

# THE MILITANT

INSIDE

UAW members walk out  
at GM parts plant

— PAGE 11

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 58/NO. 30 SEPTEMBER 5, 1994

## U.S. out of Guantánamo!

### White House uses refugee pretext for hostile moves against Cuba

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Using as a pretext the flow of Cuban refugees to Florida, the Clinton administration has taken a series of aggressive and provocative steps against Cuba in the last week. This offensive has met with solid bipartisan backing in Washington and with no significant opposition from governments in Europe, Latin America, or elsewhere.

Washington has deployed Navy warships and Coast Guard cutters to detain thousands of seaborne Cubans at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo, Cuba. The administration also announced measures that tighten Washington's economic embargo and travel ban against the island. For the first time since the early 1980s, U.S. officials have floated trial balloons about clamping a naval blockade on the Caribbean nation.

Washington's aggressive moves against Cuba escalated quickly. The *Miami Herald* noted in an August 24 report, "In a matter of days, Havana has displaced Haiti and North Korea as President [Bill] Clinton's greatest foreign policy problem."

On the morning of Thursday, August 18, Attorney General Janet Reno stated that the administration was not considering any



August 24 picket line in New York protests Clinton's war moves against Cuba

policy changes in response to a growing stream of Cubans reaching U.S. shores by boat and raft. Since 1966, Washington has systematically limited the number of entry visas issued to Cubans for legal emigration from the island while openly encouraging illegal emigration by boat as part of its propaganda war to smear the revolutionary government as repressive. "But by late Thursday, it was Ms. Reno, at an odd late-night appearance in a partly-lit White

House briefing room, who revealed that the Administration had settled on a shift in policy," the *New York Times* reported. The attorney general announced that U.S. forces would now detain Cuban refugees, without giving further details.

The next day, Clinton held a press conference stating that the detained Cubans would be kept at the U.S. base in Guantánamo. The U.S. president falsely accused

Continued on page 8

### Socialists condemn Clinton measures

The following statement by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party was released August 25 by Jack Barnes, the SWP's national secretary.

Now is the time for every democratic-minded worker, farmer, and young person to take to the streets with bullhorns and picket signs to demand that the U.S. government get out of Guantánamo, end its unconscionable economic embargo against the Cuban people, and halt its campaign of lies about the Cuban revolution.

Now is the time to swell the ranks of those who have already begun showing their opposition to Washington's war drive against Cuba by demonstrating in front of federal buildings and other U.S. govern-

Continued on page 8

## Hundreds protest U.S. provocations against Cuba

BY BRAD DOWNS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 50 people picketed in front of the White House the afternoon of August 24 to protest the Clinton administration's attacks on the Cuban revolution. The spirited picket was organized by the D.C. "Hands Off Cuba" Coalition on one day's notice and included supporters from Baltimore and Virginia. Protesters carried signs demanding, "Hands Off Cuba" and "U.S. Out of Guantánamo," and chanted, "Hey-hey ho-ho the embargo has got to go!"

D.C. "Hands Off Cuba" Coalition mem-

Continued on page 10

## 'Tell truth about Cuban revolution'

The following statement was issued by Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party National Trade Union Work Director, and Jack Willey, National Committee member of the Young Socialists.

Millions of working people and youth right now are closely following Washington's provocative steps against the Cuban people. To justify these measures, the U.S. rulers have cranked up even more their ceaseless campaign of lies and slanders against the leadership of the Cuban revolution and the millions of Cuban workers, farmers, and youth who are committed to defend socialism.

The flood of outrageous media falsehoods is directed above all at working people in the United States, to confuse and

numb us to the war aims of the Clinton administration. These fabrications can become the pretext for military action and they must be answered.

Every union member who is concerned about where the actions of the U.S. government are leading, every youth who wonders whether they will be used as cannon fodder, and all those who oppose U.S. military intervention abroad, need to arm themselves with the facts — the truth — about Cuba.

To learn why Washington has maintained a 35-year campaign of political, economic, and military aggression against Cuba, a good place to start is *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' Against Cuba Doesn't End* by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Published by Pathfinder,

the book contains four speeches to the United Nations delivered over a 20-year period by two of the outstanding representatives of the Cuban revolution.

Workers and youth who read *To Speak the Truth* will begin to understand the long history of economic exploitation and political domination visited on Cuba and all of Latin America by imperialism under suc-

Continued on page 10

## Thousands march in Dublin protest

BY NAOMI CRAINE  
AND MARTIN HILL

DUBLIN — "Twenty-five years — time for peace, time to go" was the slogan of a march here August 20 marking the 25th anniversary of the deployment of British troops on the streets of Northern Ireland. Several thousand people joined the demonstration, which ended in a rally that closed off O'Connell Street in the center of Dublin. Many more lined the pavements to watch.

In addition to demanding the withdrawal of British troops, the event served as a response to a recent wave of killings by right-wing thugs in Northern Ireland. On August 14, 20-year-old Sean Monaghan, who is Catholic, was tortured and killed in Belfast. The Ulster Freedom Fighters claimed responsibility. This was the third murder in five days by the rightist paramilitary gang. These attacks by Unionist forces, that is those who support the continuation of British control in Northern Ireland, have claimed the lives of hundreds over the last 25 years. They aim to terrify working people in Northern Ireland and perpetuate the divisions among those who are Catholic and Protestant.

British media attention the week of the protest focused on Irish Republican Army (IRA) bomb attacks in two British seaside resorts, one of which damaged 15 shops.

A number of demonstrators spoke of links between the rightist thugs and the British Army and Royal Ulster Constabulary [RUC]. "The soldiers are supposed to protect people, but it's been proven they pass on information to the paramilitary," Elaine Moore from Dublin said.

Others complained that IRA actions are publicized, but not the rightist killings. College student Roibeard O'Moidhn said, "Getting the troops out would be a stepping stone to peace."

Organizers saw the demonstration as a way to pressure the Irish government to push forward the "peace process." For some time now the rulers of the United Kingdom, with Dublin's support, have been trying to find a new, more stable arrangement to run Northern Ireland.

Last December, John Major and Albert Reynolds, prime ministers of Britain and the Republic of Ireland respectively, came out with a plan dubbed the Downing Street declaration. This proposal sought to force

Continued on page 5

### SPECIAL OFFER

**\$20** BOOK AND 12-WEEK  
SUBSCRIPTION TO THE  
MILITANT

### To SPEAK THE TRUTH

Why Washington's 'Cold War' against  
Cuba Doesn't End

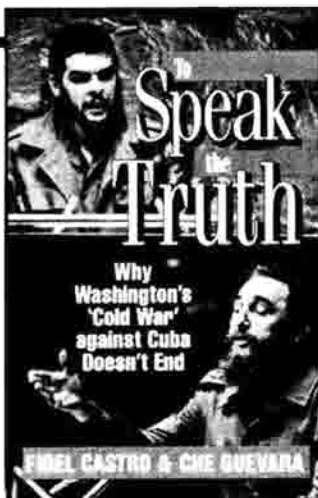
FIDEL CASTRO AND CHE GUEVARA

Why the U.S. government is determined to destroy the example set by the socialist revolution in Cuba and why its effort will fail. Introduction by Mary-Alice Waters.

\$12 book only (normally \$16.95)



Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write  
Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 727-0150.  
If ordering by mail please include \$3 to cover postage and handling.





## Ortega offers troops to back U.S. invasion of Haiti

Nicaraguan army chief Gen. Humberto Ortega said Managua is willing to send units of the Sandinista People's Army to Haiti after a U.S. invasion. "If a government in Haiti asks for a multinational force to help them out there... I don't see any problem that Nicaragua could form part of a force of this type," Ortega told reporters August 16.

Ortega's comments came after an hour-long meeting with Mari-Luci Jaramillo, U.S. deputy assistant secretary of defense for inter-American affairs, who visited Nicaragua for what she termed a "courtesy call." Washington has been seeking backing from governments in the Americas in the event it decides to militarily intervene in Haiti. Ortega said Managua would not play a direct role in a U.S. invasion but pledged troops for the next phase of the operation. "In the effort to form a multinational force in the second phase, the United States does not have a problem with the Nicaraguan army participating," he said. "It would be recognition of the legitimacy of this army."

## Rwandans cross border to Zaire

Some 50,000 Rwandans prepared to cross into Zaire August 22 after Kinshasa agreed to reopen one of its crossings. The government of Zaire closed its entire border with Rwanda August 21, sparking protests. The new hastily assembled refugee camp lacks water. Thousands fled southwest Rwanda after French troops, which had backed the ousted regime, withdrew from this area they were occupying for weeks. Officials of the former government, which was recently toppled by the forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, spread fear of revenge killings among the refugees.

## Strike strong in Nigeria

About 50 prominent Nigerians, including labor leaders, have been arrested following a more than seven-week strike of oil workers and others. The workers are demanding the release of Moshood Abiola, the imprisoned opposition leader who won the June 1993 presidential elections that the military dictatorship annulled. Nigeria's petroleum exports, which provide 80



Garbage piles up on roadside in Lagos, Nigeria, after workers opposing military dictatorship brought essential services to a halt. Oil workers' strike is in eighth week.

percent of the government's revenue, have been cut in half as a result of the walkout.

University teachers joined the strike August 22 and banks remain closed. Oil workers stayed out despite government promises to pay them for the seven weeks they have been on strike.

## Lesotho king in trouble

Lesotho troops killed four people August 17 when they fired on demonstrators protesting the monarchy. King Letsie III had dissolved the democratically elected Parliament earlier that day. Letsie swore in his appointed provisional government August 19. Tens of thousands of people participated in a general strike August 22 in Maseru, the country's capital. The action was called to oppose the monarch's proclamation dissolving the government of Prime Minister Ntsu Mokhehle, whose election in 1993 ended seven years of military rule. The state of 1.8 million people is entirely surrounded by South Africa.

## Serbs plan to link territory

Rightist Serb forces led by Radovan Karadzic announced they will formally seek to link territory they control in Bosnia with Serbia and Serb-held regions of Croatia. The move appeared timed to increase Bosnian Serb opposition to an internationally-brokered plan that would require Karadzic's forces to give up nearly a third of the area they control.

Meanwhile, a French soldier was killed in Sarajevo August 19, bringing to 110 the number of United Nations soldiers killed in the former Yugoslavia since the spring of 1992.

## Magee acquitted in England

Kate Magee, an Irish woman, was acquitted July 27 in Sheffield, England, on charges of withholding information under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Magee was arrested at gunpoint at her home in Derby, England, in April 1992. Authorities alleged that her brother killed a British army recruitment officer. She was held in prison for 75 days and frequently strip searched before being released on bail.

The Kate Magee Support Group had been campaigning to have the charges dropped and is calling for the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. "This act gives the Home Secretary and police draconian powers which have failed to solve the problems of Northern Ireland but give licence to injustice," said a statement of the support group.

## Rail workers strike in Britain

For the 10th time since June 15, signal workers on British railroads walked off the job August 16-17. The National Union of

Rail, Maritime, and Transport Workers called future actions — a one-day strike for August 22 and a two-day walkout for the end of the month — to oppose restructuring and demand an 11 percent wage hike. Since 1980, the number of signal workers has been reduced by 37 percent.

## Inmates in Sweden protest

About 120 inmates set fire to the Tidaholm prison in Sweden July 22 in riots protesting overcrowding and arbitrary use of solitary confinement. Inmates at the high security prison had staged protests in January against a 20 percent tax imposed on their wages. The money was diverted to a fund for crime victims. Authorities have used the incident to further clamp down on prisoners' rights.

## Athens deports 300 Albanians

Athens deported more than 300 Albanians August 18 in retaliation for the trial of five ethnic Greeks in Albania charged with spying. The Greek news media reported the government is considering deporting 300,000 Albanians, freezing Albanian assets, and blocking European Union financial aid for that country.

## Taiwan, China open banking ties

The government of Taiwan gave five state-run banks permission to deal with Chinese banks through overseas branches. This marks the first direct contacts allowed between financial institutions of the two countries since the Taiwan government imposed a ban 45 years ago. The move reflects growing but still indirect bilateral trade and investment ties.

## L.A. cops' sentence ruled lenient

A federal appeals court ruled August 19 that the sentences of the two Los Angeles cops who beat Rodney King in 1991 were too lenient. The court upheld the civil rights convictions of Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell and ordered the trial judge to reconsider the 30-months sentence he imposed on the officers last year. The sentences were well below the federal guidelines of 70 to 80 months.

## Gay rights activists rally in Utah

More than 100 defenders of gay rights rallied in Salt Lake City, Utah, August 15 to protest a judge's decision to reduce the sentence of David Thacker. Judge David Young cut Thacker's punishment to no more than six years in prison for killing 31-year-old Douglas Koehler because he was gay. Even before sentencing, gay rights activists protested the prosecutors' decision to drop the murder charge and accept a guilty plea to manslaughter.

— PAT SMITH

Lars Johansson in Stockholm, Sweden, and Juliet Portchmouth in Sheffield, England, contributed to this week's column.

## THE MILITANT

## British troops out of Ireland!

*The 'Militant' covers the resistance of working people in Northern Ireland to 25 years of British occupation. It provides unique news and analysis of London's and Dublin's efforts toward a new governmental arrangement in Northern Ireland that will perpetuate the oppression and exploitation of working people, Catholic and Protestant. Don't miss a single issue!*



Rally against arrest of Lorraine Taylor in Derry, Northern Ireland, January 1994

## SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

### NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks

RENEWAL

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE

ZIP

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION

PHONE

CLIP AND MAIL TO THE MILITANT, 410 WEST ST., NEW YORK, NY 10014.

