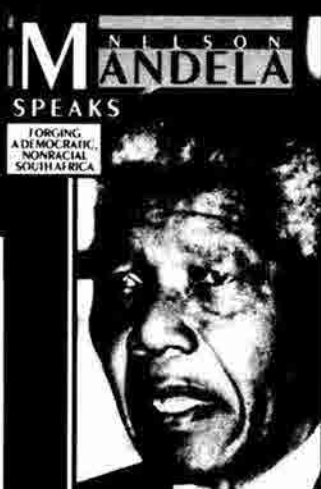
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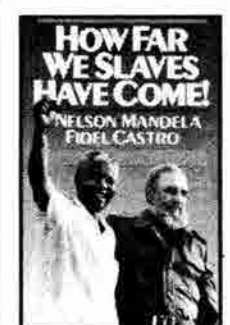
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Republic of Macedonia

Continued from Page 3

refused to defend the national rights of Macedonians. Despite this, thousands of Macedonians in the Slav National Liberation Front fought on the side of ELAS against the Nazis and later the British and Greek government forces.

The Yugoslav revolution, which championed the demands of oppressed nationalities, was a profound inspiration to Macedonians. In 1944 the Macedonian Peoples Republic was established, one of the six republics of Yugoslavia. The Macedonians were officially proclaimed a separate nation and their language and culture was recognized and began to flourish.

As civil war broke out in Greece, Macedonians flocked to the ranks of the Democratic Army, successor of ELAS. By 1949, 40 percent of the fighters of the Democratic Army in northern Greece were Macedonians. The Stalinists at this time were forced to support national self-determination of the Macedonian people.

With the betrayal of the revolution in Greece by the Stalinist leadership of the Communist Party (KKE) and its subsequent defeat, tens of thousands of Macedonians fled to Yugoslavia. In the 1950s and '60s due to poverty and severe repression many Macedonians emigrated to Australia, Canada, and other countries. To this day, in provinces such as Florina, in the northern part of the country, almost every family has relatives in the Republic of Macedonia. *Borba*, published in Belgrade, stated in 1988 that as many as 190,000 refugees fled to Yugoslav Macedonia from Greece.

The property of these refugees was con-

fiscated by the Greek government by decree in 1953, which also deprived them of their Greek citizenship. In 1982, the Greek government decreed that all ethnic Greeks who fled after the civil war could return, and a 1985 law permitted them to claim compensation for their property. Macedonians who fled, however, were not allowed to return or reclaim property.

Athens has also consistently denied entry visas to these refugees except in a few cases to attend funerals but even then with difficulty. In July 1988, for example, following a reunion in Skopje, more than 100 of these former refugees attempted to visit northern Greece but were turned back after officials refused entry to some of them. One participant at the reunion, Lefter Lejoski, who was by then a Canadian citizen, claimed that the authorities had asked him to change his name to a Greek one if he wanted to enter Greece even though no visa is required for Canadian citizens.

Hatred for Yugoslav revolution

The Greek rulers' hatred for the Yugoslav revolution and its accomplishments comes through even today when they refer to Macedonians as a mere creation of Tito. In 1993, Macedonians in Greece formed an organization called Macedonian Movement for Balkan Prosperity to which the Greek government refuses to give legal status as such. Macedonians also publish a monthly newspaper and plan to run in the coming European elections. Central demands they raise are the right to practice their culture and use their language, and the right of their relatives from the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia to return to Greece. Many

also demand that their land be given back. Macedonians account for some 2 percent of the population of northern Greece today.

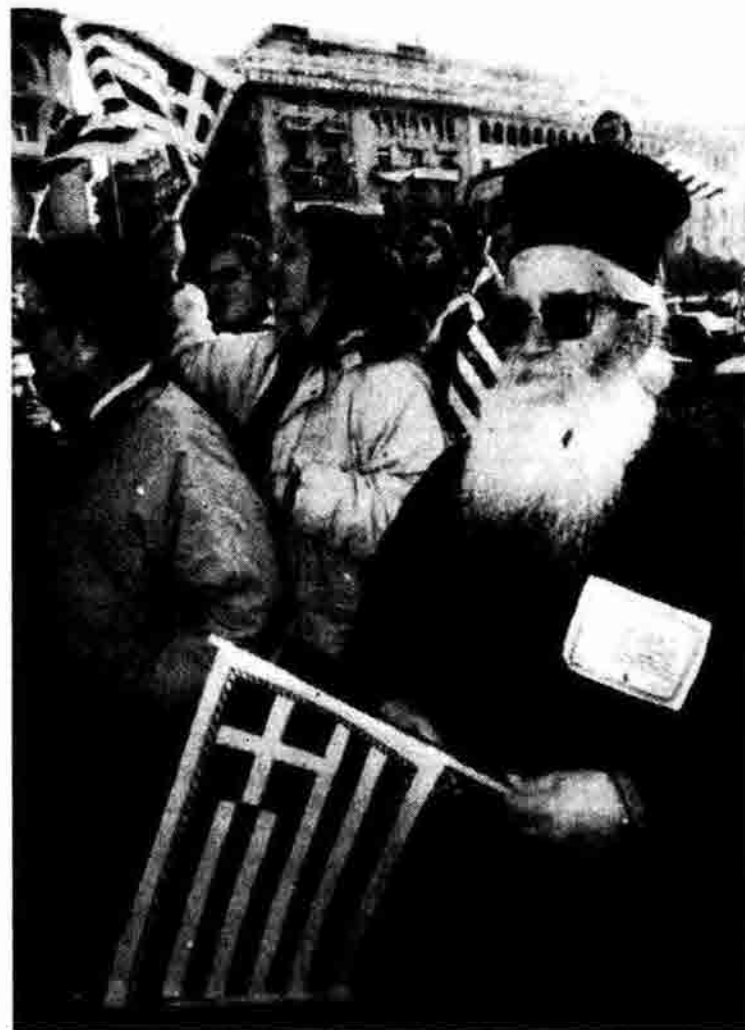
Macedonia today is another illustration of the competing capitalist forces at play in the Balkans. Greek rulers are taking advantage of the conflicts and disagreements among their more powerful imperialist competitors in an effort to further their own interests in the region. They have openly allied themselves with the Serbian and Russian governments in their intervention in Bosnia, the first war in Europe since World War II. This course has put the Greek rulers on a collision course with members of the European Union that have recognized Macedonia. It has strained relations with Washington, which has 500 U.S. soldiers there.

In a somewhat conciliatory gesture to Athens, however, the Clinton administration has refrained from setting up an embassy in Skopje even after it recognized Macedonia.

Although the Greek government repeatedly stated that it has no territorial ambitions on Macedonia, the very imposition of the trade embargo on that country is a virtual act of war. It is designed to starve Macedonians into submission, considering that 70 percent of Macedonian trade passed through Greek ports.

The Greek rulers are increasingly divided over their nationalist campaign against recognition of Macedonia. European Affairs Minister Theodoros Pangalos has stated that the "issue of the Skopje name is a lost cause. Unfortunately, the Greek political class is lacking all seriousness and has turned the Skopje issue into an object of nationalist demagoguery, which only heralds more defeats."

The downfall of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, weakened one of the main obstacles to working people in these countries engag-



Greek Orthodox priest participates in government-sponsored rally of 200,000 in Solanika, Greece, in February, against recognition of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

ing in politics, obtaining information, and being inspired by working-class struggles throughout the world.

As a result, working people in the Balkans today are in a stronger position to wage a fight to unite across narrow "ethnic" and racial divisions the rulers have imposed on them.

In addition, the working class of neighboring countries, like Greece, has been strengthened by the massive influx into its ranks of immigrant workers from the Balkans. In Greece, about 20 percent of wage earners are undocumented workers. Athens has become one of the centers in southern Europe where workers from the Balkans, Africa, and Asia meet to shape a common future. The integration of women and oppressed nationalities into the workforce is another important factor.

To advance their interests and forge necessary unity to confront the offensive by the bosses, working people will need to fight against the oppression of any nationality, including suppression of languages, culture, and religions. Towards this end, the labor movement must demand: End the embargo against Macedonia! All foreign military forces out of the former Yugoslavia! Open the borders to the refugees fleeing the slaughter!

Pathfinder books published in Greek, Japanese languages

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

New editions of Pathfinder books have just been published in Greece and Japan.

Copies of the Greek-language edition of *The Truth about Yugoslavia: Why Working People Should Oppose Intervention* rolled off the presses in Athens at the end of April. In Japan, an edition of *The Assassination of Malcolm X* by George Breitman and others was published in March by the Tokyo firm Tsuge Shobo. It follows in the footsteps of Pathfinder titles by Malcolm X published in the last year in Spanish, Italian, French, and Flemish.

The Pathfinder edition of *The Truth about Yugoslavia*, first published in mid-1993, has so far sold more than 5,000 copies. Based on articles by George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman that originally appeared in the *Militant*, the book is the sole working-class analysis of the first European war in 50 years.

The authors explain that what is happening in Yugoslavia is a product of the economic crisis stemming from the world capitalist depression. Remnants of the old Stalinist regime, now based in newly created independent territories, are fighting each other for land and resources. The European powers that have intervened militarily, far

from doing so out of humanitarian concern, are simply looking for ways to protect and advance their own economic and political interests.

In a preface added for the Greek-language edition, Natasha Terlexis explains that Athens, like the other imperialist powers preying on the former Yugoslavia, is concerned solely with shoring up the profits of its ruling families.

Although much weaker than its European competitors, Greek capital does play an important role in the neighboring Balkans and is trying to take advantage of its rivals' current problems there to strengthen its hold.

"Greek capitalists have significant interests in Albania," Terlexis notes, "and since 1993 have been the largest foreign investors in Bulgaria. Their sights are on Romania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia for further economic expansion."

The Greek edition of *The Truth about Yugoslavia* was translated and typeset through the voluntary labor of activists in the antiwar and immigrant rights movements. Two professional proof readers donated their time to correct the text and the book was hand bound at low cost in a commercial print shop. One thousand copies were printed.



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.



Nearly 600 copies of the new edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions* have been shipped to bookstores around the world since it came off the presses May 12. Substantial additional orders are anticipated.

The book was the featured item in the Pathfinder booth at the recent American Booksellers Association convention (see item below), and efforts are under way in a number of cities to get the book placed in local bookstores and libraries, as well as sold to coworkers of Pathfinder supporters.

A recent meeting of rail workers who distribute Pathfinder books on the job took a goal of selling 50 copies of the book by the end of July. A meeting of supporters who work in the auto industry decided to undertake a similar campaign, with a goal to be set later.

Through efforts like these, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* will find its way into the hands of young people who are today being hired in growing numbers to work in the factories, mines, and mills of the United States and other imperialist centers. Authored by Socialist Workers Party leader Jack Barnes, the book reviews the experiences during the last two decades of building a revolutionary workers party in the United States and shows why only the working class can lead humanity out of the social crisis that is produced by capitalism in its decline.



Pathfinder sales representatives in Salt Lake City have introduced Pathfinder books to professors at the University of Utah with excellent results.

A professor of philosophy and women's studies is planning to adopt *Cos-*

metics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women as a text for her Introduction to Women's Studies class, and is considering switching to Pathfinder's edition of *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* by Frederick Engels for a graduate seminar she teaches.

Another professor plans to adopt *Nelson Mandela Speaks* for a class on Modern Social Movements, and is reviewing *Out Now! A Participant's Account of the Movement in the United States against the Vietnam War* for potential adoption.

A sociology and ethnic studies professor will be using titles by Malcolm X and the booklet *Genocide against the Indians* by George Novack.



Pathfinder was one of several thousand exhibitors at the American Booksellers Association convention and trade show in Los Angeles from May 29 to 31. More than 700 of the booksellers and librarians who attended picked up Pathfinder catalogues, and 300 others asked that one be mailed to them.

The books showcased by Pathfinder were *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, and *New International* no. 9 featuring "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution." A poster of the six-story mural on the side of the Pathfinder building also drew attention.

Several book orders were placed at the show, including one from a distributor in Taiwan and another from a bookstore in St. Croix, Virgin Islands.

A bookstore serving the San Diego campus of the University of California ordered several volumes of the works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The manager of this store was happy to learn that Pathfinder also distributes the works of V.I. Lenin. She explained that they have a lending library in their store for rare and out-of-print books. The staff of the bookstore thought the collected works of Lenin were not available. The store plans to order a set and will let professors and students know they can order these books through Pathfinder.

D-Day hoopla shows strife among 'allies'

BY NAOMI CRAINE

As the rulers of Britain, Canada, France, the United States, and other imperialist powers presented their numerous speeches glorifying the 50th anniversary of the Allied invasion of France, the rivalries among them loomed larger on the horizon.