12 weeks of the *Militant* outside the U.S.: Australia and the Pacific, \$A15 • Britain, £7 • Canada, Can\$12 • Caribbean and Latin America, \$15 • Europe, Africa, and the Middle East, £8 • Belgium, 375 BF • France, FF80 • Iceland, Kr1,300 • New Zealand, NZ\$15 • Sweden, Kr75 (Send payment to addresses listed in business information box)

## The Militant

Vol. 58/No. 30

Closing news date: August 24, 1994

Editor: GEORGE FYSON

Managing Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Martin Koppel, Sara Lobman, Greg Rosenberg, Pat Smith, Brian Williams, Maurice Williams. Published weekly except for one week in December and biweekly from mid-June to mid-August by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The Militant can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311.2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant. Internet email: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class

(airmail), send \$80. Asia: send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Canada: Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to Militant, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. Britain, Ireland, Africa: £35 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Continental Europe: £50 for one year by check or international money order made out to Militant Distribution at above address. France: Send FF300 for one-year subscription to Militant, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. Belgium: BF 2,600 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of IMei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. Iceland: Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to Militant, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark: 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to Militant Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. New Zealand: Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. Australia: Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. Pacific Islands: Send Australian \$75 or New Zealand \$100 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.



# Capitalists welcome Mexico election vote

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Vowing to continue privatization of state-owned industry and the austerity policies of his predecessor, presidential candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), Ernesto Zedillo, swept to victory in Mexico's election August 21.

Capitalist rulers in Mexico and the United States hailed the outcome of the elections. "Investment managers interpreted Zedillo's win as a victory for political stability, economic growth and hefty corporate profits in the years ahead," explained one article in the business pages of the *Washington Post*. But what's on the agenda in Mexico's future is further political turmoil and class conflict.

With 44 percent of the precincts counted, Zedillo was polling 48 percent of the vote. Diego Fernández de Cevallos of the right-wing National Action Party (PAN) had about 30 percent, while Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of the liberal capitalist Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD) had 16 percent.

Despite a record turnout of some 70 percent of Mexico's voting population, the PRI appeared to garner the lowest level of support for any of its presidential candidates since it took control of the government in 1929. The PRI seemed to be heading for an overall majority, however, in the races for seats in the Senate and House of Deputies.

The results of the presidential contest mean that for the first time in its history the

PRI may be forced to form a coalition bloc with one or more of the opposition parties.

During the election campaign, the presidential candidates from the PRI, PAN, and PRD all voiced support for President Carlos Salinas de Gortari's current policies of privatizing major state enterprises.

## 'A convergence of platforms'

Speaking to journalists after the voting ended, Zedillo proclaimed, "Never has there been such a convergence in the platforms of the main political parties. We are all converging on the center."

According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Zedillo's plans include "selling off the state-run port system, railroads and anything else that wasn't sold under the \$22 billion Salinas privatization program." He is also expected to open to foreign investment Petroleos Mexicanos, the state-owned oil company.

The day following the PRI's election triumph, Mexico's stock market index jumped nearly 51 points, or 2 percent, to 2,759, its highest level since February. Polls predicting Zedillo's victory helped drive the market up 22 percent since mid-July. The value of the peso, Mexico's currency, also soared to 3.29 to the dollar, the biggest one-day advance in four months. These moves occur as U.S. stock mutual funds have raised their investments in Mexican securities to a record \$6 billion.

While a tiny minority of wealthy capital-



Indian peasant women in town of Altamirano in Chiapas, Mexico, waiting on line to vote. Nearly half of country's 92 million people live at or near the poverty level.

ists and a growing layer of those in the middle classes are being further enriched, the vast majority of the country's workers and peasants face declining living standards.

"Mr. Zedillo is known as an economist, but this era's great decisions of economic policy, to open Mexico to world markets, have already been taken by his two predecessors," states an editorial in the August 23 *Washington Post*. "The job confronting Mr. Zedillo is likely to be dealing fairly and effectively with the social consequences. Free markets...are not necessarily just or gentle, especially in dealing with people who, like many Mexicans, are only beginning to move out of traditional peasant life."

Nearly half of Mexico's 92 million people live at or near the government's poverty level. While wages, adjusted for inflation, rose more than 30 percent under President Salinas, they are still below where they were in the early 1980s.

## 'We need houses and jobs'

While standing in line to vote in the western part of Mexico City, housewife Honoria Gudino summed up the complaints of many working people about the government's economic policies, which are based on further enriching the country's wealthy businessmen. "Look around here," she said to a *Washington Post* reporter, motioning to hillside shacks and unpaved streets. "We're poor people. What about us? They give us skyscrapers when

what we need are houses and jobs."

The day following his poor showing in the presidential vote, PRD leader Cárdenas charged that the government had "committed an enormous fraud." He added, "It is impossible at this moment to know who won this election." The PRD leader addressed some 20,000 people who gathered in Mexico City's central square to protest voting irregularities.

Thousands of people were not able to vote because of a shortage of ballots in some areas. Some angry voters marched on the federal electoral offices, others gathered in the town squares demanding their right to vote. The ballots cast in three voting stations in the state of Chiapas were reportedly burned by disgruntled citizens.

Grassroots International, a U.S. group involved in observing the election, reported that at the 24 voting booths it monitored in the state of Oaxaca observers found widespread illegal monitoring and coaching of voters by ruling-party officials.

The Civic Alliance, the biggest Mexican watchdog group, said that in 9 percent of the voting booths it monitored, observers found people who appeared to have voted twice.

In Chiapas, where two weeks earlier the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) sponsored a convention calling for the defeat of the ruling PRI, the PRD candidate for governor, Amado Avendaño, took second place behind PRI candidate Eduardo Robledo.

## Black youth faces second trial from 1991 N.Y. antipolice riot

BY FRED FELDMAN

NEW YORK — Lemrick Nelson Jr., pleaded innocent in a federal courtroom here August 17 to charges of violating the civil rights of Yankel Rosenbaum, who was killed during the August 1991, antipolice riot in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. The 18-year-old youth, who is Black, was arrested August 11 by federal agents in Atlanta, where he now lives. He has been released on \$25,000 bail.

Nelson now faces a second trial for the same criminal act. He was acquitted in 1992 of murder charges. No witness placed him at the scene, police witnesses contradicted themselves and each other, and police misconduct was revealed in the handling of the alleged murder weapon and other evidence.

"I've been tried once. I shouldn't have to go on trial again," Nelson said of the new charges. "I believe it's double jeopardy," said attorney Tony Axam.

The August 1991 riot followed a fatal auto accident. A car, part of a motorcade escorting the head of a Jewish religious group to his Crown Heights headquarters, struck and killed seven-year-old Gavin Cato.

The cops' indifference to the victim, preferential treatment of the driver, and beating of the father when he attempted to come to his son's aid outraged onlookers and set off four days of protests.

The great majority of clashes took place between cops and Black youth. But a few groups chanted, "Kill the Jews!" and a number of Jews and other whites were assaulted. In one of these incidents on August 19, Yankel Rosenbaum was stabbed and died of his injury.

City and state officials, highlighting such reactionary acts, seized on the riot to strengthen police powers and narrow democratic rights. After Nelson was acquitted, Republican and Democratic politicians, together with a number of Jewish organizations, pressed for a federal indictment.

They compared the acquittal to that of the Los Angeles cops who clubbed and kicked Rodney King. Protests against this 1992 verdict led to a federal civil rights prosecution. Two cops were convicted and have been sentenced to prison.

There is a big difference, however, between the two cases. The first trial of King's assailants was a travesty. The prop judge and jury simply brushed aside

incontrovertible proof that these cops had brutalized a Black worker.

The acquittal of Nelson has been portrayed as a victory for anti-Semitism. But there is no evidence that the judge or jury was influenced by prejudice against Jews or that they had any sympathy with the assault on Rosenbaum. Nelson was acquitted because the government did not prove he was guilty of the charges against him.

*Fred Feldman is a member of the United Auto Workers union in New York.*

## Canadian insurance company collapses

BY SUSAN BERMAN

TORONTO — Confederation Life, the fifth largest insurance company in Canada, was shut down by the Canadian government on August 11. The Office of the Superintendent of Financial Institutions seized Confederation's assets after it failed to raise \$600 million in new capital from industry competitors. Confederation's collapse, the third insurance company to go under in Canada since 1991, marks the growing instability of financial and stock markets.

According to financial analysts, a significant part of Confederation Life's woes result from heavy investments made in real estate during the speculative boom of the 1980s. When real estate values crashed in 1990, 60 percent of the company's \$15-billion investment portfolio was in commercial real estate.

In the weeks leading up to its liquidation, Confederation Life tried to sell off policies and assets to raise \$600 million to keep the company afloat. After a deal fell through with Canada's third largest insurance company, Great West, panic erupted among policy holders and investors. The Canadian government seized the company to stop the sell-off of policies and stocks.

Confederation has 1.5 percent of the market for individual life insurance policies in Canada. It also has large numbers of corporate policies, including company health and dental plans, and pension funds. Only 30 percent of its policies are in Canada, the remainder are in the United States and the United Kingdom.

Industry and government officials reject the idea that Confederation's collapse signals bigger problems in the market. "This

is a single company that has a major problem — it is not an industry question," explained Douglas Peters, secretary of state for financial institutions. They all admit, however, that the repercussions of the collapse will make some of the smaller companies even more unstable.

CompCorp, an industry-run "consumer protection" agency, says up to 90 percent of Canadian policy holders' claims will be backed up. However, this is only true for policy holders in Canada. Many claims will only be guaranteed to certain limits (\$200,000 on life insurance, \$60,000 on health insurance, and \$2,000 per month on disability or annuities). CompCorp raises the funds through industry-wide assessments of insurance companies, which are then passed onto consumers through increased premium payments. The collapse of the previous two insurance companies wiped out CompCorp's reserves. Pension funds appear to be those least guaranteed.

Confederation's demise has sent a ripple of fear and insecurity through large numbers of working people here. Members of the Canadian Auto Workers at Manchester Plastics in Toronto are covered by Confederation Life policies. A week before its collapse, the company posted a letter on the board reassuring workers that Confederation Life would raise the necessary money to stay afloat. Today, workers there are raising their concerns about whether their policies will be paid out in the future.

James Anampiu, a member of the United Steelworkers of America at Indalex, reported a big discussion on the shop floor the day of the collapse. Union members' dental and health plans are covered by Confederation. The union steward, pan-

icked by the news, initiated discussions with other workers as they tried to figure out what would become of their health coverage.

A worker at the Chrysler Bramalea plant here who opened a Confederation Life insurance policy when he was self-employed, wasn't too concerned about himself. But he explained his father is retired from Confederation Life. Workers at the insurance company don't yet know what will happen to their pensions.

*Susan Berman is a member of Canadian Auto Workers Local 1285 in Bramalea, Ontario.*

### FOR FURTHER READING

IN NEW INTERNATIONAL NO. 7

### Opening Guns of World War III

Washington's Assault on Iraq

by JACK BARNES

The U.S. government's murderous assault on Iraq heralded increasingly sharp conflicts among Imperialist powers, the rise of rightist and fascist forces, growing instability of international capitalism, and more wars. Also includes "Communist Policy in Wartime as well as in Peacetime" by Mary-Alice Waters. \$12.00

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, add \$3.00 to cover postage and handling.



# British troops out of Northern Ireland

## Twenty-five years of struggle to end London's military occupation of country

BY PETE CLIFFORD

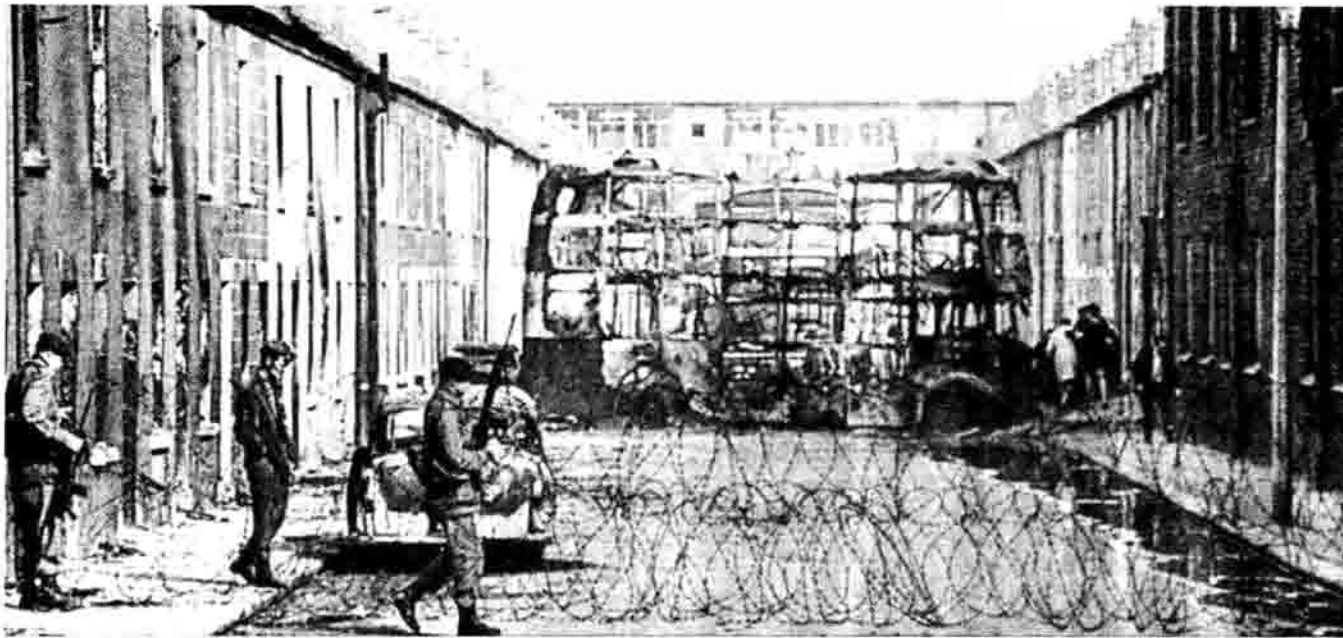
LONDON—"They would, it was said on August 14, 1969, be back in the barracks by the weekend. The weekend never came." So commented an article in the *Dublin Irish Times* marking the 25th anniversary of the deployment of British troops in Northern Ireland. Most of the many press reviews published in the United Kingdom and in Ireland around this date have lamented that what they term "the troubles" are still there. The *London Sunday Telegraph*, for example, headlined its August 14 editorial on the British occupation "Our biggest failure."