D-Day "proved what can be achieved against daunting odds when governments and peoples act together with conviction in a common cause," Britain's Queen Elizabeth declared at the commemoration in London June 5.

"When they were young, these men saved the world," crowed U.S. president Bill Clinton the next day, speaking before survivors of the bloody invasion in Colleville-sur-Mer, France.

But the tensions among the various imperialist powers pierced this veneer of unity.

Clinton ruffled feathers in British ruling circles with a speech in Washington, D.C.,

in the presence of those who made the main contribution to the victory over Hitler's Germany." More than 20 million people were killed in the Soviet Union during World War II. Some 1.1 million died during the siege of Stalingrad alone. These staggering casualties on the Eastern Front received scarce mention in the commemorations.

In addition to the ceremonies in Britain and France, Clinton paid a visit to Italy, where he was the first head of a major capitalist government to give open backing to the new rightist government led by Silvio Berlusconi. The ruling coalition includes the Italian Social Movement, which traces its roots to Mussolini's fascist movement. "I think the United States," Clinton stated while in Rome June 2, "looks forward to a very good relationship with this prime minister."

During Clinton's visit, Italian Social Movement leader Gianfranco Fini told the newspaper *La Stampa*, "I ask myself whether D-Day, with the landing of the Americans, was not also a day where Europe lost part of its cultural identity. I don't think I am apologizing for fascism by stating this."

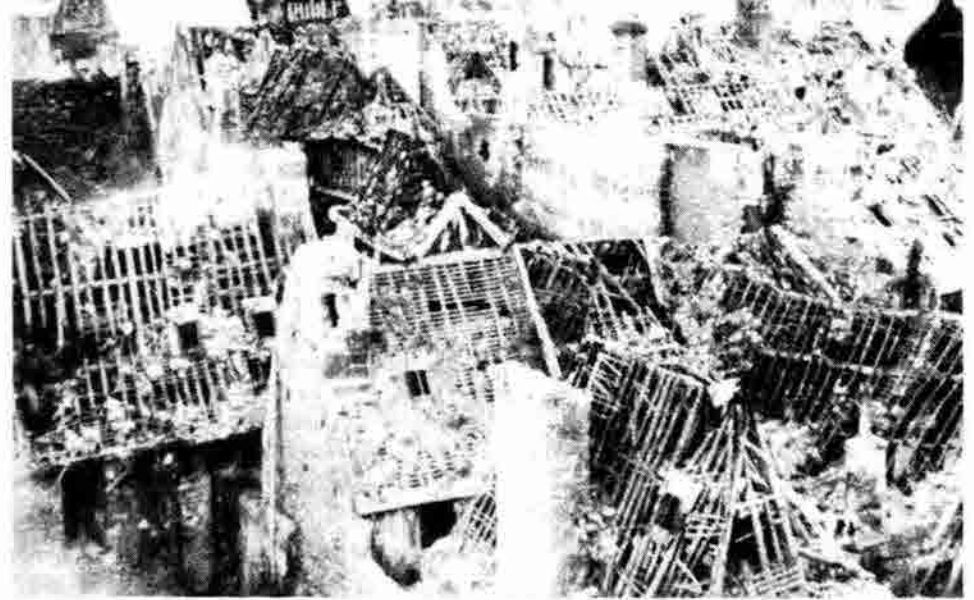
Why D-Day happened

All of the rhetoric at the commemoration ceremonies obscured the fact that the invasion of Normandy — and World War II as a whole — was not fought by London and Washington to free the world from fascist tyranny, but rather to defend the same interests of capital that Clinton, British prime minister John Major, and their colleagues in other imperialist countries are maneuvering to defend today.

The timing of the Anglo-American invasion helps make the point. Moscow, under heavy assault from Hitler's armies, had been pushing for a western offensive since 1942. The rulers of Britain and the United States preferred to wait, while German imperialism pounded away at the degenerated workers state in the Soviet Union. London instead focused its attention on fighting to maintain and expand its colonial holdings through campaigns in northern Africa and the Mediterranean.

Writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, former U.S. secretary of the navy John Lehman explained why Washington and London chose to launch an invasion in June 1944. If U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt had "invaded earlier, before Hitler had lost his air force and half his army," Lehman said, "the German counterattack would have been overwhelming. Had he waited longer, the Russians would have occupied all of Germany and possibly France."

By 1944 there were growing signs of working-class resistance to the horrors of the slaughter and to the capitalist powers responsible for the war. Mass strikes swept northern Italy in mid-1943, illegal strikes and labor unrest were sharply increasing in both Britain and the United States, and the



City of Caen, France, was bombed into rubble by mid-July 1944.

resistance movements in France, Yugoslavia, and Greece were assuming more and more the form of class struggle.

In addition, the Soviet Union's Red Army was now marching westward, having defeated Germany in decisive battles at Minsk and Stalingrad.

'Bomb the workers' houses'

The working class of Europe was a central target of both the Allies and the Axis powers led by the German rulers. London's Royal Air Force carried out massive area bombing of Germany, centered especially on industrial and working-class districts, throughout the war.

"My one clear memory of being briefed to bomb whole areas was the bombing of Essen, on July 25, 1943," one British pilot said. "At that period we were not aware that we were bombing civilians as such, because we had always been given aiming-points like the docks, or a rubber factory, or railway yards. But on this occasion the briefing said that we were to bomb the workers' houses or residential quarters and this came as something of a personal shock."

A typical example was an assault on Darmstadt, Germany, in September 1944. In one night, British bombs killed 10,000 civilians — 10 percent of the city's population — and left another 70,000 homeless.

In addition to destroying Germany's industrial base, this barrage aimed to forestall any possibility of a repeat of the revolutionary uprisings led by workers in Germany in the years immediately following World War I.

The same methods were used during and after the D-Day invasion to head off working-class resistance that had developed in France and Italy. "No one seemed to know what Normandy suffered," said Frederique Legrand, whose parents were killed by allied bombing of Caen when she was an infant. Tens of thousands were slaughtered there

and in other French cities. Far more civilians died from air raids than from the cross fire of battle.

Hundreds of thousands of German troops were killed in the offensive, in addition to 37,000 allied soldiers. In a premonition of the wholesale slaughter of Iraqi troops fleeing Kuwait in 1991, German columns were annihilated as they retired through narrow passes from Normandy in August 1944. German soldiers were forced into what became known as the "corridor of death" as they attempted to escape toward the Seine. According to the *London Times*, out of a German army of 1 million, only 30,000 survived.

In Italy, the allied forces bombed the cities, while leaving the German army free to invade from the north.

New period of world disorder

Coming out of World War II, Washington emerged as the dominant imperialist power. The wholesale destruction of capital and human life opened the door to a 30-year period of capitalist expansion in Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, the United States, and other imperialist countries.

Today, however, the capitalist system is in a deep crisis in every corner of the globe. The decline in the curve of capitalist development, which began in the 1960s, has entered the segment of depression.

As tensions and rivalries between the various imperialist powers increase over how to divide the world's markets, the rulers use events like the D-Day anniversary to try to win working people in each country to support their native bourgeoisie in its current trade wars and shooting wars to come. In order to prevent the slaughter of a third world war, youth, workers, and poor farmers have every interest in rejecting this course.

Paul Davies and John Smith in Sheffield, England, contributed to this article.

NEWS ANALYSIS

just before his departure for Europe where he gave the U.S. government full credit for beating the German military. "Fifty years ago the men and women of America saved democracy in Europe and changed the course of history for the world," he boasted.

"The least he could have done was mention the word 'Allies,'" an unnamed British diplomat told the *Daily Mail* of London.

Maintaining U.S. troops in Europe

In an opinion column published in the June 5 *Washington Post*, former U.S. president Ronald Reagan drew "lessons of the D-Day invasion for a world still stalked by evil."

"Some in Congress... would have us lower our global profile," he wrote. "On the eve of D-Day-plus-50, they propose the removal of 75,000 American soldiers from Europe... Lest we forget, Kuwait's wealth did not protect it from the predatory [Iraqi president] Saddam Hussein." Washington must be prepared to use its military machine in the coming years, Reagan concluded.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* expressed similar concerns. "Two other historic celebrations may well symbolize what is shaping up for Europe," said a June 6 editorial. "On Bastille Day, July 14, German troops will parade through Paris for the first time since World War II," it noted. "They will be part of the Eurocorps, created mainly at French urging to begin the process of building a European army outside NATO and U.S. military control."

The parade "will symbolize the permanence of the French-German axis, which Messrs. Kohl and Mitterand see as the core of the new Europe," the editorial said.

Concern over Germany, Russia

The second occurrence of concern to the *Journal* editors is a send-off for the last Russian and allied troops to leave Berlin, which was occupied for decades following World War II. This event, to take place in Berlin in August, "will establish clearly that Germany has once again become a whole nation, independent in its foreign policy to whatever extent it wishes to be," the editorial griped. "It is the relationship between Germany and Russia that most interests, and worries, analysts trying to guess Europe's future course."

The governments of Germany and Russia were not invited to participate in the festivities. "Chancellor Helmut Kohl [of Germany] is believed to have been furious at not being invited to Normandy," the *British Observer* reported. "Most Germans are bewildered by the fuss being made in America and Britain about D-Day."

On the D-Day anniversary, Kohl presided over the opening of a new microchip factory in Dresden. Repeated bombing by British and other allied warplanes leveled the German industrial center during World War II.

Rossiskaya Gazeta, a newspaper in Russia, grumbled, "Probably it is also clear why Russia was not invited. It would be uncomfortable to highlight your own military successes

British prime minister targets 'beggars'

BY RICH PALSER

LONDON — Prime Minister John Major provoked outrage here when he said May 27 that beggars were offensive, could drive tourists and shoppers away from cities, and that the law should be used against them. "It is not acceptable to be out on the street. There is no justification for it these days," Major said. "It is a very offensive problem to many people who see it." He urged people to report beggars to the police.

"We are appalled at everything the prime minister is saying," responded Shelter, a charity for the homeless, in a statement. "He should address the underlying causes of homelessness, the lack of low-cost homes, and the lack of benefits for young people, which forces them on to the streets."

According to unofficial figures there are at least 8,000 people without shelter in Britain, nearly half of them in London. The recorded number of homeless — which includes those living in hostels and in temporary or sub-standard accommodations — has risen from 173,000 in 1983 to more than

400,000 today. Over the same period the number of empty homes in England has risen by 30 percent to reach an all-time high of 864,000, according to local authority reports to the Department of the Environment.

The number of council houses (public housing) in Britain — a cheaper source of housing for workers — has fallen from 6.5 to 5.3 million between 1979 and 1989 as a result of the government's policy of selling council housing off. They now account for around 25 percent of housing stock. On the grounds that higher rent would encourage more private landlords to rent houses, the government abolished rent controls over private landlords in 1988, resulting in higher rents and less security of tenure.

"If people are in desperately straitened circumstances we have a social security safety net in this country, which they can use," claimed Major to back his charge that no one needs to beg on the streets. But after slashing many social services, this net is less and less able to cushion plummeting living standards for many workers.

Major's call for more prosecutions of those who find themselves unemployed, homeless, and without any alternative but to beg on the streets is already being put into practice by the police. According to the latest available figures, in 1988 there were 573 prosecutions for begging and sleeping on the streets, 73 of them in central London. By 1990 the figure had risen to 1,268 in London and 158 in the rest of England and Wales. These prosecutions are carried out under the 1824 vagrancy laws, first enacted to clear the streets of London of the maimed veterans of the Napoleonic wars.

Asked what he thought of Major's comments, one homeless person in London told the press, "I'd like to see him try to survive on just £44 (£1=\$1.50) a week without either resorting to begging or thieving — and I know which one I find less objectionable. He's just picked on us because we are soft targets." He said the government has attacked other soft targets like single mothers and immigrants. "Now it's our turn because we're homeless and don't have a vote."

The proletarian military policy in WW II

Printed below are excerpts from a speech James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, presented to an SWP leadership meeting held in Chicago, September 1940. The gathering concluded a two-month discussion on military policy conducted by the ranks of the party. The full text of the speech is contained in the Pathfinder book *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II: James P. Cannon Writings and Speeches, 1940-43*. Copyright © Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the Militant.

We meet at a time of a great change in the world. Before our eyes, almost without our realizing it, there has been brought about a profoundly new world situation. A new period has opened up. The essence of the new situation is that capitalism in its unprecedented decay, in its death agony, has passed over completely from the relative stability and relative peace which characterized it as a growing and healthy social system into a state of permanent crisis, and the permanent crisis is now expressed in permanent war.