Some have sought to justify the continued presence of troops in the country. Brian Appleby, writing in the *Irish Times*, argued that if troops were withdrawn there "would be a civil war, tribal, savage, and spuriously justified by blood already spilt." Underlining most coverage is the myth that the British troops are a neutral and independent peacekeeping force—albeit a little tarnished—rather than the source of violence in a battle to divide working people in Ireland in order to serve the interests of capital.

A government statement issued when the troops were first sent onto the streets in 1969 said, "The government of Northern Ireland has informed the United Kingdom government that as a result of severe and prolonged rioting in Londonderry it has no alternative but to ask for the assistance of the troops at present stationed in Northern Ireland to prevent a breakdown of law and order." For the regime in power this "breakdown in law and order" began the previous year when a civil rights movement began organizing to oppose the open discrimination against the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.

### Discrimination against Catholics

Catholics were heavily discriminated against in jobs, education, and housing allocation. They were 2.5 times more likely to be unemployed than Protestants. Some Catholics were not even allowed to vote in local elections, in which some Protestants, who form a majority of Northern Ireland's population, could vote twice or more. This system of discrimination was used to win Protestant backing for British rule. Even in areas with a Catholic majority, such as the city of Derry, the gerrymandering of votes



British soldiers set up barricades in Derry, Northern Ireland, in 1969.

ensured the election of a Unionist—pro-British—city council.

This division among working people was entrenched by the 1922 partition of Ireland into the predominantly Catholic Republic of Ireland and the majority Protestant Northern Ireland. Using these divisions to weaken the unity of working people has been at the heart of maintaining British capitalist rule in the north and perpetuating the exploitation of working people throughout Ireland to ensure a source of cheap labor.

From the outset the civil rights movement faced a violent assault on its marches and meetings by the police force and rightist thugs. On Aug. 12, 1969, a rightist demonstration to the edge of the predominantly Catholic Bogside area of Derry provoked a massive street battle. According to the *London Observer*, "The police charged with batons flailing into the Bogside and right up beside them, armed with lead piping and hurling bricks, were the Protestants."

As working people fought off this attack, the Northern Ireland government called in the "B" Specials, an ultrarightist militia created as a counterrevolutionary force during the 1918-22 Irish struggle for independence. For two days, in what was dubbed "The Battle of the Bogside," police, specials, and rightists tried to break into the area using guns, tear gas, and armored vans. In response, working people built and defended barricades.

"The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) is out of control and can no longer be considered as the force of law and order," civil rights leaders Bernadette Devlin and Eamonn McCann declared in a statement fol-

lowing the attack.

It was after the rightists and police had proven unable to break the resistance in the Bogside that the British government sent its troops in. Supporters of the fight for civil rights gave a mixed response to the soldiers. Some expressed support for them, seeing their presence as a defeat for the RUC and possible relief from the rightist onslaught. Others were less willing to rely on the troops for protection. "The Bogside is ours," Devlin reminded a British colonel.

### Troops defend British ruling class

The barricades erected to keep out the rightists stayed up. "Some people seem to think that the troops are here to protect us, The Derry-based *Barricades Bulletin* wrote on Aug. 25, 1969. "They are not any more than the RUC and Specials. They are here to protect the interests of the British government in this part of the United Kingdom. As soon as it suits the British government for them to behave differently they will do so. When they come into the area they will be coming to reestablish the government's control and to pave the way for the RUC."

Meanwhile in Belfast, the *Irish News* reported, the B Specials "have gone on a terror rampage in the Ardoyne district where houses are ablaze." One hundred seventy eight people were injured and 54 shot in that district. Across Belfast on August 14 five were killed and thousands fled their homes in the face of rightist pogroms. While the troops moved into Belfast and other towns on that day under the guise of protecting the Catholics, they were focusing their fire by early September on those opposing the rightists.

"After a major show of strength by infantry with automatic weapons, the army produced a face-saving formula for the Catholic vigilantes in control of Albert Street, the central traffic artery of the barricaded Falls Road area, the Associated Press reported on Sept. 7, 1969. "This was that the barricades would be removed 'voluntarily.'"

Rather than being a weekend operation, the events on Aug. 14, 1969, proved to be the beginning of a military occupation that

continues to this day. In the first few months the British Army supervised the installation of what were called "peace lines" between mainly Catholic and Protestant areas. These effectively broke down contact between working people of different religions. Prior to the troops moving in, both Catholics and Protestants in some areas had moved against the rightists. For example, the *Irish News* reported on Aug. 16, 1969, that "Catholic and Protestant tenants at the top of the Fall Road area had joined in forming a peace-keeping patrol."

In the 25 years since then, the British Army's "peace lines" have become massive walls dividing areas of working class housing,

in some cases literally down the middle of streets. The *London Guardian* reports that "more than half of Northern Ireland's population lives in areas that are 90 percent Catholic or Protestant."

In August 1971, British troops were mobilized to begin the arrest and internment without charge or trial of thousands of opponents of British rule. The last victim of this sweep was not released from prison until Dec. 5, 1975. When 20,000 people attempted to march from the Bogside area to Derry city center to protest internment on Jan. 30, 1972, the government declared the march illegal. Thirteen unarmed demonstrators were shot dead by British soldiers. In July 1972, 30,000 British troops directed "Operation Motorman" to clear the barricades from the Catholic areas.

To maintain the divisions among working people, many further assaults on democratic rights have been imposed over the years. These include eliminating the right to trial by jury and the right to silence, and granting the government the power to arrest and hold people without charging them for up to seven days.

The collaboration between the British Army and the rightists runs deep. When the B Specials were disbanded, most then signed up for a new British Army battalion, the Ulster Defence Regiment (now called Royal Irish Rangers). Just last year charges against Brian Nelson, head of intelligence for the rightist death squad the Ulster Defence Association, were dropped after it was revealed that he was a paid agent of the British Army. Nelson was to have stood trial for conspiracy to murder 18 Catholics.

Today there are still 19,000 British troops stationed in Northern Ireland with an annual security bill to London of £2.25 billion (£1=US\$1.55). They remain the cornerstone of London's repressive policies in Ireland, policies that are geared towards maintaining the divisions among working people.

Pete Clifford is a member of the Transport and General Workers' Union at Heathrow Airport. 'Militant' staff writer Naomi Craine also contributed to this article.

## Dublin Aer Lingus workers fight layoffs and pay cuts

BY ANNE HOWIE

DUBLIN, Ireland—Hundreds of TEAM Aer Lingus workers and their supporters blockaded Dublin airport for two hours August 20. Members of the Services Industrial Professional and Technical Union, the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, the Technical Engineering and Electrical Union, and others walked up and down internal airport roads. Huge traffic jams developed, as the police watched but made no attempt to move workers away.

The same day, about 20 aircraft handlers stopped work for more than four hours in an unofficial action, causing major delays to Aer Lingus flights.

Workers have organized actions almost every day of the nine-week dispute at TEAM, a subsidiary of the state airline. Workers and employers in Ireland view the battle as a sign of what will come in other workplaces and industries.

Peter Quigley, spokesperson for the craft unions, told the *Irish Post*, "There are only two ways the protests will stop. We will be put back to work or the airport will close." The company laid off 1,350 of its

2,200 employees, mostly craft maintenance workers. TEAM employees are determined to get all the workers reinstated.

Unionists at the airline are resisting management's drive to drastically cut operating costs. The company is demanding a 10 percent pay cut and changes in working conditions, as they drive to cut state subsidies to the airline.

At the August 20 demonstration, Paddy Finnegan, a member of the craft workers negotiating team, explained that union officials had asked the workers to scale down their protests while the Labour Court considered the dispute. "But last night we found posses of management loading £1000s [worth] of work onto trucks to ship to the UK [United Kingdom]," he said. "So I've given them my answer and I'll give them yours." Union officials report Dunlops in London is servicing Aer Lingus wheels and brakes.

Many workers involved in the protest welcomed the participation of trade unionists from Britain. One mentioned that they had also received substantial support from the Teamsters union in the United States.

### For Further Reading

## IRELAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels

For workers in Britain, Marx and Engels explain, "the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation." Articles, letters, and documents on Ireland by the founding leaders of the modern working-class movement. Progress Publishers. 665 pp. \$19.95

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

MARX  
ENGELS

Ireland  
and the  
Irish Question



## Get out the truth about Cuba

BY PAT SMITH

The 10-week drive to win new readers to the socialist press, which begins on September 3, is a weapon in the hands of opponents of Washington's war drive against the Cuban revolution. Now is the time for supporters of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and *New International* to stand together with the workers and farmers in Cuba against Wall Street's threats by getting out the truth about the U.S. government's decades-long campaign to crush the socialist revolution and the example it sets.

Week after week the *Militant* and its sister publications expose the bosses' lies. Getting these periodicals into the hands of coworkers, striking auto and rail workers and their supporters, abortion clinic defense volunteers, high school and college students, and others can be a part of building defense for the socialist revolution.

Andy Buchanan reports that 75 people turned out for an emergency picket line in front of the Federal Building in New York City. Protesters demanded "U.S. out of Guantánamo" and "Stop the U.S. war drive against Cuba." Twenty participants purchased copies of the *Militant* at the demonstration.



Joel Britton, SWP trade union director, sells *Militant* at rally to defend Cuba, August 24 in New York.

Vivian Sahner in Washington, D.C., says that some people literally stopped in their tracks when they saw the photograph on the front page of last week's *Militant* of thousands of workers and youth rallying in Mariel, Cuba, in defense of the socialist revolution.

"They've heard so much on television, and have so many questions about the Cuban revolution," Sahner said. "I was able to have some serious discussions and sell six copies of the *Militant*." She is one of many workers petitioning to get socialist candidates on the bal-

lot in Washington, D.C.

Robert Dees, a garment worker in Greensboro, North Carolina, sold a *Militant* subscription last week to a coworker he just met. The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) member had a lot of questions and wanted to discuss how workers can build strong, democratic unions that can fight in their interests.

Dees also reported that distributors in Greensboro are selling five or six copies of the socialist paper each week at regular plant gate sales at the ACTWU-organized Kmart warehouse. Workers there are fighting for a contract after voting in the union a year ago.

Jon Hillson, a striking rail worker in Minneapolis, sold more than 20 singles and two subscriptions to the *Militant* to coworkers on the Soo Line. "I sold them all on the picket line or at union events," Hillson said. "The Caterpillar strike, our walkout, and Cuba were the issues that drew people to the paper."

Next week's sales chart will include a section with subscription goals taken by unionists around the world. These figures need to be in the business office by Tuesday, August 30, at 12 noon EDT to appear in the chart.

## Thousands in Dublin join protest

Continued from front page

the nationalist party Sinn Féin to the bargaining table on terms favorable to the London and Dublin governments. Major and Reynolds claimed the declaration, which talks of overcoming "the legacy of history" and healing divisions, signaled a "new beginning" in a peace process in Northern Ireland. The declaration, however, ignored the real source of violence in Northern Ireland — London's military domination of the country — and had nothing to say about the underlying cause of the conflict — the systematic and institutionalized discrimination against working people who are Catholic.

In July, Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams said his party could not support the Downing Street declaration in its current form, as it gives a veto over any constitutional changes to Unionist forces.

In his speech to the crowd, Robert Ballagh, one of the organizers, said, "We should demand that our elected representatives put muscle and initiative into that [peace] process." He called on the British government to "instigate comprehensive, unconditional, and nonexclusive dialogue between every interested party...."

"Is there no [F.W.] de Klerk in British politics?" Ballagh asked, implying that the former ruler of apartheid South Africa had been the key factor in negotiations leading up to last April's nonracial elections in that country.

The demonstration included numerous floats, designed to represent different aspects of British rule. Several depicted the army

watchtowers that loom over working-class neighborhoods in Belfast, Derry, and other cities throughout the occupied six counties. Others protested the censorship laws that restrict reports on Ireland in the United Kingdom. One float featured people dressed as armed soldiers at the front, and workers shoveling tar at the back. This represented the border roads in country areas, which are regularly torn up and closed by the army and then repaired by local residents.

### Opposition to British rule

Several busloads of demonstrators had traveled three to four hours from Belfast and Derry. Similar protests had taken place August 14 in those cities. A march organized by the unionist Apprentice Boys was also held in Derry the same day.

Many placards and banners focused on the cases of thousands of political prisoners and victims of police frame-ups. "Bring all our prisoners home" was a popular slogan.

One contingent from Belfast carried signs supporting the "Ballymurphy Seven," a group of youths charged with attempted murder after an attack on security forces.

Two of the seven were acquitted earlier this year; the others are still awaiting trial after nearly three years in prison. Like many other cases in Northern Ireland over the last quarter century, the only evidence against the defendants is forced "confessions" beaten out of them by the police.

Many of the demonstrators were

young; others have been fighting against the occupation of Northern Ireland for 25 years. A woman from Belfast said she had been there when the British soldiers entered the city in 1969. "I couldn't tell you in a few minutes what happened," she said. "All of us have lost someone," either imprisoned or killed by the army, police, or rightist forces.

A Dublin teenager who stopped his bicycle to observe the rally said his brother is in the British army in Northern Ireland. He went in thinking he would be keeping the peace, the youth commented, but found that's not what the troops are there for. Despite his brother's experience, the student said he too plans to join the British military when he leaves school. "There's no jobs in Dublin. I'll never get a job here, so it's the only way to make money," he said, explaining why many young people make this decision.