At the mass meeting last night I mentioned the new and significant development of the German-Italian-Japanese pact.¹ The announcement of this pact signifies above all other things that the war in Europe is due for an extension into Asia, Africa, and into the Western Hemisphere of the Americas. There is no prospect whatever for any more considerable periods of peace in the capitalist world. Just conjecture for a moment that some kind of peace could be effected in the European war. Nobody could believe that this would be a peace of any stability. It would only be a preparation for a new war of continents, of hemispheres, embracing the whole world. If a sudden, smashing victory of Hitler should enforce a peace with England, as was the case with France, no one would believe this would be the end of the war. If a formal peace should be declared and there should be a lull, during which there should be no war, it would only be an interlude.

We are preparing — our imperialist masters are preparing — night and day to challenge Hitler for world dominion. And Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese imperialists are preparing to meet that challenge. The outcome can only be a whole epoch of uninterrupted militarism and war. The proletariat, which is the sole power capable of lifting humanity out of this bloody morass, must face this fact. It cannot indulge in any more daydreams about the peaceful solution of the social problem. The workers' movement was dominated by this illusion for decades, for generations. It was thought and felt that through the day-by-day work of organizing trade unions, building reformist parties, casting votes, gaining some social legislation, that along these lines, working from year to year and from decade to decade they could gradually improve the conditions of the masses, and glide over peacefully, without violent collisions or shocks, into a new social order called socialism.

World on fire with militarism

The workers can indulge in no such daydreams any longer because the world is on fire with war and militarism. The one big conclusion the proletarian vanguard must draw is this: All great questions will be decided by military means. . . . These are new times. The characteristic feature of our epoch is unceasing war and universal militarism. That imposes on us as the first task, the task which dominates and shapes all others, the adoption of a military policy, an attitude of the proletarian party towards the solution of social problems during a time of universal militarism and war.

The prospects of the United States remaining at peace are absolutely zero. . . . It is completely absurd to imagine that there is some special policy — some legerdemain — that can make it possible for the strongest imperialist power in the world to escape participation in the struggle for the imperialist domination of the world. Nobody believes in this possibility except a few muddleheaded pacifists. And when I say muddleheaded pacifists I do not mean the bourgeois isolationists. I mean the fools, the people who belong completely to

1. Japan formally joined the Rome-Berlin military Axis on Sept. 27, 1940.



Workers on strike at Timken Roller Bearing plant in Canton, Ohio, January 1946. During course of war, Cannon explained, a great class-conscious movement of workers with arms in hands could be built up to challenge the power of the capitalist class.

yesterday, like the Thomasite socialists,² the Lovestoneites,³ the few religious fanatics.

That wing of the American bourgeoisie going by the name of isolationist are no less aggressive, no less military minded, than the wing which wants intervention right now in the present war.

The *Chicago Tribune* strongly criticizes the Roosevelt policy only because they have a different approach to the war. They think we should begin the struggle, the struggle of American imperialism for world dominion, by conquering first the Western Hemisphere and proceeding next to the East by way of a war against Japan, postponing the clash with Hitler till a later time. The more farsighted, the more conscious and, I am sure, the strongest section of the American bourgeoisie, who are called interventionists, believe that we must begin the struggle for world dominion by intervention in the European war. What divides the two camps at this time is only a matter of strategy. Now that they are confronted by an open military alliance of Germany and Japan their differences can easily be reconciled.

The only question will be how soon and at what point to begin open intervention. As a matter of fact, in all except the formalities of the situation, we are intervening in the European war now as much as we can. We are sending unlimited supplies of military materials to Europe. In my opinion the only reason we are not sending troops is that there isn't any place to land them. The Wall Street heroes and their political lackeys overslept the European situation. They underestimated the rottenness and weakness of the bourgeois democracies of Europe on the one hand, and the military strength of Hitler on the other. They waited too long, until the ports were occupied by the fascists. Nothing remains now but England. England has no room for troops, and there is a growing opinion among American capitalists and military experts that England itself is a lost cause.

When American participation in the war finally begins is only a secondary question. . . . The masters of this country are preparing for an explosion of military aggressiveness on a scale never seen in history before. Imperialist America is out to dominate the world. In its path stands Hitler Germany in the West. In its path stands imperialist Japan in the East. The conflict between these imperialist powers can in no case be resolved by diplomacy or good wishes or half measures, but only as all other things are decided in this epoch — by military force.

Now, confronted with these facts of universal militarism and permanent war, that the biggest industry of all now is going to be war, the army and preparation of things for the army — confronted with these facts, what shall the revolutionary party do? Shall we stand aside and simply say we don't agree

2. Thomasite socialists refers to supporters of Norman Thomas, the reformist leader of the U.S. Socialist Party and its candidate for president six times.

3. Lovestoneites refers to supporters of Jay Lovestone who was a founder of the American Communist Party (CP) in the 1920s. He became the leader of a rightist faction, which for a time — with Joseph Stalin's backing from Moscow — took control of the CP. Stalin's leftward shift in 1929 led to the expulsion of Lovestone and his followers. Lovestone maintained an organization until World War II. During the cold war years he was an organizer of the AFL-CIO's anti-communist and pro-imperialist activities around the world.

with the war, it is not our affair? No, we can't do that. We do not approve of this whole system of exploitation whereby private individuals can take possession of the means of production and enslave the masses. We are against that, but as long as we are not strong enough to put an end to capitalist exploitation in the factories, we adapt ourselves to reality. We don't abstain and go on individual strikes and separate ourselves from the working class. We go into the factories and try by working with the class to influence its development. We go with the workers and share all their experiences and try to influence them in a revolutionary direction.

The same logic applies to war. The great majority of the young generation will be dragged into the war. The great majority of these young workers will think at first that they are doing a good thing. For a revolutionary party to stand by and say, "We can tolerate exploitation in the factories, but not military exploitation" — that is to be completely illogical. To isolate ourselves from the mass of the proletariat which will be in the war is to lose all possibility to influence them.

Defend interests of proletariat in army

We have got to be good soldiers. Our people must take upon themselves the task of defending the interests of the proletariat in the army in the same way as we try to protect their interests in the factory. As long as we can't take the factories away from the bosses we fight to improve the conditions there. Similarly, in the army. Adapting ourselves to the fact that the proletariat of this country is going to be the proletariat in arms we say, "Very well, Mr. Capitalist, you have decided it so and we were not strong enough to prevent it. Your war is not our war, but as long as the mass of the proletariat goes with it, we will go too. We will raise our own independent program in the army, in the

military forces, in the same way as we raise it in the factories."

We say it is a good thing for the workers now to be trained in the use of arms. We are, in fact, in favor of compulsory military training of the proletariat. We are in favor of every union going on record for this idea. We want the proletariat to be well trained and equipped to play the military game. The only thing we object to is the leadership of a class that we don't trust. We don't want stoolpigeons of the boss as officers in our unions. Just as we don't want them as officers of our unions so we don't want them in the military forces. We are willing to fight Hitler. No worker wants to see that gang of fascist barbarians overrun this country or any country. But we want to fight fascism under a leadership that we can trust. We want our own officers — those who have shown themselves most devoted to their class, who have shown themselves to be the bravest and most loyal men on the picket line, those who are interested in the welfare of their fellow workers. These are precisely the type of people we want as officers. In the period when the whole working class youth is mobilized for war, those are the ones we want at the head of our battalions.

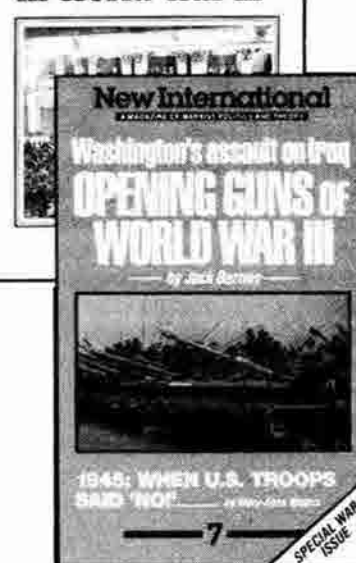
So we simply make our independent demands upon the government. We will join the war as long as the workers do. We will say frankly to the workers in the unions and shops: "We would like to throw over this whole business of capitalist exploitation — military as well as industrial — right now. But as long as you are not ready for that logical solution we will join with you, fight by your side, try to protect the men from useless waste of lives. All that we will do, but we retain one privilege — the right to express our opinion day in and day out: That you must not trust the leadership of your enemy class. Don't forget that the government in Washington is a concentrated representative of the same bosses that you have to fight every day in order to live. It is nothing but the executive committee of all bosses who, together and individually, act as the exploiters and oppressors of the working class. Put no more trust in that bosses' government than you do in the individual bosses at home."

We will fight all the time for the idea that the workers should have officers of their own choosing. That this great sum of money that is being appropriated out of the public treasury should be allocated in part to the trade unions for the setting up of their own military training camps under officers of their own selection; that we go into battle with the consciousness that the officer leading us is a man of our own flesh and blood who is not going to waste our lives, who is going to be true and loyal and who will represent our interests. And in that way, in the course of the development of the war, we will build up in the army a great class-conscious movement of workers with arms in their hands who will be absolutely invincible. Neither the German Hitler nor any other Hitler will be able to conquer them.

PATHFINDER

James P. Cannon
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES, 1940-43

The Socialist
Workers Party
in World War II



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Logging bosses exploit workers, ravage the land

BY PAUL KOURI

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — A discussion has opened here about the British Columbia government's forest renewal plan. It increases fees paid by logging companies for trees they cut down. The New Democratic Party-led government says it will use this income, which they claim will total \$2 billion over the next five years, to put unemployed workers back to work repairing damaged forests and streams and for reforestation projects.

The law is carefully written to ensure that if the price of lumber falls below \$250 per 1,000 board feet, the fee increase will be waived.

Even with this provision, the forest policy was only approved under immense pressure from both unions and environmental activists. It is the latest episode in an ongoing debate that began when the government announced plans in mid-1993 to allow commercial logging of the forests around

low the commercial logging of Clayoquot, about 100 people demonstrated April 13 in Vancouver and in Victoria to denounce the decision.

Many workers in the logging industry, however, view the protests as an attack on their livelihood. During the blockade last summer, for example, there were daily confrontations with timber workers going to work. Linda McMullan, of Canadian Women in Timber, told reporters after the March 21 rally, "We've let people know that we are not going to lay down and be dictated to by a handful of preservationists... This is about democracy and the right to work."

Workers and the environment

But it is working people who have the biggest stake in protecting the environment. In the years before the blockades at Clayoquot, it was IWA members who organized to expose the destructive logging practices and other environmentally damaging action of the forest bosses. Bernard Martin, a fisherman for 25 years on the Grand Banks off the coast of Newfoundland, has participated in the fight to defend the environment for working people who live off it. The failure to stop destructive fishing practices on Canada's east coast led to the indefinite closure of the East Coast cod fishery last year and the permanent loss of thousands of jobs, he said. After he was left without work, Martin explained, he decided to travel "from the ocean without fish to the forest without trees" to protest the destruction of the forest at Clayoquot Sound.

The Victoria rally and the present course of the leadership of the IWA and the other unions do not advance the fight



Canada mill processing redwood logs. The fight for jobs and preserving the environment are important, interrelated questions for working people.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Clayoquot Sound, one of the world's oldest remaining temperate rain forests. Much of the debate focuses on whether it is possible to fight to save both jobs and the environment.

On March 21, 15,000 to 20,000 forest workers, including unionized loggers and sawmill workers, independent contractors, and others from logging communities throughout British Columbia descended on Victoria, the provincial capital, to demand "no more lost jobs." The demonstration, as well as rallies leading up to it throughout Vancouver Island logging communities, was sparked by the release of a land use plan report by the Commission on Resources and Environment (CORE).

The CORE report recommends that logging on the island be cut back by 6 percent, eliminating up to 900 forestry-related jobs and \$42 million in personal incomes. From the current 10.3 percent of land now under protection, the report recommends that about 13 percent be reserved for park land and ecological reserves and another 8 percent be partly protected by making logging operations more restrictive.

International Woodworkers of America-Canada (IWA) president Gerry Stoney, who recently traveled with British Columbia premier Mike Harcourt to Europe to defend forestry practices in the province, spoke at the rally, urging the premier to guarantee that "before there is one more job eliminated from the forest industry in British Columbia there will be a good, well paid union job there to take its place."