### Support for airline workers

Twenty workers from TEAM Aer Lingus who showed up with collection buckets received a warm response from the marchers. Maintenance workers at the airline are in the ninth week of a fight against layoffs and company demands for a 48-hour workweek and other concessions. That morning hundreds of workers and their supporters had tied up traffic at the Dublin airport for several hours.

Most participants immediately expressed solidarity with the airline workers when their fight was mentioned. O'Mordhna, the college student, explained his support, saying, "The tops at Aer Lingus

## WHERE WE STAND

Goals by distributors in each area

	Militant	Perspectiva Mundial	New International
<b>Australia*</b>	30	8	18
<b>Britain</b>			
London*	70	3	37
Manchester*	50	3	20
Sheffield	40	1	14
<b>Britain total</b>	160	7	71
<b>Belgium</b>	2	2	1
<b>Canada</b>			
Montreal*	80	25	45
Toronto	90	17	35
Vancouver	85	13	27
<b>Canada total</b>	255	55	107
<b>France</b>	4	5	6
<b>Greece*</b>	11	1	6
<b>Iceland</b>	13	1	4
<b>New Zealand</b>			
Auckland*	75	5	30
Christchurch*	35	1	8
Wellington*	5	0	4
<b>NZ total*</b>	115	6	42
<b>Puerto Rico*</b>	2	5	4
<b>Sweden*</b>	40	20	15
<b>United States</b>			
Albany	10	1	3
Albuquerque	7	2	2
Atlanta*	105	15	25
Birmingham*	75	5	15
Boston*	115	36	52
Brooklyn*	110	36	65
Chicago	145	32	50
Cincinnati	10	5	4
Cleveland	95	16	20
Denver	5	3	2
Des Moines*	85	36	35
Detroit*	100	11	27
Edinboro	6	1	3
Ft. Madison	2	1	2
Greensboro	65	4	15
Hartford*	5	1	4
Houston*	60	12	12
Los Angeles*	230	101	105
Miami*	120	55	70
Morgantown	55	1	17
New Haven*	10	2	8
New York*	145	40	70
Newark*	140	35	50
Peoria*	30	3	10
Philadelphia*	115	30	47
Pittsburgh*	105	12	26
Portland	2	1	2
Salt Lake City*	110	16	35
San Francisco*	150	42	70
Seattle	80	12	23
St. Louis	80	6	22
Twin Cities*	125	17	35
Washington, D.C.*	85	30	35
<b>U.S. total</b>	2,582	620	961
<b>TOTAL</b>	3,214	730	1,235
<b>DRIVE GOALS</b>	3,300	700	1,250
*ADOPTED GOALS			

are getting rich. Then they blame the working people for the company's problems and start laying them off."

A young worker who had driven 100 miles to join the march described how he had been fired from a grocery store for organizing a strike over working conditions.

Martin Hill is a member of the Transport and General Workers Union in Luton, England. Naomi Craine is a staff writer for the *'Militant'* and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in New York. Anne Howie from Sheffield, England, contributed to this article.



# Chronology of U.S. aggression against Cuba

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The stepped-up provocations, threats, and aggressive acts by Uncle Sam against the Cuban socialist revolution since mid-August are the latest chapter in a 35-year record of U.S.-government-organized assaults and lies.

The following chronology takes a look at decisive portions of this belligerent record, focusing on three periods when Washington's course has come closest to war:

- the opening years of the 1960s, as the U.S. rulers responded to the victorious 1959 revolution by Cuba's workers and farmers and the deepening socialist course under the guidance of Fidel Castro, Ernesto Che Guevara, and the communist leadership in Cuba;
- the early 1980s, as the victory of workers and farmers governments in Nicaragua and Grenada raised the specter for the U.S. rulers of an extension of the socialist revolution in the Americas; and
- the events since the middle of this month, together with provocations over the past four years that prefigured the latest moves.

Each time in the past, at crucial moments in Washington's bipartisan war preparations, the U.S. rulers sought to hide their true plans — and their fear of the example the Cuban revolution set for workers and farmers throughout the Americas and world — behind a smokescreen of lies, slanders, and phony "public policy debates." Six days before the U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, for example, the *New York Times* published the following dispatch April 11:

"A sharp policy dispute has developed within the Kennedy administration about how far to go in helping the Cuban refugees to overthrow the Castro Government...."

"Some officials are urging the President to provide enough military and economic assistance to enable the refugees to establish effective control over at least part of Cuba. It is understood, however, that the State Department is worried about the political and military consequences in the hemisphere and elsewhere of providing military force to achieve political ends."

The *Militant* presents this chronology — which highlights only a handful of Washington's bloody actions — as a tool for all opponents of the current U.S. war drive against Cuba. It is aimed for their use in answering the lies and obfuscations the U.S. rulers are peddling today to try to justify their counterrevolutionary course.

## Triumph of Cuban revolution

**January 1, 1959**

The July 26 Movement leads Cuba's workers and peasants in toppling the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. Attempts are made on the life of Fidel Castro.

**September 1959-early 1960**

Cuban counterrevolutionaries, having fled to the United States following Batista's fall, organize repeated bombing raids on sugarcane fields and mills, destroying millions of tons of cane, as well as on urban areas.

**February 18, 1960**

U.S. pilot Robert Ellis Frost is killed when his plane blows up while trying to bomb the España sugar mill in Matanzas province. The downing belied Washington's claims until then that these flights were not organized from bases in Florida.

**March 4, 1960**

The *Coubre*, a French freighter loaded with arms and ammunition purchased from Belgium, explodes in Havana harbor killing 100 workers and soldiers. The U.S. government denies involvement but admits it had sought to stop the Belgian government from selling arms to Cuba.

**March 17, 1960**

U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower secretly orders the training of Cuban exiles in Guatemala for what was to become the invasion of Playa Girón (the Bay of Pigs) in April 1961.

**October 5, 1960**

Twenty seven mercenaries land in eastern Cuba; one is killed and 25 are captured, including three U.S. citizens.

**January 3, 1961**

Washington breaks diplomatic relations with the government of Cuba.

**March 1961**

Two Cuban exile organizations establish a new "Revolutionary Council" in Miami. The council aims to establish a provisional government on Cuban soil with the goal of overthrowing the revolutionary Cuban government.

**April 15, 1961**

Bombing attacks begin to prepare the ground for a large-scale U.S.-sponsored invasion. Seven Cubans are killed.

**April 17-19, 1961**

An invasion force lands at Playa Girón (the Bay of Pigs) on Cuba's southern coast. The mercenaries have been organized and



U.S. Marines arrive at Guantánamo during missile crisis in 1962

directed by the CIA at the initiative of both the current Democratic administration of John Kennedy and the prior Republican administration of Dwight Eisenhower. The Cubans crush the aggression within 72 hours, taking close to 1,200 prisoners and killing more than 100 in combat.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Adlai Stevenson rejected as "totally false" the Cuban government's assertion that Washington planned the bloody assault. Later, when evidence of U.S. government involvement became undeniable, Stevenson whined that he felt "deliberately tricked" by the administration.

**September 1961**

Cuban government reveals CIA plan to assassinate Fidel Castro. In mid-1970s a U.S. Senate investigation reveals repeated CIA-organized efforts to murder Castro.

**November 1961**

Washington seeks to portray counterrevolutionary terrorist activity in Cuba's Escambray mountains as a peasant uprising against the new government. The rightist bands murdered volunteer teachers and students taking part in the revolution's massive campaign to rid the island of illiteracy.

**November 30, 1961**

U.S. president Kennedy authorizes Operation Mongoose, a CIA program involving counterrevolutionary mercenary forces to infiltrate Cuba. Mongoose is directly supervised for the White House by Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

**February 3, 1962**

The U.S. government announces the total embargo of U.S. trade with Cuba, which continues to this day.

**August 1962**

In face of the U.S. administration's rapidly escalating preparations for an invasion, the Cuban government signs a mutual defense agreement with Moscow that in-

cludes the deployment of Soviet nuclear-tipped missiles in Cuba. (For an account of the Cuban government's opposition to the secrecy of the deployment insisted on by the Stalinist regime in Moscow, see "The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution" in issue no. 9 of the Marxist magazine *New International*, p. 298-299.)

**October 6, 1962**

Defense secretary Robert McNamara sends memo instructing the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff to prepare massive force of planes, ships, and troops for the invasion of Cuba and the overthrow of the revolutionary government headed by Castro.

**October 22, 1962**

U.S. president Kennedy announces that its intelligence flights have detected nuclear-tipped missiles in Cuba and orders a naval blockade of Cuba. This marks the beginning of the "October Missile Crisis." The U.S. masses its forces in Florida and puts them on alert around the globe, bringing the world to the brink of nuclear war.

**November 2, 1962**

Washington and Moscow, without even consulting the government of Cuba, reach agreement to remove Soviet missiles from Cuban soil. Washington's course toward an invasion of Cuba had been stopped by the determination of the communist leadership and millions of workers, farmers, and youth to defend the socialist revolution arms in hand and inflict massive casualties on any aggressor forces

## Post-1979 war drive

**1979**

Workers and farmers governments come to power following victorious revolutions in Grenada (March 13) and Nicaragua (July 19). The Cuban government and Communist Party immediately announce generous aid and active solidarity with these two new revolutionary governments, which Washington begins organizing to squeeze and eventually crush.

**April-September 1980**

Six Cubans crash a bus through gates of the Peruvian embassy in Havana, killing a Cuban guard. When the Peruvian government refuses to hand over the killers, Cuba responds by removing its guards around the embassy. Within days, 10,000 Cubans wanting to emigrate cram into the compound. In face of increasingly shrill U.S. propaganda, Cuba turns tables on Washington by allowing privately-owned U.S. ships to pick up anyone wishing to leave at the Cuban port of Mariel. By late September, when the boatlift ends, some 125,000 Cubans have reached the United States.

**May 8, 1980**

U.S. military forces begin "Solid Shield 80" war games in Caribbean, involving 42 warships, 350 planes and more than 20,000 military personnel. The operation is to include a provocative practice invasion of 2,000 Marines on Cuban soil at the Guantánamo Naval Base.

**May 17, 1980**

Cuban people organize nationwide revolutionary mobilization involving some 5 million people out of a total population of 10 million. The mobilization called the "March of the Fighting People" forced the cancellation of the Guantánamo stage of "Solid Shield 80."

**January 1981**

Cuban government organizes Territorial Troop Militia; over next few years, some 1.5 million workers, farmers, students, and other volunteers are armed and trained to defend the revolution.

**July 26, 1981**

Fidel Castro charges U.S. government of waging biological warfare. As of July 24, nearly 275,000 Cubans had been afflicted with dengue fever during an epidemic of the virus. The virus has killed 113 people, including 81 children. ("Operation Mongoose" organized under the Kennedy administration had authorized Cuban mercenaries to use chemical warfare to temporarily incapacitate sugar workers during the harvest).

## 1994 U.S. war drive and prelude

**February 1990**

U.S. Coast Guard ship fires 300 rounds from M-60 machine and 130 rounds of 20-mm cannon fire against Cuban-chartered freighter, the *Hermann*. The freighter crew of 11, which is hit at least twice, is unarmed but mobilizes on deck with knives and other crude weapons to defend the ship and succeeds in completing its regular run to Tampico, Mexico.

**December 1991**

Three Cuban exiles are captured with arms and explosives after landing on the northwestern coast in a dinghy. Their goal is to create panic by planting firebombs in sugar mills, theaters, tourism centers, and elsewhere, the group's leader admits. Since the early 1960s counterrevolutionary groups like these have been training openly in camps in southern Florida to carry out such attacks.

**January 9, 1992**

Three Cuban police officers are killed by Cubans trying to steal a boat to leave the country. Washington encourages such bloodshed by denying visas to those who seek to leave the country legally.

**July 13, 1994**

A group of 63 people commandeer a wooden tugboat in Havana harbor headed for the U.S. The rickety boat sinks when a pursuing Cuban tugboat accidentally collides with it, drowning 32 people.

**July 26 and August 3, 1994**

Armed hijackers seize ferries. Cuban patrol boats allow ferries to be intercepted in international waters by the U.S. Coast Guard. Washington gives the hijackers asylum.

**August 4, 1994**

Boatload of passengers in Cuba is captured by men carrying guns and grenades. The hijackers kill a 19-year-old police officer who tries to stop them. The boat runs out of gas, at which point Cuban authorities tow it back to Havana, returning the passengers safely and detaining the hijackers.

**August 5, 1994**

A group of 21 try to hijack a boat but are repelled by dockworkers and the police. The incident includes a gathering of several hundred people hostile to the government in the harbor area. Later that day the hostile crowd, which has grown to about 700, begin a riot, assaulting policemen and attacking hotels and stores with rocks and bottles.

**August 9, 1994**

A group of 27 takes over navy boat and murders a lieutenant in the Revolutionary Armed Forces. Cuban authorities demand the U.S. prosecute the hijackers or return them to Cuba.



# U.S. naval station at Guantánamo Bay

## Imperialism's permanent beachhead against socialist revolution in Cuba

BY SARA LOBMAN

The U.S. government, which is today beating its war drums against the socialist revolution in Cuba with increasing fervor, already has a beachhead on the Caribbean island.

For more than 90 years, Washington has maintained a major military base on a 45-square-mile chunk of stolen land on Cuba's southeastern coast. This "nest of thieves," as Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara once called the U.S. naval station at Guantánamo Bay, is held against the will of the Cuban people.

More than 2,400 U.S. troops are stationed there, as well as thousands of civilian personnel. The naval base has two airfields and an underground arsenal. It is surrounded by minefields and a 12-mile barbed-wire fence guarded by armed sentries. Washington routinely organizes large-scale naval, amphibious, and air maneuvers there.

The Guantánamo base has been a permanent source of aggression aimed at pressuring, threatening, and ultimately defeating the socialist revolution and national sovereignty that millions of Cuban toilers defend with their lives. Washington's recent decision to detain thousands of Cuban refugees at the base is designed to increase the tension even more.

Although there is Cuban soil on both sides, a border slices the island. And it is the most dangerous of all the world's borders because of the U.S. capitalist rulers' aggressive acts.

### Long history of provocations

"If an invasion eventually is launched against Cuba, the U.S. already has what in effect is a beachhead in Cuba: the U.S. Naval Base at Guantánamo Bay," the *Wall Street Journal* noted in the midst of the October 1962 missile crisis. A dispatch from Guantánamo in the *Los Angeles Times* at the same time reported, "We would be lucky if an 'incident' at this naval base provided us with a new chance to establish a free Cuba on this island. The opportunity would enable us to set up a fighting front."

This time, the detention of thousands of Cuban émigrés on the base is calculated by Washington to give "luck" a little boost.

The fact is, Clinton administration policy toward Guantánamo is not new. Nine U.S. administrations, Democratic and Republican alike, have used the military base — maintained unjustly and by force on the sovereign territory of Cuba — to harass and threaten the revolution.

Che Guevara reported some of these incidents in a 1964 speech to the United Nations just five years after the revolution's triumph. The list, he said, "covers minor provocations such as violation of the boundary line, launching of objects from the territory controlled by the United States, the commission of acts of sexual exhibitionism by U.S. personnel of both sexes, and verbal insults. It includes others that are more serious, such as shooting off small caliber weapons, aiming weapons at our territory, and offenses against our national flag. Extremely serious provocations include those of crossing the boundary line and starting fires in installations on the Cuban side, as well as rifle fire."

In 1964 alone, the Cuban leader said, there had been 78 rifle shots fired, resulting in one death. The total number of hostile U.S. actions that year was more than 1,300, he added.

In the months following the revolutionary victories in Grenada and Nicaragua in 1979, Washington stepped up its attacks on Cuba. U.S. military maneuvers in the Caribbean included the landing of Marines on the shores of Guantánamo, unmistakably a practice invasion of the island.

In October 1991, Washington took the then-recent coup in Haiti as a pretext to increase the number of troops and aircraft at the base. New attacks included a staged response by U.S. forces to the imagined entry of massive numbers of Cubans, supposedly disenchanted with the revolution, through different border points onto the naval station. U.S. planes and helicopters violated Cuban territory, in some instances actually flying over Cuban troops.

This history of aggression — and these are just a few examples — poses an obvious question. How did the U.S. government come to have a military base on Cuban soil? By what right has the most powerful government in the world imposed a hostile border on a sovereign country 90 miles from its shore?

Washington claims its hold on a piece of Cuban territory is the result of a signed agreement between the two countries dat-

ing back to the beginning of the century. A closer look at the facts shows this up to be a bald-faced lie.

U.S. military intervention in Cuba makes its debut in 1898 with the "Spanish-American War," a malicious misnomer that implies that Cubans themselves had nothing to do with the conflict. In truth, the 1895-1898 war between Spain and Cuba

1926-1933 occupation of Nicaragua began with U.S. invasion forces launched from the Guantánamo base.

"There is, of course, little or no independence left in Cuba under the Platt Amendment," General Leonard Wood, commander of the U.S. occupation forces, wrote at the time to President Theodore Roosevelt.

James Slayden, a congressman from Texas, visited Cuba leading up to the adoption of the ball-and-chain amendment. "I do not believe that 10 percent of the Cubans cheerfully accept the Platt Amendment," he noted. "If it is accepted, it will be done in circumstances very similar to those in which the citizen yields his purse to the robber who has him covered with a pistol."

In fact, the Platt Amendment, far from being a lease signed by two mutually consenting parties, is destined to go down in history alongside other horrifying relics of the rise of capitalism and imperialism. The fugitive slave laws in the pre-Civil War United States, for example, mandated the return of slaves to their "legal owners." And for much of the history of the United States, the Caribbean, and other parts of the world, contracts whereby individual workers sold themselves into indentured servitude were upheld as binding agreements.

But the Cuban people did not simply sit back and let the U.S. rulers take over the island

with legal mumbo jumbo. They mobilized massive demonstrations time and again to protest the Platt Amendment and especially the permanent establishment of U.S. military bases on Cuban soil. Washington was forced to send troops to occupy Cuba two more times — from 1906 to 1909 and from 1917 to 1922. Direct U.S. military rule under General Enoch Crowder continued until 1926. In 1934, Washington replaced the Platt amendment with a new treaty whereby Cuba would lease Guantánamo indefinitely to the United States unless both parties agreed otherwise. To help the Cubans "decide" to sign the agreement, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt ordered gunboats into Havana Bay.

In 1959, the Cuban workers and farmers overthrew the U.S.-supported Batista dictatorship and placed in power, for the first time in the Americas, a government that represented the interests of the toiling majority. With this historic opening of the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere, the U.S. naval station at Guantánamo gained a new importance for the imperialist bosses in Washington.

It has been and remains an integral piece in their plans to overthrow the revolutionary government in Havana and its communist leadership.

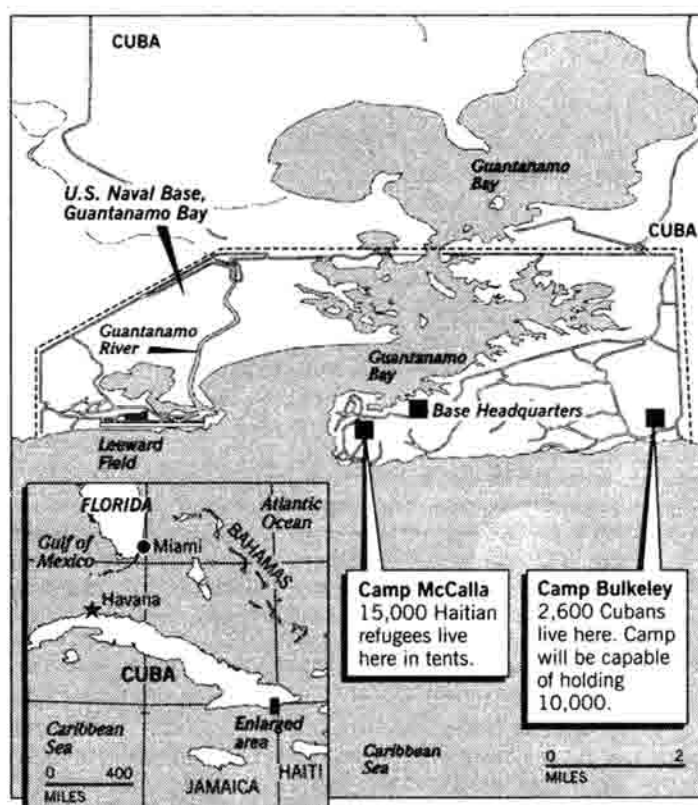
Because of this, and in defense of their basic rights to self-determination, the Cuban people and their government have consistently demanded the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the country. Every year Washington still sends a "rent check" of \$4,085 to Havana. Every year the Cuban government puts it in a drawer and refuses to cash it.

"What would be the solution to the Guantánamo base issue?" a reporter asked Cuban President Fidel Castro some two decades ago in December 1971.

"Well, the only solution would be for [the U.S. government] to get out of Guantánamo and give that piece of territory back to our country," Castro said, "I see no other solution.... It is kept there as a provocation, as a humiliation."

Today, as Washington steps up its war drive against Cuba, it is more important than ever that working people and others around the world join the government and people of Cuba in that demand.

"U.S. out of Guantánamo now!"



Map of camps at U.S.-occupied territory in Guantánamo, Cuba.

was part of a 30-year struggle by the Cuban people for freedom from colonial rule. Only when Cuban independence fighters were on the verge of defeating the Spanish army of occupation in 1898 did the U.S. intervene militarily — to prevent the Cuban people from taking control of their own country.

The utter contempt with which the U.S. rulers held the Cuban people — not to mention most of humanity — is apparent in the comments of General S.B.M. Young, a U.S. division commander in Cuba in 1898. The Cubans, he said, "are a lot of degenerates, absolutely devoid of honor and gratitude. They are no more capable of self-government than the savages of Africa."

Washington's war with Spain marked the first appearance in world politics of the United States as an imperialist power capable of challenging older powers in Europe who had gotten a centuries-long head start in colonizing the world as part of the rise of modern capitalism. As a result of the conflict, Washington took Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam from Spain and made them its own colonies. A U.S. occupation army of 45,000 moved into Cuba, placing the country under direct military rule for the next four years.

While the troops left in 1902, Washington made sure — through the manacles of the Platt Amendment — that the U.S. ruling families kept a tight grip on Cuba. "To enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba," said article seven of this infamous, and cynical, document, "the government of Cuba will sell or lease ... lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points." Article three of the amendment explicitly granted Washington the right to intervene militarily in Cuba at any time. In February 1903, the government imposed on Cuba by Washington signed an agreement with its creator "leasing" Guantánamo Bay to the United States "for the time that it may deem necessary" — that is, forever. The rent: \$2,000 a year.

In addition to ensuring continued U.S. control over the Cuban government and economy, the base would be used many times over the coming years as a staging ground to defend U.S. imperialist interests elsewhere in the region. For example, both the 1915-1934 occupation of Haiti and the

## Cuban government repudiates 'illegal U.S. military presence'

Printed below is the statement by the Foreign Ministry of Cuba condemning the illegal use of the navy base in Guantánamo by the United States.

The president of the United States has announced the decision of his government to deny Cuban citizens who emigrate illegally entry to its territory, and to send those intercepted at sea to the naval base at Guantánamo.

The Cuban government strongly condemns the illegal use of part of its national territory in Guantánamo Bay by the United States where it, by force, maintains a naval base. Now the U.S. government has announced its intentions to use the base as a concentration camp for Cuban citizens who illegally leave their country, encouraged both by the shameful and hostile policy exercised with impunity for 35 years by the United States and, essentially, by a criminal blockade which given the current circumstances compels the massive emigration.

The arbitrary use of this portion of Cuban territory has repeatedly been the target of the strongest of protests by the government and people of Cuba, both of whom repudiate not only the presence of the naval base against their will, but also the

use of the national territory as a processing center for Haitians and Cubans intercepted at sea who wish to go to the United States.

In recent days, the Cuban government openly expressed grave concern in the face of the violent disturbances of August 13 — which have occurred repeatedly over the last few hours — between the army personnel on the base and the Haitian refugees detained there under terribly unhealthy and overcrowded conditions.

Despite this dangerous situation, the president of the United States has just announced that Cuban citizens, whom they now refuse to welcome, will also be sheltered in that military enclave. This step not only disregards the consequences such measure could create, but in addition affects the health, stability and safety conditions of both Cuban and neighboring populations, as it has been stated on previous occasions.

The government of Cuba expresses the Cuban people's firmest repudiation of the latest decision by the White House, and again reiterates its strongest rejection of the illegal U.S. military presence in Cuban territory.

Ministry of Foreign Relations  
Republic of Cuba  
Havana, August 19, 1994



# Clinton uses refugee pretext against Cuba

Continued from front page

the Cuban government of sparking the influx of so-called rafters to the United States and "risk[ing] the lives of thousands of Cubans." He called it a "cold-blooded attempt to maintain the Castro grip on Cuba and to divert attention from his failed Communist policies."

Clinton stressed, "I support the embargo and I support the Cuban Democracy Act," a 1992 measure that tightens the trade ban.

That same evening, as U.S. Coast Guard cutters detained the first 454 Cubans at sea, Clinton, together with Vice President Al Gore, National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, and Reno, met with Florida governor Lawton Chiles and several right-wing Cuban-American figures, including Jorge Mas Canosa, head of the Cuban American National Foundation. Clinton told the group he would decree a number of further economic measures to pressure Cuba. He also dispatched the first two warships to patrol the waters near Cuba's shores.

The morning of Saturday, August 20, it was reported that the administration's new steps included:

- restricting the number of charter flights from the United States to Cuba;
- cutting in half the amount of money — previously \$300 every three months — Cuban-Americans may send their relatives on the island;
- seeking United Nations condemnation of Cuba for supposed human rights abuses;
- and the use of U.S. military aircraft to circle Cuba and beam antigovernment radio and television broadcasts.

## White House ratchets up attacks

Later that day, however, Clinton issued a statement that announced measures that went even further, barring all remittances of cash to Cuba.

Administration officials have also begun to float the prospect of a naval blockade against Cuba. On Sunday, August 21, White House chief of staff Leon Panetta said, on the ABC News program "This Week with David Brinkley," that "we're putting pressures on the Castro government" and that a military blockade was "obviously one of the options that we would look at in the future."

White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers, later asked about Panetta's statement about a blockade, replied, "It's an option we won't rule in or rule out, but it's not part of our present course." In addition, a Miami city official, Metro Commissioner Arthur Teele, who was part of the group that met with the U.S. president August 19, reported Clinton told them, "The blockade is on the table.... It's not something we want to go into and discuss at this point."

Since then the idea of a naval blockade — an act of war under international law — has become part of the ac-

cepted discussion in the media and other mainstream bourgeois circles. Defense Secretary William Perry told the press August 25, however, that a blockade was not a viable option for the administration at this time.

Meanwhile, Washington has steadily increased its military presence in the Florida Straits. At press time it had grown to 13 Navy warships and 60 Coast Guard vessels, with a total of 8,500 U.S. military personnel, including 350 Marines. These ships patrol the waters right up to the 12-mile territorial limit off Cuba's shores. In

already been several disturbances by Haitians protesting the inhuman conditions in these concentration camps.

U.S. officials originally stated that a camp was being set up for 10,000 Cubans at the Guantánamo base. U.S. defense secretary William Perry then declared August 24 that the Pentagon was doubling the capacity of the camps for Cubans and Haitians to 40,000, and that it could be later expanded to 60,000 or even more.