The debate over the implementation of the CORE land-use plan on Vancouver Island comes on the heels of last summer's fight to save Clayoquot Sound, when more than 10,000 people, mostly youth, came to Clayoquot to participate in the fight. The campaign focused on mobilizing hundreds of people each day to block the entrance to the main logging road into Clayoquot Sound at the Kennedy River Bridge. One year after the NDP government announced its decision to al-

low the commercial logging of Clayoquot, about 100 people demonstrated April 13 in Vancouver and in Victoria to denounce the decision.

for jobs. That's because they start from what is needed to make the forest companies profitable, not from the need to find jobs for all and to protect the environment. IWA officials have even formed a coalition with the forest companies, called the Forest Alliance. The alliance and the IWA have backed the campaign, orchestrated by the forest companies, to blame environmentalists, as well as land claims by Native peoples, for the loss of forestry jobs.

(one meter equals 3.3 feet). Over the same period the number of forestry jobs has been halved.

A campaign to fight to defend jobs needs to start by demanding that the benefits of this increased productivity be shared with the workers, through a campaign for a shorter work week without loss in pay. Working people, especially those employed in the timber industry, are in the strongest position to change destructive logging practices and help find broader solutions to the question of environmentally sustainable economic activity in the forests. They also have the biggest stake in this fight.

Paul Kouri is member of the United Steelworkers of America.

North wins Republican nomination for Senate

Continued from front page

rails against big government and goes after politicians of both parties for failing to carry out thorough enough assaults on workers' rights and for failing to maintain stability and "law and order." North points to his role in the Iran-Contra affair, where he was accused of selling arms to the Iranian government in exchange for the release of U.S. hostages, as an example of how he can cut through bureaucracy and red tape. Money from the deal was given to the contras.

"Our government is being held hostage, a captive of potentates of pork who live high on the hog off of big government," North told delegates to the convention. "Well, I know something about liberating hostages."

North took advantage of the various scandals plaguing the Clinton administration, condemning "a liberal government that is up to its caboose in the peccadilloes and personal distractions of its president. He targeted "a Congress that is hell-bent on an explosion of federal programs that place a millstone around our children's necks as they drown in a rising tide of red ink," and attacked affirmative action.

"Something is terribly wrong with a government, which says it values equal opportunity but relies instead on cruel quotas, which pit Black against white and man against woman," he said.

"Working men and women — the traditional family — are the real endangered species," North said. "Now is the time to stand up for what is right. And that won't be easy. Many powerful people will try to get in our way. But I'd rather do what's right than be anointed a professional politician... for those who look to their hearts in this battle, I'm your man."

Comparing this "battle" to the Allied invasion of France during World War II, North added, "This time there is only one hill that we must take: Capitol Hill."

Across Virginia, North has campaigned against laws barring discrimination against gays and for English as the official language across the country.

Virginia governor George Allen joined

North on the convention platform, endorsed his campaign, to "get the federal boot" off the backs of the people and complained about "the liberals who spend too much time worrying about woodpeckers and rats and isopods."

Patrick Buchanan wrote favorably of North's campaign in a March 23 column, condemning Republicans who attacked him. "He made mistakes," the right-wing columnist said, but he "made them in causes that were just."

Other Republicans have taken their distance from North. Former president Ronald Reagan, Republican Senate leader Robert Dole and high-ranking office holders in Virginia have complained that North will tarnish the party and diminish its chances for gaining a majority in the Senate. North dismissed their comments as coming from non-Virginians. "I'm not running anywhere else but Virginia," he said.

200 prepare for solidarity trip to Cuba

BY JOE SWANSON

SAN FRANCISCO — Close to 200 people have signed up for the June 23-30 Freedom To Travel Campaign trip to Cuba, explained Pam Montanaro at the campaign offices here on June 6. The offices were a bee-hive of activity. About a dozen people, mostly young volunteers and staff members, are helping to organize the travel campaign.

Montanaro, coordinator of the Freedom To Travel Campaign, said that the participants come from about 25 states. This includes 125 people from the greater San Francisco Bay Area. They come from all walks of life. About 50 are under 25 years old, many of them students from high schools and colleges out for the summer break. Others are active in their labor unions. Participants also include medical professionals, business people, and artists, including musicians, poets, and filmmakers.

A popular Bay Area musical group called Dr. Loco's Rockin' Jalapeño Band will be making their first trip to Cuba as part of the travel challenge. The band is organizing a send-off party and benefit to raise funds for scholarships that will help Bay Area students and activists cover the travel expenses.

Most of the participants are also organizing their own individual fund-raisers. In the Twin Cities, Minnesota, area, for example, Lisa Rottach has sent out 200 invitations to a fund-raising barbecue. As a result, \$485 has already been raised towards travel expenses. The fund-raiser will also be a political event, Rottach explained. "We will show the video *Cuba and Angola* and have a discussion on the lessons of the Cuban revolution," she said.

One of the things that makes the second Freedom To Travel Challenge different than the October 1993 campaign, Montanaro said, is that leaders of the Union of Young Communists in Cuba, including an 18-year-old member of the Cuban National Assembly, are helping to organize the Freedom To Travel trip so that there is a good length of time set aside for Cuban and U.S. youth to work together, have discussions, and socialize.

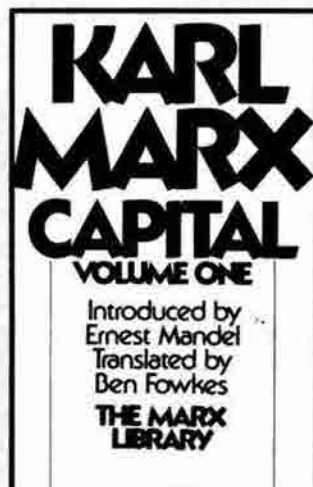
The travel challengers are openly defying U.S. government travel restrictions to Cuba. A May 31 press release from the offices of the Freedom To Travel Campaign stated that the group "will continue to organize challenge trips until our constitutional right to travel is fully restored."

Marxism and the environment

CAPITAL KARL MARX

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ILGWU members picket Leslie Fay plant, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, June 3.

Militant/Abby Tilsner

Leslie Fay strikers keep factories shut

BY ABBY TILSNER
AND SEVDA UCER

WILKES-BARRE, Pennsylvania — "Support for the strike has been fantastic," said Sally Knick, who was picketing a Leslie Fay garment factory here. "Even at midnight people come by and honk their horns."

Some 1,800 Leslie Fay workers struck June 1 when the contract with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) expired. Twenty-four-hour picketing began in six different states. More than 1,200 are picketing Pennsylvania plants in Plains, Kingston, Laflin, Throop, and Tuscarora. Workers also struck in Secaucus, New Jersey, Morrow, Georgia, Mansfield, Ohio, and New York City. The company is threatening to shift production to plants in other countries.

At Wilkes-Barre, the company has hired three private security outfits to police picket lines, and the plant's main entrance has been closed. Although less than 10 ILGWU members were reported to have crossed the lines, the additional security they've hired "has harassed us, threatened us over the phone, come over to our homes, and tailed us," said Lois Hartel, ILGWU district manager of the Hazleton-Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. She along with others have filed a complaint with the police.

Leslie Fay, Inc., one of the largest U.S. dressmakers, declared Chapter 11 bankruptcy in April 1993. On July 15 last year, union officials signed a supplemental agreement stipulating the closure of some plants, the transfer of jobs to other facilities, and some layoffs.

Before the agreement expired, the company began a series of layoffs. While calling back one group of workers, they would let others go.

Company violates agreement

"The company violated the agreement before the ink was even dry," said Hartel. The company moved to close its Julie II plant, which was to stay open.

"After we won in court in October to force the company to abide by the agreement and keep Julie II open, we all thought we had won and everything was going to be OK," said Hartel.

On January 12, laid-off Leslie Fay workers picketed outside the company's plant in Wilkes-Barre, gathering 277 signatures on a group grievance, stated the February 1994 issue of *Respect*, an ILGWU district newsletter.

The company has refused to pay back wages to workers laid off in violation of the agreement, and has cut the workweek to nearly half for most workers. In addition, it moved to reduce the termination pay from one-week's wages for every year

worked to a lump sum payment of \$5,000 for those with less than 15 years service, and \$6,500 for those with more than 15 years.

Union wins support

Union members have won support in the area. The Northeastern Pennsylvania Stakeholders Alliance is boycotting company products. The Pennsylvania State Education Association is providing strike headquarters, a food shelf has been organized, and dozens of people stop by the picket line or honk in solidarity throughout the day and night.

The Teamsters who are under contract at Leslie Fay, Inc. have not crossed the picket lines. Teamsters Local 401 in Wilkes-Barre has provided ILGWU members with a support letter sanctioning the strike. The letter, which is to be honored by all Teamsters in other locals, is to be handed out to drivers.

In Morrow, Georgia, just south of Atlanta, 40 union members maintain a picket line in high spirits. "This is our first strike and I'm loving it," said strike captain Dorothy Hightower of ILGWU Local 122. She said there used to be three buildings at the site with 200 workers. "Now we're down to about 50 and the company is planning to close this center and shift the work to Pennsylvania, and then overseas," Hightower stated.

'We had no choice but to strike'

"We had no choice but to strike," added union member Linda Johnson. "We couldn't get a contract and there was no discussion with the company. I want to work but now the company is planning to move."

Members of the United Rubber Workers union brought the strikers sausages and Communication Workers of America members brought ice. Several unionists from the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union came by to show their support.

Leslie Fay recently announced bonuses for its top four executives of up to 100 percent of their salaries, or more than \$2 million. On the average, Leslie Fay workers earn \$7.80 per hour.

In a June 2 column, Leslie Fay's president and chief operating officer, Michael Bobcock, blamed garment industry troubles on the ILGWU. A unionist on the picket line at Wilkes-Barre responded, "I think the major issue is corporate greed."

Susan LaMont, a member of ACTWU Local 365 in Atlanta, and Deborah Liatos and Brian Miller in Philadelphia contributed to this article.

New strike at Caterpillar

Continued from front page
officials in April 1992. At that time, Caterpillar had threatened to hire scabs.

The company's efforts to impose speed-up, labor discipline, obedience, and to get workers to basically shut up has fueled unionists' determination to take a stand and fight for their rights.

The last strike at Caterpillar began May 16, when 7,500 workers walked out of plants in East Peoria, Illinois, to protest the suspension of 37 workers at the Mossville, Illinois, engine plant. Strikers returned to work May 20 after the company agreed to reinstate 34 of the suspended union members. The remaining three have now been reinstated.

On May 23, Caterpillar general manager Gary Stroup sent a letter to all union members. "The company has been extremely tolerant of employees' efforts to express dissatisfaction during the ongoing labor dispute," he claimed. Stroup warned that "anyone who chooses to engage in disruptive behavior, regardless of the message . . . will be subject to immediate discharge without further notice."

"This place is a zoo," said UAW Local

974 member Gary Collins, who works in East Peoria. "Last week when we went out in a group chanting, foremen were humming all over the place trying to write us up. They were picking on the most active unionists. On Thursday they were taking pictures of lockers that had union literature on them."

Over the June 4-5 weekend, the East Peoria union hall stayed open, and 600-700 UAW members lined up Saturday morning to sign up for picket duty in the event of a strike. Local president Jerry Brown said a total of 4,000 signed up over the weekend. Jim Peacock, a retired member of Local 974, said, "Some of the people who crossed the lines before have changed their minds. Now that they've seen Cat is out to bust the union, they've come out strong with us and stayed strong."

Union locals interested in getting a speaker from the UAW to talk about the Caterpillar fight can telephone Bob Dunn of the Rapid Response Team at the union hall. Tel. (309) 694-3151.

Russell Hall is a member of United Transportation Union Local 577 in Chicago.

UAW members reject Navistar deal

BY RAY PARSONS

CHICAGO — United Auto Workers members at Navistar International Corp. overwhelmingly rejected May 31 a proposed modification of their contract. The agreement would have allowed the company to start new hires at 70 percent of base rate wages in return for two lump sum payments to current UAW retirees. The new employees would have reached full pay after two and a half years.

Workers rejected the agreement by a more than 3-1 majority, despite the urging to the contrary of UAW secretary-treasurer Bill Casstevens, who is a member of Navistar's board of directors.

Navistar is a major builder of medium- and heavy-duty trucks and employs 7,600 auto

workers in six states. While the deal would have meant huge savings for the company, Navistar would have provided two lump sum payments of a mere \$400 each to UAW retirees, one in July 1994 and one a year later, and about half that to spouses of deceased retirees.

A UAW member in Stone Park, Illinois, outside of Chicago — where the deal was rejected 6-to-1 — noted that workers were opposed to the establishment of a two-tier wage scale. "The active employees got nothing and retirees got only this one shot payment," he said. Navistar UAW retirees receive \$600 per month less than auto workers retired from the major carmakers.