The Pentagon is planning to send up to 7,000 additional troops to Guantánamo to augment the 2,900 stationed there already.



U.S. defense secretary William Perry reviews U.S. naval base at Guantánamo August 22. Perry said Washington is preparing to house as many as 60,000 Cubans on base.

addition, 30 U.S. military planes are patrolling the airspace around Cuba.

All these moves put the U.S. rulers in place to organize further provocations and to respond with additional acts of aggression.

## Cubans sent to Guantánamo

The most provocative U.S. action so far has been the detention of Cuban refugees in camps at the Guantánamo base, where the U.S. military is already holding 15,000 Haitians who fled the military terror in their country and attempted to reach U.S. shores.

"Guantánamo is the only place in the world where Cuban and U.S. armed troops are within shooting distance of each other," Gillian Gunn, director of Georgetown university's Cuba project, told the *Wall Street Journal*. "The mix — Cubans going in, Haitians trying to get out, land mines, nervous Marines with weapons in their hands, nervous Cuban troops with weapons in their hands — is explosive." There have

going threat of U.S. military intervention in Haiti — under the guise of restoring elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide — is another source of tension and increased danger to Cuba.

In another scenario for a provocation, U.S. representative Robert Torricelli reported that some counterrevolutionary Cuban-Americans are now even discussing setting up a government-in-exile at Guantánamo.

In an August 24 news conference at the United Nations, Cuban ambassador Fernando Remírez stated, "Guantánamo is Cuban territory that has been illegally usurped by the U.S. government." Emphasizing that it remains occupied "against the will of the entire people" of Cuba, he warned, "The fact that this naval base is being used not only militarily but as a concentration camp, first for the Haitian refugees — something we condemn — and now for Cuban refugees, constitutes a provocation and an opening to create an incident that could bring terrible consequences."

## Bipartisan support in Washington

The mounting U.S. probes against Cuba have received bipartisan support among capitalist politicians and the major media, who are unanimous in their goal of overthrowing the Cuban government and destroying the socialist revolution there.

The Democratic administration has garnered enthusiastic backing from the ultrarightist Mas Canosa, who said Clinton's measures "bring us closer to the dream of a free and democratic Cuba." Mas Canosa added, "All Cubans should be grateful to him."

Democratic Congressman Torricelli defended the latest economic sanctions even though they will hit the Cuban people hard. "It is impossible to bring fundamental political change to Cuba without doing damage to the people who live on the island," he said. "It is the only way of achieving the long-term goal" of overturning the revolution. The *New York Post* editorialized in a similar vein and demanded, "It's up to President Clinton to follow policies that will hasten the collapse of the teetering communist regime."

The liberal *New York Times* whined that the administration's moves hurt ordinary Cubans, "a pointless risk to the Cuban people since the Castro regime is already withering." Based on the wishful premise of the

# U.S. out of Guantánamo

Continued from front page

ment offices in cities and towns across the United States and in other countries.

Now is the time to get out the truth about the Cuban revolution and its achievements by organizing educational meetings and by campaigning to distribute as widely as possible the books, pamphlets, and newspapers that tell the story of four decades of revolutionary struggle.

On August 19 the Clinton administration ordered U.S. Navy and Coast Guard vessels to begin rounding up at sea people departing Cuba and shipping them to the Guantánamo Naval Station — sovereign territory of Cuba forcibly occupied by U.S. troops for nearly a century. Washington is at the same time creating the conditions for a provocation, one it could even use as the pretext for an attack against Cuba.

The next day, August 20, Clinton announced a ban on both charter flights to the Caribbean island and the remittance of dollars by Cuban-Americans to relatives in Cuba. Since then, more than a dozen U.S. Navy ships and 60 Coast Guard cutters backed by aircraft have moved to within 12 miles of Cuba's shores. In major television and newspaper interviews, top U.S. government officials have floated the trial balloon of even imposing a naval blockade on Cuba.

The ricochet from this combination of calculated measures and their inevitable, unanticipated, or accidental results places the White House on a course toward war

against Cuba. The danger of armed conflict is greater today than at any time since Washington's confrontational military moves in the early 1980s in reaction to the revolutionary victories in Central America and the Caribbean.

The openly stated goal of the U.S. rulers is to weaken and ultimately overthrow the government and communist leadership in Cuba and smash the socialist revolution. This has been the policy for 35 years.

The U.S. government has "done more than any other country to try to bring an end to the Castro government," Clinton said at the August 19 press conference announcing the new Guantánamo detention policy. "We have done it through the Cuban Democracy Act. We have done it through the embargo. We have worked hard, often laboring almost alone, to that end."

"And we will continue to do that by whatever reasonable means are available to us," Clinton said.

## Guantánamo provocation

To further this goal, Washington is bent on fomenting provocations and bloodshed in Cuba through the use of its spy agencies and armed forces. The series of seven hijackings in Cuba this summer, the murders of a police officer and a navy lieutenant, and the August 5 riot in Havana by opponents of the government are examples of the kinds of incidents the U.S. rulers are

Continued on page 14

## Help 'Militant' provide firsthand coverage of events in Cuba

*Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel and *Militant* correspondent Laura Garza, a member of the United Steelworkers of America in Miami, will be traveling to Cuba within days to provide first hand coverage of recent events from the factories, farms, and schools of the Caribbean country.

*Militant* reporters will also travel to major cities in Latin America to report the reaction of working people, trade union leaders, government officials, and others to Washington's aggression against Cuba.

In addition, the *Militant* has requested permission from the U.S. Army's Atlantic Command to send correspondents to the Guantánamo Naval Base in Cuba.

Funds are urgently needed to cover the costs of these trips. We urge all readers to send generous contributions right away.

**Please send your check or money order ear-marked 'Cuba trips' to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.**



*Militant*/Jonathan Silberman  
Cuban workers rally to defend revolution, December 1993.



government's approaching collapse, the paper's editors argued, "Getting rid of Fidel Castro is a job for the Cuban people themselves, not for the U.S. Government or Miami exiles." Democratic senator Christopher Dodd argued that "the Cold War is over" and called for the White House to hold talks with Cuba on establishing diplomatic relations. But when asked specifically about Clinton's latest measures against Cuba, he replied, "I support what the president is doing."

#### Wild accusations treated as legitimate

The degree to which the aggressive measures have set the tone of discussion in big-business circles is seen by the fact that warmongering statements against Cuba and even wild accusations are now commonly treated as mainstream and legitimate.

On the August 21 "This Week with Dave Brinkley" show, for example, reporter Sam Donaldson brusquely interrogated Abelardo Moreno, Cuba's minister counselor to the United Nations. Citing an outlandish claim by an ultrarightist exile, Alina Fernández, he asked Moreno whether it was true that Cuban president Fidel Castro has a "military type of virus which he's going to send into the United States."

Later, after the Cuban official, in answer to another question, had described the democratic character of Cuba's February 1993 elections, moderator Brinkley derisively dismissed his statement, telling the other panelists, "It was ludicrous." Likewise, the Clinton administration's recent measures have won the support of the majority of Cuban-Americans, although many have previously expressed opinions in favor of loosening the embargo. This is true even among many who are unhappy with the cutoff of flights and money to Cuba. "If they are going to take down Castro, they should do it all the way," Armando Méndez, a Cuban-American in Miami with many family members in Cuba, told the *New York Times*. He argued that the detention of Cuban rafters at Guantánamo was acceptable only with decisive measures from the White House to bring down the Cuban government.

#### Social polarization in Cuba

The economic crisis and consequent polarization of society in Cuba are the result of great pressures bearing down on the revolution. These pressures are above all the product of a number of international defeats and setbacks for working people over the past decade, particularly the demise of the Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions and the decline of revolutionary struggles throughout Central America and the Caribbean. They are also due to the collapse of production brought on by the abrupt end of trade in preferential prices with the former USSR and Eastern European countries.

Sizable numbers from professional and administrative layers inside Cuba want to believe that capitalism offers them a way out of the tensions of the class struggle and seek individual solutions, even at the expense of everyone else. Some demoralized layers of working people and youth have followed their lead, several thousands of them by jumping onto rafts and trying to get to the imperialist metropolis to the north.

At the same time, broad sections of the Cuban working class have responded to the crisis by looking for ways to put their stamp on events and defend a socialist course.

This was reflected, for example, in the direct elections held in February 1993 for the national and provincial legislatures. Because of the economic difficulties and the intense campaign by the Miami-based right wing urging voters to spoil their ballots or abstain from voting, the elections were widely regarded as a referendum for or against the government and its socialist course. Cubans turned out in record numbers to the polls and only 7 percent of ballots were blank or spoiled.

Earlier this year, more than 3 million workers participated in assemblies held in 80,000 factories and workplaces throughout the country to discuss how to confront



Hundreds of thousands of workers and youth in Cuba, like those above who turned out August 5 on Havana's waterfront, have mobilized to show support for revolution.

the country's economic challenges. In one open debate after another, workers expressed their determination to keep the revolution on a socialist course, even while making a necessary retreat.

Now, workers have again come to the fore. On August 5, thousands of workers and young people spontaneously converged on Havana's waterfront to battle antigovernment rioters who — following a succession of boat hijackings — had been drawn there by an organized effort to hijack yet another boat.

Half a million people mobilized August 7 in Havana and tens of thousands more in Camagüey August 14 to express their support for their revolution and to condemn the murders of a Cuban police officer and a navy lieutenant killed by hijackers.

Working people throughout the capital currently "are organizing revolutionary vigilance in their workplaces, like in the early years of the revolution," reported Pável Díaz, a leader of the Union of Young Communists, in a phone interview from Havana. The U.S. imperialists and their supporters, he stated emphatically, "are not going to take away our revolution or grind us down."

When Cuban president Fidel Castro joined the workers August 5 at the scene of the battle, he commented on the organized and provocative character of the hijackings and the riot itself, during which isolated police officers were attacked and hotel and store windows smashed. This is "something that had been organized for some time and that the U.S. government is largely responsible for," he said.

The U.S. rulers, Castro stated in a news conference later that day, "wanted bloodshed, gunfights, and people killed — first of all, for use as a propaganda tool; secondly, as an instrument of subversion; and thirdly, as a means of intervention in our country."

"The U.S. strategy is to create a situation, to promote as much discontent as possible in our country, to divide the population, to create the most difficult conditions possible, to cause a conflict, a bloodbath," Castro said. He stressed that the Cuban leadership had the responsibility "to lead the people so that they face each of these situations intelligently" and "try to avoid them being provoked. That is basically why I went there."

#### 'Battle must be waged by masses'

To confront these attempts at violent provocations, "this battle must be waged by the masses, because they are afraid of the masses," Castro declared on the waterfront. "The battle the people are waging today is the kind of battle we must wage with the masses."

At the press conference the Cuban leader explained, "The United States used to think that the Revolution would collapse a few weeks after the collapse of the socialist camp. They can't resign themselves to the fact that the Revolution will endure...and they want to force its collapse at any cost."

"The United States has contacts and re-

lations with the most diverse countries," Castro noted, citing China, Vietnam, and North Korea. "But they don't talk to Cuba, they don't dialogue with Cuba. What they do with Cuba is tighten the blockade....They want to do nothing less than destroy the Revolution."

Referring to the August 5 battle against the rioters, Castro concluded, "I think that today the people dealt a tremendous politi-

cal counterblow. Our people were fired up, and the enemy knows he's in for a fight. And what a fight it will be!"

In recent weeks, Castro has publicly answered Washington's barrage of lies and slanders, which are part of its war drive against revolutionary Cuba.

#### Washington's campaign of lies

At an August 24 televised press conference, the Cuban president pointed in particular to a July 13 accident in which a hijacked tugboat sank and 32 people drowned. Clinton and other U.S. officials have repeatedly accused Cuban authorities of deliberately sinking it, painting Havana as a brutal regime. In fact, he noted, it was tugboat workers — not Cuban border guards — who pursued their stolen boat, a leaky, overloaded vessel that would have never survived the trip to Florida. It accidentally collided with another tugboat and sank, but the tugboat workers managed to rescue half the passengers. Yet the U.S. authorities and media continue to ignore these publicized facts.

Castro also refuted Washington's lie that Cuba prevents people from leaving the country. For example, last year 146,000 Cubans stated their desire to emigrate and practically all received Cuban authorization. Yet the U.S. government granted less than 2,000 visas. In spite of a 1984 agreement with Cuba allowing 20,000 Cubans a year to receive U.S. entry visas, Washington has granted only 7 percent of that quota over the past eight years.

## from Pathfinder Defend socialism! Defend Cuban revolution!

**25%**

DISCOUNT TO MEMBERS OF THE  
PATHFINDER READERS CLUB



#### Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution

JOSEPH HANSEN

To understand the first socialist revolution in the Americas, Hansen says, "it is not necessary to begin from zero.

The problems presented to Marxist theory by the uniqueness of the events were solved at the time." This compilation, written with polemical clarity as the revolution advanced, presents the conclusions that guide fighters worldwide. \$19.95 (special offer \$14.95)

#### The Second Declaration of Havana

FIDEL CASTRO

In 1962, as the example of Cuba's socialist revolution spread throughout the Americas, the workers and farmers of Cuba issued their call for revolutionary struggle from Tierra del Fuego to the Río Bravo. Booklet. \$3.00 (special offer \$2.25)

#### The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions

JACK BARNES

A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality that will accompany the arrival of the twenty-first century. It shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. \$19.95 (special offer \$14.95)

#### Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today

Cuba Confronts the World Crisis of the '90s  
MARY-ALICE WATERS

Socialism can be built only by free men and women working together to lay the foundations for a new society and transforming themselves in the process. That practical commitment was championed by Ernesto Che Guevara in the early years of the Cuban revolution. It remains central for Cuban working people today. Booklet. \$3.50 (special offer \$2.50)

#### In Defense of Socialism

Four Speeches on the 30th Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution

FIDEL CASTRO

Not only is economic and social progress possible without the dog-eat-dog competition of capitalism, Castro argues, but socialism is the only way forward for humanity. Also discusses Cuba's role in advancing the struggle against the apartheid regime in southern Africa. \$13.95

#### New International No. 8

The Politics of Economics: Che Guevara and Marxist Continuity by Steve Clark and Jack Barnes ♦ Che's Contribution to the Cuban Economy by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez ♦ The Creativity of Che's Economic Thought by Carlos Tablada. \$10.00

#### JOIN THE PATHFINDER READERS CLUB

For a \$10 annual fee you can take advantage of special offers like these and get a 15 percent discount on all other Pathfinder titles.