Navistar chairman James Cotting, was "disappointed" with the vote. He said, "We now need to reassess the situation, balancing our inability to start new hires at a lower rate with other considerations."

Four days later, however, Navistar announced plans to hire 600 new production and maintenance workers over the next few months at plants in Indianapolis, Indiana, and Springfield, Ohio. Company spokespeople had said in May that hiring in such numbers was contingent on getting the wage concessions.

The rejection of reduced wages for new hires caught the attention of *Wall Street Journal* editors and other big-business commentators. They presented active workers at Navistar as being concerned only with payments for their own retirements. More to the point, however, is the fact that the rejection of the contract modification marks a sharp departure from concessions the "Big Three" automakers wrested from UAW members last fall. New workers there start at 70 percent, reaching full pay over three years.

The *Journal* remarked that the vote "was a sharp rebuke to UAW Secretary-Treasurer Bill Casstevens." In a statement the UAW official called the rejection "regrettable," adding, "There was not one single negative in the proposed modification."

Ray Parsons is a member of United Transportation Union Local 620 in Chicago.

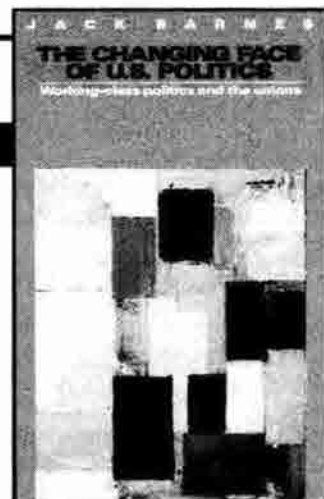
Possible strike at LIRR

BY BILL ARTH

BROOKLYN, New York — Railroad workers on the Long Island Railroad (LIRR) are preparing to strike following a 60-day "cooling off" period that ends June 16. The 2,800 members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) include conductors, car repair workers, and track workers. Their last contract expired in January 1992. The LIRR is primarily a commuter railroad carrying 110,000 passengers per day.

The issues in the contract dispute include wages, health and welfare benefits, and compensation for on-the-job injuries. LIRR workers have not had a raise since July 1, 1990. The company is proposing a 9 percent wage increase to last through April 1996. The union is demanding an 18 percent raise over a slightly shorter period. A presidential emergency board ruled in favor of the company's proposal as the "least unreasonable." The UTU has rejected this offer and has printed picket signs.

Bill Arth is a member of UTU Local 1447 and works at Conrail.



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North Korea

Continued from front page including sanctions."

Tokyo has hinted that it may consider economic sanctions without a UN vote. Some Japanese banks have stopped transferring dollars to North Korea, an important source of hard currency. The U.S. government has made clear that the transfer of funds to North Korea would be subject to any sanctions that are enacted. There are 700,000 residents of Korean origin in Japan, many of whom send money to relatives in Korea.

Japanese newspapers reported on June 4 that Tokyo had prepared a 10-point draft package of sanctions against North Korea, such as bans on trade, flights, and all cash transfers, including almost \$600 million a year brought into the country by Koreans living in Japan.

Two days later Japanese police in riot gear rammed through a gate at the regional headquarters of Chosensoren, a North Korean residents association in Kyoto, supposedly for not completing some financial records. Japanese officials later admitted the papers had been properly filed.

A spokesman for the group said the cops raided 26 other sites, including offices and homes of Chosensoren members, taking many documents. "These raids are clearly an attempt to put political pressure on us," said Ho Jong Man, vice-chairman of the association.

South Korea's president has escalated tensions, telling reporters in Russia, "We and the United States are fully prepared and have enough military power ready to meet any emergencies." South Korea's prime minister, Lee Young Dug, declared a crackdown on students who have supported North Korea's sovereignty, saying Seoul would not tolerate "forces trying to wreck our free democratic system." U.S. defense secretary Perry said Washington is prepared to bolster the 38,000 American troops currently in South Korea.

The North Korean government explained in a June 3 press release the facts behind all the frenzy whipped up by Washington. According to a spokesman for North Korea's department of atomic energy, Pyongyang proposed a method by which the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) could measure the plutonium levels in fuel rods removed from the North Korean reactor. The head of the IAEA delegation said the proposed method was reasonable theoretically and would inform the officials in Pyongyang after studying it.

At present all the operations at the plant site, including fuel transfers and storage, are under strict containment and surveillance by the IAEA, he said.

Nevertheless, Hans Blix, head of the IAEA, sent a letter to the United Nations charging that so many rods were removed it was impossible for the agency to conduct its measurements to determine if any plutonium was diverted to make a nuclear bomb, giving the Clinton administration a pretext for its latest threats.

— CALENDAR —

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Send-Off Party and Benefit for the Freedom to Travel Campaign. Funds support scholarships to help Bay Area low-income students and activists participate in the June 23-30 Freedom to Travel Challenge trip to Cuba. Dr. Loco's Rockin' Jalapeño Band. Wed., June 15, Kimball's Carnival, 5800 Shellmound St., Emeryville. Doors open at 7:30 p.m. Music from 8:30 to 11:30 p.m. Tickets \$10 in advance, \$15 at the door. For tickets and more information, call (415) 558-9490.

Challenge the Travel Ban Against Cuba! Fund-raiser to help Milton Chee join the Freedom to Travel Campaign. Chee was a candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1992 and successfully defended himself against the government's attempt to frame him for a violation of the Hatch Act. He is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 1584 and the Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 17, 9 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission St.). Donation: \$5. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Solidarity March and Demonstration at the A. E. Staley Plant. One-year anniversary of the Staley lockout. Sat., June 25, 12 noon. Meet at UAW Local 751 (Caterpillar workers). 2365 East Geddes Avenue. March will head to the Staley plant and corporate headquarters at 2200 East Eldorado. For information, call (217) 876-7006.

— MILITANT LABOR FORUMS —

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Labor Resistance Today! Lessons of Recent Workers' Battles Against the Employers' Anti-union Offensive. Speakers: Jack Boyle, Teamsters Local 315, shop steward at Consolidated Freightways; Scott Rodman, Teamsters Local 315, shop steward at United Parcel Service, Richmond; Ellen Berman, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Auto Workers Local 2244 contingent in May 7 international rally for Caterpillar workers. Sat., June 18, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission St.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

FLORIDA

Miami

Birth of a New South Africa — Victory for All Humanity. Celebration of New International Fund. Speaker: James Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, member of United Steelworkers of America, recently returned from a *Militant* reporting trip to South Africa. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. Dinner 6 p.m. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: Dinner \$3; program \$5. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

IOWA

Des Moines

What's Behind Washington's Stepped-Up Aggression Against North Korea? Sat., June 18, 7 p.m. 2105 Forest Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Support Workers in Battle. Panelists: Staley workers Frank Travis and Ron Van Scyoc, UPIU/AIW Local 837, Decatur, Illinois; members of UAW Local 751 at Caterpillar plant in Decatur; David Yard, chairperson of grievance committee, UMWA Local 1969, Palmer, Illinois; Johanna Ryan, USWA Local 1011, LTV Steel, Chicago. Sat., June 18, 7 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Celebrate the launching of *New International* no. 9. Speaker: Cindy Jaquith, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in Detroit, member United Auto Workers Local 155, former member of the *Militant's* Nicaragua bureau in the 1980s. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 827 Bloor St. W. (between Ossington and Christie subway stops). Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 533-4324.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Benefit for the New International Fund. Slide show and celebration social. Speaker: Michael Baumann, former reporter from the *Managua* bureau of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in the 1980s. Sat., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 59 Fourth Avenue (corner of Bergen). Donation:

\$5. Tel: (718) 399-7257.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Fight for Democracy in Haiti Today — Open all Borders to Haitian Refugees. Panelists: Laurie Richardson, co-coordinator, Quixote Center's Haiti Report Campaign; Brad Downs, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists. Sat., June 18, 7:30 p.m. 1802 Belmont Rd., N.W. (in Adams Morgan). Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

Fascism — What It Is and How to Fight It. Speaker: Greg McCartan, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., June 25, 7:30 p.m. 1802 Belmont Rd., N.W. (in Adams Morgan). Donation \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

CANADA

Vancouver

Apartheid is Buried. A Nation Emerges. Speaker: Patricia O'Beirne, leader of Communist League in Montreal, member of *Militant* reporting team to South Africa during recent elections. Sat., June 18, 8 p.m. Reception 6 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Reject the Todd Report. Education is a Right, not a Commodity! Sat., June 18, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Tel: (03) 365-6055.

U.S. warships interdict fleeing Haitians

BY MAGGIE MCGRAW

MIAMI — About 1,500 refugees have been intercepted at sea and returned to Haiti by U.S. naval ships since the Clinton administration made some cosmetic changes in its Haitian refugee policy on May 7.

The policy, which has yet to be implemented, calls for refugees to be interviewed at sea for possible political asylum in the United States prior to being sent back.

On June 1 the Jamaican government agreed to allow U.S. ships that will be processing the refugees to anchor near Kingston Harbor for six months. Officials of the British-ruled Turks and Caicos islands, located near the Bahamas, will also make deserted Grand Turk Island available for a processing center. Both governments stressed they will not grant asylum to any Haitians.

Washington plans to start on-ship screening June 13 and expects to process about 2,000 Haitians a week. The Clinton administration made clear that the refugees will not be represented by lawyers at these interviews.

Until this plan is fully operational, "all Haitians interdicted at sea will continue to be repatriated to Haiti," said State Department spokeswoman Christine Shelly.

Meanwhile, nine U.S. warships, and a Canadian and an Argentine frigate are patrolling Haiti's coast to enforce a tougher United Nations-sponsored trade embargo, which went into effect May 21. Military training exercises are taking place in the region at the same time, including 650 Marines at the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and a more recent force sent to Nassau, the Bahamas.

In a further tightening of the embargo, President Joaquín Balaguer of the Dominican Republic announced May 26 that he was closing his country's 240-mile border with Haiti. For months, huge amounts of fuel and other goods have been smuggled across the border into Haiti.

A Haitian was shot to death June 4 when Dominican soldiers opened fire on a group of Haitians carrying two gallons of gas across the border. More Dominican police are being sent to the area and Washington has pledged to back them up with "technical assistance."

At a June 6 meeting of the Organization of American States (OAS), Washington urged member nations to join a ban on commercial air flights to Haiti. The OAS also discussed pressing the United Nations to send a mission to restrain Haiti's army and police and "maintain civic order."

Resurgence of Tontons Macoutes

Inside Haiti the terrorist outfit known as the Tontons Macoutes has also begun to resurge. Shouting "Duvalier or death," 100 Macoutes carrying pictures of the former dictator, marched to the presidential palace May 27 to announce their formal reorganization.

This paramilitary force, which grew to more than 30,000 during the rule of the Duvalier family dictatorship from 1957 to 1986, murdered and tortured thousands of Haitians before disbanding in response to popular uprisings that led to the downfall of Jean-Claude Duvalier in 1986.

Exiled Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide told the *New York Times* that he

doubted economic sanctions could restore him to office. He urged Washington to take "action to get rid of the thugs" who overthrew him.

Aristide said the U.S. government should be "moving toward a surgical action" similar to the 1989 U.S. invasion of Panama that ousted President Manuel Noriega.

U.S. rulers, however, face a dilemma over what could unfold after such a move and whether a stable regime to Washington's liking could be established.

Aristide reassured those who question the wisdom of intervention to restore him to power. "We are talking about interests, mutual interests," he said. "Not feelings. . . . If I could do it alone I would. If the United States could do it alone they would. But we have to go together," Aristide concluded.

Maggie McGraw is a member of the International Association of Machinists Local 368 in Miami.

Correction

A line of text was inadvertently dropped in the jump from page 3 to page 12 of the article "Haitian gov't arrests fleeing refugees as Clinton returns them," which appeared in the June 13 issue of the *Militant*. The correct sentence should have read: "The U.S. ships patrolling the area enter Haitian territorial waters at will, stopping and searching all vessels, and firing at any that refuse to halt."

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And not in a whisper — "China Knew U.S. Political Bottom Line: Money Talks." — Headline



Harry Ring

on report of Clinton's decision to delink China trade and "human rights."

Free-market medicine — The Genzyme company will market a genetically engineered version of an enzyme used to treat

Gaucher's disease, a sometimes fatal illness that hits about 5,000 people in the world at any given time. Of these, 1,200 take Genzyme's natural form of the medication, which costs \$150,000 for a year's supply. Initially, the new, cheaper drug will sell for the same price to cover "start-up" costs, but later some of the savings will be passed on, a spokesman said.

The sock-it-to-the-poor society — Los Angeles plans to hike bus fares from \$1.10 to \$1.35. A recent city survey showed that 62 percent of the city's bus riders earn less than \$15,000 a year.

They really do care — Con-

cerned for low-income passengers who can't lay out \$42 for a monthly bus pass, the L.A. transit authority last year began offering two-week passes for \$23. They said the extra \$4 a month is needed to cover "administrative" costs.

You're covered, unless you really need it — State Farm says it's modifying its policy of denying health or life insurance to victims of spousal violence. Coverage will still be denied where the violence is "current, repeated and life threatening." Earlier it was explained that the industry practice was based on concern for victims. If you're insured, they said, you're a more tempting target.

Sleep well — The feds guess it may take 20 years to figure out how to permanently store 50 tons of plutonium waste, which remains radioactive for 20,000 years. Right now they're considering burying the stuff in abandoned military bases. They will retain another 50 tons for use in atomic weapons. (Ten pounds are needed for one bomb.)

Swivel chairs are safe? — A psychologist told executives they'd be more creative if they took afternoon "power naps." He also warned of the danger of overtired workers falling asleep on the job. (He said 56 percent of night-shift workers do so at least once a week.) He didn't recommend worker nap breaks.

They taped the session? — Former Nixon aide Egil Krogh has authored *The Day Elvis Met Nixon*. It's an eyewitness account of a 30-minute 1970 White House conversation between Nixon and Presley. Available at the Nixon Library and Birthplace, \$18.95.

Duty calls — Periodically in India, 200,000 hopefuls take a long, grueling civil service test. Of these, 12,000 get a second test, with the top 2,000 qualifying for interviews. Of these, about 80 are hired for the Administrative Service, a group of influential bureaucrats. Why do so many suffer the test ordeal? A disillusioned bureaucrat put it simply: "Ten years of service and you're a millionaire."

Trade unions: their past, present, and future

Printed below is a resolution adopted by the first congress of the International Working Men's Association (the First International), held September 1866 in Geneva, Switzerland. It was drafted in English by Karl Marx as part of a set of guidelines for the delegates. It is included in the book *Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay* by Leon Trotsky, published by Pathfinder. Copyright © Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission

BY KARL MARX

(A) Their past

Capital is concentrated social force, while the workman has only to dispose of his working force [labor power]. The contract between capital and labor can therefore never be struck on equitable terms, equitable even in the sense of a society which places the ownership of the material means of life and labor on one side and the vital productive energies on the opposite side. The only social power of the workmen is their number. The force of numbers, however, is broken by disunion. The disunion of the workmen is created and perpetuated by their *unavoidable competition among themselves*.

FROM PATHFINDER

Trades' unions originally sprang up from the spontaneous attempts of workmen at removing or at least checking that competition, in order to conquer such terms of contract as might raise them at least above the condition of mere slaves. The immediate object of trades' unions was therefore confined to everyday necessities, to expediences for the obstruction of the incessant encroachments of capital, in one word, to questions of wages and time of labor. This activity of the trades' unions is not only legitimate, it is necessary. It cannot be dispensed with so long as the present system of production lasts. On the contrary, it must be generalized by the formation and the combination of trades' unions throughout all countries. On the other hand, unconsciously to themselves, the trades' unions were forming centers of organization of the working class, as the medieval municipalities and communes did for the middle class. If the trades' unions are re-

quired for the guerrilla fights between capital and labor, they are still more important as *organized agencies for superseding the very system of wages labor and capital rule*.

(B) Their present

Too exclusively bent upon the local and immediate struggles with capital, the trades' unions have not yet fully understood their power of acting against the system of wages slavery itself. They therefore kept too much aloof from general social and political movements. Of late, however, they seem to awaken to some sense of their great historical mission, as appears, for instance, from their participation, in England, in the recent political movement, from the enlarged views taken of their function in the United States, and from the following resolution passed at the recent great conference of trades' delegates at Sheffield:

"That this conference, fully appreciating the efforts made by the International [Working Men's] Association to unite in one common bond of brotherhood the working men of all countries, most earnestly recommend to the various societies here represented, the advisability of becoming affiliated to that body, believing that it is essential to the progress and prosperity of the entire working community."

(C) Their future

Apart from their original purposes, they must now learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its *complete emancipation*. They must aid every social and political movement tending in that direction. Considering themselves and acting as the champions and representatives of the

1. The Sheffield conference, held July 17-21, 1866, brought together 138 delegates representing 200,000 organized workers in Britain.

From 1865 to 1867, British unions helped lead a broad campaign for expanded voting rights.

In early 1861, following moves by the southern slave states to secede from the United States, unions in cities throughout the northern and border states held meetings and demonstrations supporting the federal government and urging its defense. During the 1861-65 Civil War, new unions were organized and union activity for the eight-hour day increased.



Militant/John Sarge

United Auto Workers members and supporters march to support fight of Caterpillar workers in Peoria, Illinois, May 7, 1994. Apart from their original purposes, trade unions must learn to act deliberately as organizing centers of the working class in the broad interest of its complete emancipation, says Marx.

whole working class, they cannot fail to enlist the nonsociety [unorganized] men into their ranks. They must look carefully after the interests of the worst-paid trades, such as the agricultural laborers, rendered

powerless by exceptional circumstances. They must convince the world at large that their efforts, far from being narrow and selfish, aim at the emancipation of the downtrodden millions.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
Published in the Interest of the Working People
June 20, 1969 Price 10¢

Pravda, newspaper of the Soviet Communist Party, has attacked the Palestinian guerrilla movement on the grounds that it has helped "to frustrate a political settlement" in the Mideast. *Pravda's* blast came on June 6, second anniversary of the Israeli attack on Syria, Jordan, and the UAR [United Arab Republic/Egypt], and at a time when the Palestinian liberation movement has been gaining strength.

Denouncing the liberation fighters as "nationalists and revenge seekers," *Pravda* stated that in the UAR, "a sober and realistic approach to the conflict's solution by political methods will ultimately open the road to a restoration of the country's territorial integrity..." (emphasis added). This was meant to be directly counterposed to the line of armed struggle.

The Moscow line is not new and has drawn sharp rebukes from the Palestinian liberation struggle. In a statement released earlier, on April 10, the Palestine Liberation Organization said, in part:

"We are not surprised at the stand of the imperialist powers, particularly the United States and Britain. . . . But we are surprised at the stand of the Soviet Union, for in spite of our respect for the varied Soviet aid to many Arab countries, our national obligation now demands that we put on the record

that the Soviet Union has continued to be mistaken in its stand on the Palestinian question and its ignoring of the rights of the Palestinian people in their entire homeland — Palestine, and in their inalienable rights to liberate it, to return to it, and to self-determination inside it."

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

June 10, 1944

Caught in the ever-tightening vise of rising living costs and static wage scales, 70,000 Mexican miners and metallurgical workers went out on strike June 8 in the greatest down-tools action since President Avila Camacho took power in 1940. Several thousand workers in various other industries were also rendered idle.

The strike was directed, in the main, against American and British companies who control some 80 per cent of Mexico's metal ore production. In all, 105 mining and metallurgical concerns were shut down by the walk-out.

The strike call was issued by leaders of the workers' syndicates after mine owners had refused a demand for a 50 per cent increase in wages and a further demand that temporary increases given last September be made permanent. Quoting a survey by the Banco de Mexico, the syndicates showed that between January 1943 and February of this year the cost of living had advanced 52.3 per cent, thus more than justifying the wage increase demanded.

FOR FURTHER READING

Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay



LEON TROTSKY, KARL MARX

Marx's "Trade Unions: Their Past, Present, and Future," which opens this book, is the foundation document of how communists participate in trade unions under capitalism. Trotsky's 1940 article applies that revolutionary strategy to the grotesquely bureaucratized unions in the imperialist epoch. \$14.95.

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

Fighting 'Ollie's army'

"I'm not running anywhere else but Virginia," Oliver North said during his successful bid for the Republican Party nomination for Senate. Although the former member of the National Security Council appeared to speak the obvious, his campaign shows that foreign policy, not local or national policy, is once again the central issue in this year's U.S. elections.

North gained notoriety as the White House aide who organized the covert — and illegal — operation to funnel millions of dollars to the mercenary contra army trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan revolution in the mid-1980s. He stands by this claim to fame. "I've never been afraid to fight despots or dictators anywhere on this globe," he crowed in his acceptance speech. Rightist politician Patrick Buchanan spoke favorably of North's dirty war against the Sandinistas. "The warrior patriot," the columnist said, "though he made mistakes, made them in causes that were just."

Buchanan is often portrayed by the media as an isolationist. But his support for North's record shows his true colors. The world today is marked by the international crisis of capitalism, resulting in stepped-up rivalry among the imperialist powers, trade and shooting wars over markets and resources, and a drive against the living standards and rights of the toilers in every corner of the globe. If Washington wants to intervene militarily somewhere in the world to defend the interests of the bosses, North, Buchanan, and company argue, it needs to go in massively. Don't play by the rules, they say, play to win. Just trust the executive and give the White House more power to act with secrecy and impunity. North also brags about his connection to the military, arranging for the Marine Hymn to play as he walked to the podium at the Republican Party state convention.

The uneasiness of former boss Ronald Reagan and other Republican tops with North points to the potential splintering of the two major capitalist parties, just like Ross Perot's campaign did.

The rightist agenda put forward by North is a permanent

feature of capitalist politics under the depression conditions that exist today. It is a result of the rightist shift of bourgeois politics. North uses radical demagoguery to appeal to those in the middle class, as well as to some workers, who cringe in the face of the crisis. He scapegoats those who are its biggest victims, blaming them for the crisis rather than capitalism itself, and, in the process, driving a wedge between different layers of the working class. He calls social programs "a millstone around our children's necks," attacks affirmative action as "cruel," and targets immigrant workers, women, and gays.

His demagogic attacks even include other bourgeois figures. He plays on much-deserved resentments over the corrupt behavior of capitalist politicians, slamming the "peccadilloes and personal distractions" of the Clinton administration and blasting the "potentates of pork who live high on the hog off big government." North says his goal is a Senate seat, and, like Perot in the 1992 presidential election, he's out to win votes. But the lingo of his campaign — from "a new movement" to "Ollie's army" — echoes Buchanan's goal of winning cadre for a right-wing movement.

There is, however, another answer to the social catastrophe confronting humanity. The same world that breeds and nurtures rightists like Oliver North thrusts the working class in the opposite direction — toward international solidarity and united action to defend its interests and the interests of all humanity. This great army of toilers — the cadre of a *working-class movement* — can confront the capitalist rulers, and their rightist lieutenants like North, and end once and for all the reign of the billionaire families and the wars and fascism they are preparing.

For all those who want to fight "Ollie's army" the best avenue is joining the vanguard of the working class and its most conscious component, the Socialist Workers Party in the United States and communist leagues in other countries.

No to war moves on N. Korea

The threats of sanctions against North Korea by Washington and Tokyo are a disgraceful attack on that country's sovereignty. Working people around the world should stand up and oppose Uncle Sam's imperial bullying.

Some spokespeople for the North American bourgeoisie are beating the war drums. "Prepare for war," declared conservative columnist William Safire in the June 9 *New York Times*. "Position bombers and tankers and stocks in the area: upgrade South Korean defenses with the latest rocket systems and counter-artillery radars; deploy more air power, including gunships to the region. No last-minute Pentagon scramble; contingency targeting should be under way now."

The Clinton administration, as well as its counterparts in Japan and elsewhere, tries to make it appear that the North Korean government is the greatest threat to peace in the world today — an aggressive, renegade state that must be dealt with harshly. Seizing Pyongyang's need to refuel a nuclear power plant as a pretext, Washington is once again raising the threat of economic sanctions. This is nothing but complete hypocrisy.

It is the U.S. military that has stationed nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula, patrolled Korean waters with nuclear-armed submarines, and maintained the division of Korea for 40 years with tens of thousands of troops in the southern part of the country. Washington and Tokyo both have a long history of colonization and occupation of Korea, from the Japanese annexation of the country in 1910 to the U.S. war there in the 1950s. And as for "missing" plutonium, the U.S. government is unable to account for up to 1.5 metric tons of the deadly material produced in its own facilities!

Pyongyang states it is not developing nuclear weapons, and for years has pushed for an agreement to make the peninsula nuclear-free. But in any case the North Korean government has the right to defend itself in whatever way it sees necessary, especially given the history of imperialist intervention there.