Available from your local Pathfinder Bookstore, listed on page 12, or write **Pathfinder**, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Fax (212) 717-0150. If ordering by mail, please add \$3 to cover postage and handling for the first book and 50 cents for each additional item.



# Hundreds condemn attacks on Cuba at protests across U.S.

Continued from front page

bers also distributed a press release to reporters from local TV and newspapers, the Associated Press, and USA Today. Brian Adams, coordinator of the coalition, said, "A blockade is an act of war. We call on the American people to express their opposition to any threats by the U.S. government against the Cuban people." Adams denounced the U.S. government's move to cut remittances sent by Cuban-Americans to their families on the island and the halting of all flights to Cuba. "These moves increase the suffering of the people of Cuba. We call for an immediate end to the 32-year-old embargo against Cuba," Adams said.

Built by phone calling the night before, many were happy to hear of the picket line. "I'm so glad someone did something," said one woman who brought her daughter to the protest. A carpenter from Virginia in town for a union convention joined the rally. "This is really good you guys are doing this," he said.

At the rally, Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Washington, D.C., said that the U.S. government's war drive should be taken seriously. Ruby pointed to a column in that day's *Washington Times* by right-wing politician Patrick Buchanan calling on Clinton to consider how many U.S. troops to send into Cuba. "Two hundred thousand? Half a million?... Clinton had best begin thinking about all these questions because, whether he is aware or not, they will be waiting for him at the crossroads toward which his Cuban policy is now headed," Buchanan wrote. Another speaker at the rally disagreed, calling White House chief of staff Leon Panetta's threat of a naval blockade of Cuba "premature."

Organizers urged everyone to attend the upcoming Militant Labor Forum where a representative of the Cuban Interests Section would speak on Saturday and called another picket line for Tuesday, August 30, at 5:00 p.m. in front of the White House.

BY ERNIE MAILHOT

MIAMI — At a well attended news conference called by five Cuban-American groups here August 23, Andrés Gómez, national coordinator of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of Cuban-Americans who support the Cuban revolution, explained the stakes involved in opposing Washington's most recent attacks on Cuba.

"Clinton says the Cuban immigration has to stop. But to do that the U.S. has to do something else. If warships are within distance of the coast, then more Cubans will come out," Gómez said.

"Now what's the next step since this won't work?" he continued. "This policy could eventually lead to war."

The Cuban-American organizations represented at the news event — Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community, Antonio Maceo Brigade, Cuban American Pro-

fessionals and Businessmen, Rescate Cultural AfroCubano, and Cuban American Association — released a statement to the press that Gómez read.

"[We] denounce and condemn President Clinton's decisions which deny refuge to Cubans arriving by sea to Florida's shores, a complete reversal of a 35-year-old policy," the statement said, "and deny the right of Cuban-Americans to visit and aid their families in need in Cuba."

The press release blasted Washington's trade embargo against Cuba.

Virtually every television station in the area, as well as the *Miami Herald*, *Nuevo Herald*, Associated Press, a Mexican television station, and various radio stations, sent reporters to the news conference. But in a conscious decision by the big business media, hardly any coverage of the conference appeared locally. *El Nuevo Herald* carried a couple of paragraphs on the conference while the *Miami Herald* blacked it out entirely. Only one English-language TV station gave it brief coverage.

BY ANDY BUCHANAN

NEW YORK — Chanting "Cuba si, yanqui no; U.S. out of Guantánamo!" 75 people joined a picket line outside the Federal Building in downtown Manhattan August 24. The previous evening supporters of the New York Socialist Workers campaign attended a meeting of the U.S.-Cuba Friendship to announce the picket, which campaign supporters had called as an emergency response to the escalating aggression against Cuba. Many participants at the meeting greeted the proposed action warmly and pledged to attend and spread the word.

Supporters of the socialist campaign were joined in the action by members of the Cuban-American group Casa de las Americas, activists from the U.S.-Cuba Friendship, supporters of the democratic revolution unfolding in South Africa, and others. Many passersby stopped to talk with pickets and to discuss Clinton's moves. Several youth joined the rally on the spot.

Addressing the demonstrators, Luis Miranda, a leader of Casa de las Americas, stated, "This crisis is not caused by immigration. It is caused by the U.S. government's blockade and their aggressive policy towards Cuba. They bombard Cuban people with propaganda encouraging them to leave — and then they deny them visas."

Naomi Craine, a leader of the Young Socialists and Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate in New York, also spoke. She hailed the action as "the first public protest in New York against the stepped-up aggression towards Cuba." Craine said that this would be the first of many actions protesting the U.S. government's aggression, and she called on working people in this country "to stand with working people who are demonstrating in Cuba in defense of their revolution."

situation, "is something like our strike. The railroad hammers us for six and a half years without a wage increase, has fake negotiations for four years, forces us out on strike, and then blames us when the grain doesn't get shipped."

Another senior worker told me how he'd always wanted to visit Cuba. "You know," he said, "the Republicans were always looking for enemies to justify military spending. Russia, China, Cuba. But you know something, I like Fidel Castro. I like how he threw those right-wing Republicans out of Cuba to Miami. And I think he stands up for his people, and that's not a bad thing."



Militant  
"A blockade is an act of war," declared Hands Off Cuba Coalition coordinator Brian Adams at protest outside the White House in Washington, D.C., August 24.

A camera crew from Channel 4 TV News filmed the picket. Two reporters from WBAI radio set up an interview with Craine for Sunday morning, August 28.

Earlier in the week, SWP candidates spoke out against the U.S. drive against Cuba at a press conference called on the day that the candidates filed 21,953 signatures to secure a ballot slot in the November general election. Journalists, including a camera crew from the magazine *Inside Albany*, conducted an hour-long question and answer session with SWP gubernatorial candidate Larry Lane and his running mates Brock Satter and Nancy Rosenstock, who are seeking the posts of comptroller, and attorney general respectively.

The *Schenectady Gazette* and the *Albany Times Union* both ran articles on the socialist campaign on the front pages of their "Local News" sections. Both papers included reports on the candidates' position opposing the embargo against Cuba. The *Times Union* quoted Lane calling Cuba "a country with the only leadership...anywhere in the world that defends the interests of the working class."

BY KAREN RAY

BOSTON — Some 20 opponents of the U.S. war drive against Cuba leafleted downtown Boston on August 24. Carrying signs that read "U.S. Hands Off Cuba! End the Embargo," "Cuba Si, Bloqueo No," and "U.S. Out of Guantánamo," activists passed out dozens of fliers announcing a picket line for Friday afternoon August 26 to protest the latest war moves against Cuba.

## 'Tell truth about Cuban revolution'

Continued from front page

cessive U.S. governments. This book is a weapon in the hands of trade unionists, farmers, and young people who want to counter Washington's lies.

Given the events of the past two weeks, more discussions about Cuba than in a long time are already taking place among workers in the factories, mines, and mills. Washington's propaganda against Cuba does not stand on its own two feet. But it is shouted over the airwaves so frequently that it appears solid to millions of working people.

However, the space exists to debate the U.S. government's belligerent actions against Cuba and the meaning of the Cuban revolution for working people. Trade unionists especially, who are going through their own fights today against the same employing class that is attacking Cuba, need political weapons like *To Speak the Truth* to arm themselves against Washington's disinformation barrage, which is aimed at setting the stage for war.

*To Speak the Truth* needs to be read and

The July 26 Coalition, a group opposed to government policy against Cuba, organized the leafleting effort as part of their emergency response to the U.S. government's provocations.

Many people stopped at the literature table to get more information on what was happening in Cuba. Two young women from Mexico said they didn't understand what was causing a massive exodus from Cuba but that "the U.S. should not invade." Most people took the fliers. Several passersby, however, heckled the activists and voiced support for the administration's war moves.

BY CAPPY KIDD

CHICAGO — On one day's notice, some 30 people turned out for an early evening picket line at Chicago's Federal Plaza to protest U.S. threats against the Cuban revolution. Spearheaded by the Illinois Socialist Workers campaign, participants joined the action from the Chicago Cuban Coalition, the Young Socialists, and other groups responding to an emergency call for actions. The spirited group carried signs saying, "US Hands Off Cuba," "End the U.S. Embargo," and "Give Guantánamo Back to Cuba."

The picket line received wide news coverage from Fox network TV channel 32 and one of the major Spanish-language stations, channel 26. In response to a press release, organizers received calls from the City News bureau, as well as the radio station in Peoria, Illinois, where the national strike by thousands of Caterpillar workers is centered.

distributed widely. Communist workers in the United States and other countries will be setting goals for how many they can sell to fellow workers on the job. Young socialists will be campaigning with the book as campuses and high schools open this fall. Many working-class fighters who pick up the book, read it, and realize its value will be convinced of the importance of getting it around to coworkers and friends.

Pathfinder is making a special offer of \$12 per copy of *To Speak the Truth* from now to the end of September — 30 percent off the regular cover price. In addition, a copy of the book along with a subscription to the *Militant* will cost only \$20.

Together with the *Militant's* weekly coverage of what is happening in Cuba and what unionists and rebel youth in this country are doing to counter the Clinton administration's war drive, the broad array of Pathfinder books advertised in the *Militant* (see page 9) will give working-class fighters the ammunition they need to be effective in the fight against imperialist war.

## Striking rail workers debate Cuba

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — Virtually every day on picket duty, since the Cuba crisis began, fellow strikers from the Soo Line railroad have asked my opinion of events there. Many of them know I visited Cuba in June, or they have read the coverage in the *Militant*. The strike, now in its sixth week, involves 1,100 members of the United Transportation Union in 11 midwestern states.

While most workers say they don't like the immigration flow, or think Fidel Castro is a dictator, several express opposition to U.S. policy. One veteran switchman explained that he thought the



# Eugene Debs: two classes are at war

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

"One class now owns the tools while another class uses them. One class is small and rich and the other large and poor. One wants more profit and the other more wages. One consists of capitalists and the other of workers. These two classes are at war. Every day of truce is at the expense of labor. There can be no peace and good will between these two essentially antagonistic economic classes. Nor can this class conflict be covered up or smothered over."

These words of Eugene Debs, pioneer socialist agitator and labor leader who was jailed for opposing World War I, sound as true today as when he spoke them at the turn of the century.

They are a fitting tribute to the centennial of the Pullman railroad strike of 1894. Debs, a central leader of that strike, was imprisoned for his role in that battle and spent six months in jail.

Debs, originally from Terre Haute, Indiana, worked as a fireman for the Vandalia line from age 15 to 19. The hazardous working conditions of the railroads made a lasting impression on him. From 1874 on Debs worked tirelessly, first to build the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, then to try to build a federation of railroad unions, and finally to build the socialist movement.

Beginning in 1892-93 the economy in the United States had slipped into a depression. Railroad bankruptcies became frequent. "Factories closed," wrote Ray Ginger, Debs's biographer. "Families were evicted from their homes. Mothers plundered garbage cans in their search for food.... Highways and city streets were clogged with wandering, homeless, barefoot men."

Debs and other railroad union leaders responded with the formation of the American Railway Union (ARU), open to workers from all the crafts. But in a deadly concession to the racism of the period, Blacks were excluded. Debs later said of this disastrous policy, "The leaders of the opposition [to membership for Blacks] proved subsequently to have been traitors to the union, sent to the convention, doubtless, at the instigation of the corporations to defeat the unity of the working class."

The top leaders of the railroad craft unions fiercely opposed the ARU.

The first test of the ARU was a strike against the Great Northern railroad owned by James Hill. The union emerged victorious in that battle, which was the only im-

portant industrial strike won in that period. A short time later the ARU became deadlocked in one of the most bitter fights ever against the owners of a U.S. corporation: the Pullman strike of 1894.

Like most workers in those days, the workers at George Pullman's sleeping-car company were faced with sharp wage cutbacks and layoffs. In addition, Pullman, Illinois, was a company town. The jobless and poverty-stricken workers had to continue paying rent to the company for their houses, which forced them deeper into debt to the boss.

In May 1894, the workers went on strike

it the ARU itself.

A federal judge put Debs in jail in Woodstock, Illinois, for violating an injunction. But in their actions, the capitalist rulers made a great, if unintended, contribution to the launching of the socialist movement in the United States. In prison, Debs began to study socialism. Later on he helped form the Socialist Party and campaigned until his death in 1926 for the overthrow of capitalism.

As part of drawing the lessons from this great chapter of the history of the labor movement, we reprint below excerpts from a speech Debs delivered Nov. 23, 1895, in



Eugene Debs worked tirelessly to build the railroad unions. While in prison, Debs studied socialism and helped launch the socialist movement in the United States.

and called on the ARU for help. The militant workers of the new industrial union organized a national boycott of trains carrying Pullman cars.