The attacks by Japanese police on the offices of an association of North Koreans living in Japan are a warning sign to the labor movement that the campaign against Pyongyang is also directed against workers' rights at home. The groundless raids and seizure of the organization's documents are an assault on the right to free association of anyone in Japan.

It is the imperialists who are the threat to peace on the Korean peninsula and elsewhere. It was the rulers of the United States, Japan, Britain, Germany, and the other powers who dragged humanity into the great slaughter of World War II, where Washington became the only government to ever use the nuclear bomb. Today, as these powers prepare for future conflicts on an even greater scale, they have the audacity to threaten sanctions against Pyongyang for refusing to bow down to imperialism. The North Korean government has accurately described any such measures as an act of war.

The working class must say "No" to the warmakers in their imperialist aggression, which is aimed at keeping down the working people of South Korea and obstructing the fight for reunification of the peninsula. The labor movement should support the sovereignty of the Korean people by demanding that the Japanese and other imperialists end their threats and Washington withdraw its troops from the peninsula.

A blow to gay bashing in army

The federal court ruling ordering the reinstatement of Col. Margaret Cammermeyer, who was forced out of the Washington State National Guard after acknowledging she is a lesbian, is a gain for those fighting for social justice and rebuff to the Clinton administration's discriminatory policy toward gays in the military.

While promising during his election campaign to lift the military's ban on homosexuals, President Clinton has instead consistently defended the discriminatory policy of the army brass against challenges to it in court. The White House hopes in this way to establish legal precedents to strengthen its new restrictive policy toward gays in the armed forces, which took effect in February.

Clinton seeks to uphold the old policy because the new "don't ask, don't tell, don't pursue" rules are not that different from the military's same old guidelines.

The increase in court challenges to both the old and new policies shows that a growing number among the ranks of the armed forces are standing up to harassment of homosexuals in the military. At the same time the Pentagon is trying to stick to its ban.

While there is significant antigay prejudice among those advocating the ban, the debate among capitalist politicians is less about bigotry and more about the role and fighting capacity of the military. The U.S. army, navy, air force, and marines are an imperialist force design to fight wars against

working people who challenge the interests of U.S. corporations, or against threats to capitalist stability.

As Clinton has repeatedly stated, his policy is a "realistic approach consistent with the high standards of combat effectiveness and unit cohesion that our armed services must maintain."

Military officers and many members of Congress — in both the Democratic and Republican parties — argue against dropping the ban on gays because they contend doing so would threaten the fighting capacity of the military. The question they pose is whether the U.S. military can, with the same effectiveness, fight the type of wars they are planning if soldiers in the same units have the personal affections for one another that accompany intimate relationships.

Working people should oppose all discrimination against homosexuals. Whether or not open to gays in the military will weaken discipline is not our concern. Moves to limit the rights of gay people only strengthen the hand of those who would like to see the rights of all workers restricted in many aspects of everyday life.

At the same time, working people should fight for the abolition of the imperialist armed forces altogether. There is nothing progressive about the mission of the U.S. military. Its existence is a threat to the struggles of working people around the globe. The labor movement should demand: not one penny, not one person for this war machine!

U.S. policy on Haiti

Letters from two readers on the facing page raise some questions about the *Militant's* coverage of Washington's policy toward Haiti and the Haitian refugees.

Roy Giampaoli asserts that an article that appeared in the May 23 issue "infers that maybe the situation there will somehow improve despite the facts indicating otherwise."

But the article makes no such inference at all. What was actually involved was U.S. president Bill Clinton making a cosmetic change in his policy of dealing with Haitian immigrants. The U.S. president just slightly altered the forced repatriation policy into one in which refugees would

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

supposedly be provided with on-ship screening, and then the vast majority would be returned to Haiti.

Clinton's attempt to "sweeten" his Haiti policy was essentially aimed at convincing some liberal opponents of the forced repatriation policy — like Randall Robinson, head of TransAfrica — to begin peddling the administration's repackaged, but fundamentally unchanged, approach toward Haitian refugees.

Giampaoli also writes, "The Clinton administration has not ruled out a military invasion" of Haiti. While this is certainly true, it's also true that the U.S. rulers are not about to invade the island. Their class interests of putting in place a stable regime to protect U.S. investments and superprofits in the country would not be furthered by taking military action to reinstall ousted Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Washington's beef is not fundamentally with the brutal military rulers running Haiti, but with the workers and peasants, who in the course of mounting a successful struggle against dictatorial rule have the power to challenge U.S. imperialism's prerogatives and control over the economy as well.

Reader Sandi Sherman takes the *Militant's* June 6 editorial to task for saying that Randall Robinson argues that "Washington should establish a prison camp at the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba."

While it is true that Robinson, in promoting the idea of processing Haitian refugees at Guantánamo, doesn't describe his proposal as one to set up a prison camp, this is exactly what it would be. But the particular formulation in the *Militant* editorial was inaccurate. This is how the *Militant* describes it, not Robinson.

— BRIAN WILLIAMS

Use of public libraries

Continued from Page 4

ing for life. In this sense, education is a measure of a society's morals and the value it places on the human beings who are part of it.

Most young people under capitalism, outside of a small group from economically privileged layers and a few lucky individuals from the working class, get taught that they have nothing to look forward to. They know that a decade of school will be followed by six or seven decades of "real life," with long hours of work in a factory or office and mind-numbing spells on the unemployment line.

The ruling rich don't care if working people know how to read, let alone if they're really educated. They're not trying to develop thinking, creative, socially conscious, self-disciplined citizens of the world. That's the last thing they need on the factory floor! Most of what passes for education in this society is nothing of the sort. It's aimed at preparing young people for a life in class society, for a life of quiet obedience to the boss.

Just about the only worthwhile things anyone from the working class will learn in schools under capitalism today is to read, write, compute, and develop the attention span necessary for studying. Those are skills that will be worthwhile for a lifetime. Everything else in the so-called social sciences and related "disciplines" is largely worthless and will have to be unlearned.

But increasingly, many children don't even learn the basic reading and writing skills. A recent study in New Jersey, for example, revealed that almost 50 percent of eighth graders couldn't read.

That's why the employer class doesn't send its children to the public schools — at least not the same ones working people go to. They have a whole system of private schools and academies that do a good job. And these schools have fine libraries where young people in their teens aren't restricted to Dr. Suess and nursery rhymes, but are encouraged to read great works of literature, science, politics, and economics.

There are no individual answers to the crisis of education under capitalism. Until the working class replaces capitalism with a society that puts human needs before profits, the only "liberal education" open to any fighter who wants it is political education within the workers movement.

As part of the struggle to transform the values of society, working people should oppose rightist demands for more censorship and restrictions, or for prayer, cops, and metal detectors in the public schools. They should also fight for education as a lifetime endeavor. For a world where both work and learning are part of life, from youth to old age. Where everyone — not just professors entitled to sabbaticals — gets time off work every few years to travel, learn a new language, study physics, or whatever.

Textile workers in Quebec fight concessions

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.

One hundred fifteen members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) who had been locked out since January 21,

concession, changing current plant-wide seniority rights to seniority rights by department.

"The company conceded and we conceded on certain points," said one worker. "We're going to have to live with this for three years." Workers voted to accept the new contract by a 55 percent margin.

At Nalpac Lace Co., another ACTWU-organized plant in Montreal, 86 percent of the workers voted to reject the company's contract offer. At the same time they gave union negotiators a strike mandate. This textile plant of 140 workers is one of two Nalpac plants in Montreal. The company's proposal included pay increases of 10, 20, and 22 cents over three years. Negotiations continue until June 18. □

cal workers at GM. Local 160 has yet to sign a local contract with GM, even though GM reached a national agreement with the UAW in November.

"It's a matter of jobs," stated David Corless, secretary-treasurer of UAW Local 412, which represents the striking Chrysler workers. "Ten years ago we had 1,650 people" in the UAW unit doing design work. "Today, we have 850; and yet, we have more work to do." All of that extra work is going to contractors, Corless said.

While these two strikes do not involve workers who assemble cars or build component parts, it could disrupt design and engineering operations at both companies. □

Hotel workers strike in Bermuda

Hotel workers throughout the island of Bermuda walked off the job May 27. Bellboys, restaurant staff, maids, and other workers began forming picket lines 5:30 a.m. The workers are members of the Bermuda Industrial Union, which represents all nongovernment unionized employees in the country. Union president Ottiwell Simmons said 3,000 workers from all 19 of the island's major hotels would be on the picket lines for weeks if necessary.

The dispute is over the workers' share of increased tips charged to guests starting three years ago. Simmons said the hotels haven't been passing on the workers' share of the larger tips and the employees are now owed more than \$1 million. A government arbitration board has backed the hotels in this fight. They claim the union didn't properly present a request for larger tips. □



United Auto Workers members picket GM's technical center in Warren, Michigan, June 2, where about 3,500 workers walked off the job.

Grocery workers strike Toledo supermarket chain

Members of the United Food and Commercial Workers union Local 954 struck four Toledo, Ohio, outlets of Meijer, a mammoth supermarket/discount department store on May 7. Workers are striking for a decent contract, including rejecting a final offer from the company to cut cashiers' wages from about \$10 an hour to \$6.70 an hour. Many of the strikers are young. They are organizing picket lines and held a 2,000-strong rally June 4. They

stood up to pre-strike harassment from the company, which videotaped workers talking to their union representatives. Management is running scabs, and has convinced some workers to cross picket lines. The company's Toledo stores are operating with 651 scabs and managers from other cities. Its pre-strike employment was 2,000. □

Mary Marus and Brian Hawk, members of ACTWU in Montreal, and Alan Epstein, member of UAW Local 12 in Toledo, Ohio, contributed to this column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

recently signed a contract with the Santana shoe factory in Sherbrooke, near Montreal, Quebec. The company had demanded an end to seniority rights and a \$3 an hour cut in wages, which would reduce most workers to the minimum wage level. The workers transformed the lockout into a strike, maintaining a 24-hour picket line for 15 weeks, often in cold weather. The workers initiated a boycott of Santana products at local retail outlets. They leafleted every mail box in the city of Sherbrooke.

In the face of such spirit and determination, the company backed down. No cuts to wages were made. In fact, some of the lowest paid workers won an increase.

The company did win a major

Technical center workers strike GM and Chrysler

Some 3,500 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) at General Motors Corp.'s technical center in Warren, Michigan, went on strike June 2 to fight declining employment levels and the increased use of outside contractors.

The work stoppage comes two days after 850 UAW workers walked off their jobs at Chrysler Corp.'s technology center in Auburn Hills, Michigan.

"Management is transferring the work into the salaried workforce and to outside contractors," stated Earl Hartman, vice president of UAW Local 160, which represents the techni-

LETTERS

Haiti invasion?

Maggie McGraw, writing in the May 23 issue in an article titled "Clinton tries to sweeten Haiti policy," infers that maybe the situation there will somehow improve despite the facts indicating otherwise! Last summer this independent investigative journalist went to Haiti and documented what has been ongoing for much too long. The findings were specified in "Haiti, Colombian Cocaine & CIA Collaboration," published last November in the NAPA SENTINEL Investigative Journal.

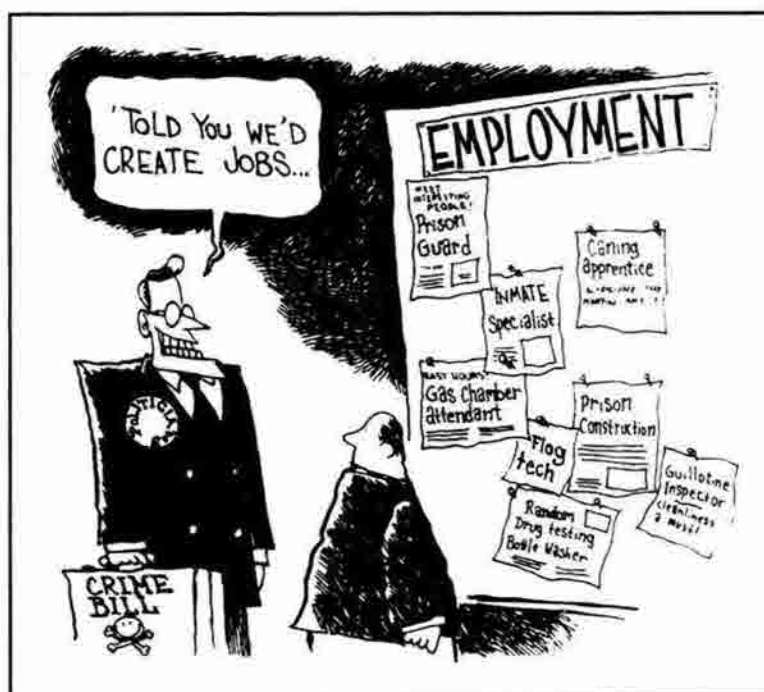
Not only is the CIA using the poorest North American country to transship drugs to the U.S., it's supporting the brutal tactics of the dictatorial regime! Within the last week, because of the tightening of the economic blockade, 400 factories closed and 10,000 workers were left unemployed. Even the AP wire service documented previous CIA/Haitian dictatorship drug running involvement. The report cites a U.S. Justice Department memo implicating 14 top military officers, including the real ruler of the island nation — Port-au-Prince police chief Lt. Col. Joseph Michel Francois!

The embargo is only hurting the already impoverished and continues to line the pockets of those it's meant to punish.

The Clinton administration has not ruled out a military invasion and the May 16 *Time* magazine is whipping up sentiment for an armed U.S. intervention. The title indicates the strategy — "Haiti: The Case for a Bigger Stick." The question is when will it come? History shows (1915 U.S. incursion/occupation), it's a mistake!

President Clinton is backing a corrupt and illegal Haitian regime when he and First Lady Hillary should be under investigation for the alleged murder of former assistant White House counsel Vincent Foster. Is Whitewater going to be a whitewash as was Watergate?

Roy J. Giampaoli
Oakland, California



Haitian refugees

As a political activist, I look to the *Militant* newspaper for assistance on viewing world politics from a working-class perspective. I also view the *Militant* as an organizer that assists in building opposition to Washington's interventions around the world. For these reasons, I am quite concerned about a factual error contained in the *Militant's* editorial, "End U.S. Embargo of Haiti," appearing in the June 6, 1994 issue.

The *Militant* claims that Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, called for the establishment of a prison camp for Haitian refugees at the U.S. military base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, as an alternative to forced repatriation. This is not true. The *Militant's* news article on Haiti in the same issue explains that Robinson called for using Guantánamo to process asylum requests of Haitian refugees. While the writer correctly points out the use of Guantánamo in 1992 to hold Haitian refugees prisoner in "concentration-camp-like conditions," and

this would most certainly be the result if it was used again, this is not what Robinson advocated.

Randall Robinson accepts the framework of some bourgeois politicians that the U.S. should intervene in Haiti to return Aristide to power. We disagree. U.S. intervention anywhere in the world never has anything to do with defending the interests of working people, as the *Militant* editorial points out. Debate the logic of his position, but do not attribute statements to him that he did not say. This kind of error does not help build a movement in opposition to U.S. policy towards Haiti.

Sandi Sherman
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Attacks on rail workers

As a union representative of United Transportation Union Canada Local 634 in Montreal, I found the article on Canadian Pacific rail workers that appeared in the May 30 *Militant* very interesting. We work for C.P. Rail and what is described is very typical for us.

C.P. Rail is trying to rationalize

its operation here in Eastern Canada, selling its regional branches to Railtech and abandoning others. Workers are moving from one province to another with all the social life consequences.

With reductions in crew size to one-man operations the company had to hire 50 new employees since January 1st, and it is not over. All employees are working around the clock to let the traffic go through. I remember that, in a single weekend, C.P. Rail ordered 53 extra workers to unplug the Montreal St-Luc Yard. It's a nightmare.

CP is seeking to merge with Canadian National for its eastern operations. It is, indeed, right to say that C.P. Rail has the worst fleet of locomotives, especially in Eastern Canada.

Our working contract ended December 31, 1993, and negotiations are one of the worst we have seen. They want to renegotiate everything and everything is on the table. They want concessions on initial terminal and final time, crew size, payment for being transported to initial terminal after working the legally permitted hours, roadswitchers limits, job security, split shifts, meal time, length of time on duty, Belt pack operations (switching without an engineman) and so on. They are offering nothing.

It says in the article that "conditions in the Twin Cities terminal are like psychological warfare," well, here it is war. They abolished most of local agreements, implemented Crew Management Application, which is a new way to call crews and implement the Collective Agreement by the book, and are adopting a very aggressive position toward employees.

They claim their employees are overpaid and want the government to pass a special law to reduce our working contract. It is hard to believe when Mr. Stinson, one of our head officers who is earning \$910,000 per year, had a bonus of \$450,000 last December for achieving structural goals.

Daniel Genereux
Montreal, Quebec

International solidarity

After participating in a three-week *Militant* reporting trip to South Africa, I returned to work at a meatpacking plant in Stockholm. One coworker — born in Chile — came up to me first thing Monday morning. "What did Fidel [Castro] say at Mandela's inauguration?" he wanted to know. I reported the overwhelming response Castro got from tens of thousands of South Africans as he arrived in Pretoria and how Castro announced that a Cuban embassy will now be opened in South Africa. "Maybe this will ease the situation for the Cubans a little now," this coworker responded.

I came to work with a button that says "Nelson Mandela for president." One worker told me I shouldn't be wearing it. "Let other countries alone," he said. "Interfering just leads to more wars. Look at the United Nations — every time they go in somewhere it leads to a bigger war and it's always the civilians that get hurt." I explained how this was different, that working people around the world had been part of fighting to end apartheid along with people in South Africa. Both of us agreed that this was a part of international solidarity between workers.

I gave a report to a union meeting and announced that I would be giving a public slide show and presentation on my trip. The union decided to sponsor the slide show and many workers, some who I had never met before, came up to me during the next week to ask questions about the trip.

"It's important that we have a worker from this factory who was there during the elections," a worker from Ghana said.

Maria Hamberg
Stockholm, Sweden

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.

Rally protests cop killing of youth

BY KATHY MICKELLS
AND BRIAN MILLER

GLASSBORO, New Jersey — Chanting "Suspend that cop with no pay," "Indict that cop with no delay," and "No justice, no peace," more than 100 residents of this town marched from Rowan College to the Glassboro Borough Building May 28. The rally was the 10th such demonstration since the April shooting death of Eltermaine Sanders, a 14-year-old Black youth, by officer Peter Amico.

Sander's mother had called the cops April 17 to separate her son and his 17-year-old cousin, who were fighting.

According to eyewitnesses, Amico dropped into a kneeling shooting stance and "tracked" Sanders as he chased his cousin with a butcher knife. As Sanders passed in front of Amico, the cop, who is white, shot him once in the chest. Amico claims the youth came toward him and he fired in self-defense. But Sanders was shot after he had thrown the knife and missed his cousin.

When neighbors rushed to the wounded teenager and raised concerns that he was dying, Amico responded, "Don't worry, he just fainted." Sander's mother attempted to approach her son; Amico pointed his gun at her and told her, "Get back, don't come over here."

According to community residents,



Delores Sanders, center, at son's funeral. He was shot by Glassboro, New Jersey, cop.

Amico has a history of racial abuse, using racial slurs and harassment of young Black males. Arenda Rolax, director of the Martin Luther King Center, said, "There have been a number of occasions when Amico has chased down young Blacks and shoved their

faces into the mud. He's known for harassing Blacks, especially young Blacks." Nearly a fifth of Glassboro's 16,000 residents are Black. At borough council meetings, many have given examples of police harassment and brutality.

The shooting "was the straw that broke the camel's back," said Rev. J. C. Jones, pastor emeritus of Mt. Zion Baptist Church. The recently formed Community Group for Justice and Peace has organized the rallies, protests at borough meetings, and legal efforts for the Sanders family.

In a callous and provocative manner, police and other supporters of Amico have held actions to intimidate residents. The week of Sander's funeral 300 white cops held a barbeque to mobilize support for Amico. In May, 150 police from across the state rallied for Amico at a closed meeting.

On May 28, just hours before the protest march took place, 80 motorcycles roared through town. They were organized by Dave Vasil, a retired police lieutenant. The motorcyclists wore the colors of the Blue Knights, a motorcycle club composed of police officers; the Centurians, another police club; and the Retreads, a club for those over 40 years old. Two computer-generated banners with blue ribbons were hung at the borough building that read "Support our men and women in blue." Cops tied blue ribbons around trees along the protesters' parade route.

Amico, initially placed on paid administrative leave, was returned to active duty. A grand jury convened to hear evidence on the shooting decided June 2 not to indict Amico.

"It has been proven once again that we as Black people cannot trust the justice system," said Wayne Swanson, president of the Gloucester County NAACP. "We will use every possible resource available to reverse this decision. We say to the Black community, 'remain calm, all hope is not lost.' The protest will continue."

A fund has been established to help the Sanders family pursue justice; El. T. Sanders Fund, 519 Federal Street, Suite 408; Camden, New Jersey 08102.

Kathy Mickells is a member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 8-901 in Philadelphia. Brian Miller is a member of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee.

Socialist youth join abortion rights actions

BY JACK WILLEY

Young socialists throughout the United States are gearing up to confront various right-wing and fascist-minded groups. From demonstrations against the Ku Klux Klan in Lansing, Michigan, to defense of abortion clinics against Operation Rescue in Cleveland, New York, and Little Rock, Arkansas, members of the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee (SYOC) are taking part in different fights nationwide.

UP-1, a coalition of college and community groups in the Lansing area, is organizing a counterdemonstration against a Klan rally scheduled for July 23 on the steps of the state capitol building. They have also reserved the building for an antifascist rally after the Klan leaves.

The Young Socialists of Cleveland will be participating in planning meetings and clinic defense training with the Cleveland Pro-Choice Action League in preparation for Operation Rescue's "Cities of Refuge" campaign against abortion facilities July 14-17. Socialist youth groups in New York and Birmingham, Alabama, are also preparing to defend abortion clinics in New

York June 11-25 and in Little Rock July 6-9 against right-wing outfits planning to shut them down. The New York Young Socialists have been participating in weekly meetings to prepare for the attacks.

Support for workers' struggles

SYOC members are also reaching out to different struggles by workers to offer their solidarity and learn more about how the working class can effectively fight against attacks by the bosses. In New York, socialist youth have been going out to the picket lines of garment workers striking against Leslie Fay. Others in the Midwest are gearing up for a solidarity rally with locked-out workers at A.E. Staley in Decatur, Illinois, June 25, and SYOC will be organizing to get out to the wildcat strikes which are breaking out throughout the Midwest by Caterpillar workers.

The Young Socialists in Pittsburgh will be participating in a June 25-26 weekend event in Washington, D.C., to support Leonard Peltier, a framed-up leader of the American Indian Movement.

The organizing committee is turning to

building an international socialist youth gathering taking place in Oberlin, Ohio, this August. Some young socialist groups are organizing educational weekends, where leaders of SYOC will be speaking on topics ranging from capitalism's drive toward fascism and war to the historic defeat of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Many are also organizing regional teams to reach out and recruit other fighters to a socialist perspective and invite them to the August gathering.

Several local groups have begun class series in preparation for this meeting. In Pittsburgh, the Young Socialists have been holding classes on *The Communist Manifesto*. Discussions on *Socialism and Man in Cuba* by Ernesto Che Guevara, *Socialism on Trial* by James P. Cannon, and "The Coming Revolution in South Africa" in *New Internationalist* no. 5 have taken place in the Birmingham youth group. The Young Socialists of Cleveland have held discussions on the pamphlet *How I Became a Socialist* by Andrew Pulley and are planning a class series on *Socialism on Trial*.

Fund-raising campaign

As a part of the effort to finance the building of a revolutionary organization of young socialists in the United States, SYOC members have begun planning fund-raisers. So far, the New York Young Socialists have taken in \$335 from donations, and a raffle, toward a national goal of raising \$9,000 by the end of July.

Young Socialists in Birmingham are busy raising money toward reaching their combined goal of \$500 for the SYOC national fund and for expenses for people going to the meeting in Oberlin. They will be having a barbeque and are holding an educational weekend as part of a petitioning drive to get socialist candidates on the ballot. They also sponsor weekly video showings to help raise money and reach out to new people interested in politics.

All supporters of the socialist movement can contribute to meeting this fund goal and help the socialist youth group to move forward. One *Militant* reader in Portland, Oregon, for instance sent in a \$100 contribution last week.

Jack Willey is a member of the SYOC Steering Committee. SYOC leader Mark Gilsdorf contributed to this article.

SUPPORT THE SOCIALIST YOUTH ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FUND DRIVE!

Young socialists across the United States are working to build a nationwide organization that can be part of the international working-class movement to put an end to the horrors of capitalism and begin to build a new world.

You can help by contributing to the \$9,000 SYOC Fund Drive. Just fill out the coupon below and send it with your contribution to the Socialist Youth Organizing Committee, Box 113, 561 Hudson St., New York, NY 10014.

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