The U.S. rulers responded with fury. In Chicago, where the ARU had its headquarters, big-business newspapers lied about and blasted Debs and other leaders of the boycott day in and day out. Court injunctions were used for the first time in a major way to punish supporters of the Pullman strike. Grover Cleveland, the Democratic president for whom Debs had campaigned earlier, sent the army into Chicago to defeat the strike. The employers and the government were eventually successful in crushing the Pullman strike and along with

Terre Haute the day after his release from jail. The entire speech, titled "The Role of the Courts," can be found in Pathfinder's book *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*. Copyright © Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

\* \* \*

## BY EUGENE DEBS

In our cases at Chicago an injunction was issued at a time when the American Railway Union had its great struggle for human rights and they were triumphant in restraining myself and colleagues from doing what we never intended to do and never did do; and then we were put in jail for not doing it.

When that injunction was served on me,

## Piled up grievances spark walkout by UAW members at Indiana parts plant

BY JOHN SARGE

DETROIT — Nearly 3,300 members of United Auto Workers Local 633 walked out of the General Motors Inland-Fisher Guide plant in Anderson, Indiana, August

23. The workers produce lighting and bumper parts for GM and other automakers.

The strike was sparked by grievances that have piled up since January, when the

union signed its local agreement with GM. The central issues are work loads, job assignments, and plant safety. One worker was killed in the Anderson plant last year and another seriously injured in July.

GM has announced plans to lay off thousands of auto workers, close plants, and sell off less profitable units. A central target of this drive is workers in GM parts plants, which the company claims are inefficient.

The auto maker wants to slash the percentage of parts that it builds in-house, hoping to lower its costs and increase its profit rate. GM, which manufactures nearly 70 percent of its own parts, while Ford builds 50 percent and Chrysler only 30 percent, wants to shift production to other companies that are either nonunion or if unionized pay much less.

The unionists in Anderson are in a strong position to win their fight. This strike threatens to cripple GM's assembly plants as they pump out the first of the 1995 models. The workers in this factory supply lighting components for almost all GM cars and trucks.

With the just-in-time inventory system maintained by all automakers, assembly plants have very limited supplies of parts. As of Thursday morning, August 25, just two days into the Anderson strike, the Cadillac assembly plant in Detroit had to close due to parts shortages. Other assembly plants will quickly follow.

John Sarge is a member of UAW Local 900 at Ford in Wayne, Michigan.



Militant/Stu Singer

At a mass picket on August 25, some 500 strikers from Caterpillar and A.E. Staley joined forces with United Rubber Workers members to stop Bridgestone Firestone from herding strikebreakers into its tire plant in Decatur, Illinois.

to show that I acted in good faith, I went to two of the best constitutional lawyers in the city of Chicago and said, "What rights, if any, have I under this injunction? I am a law abiding citizen; I want to do what is right. I want you to examine this injunction and then advise me what to do."

They examined the injunction. They said, "Proceed just as you have been doing. You are not committing any violence; you are not advising violence, but you are trying to do everything in your power to restrain men from the commission of crime or violating the law." I followed their advice and got six months for it. [Laughter and applause]....

Now what is an injunction? It has all of the force and vital effect of a law, but it is not a law in and by the representatives of the people; it is not a law signed by a President or by a governor. It is simply the wish and will of the judge. A judge issues an injunction; serves it upon his intended victim. The next day he is arrested. He is brought into the presence of the same judge. Sentence is pronounced upon him by the same judge, who constitutes the judge and court and jury and he goes to jail and he has no right of appeal. Under this injunctive process the plain provisions of the Constitution have been disregarded. The right of trial by jury has been abrogated, and this at the behest of the money power of the country.

What is the effect upon the workingmen and especially railway employees to bind them to their task? The government goes into partnership with a corporation. The workingmen are intimidated; if there is a reduction of wages they submit; if unjust conditions are imposed they are silent. And what is the tendency? To demoralize, to degrade workingmen until they have reached the very deadline of degradation.

And how does it happen and why does it happen that corporations are never restrained? Are they absolutely law abiding? Are they always right? Do they never transgress the law or is it because the federal judges are their creatures? Certain it is that the united voice of labor in this country would be insufficient to name a federal judge. If all the common people united and asked for the appointment of a federal judge their voice would not be heeded any more than if it were the chirp of a cricket. Money talks. Yes, money talks. And I have no hesitancy in declaring that money has even invaded, or the influence, that power conferred by money, has invaded the Supreme Court and left that august tribunal reeking with more stench than Coleridge discovered in Cologne and left all the people wondering how it was ever to be deodorized.

There is something wrong in this country; the judicial nets are so adjusted as to catch the minnows and let the whales slip through and the federal judge is as far removed from the common people as if he inhabited another planet. As Boyle O'Reilly would say:

His pulse, if you felt it, throbbed apart.

From the throbbing pulse of the people's heart.

from Pathfinder

## EUGENE V. DEBS SPEAKS



The pioneer socialist agitator and labor leader, jailed for opposing Washington's imperialist aims in World War I, speaks out on capitalism and socialism, anti-immigrant chauvinism, use of the courts for union busting, Rockefeller's massacre of striking miners at Ludlow, Colorado, and more. \$19.95

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.



# Rail workers strike CP-Soo

Continued from page 16  
Soo Line Railroad."

McLaughlin's declaration climaxed the BLE chief's demand that the UTU cease raising "bargaining issues," which supposedly "infringe upon our union's rights." But in an August 19 letter, McLaughlin stated the real reason for the blackmail. He urged engineers to cross picket lines "to protect their craft."

Pitting craft against craft has been at the heart of the rail bosses divide-and-rule strategy for generations, as competing bureaucrats scramble and squabble over crumbs from the carriers' table to protect smaller and smaller layers of relatively privileged workers, as well as their own, personal fiefdoms.

"Certainly [for] everybody who comes back," CP spokesman John Bergene stated, affirming this time honored railroad tradition, "we'll find a place for them to perform as a locomotive engineer."

## 'We're battling for our future'

"We work for the same company on the same trains," St. Paul BLE engineer Randy Ford noted on the picket line. "We work together, we're friends. We're battling for our future. Everybody I know thinks this is crazy." The BLE's contract with the CP expires Jan. 1, 1995.

UTU engineer's assistant general chairman Bob Richardson canvassed BLE engineers here, finding "not a single engineer who supports this. They don't want to scab on our strike. They can't believe that just when we go into negotiations, [McLaughlin] drops this bomb."

Engineers represented by the BLE here voted unanimously on August 22 to continue honoring UTU picket lines. Reports to UTU strike headquarters here indicated a similar response from BLE locals from North Dakota to Indiana.

Half of Chicago's CP engineers are in the UTU, and the remainder in the BLE. No BLE members have followed the counsel of their main officials to break ranks.

In a discussion period following speeches at an August 21 UTU labor solidarity rally and picnic attended by 175 strikers, spouses and children, along with other unionists, in Thief River Falls, Minnesota, 75 miles from the Canadian border, UTU Local 1882 road chairman Marc Lambert from Twin Cities responded to a question about the McLaughlin letter.

He urged continued BLE solidarity with the strike. "We get a lot of support from the membership of the BLE," he said, "and we know that if we stay united we can stand up to the CP. In my opinion, you get nothing when you're in bed with the company."

The event drew nine strikers and spouses from Minneapolis and St. Paul, nearly 300 miles south, and two CP workers from Winnipeg, Manitoba, 250 miles north in Canada.

The unionists from Canada had extensive discussions with Soo Line strikers, who were hungry for information about conditions on the CP north of the border.

"The truth is, we knew very little about the [Soo Line] strike," Barry Domino, local chairman of UTU Local 351 explained over a picnic table to several strikers. "Nobody told us what was going on. We had small pieces of information."

The contract covering 10,000 Canadian UTU members expired January 1, 1994, Domino said. "We're still trying to get an agreement. The carrier wants to reduce the crew to conductor-only in the yard. And they already have what amounts to part-time workers — seasonal switchmen."

"Prejudices based on where you live shouldn't get in the way of understanding what we have in common," Stephen Denning, Local 351's secretary-treasurer explained. The CP is all one company," the switchman said, "and we're all UTU members. When the strike began, they told us we had to take trains across the border. We thought, 'we're going against our brothers' picket line. Now, we don't do that work.'"

Jon Hillson, a member of UTU Local 1882, is on strike in St. Paul, Minnesota, against the Canadian Pacific railroad. Mark Burrows, a CP engineer in Chicago and a member of UTU Local 1433, contributed to this article.

## MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

# U.S. OUT OF GUANTÁNAMO NOW! STOP THE WAR DRIVE AGAINST CUBA!

Find out the truth about the Cuban revolution

## CALIFORNIA

### Los Angeles

Speaker: Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 2785. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W Pico Blvd., (2 blocks west of Vermont). Donation \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

### San Francisco

Panel of speakers. Sat., Aug. 27, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (at Mission St.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (415) 282-6255

## GEORGIA

### Atlanta

Speaker: Bob Braxton, Socialist Workers Party 1993 candidate for mayor of Atlanta, member, United Auto Workers Local 882. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 803 Peachtree Street (near 5th on Peachtree). Donation \$3. Tel: (404) 724-9759.

## ILLINOIS

### Chicago

Speakers: Gisela López, Alliance of Cuban Workers; Brian Pugh, Young Socialists National Committee; others to be announced. Sat., Aug. 27, 5 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

## MASSACHUSETTS

### Boston

Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party; others to be announced. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

## MICHIGAN

### Detroit

Speakers: Nathan Head, member, United Auto Workers; Mark Gilsdorf, Young Socialists. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 7414 Woodward. Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

## MINNESOTA

### St. Paul

Speakers: Lisa Rottach, Student Political Organizing Committee, just returned from six-week visit to Cuba; Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 15199. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University (at Route 280 intersection). Donation \$3. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

## NEW JERSEY

### Newark

Speakers: Steve Marshall, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, 13th C.D., member, United Transportation Union; representative, Young Socialists. Video of excerpts from Fidel Castro's response to Washington's provocations. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd Floor (at Raymond Blvd.). Donation \$4. Tel: (201) 485-5151.

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

Speakers: Jack Willey, member, Young Social-

ists National Committee, recently visited Cuba as part of the Freedom to Travel Challenge; others to be announced. Sun., Aug. 28, 4 p.m. 214 Avenue A (between 13th and 14th Streets). Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (212) 388-9346.

## NORTH CAROLINA

### Greensboro

Speakers: Tim McDowell; Working Group on Cuba; Merelyn McKnight, Rural Southern Voices for Peace; Susan Skinner, Socialist Workers candidate for congress, member, United Transportation Union. Sun., Aug. 28, 6 p.m. 2000-C South Elm-Eugene St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (910) 272-5996

## OHIO

### Cleveland

Speakers: Absalom Mutere, assistant professor at Hiram College, Department of Communications; Roni McCann, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 9126. University Circle Arabica, (upstairs), 10300 Juniper Rd.. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

## PENNSYLVANIA

### Philadelphia

Speakers: Representative, Cuba Support Coalition; Wendy Lyons, Socialist Workers Campaign, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sun., Aug. 28, 7:30 p.m. 1906 South Street. Donation \$3. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

### Pittsburgh

Speakers: Lisa Valanti, Pittsburgh Cuba Coalition; José Moreno, University of Pittsburgh professor; Malcolm Jarrett, Young Socialists; and John Cox, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Aug. 27, 7 p.m. 4905 Penn Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

## TEXAS

### Houston

Speaker: Al Budka, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway #250. Donation \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (713) 664-0524

## UTAH

### Salt Lake City

Speakers: Al Campbell, member, U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment, professor at University of Utah; Archie Archuleta, Chicano activist; Bob Goff, member, Pastors for Peace and participant in recent U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment Caravan; Tami Petersen, Young Socialists; Dan Fein, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Aug. 27, 7 p.m. Dinner at 6 p.m. 147 E. 900 South. Donation: program \$3, dinner \$5. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

## WASHINGTON

### Seattle

Speakers: Colleen Levis, participant in Canada-Cuba work brigade, just returned from Cuba,

August 20; Martha Baskin, Cuba solidarity activist; free lance journalist; Marisela Fleites-Lear, Cuban, instructor at University of Puget Sound; Chris Hoepfner, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 289, participant in recent Freedom to Travel Challenge trip to Cuba. Sun., Aug. 28, 3 p.m. 1405 E. Madison. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

Speakers: Representative, Cuban Interest Section; Brian Adams, D.C. "Hands Off Cuba" Coalition; Aaron Ruby, Socialist Workers candidate for D.C. mayor. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 1802 Belmont Rd., NW. Donation \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

## BRITAIN

### London

Speakers: Chris Morris, Communist League, member, AEEU, just returned from Cuba. Sat., Sept. 3, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut, (nearest tube Waterloo). Donation £2. Tel: 071 401 2409.

### Manchester

Speakers: Chris Morris, recently returned from Cuba; others to be announced. Sat., Sept. 10, 6 p.m. First Floor, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839-1766.

## CANADA

### Montreal

Speakers: Guy Tremblay, Communist League candidate in Quebec provincial elections, just returned from Cuba as a participant in the Cuba Brigade 1994; others to be announced. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 4581 St-Denis (metro Mont Royal). Donation \$4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

### Vancouver

Speaker: Colleen Levis, Communist League, just returned from Cuba as a participant in the Cuba Brigade 1994.. Sat., Aug. 27, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

# CALENDAR

## NEW YORK

### Manhattan

Hear a Report from an International Gathering of Young Socialists. Young Socialists is a recently formed nationwide revolutionary socialist youth organization. Sun., Aug. 28, 2 p.m. Pathfinder Bookstore, 214-16 Avenue A (between 13th and 14th Streets). For more information, call (718) 399-7019.

## WASHINGTON, D.C.

Picket Line to Protest U.S. Moves Against Cuba. Front of the White House. Tue., Aug. 30, 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. Called by the D.C. "Hands Off Cuba" Coalition. For more information, call (202) 234-2000.

# IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find Pathfinder books and distributors of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, *New International*, *Nouvelle Internationale*, and *Nueva Internacional*.

## UNITED STATES

**ALABAMA:** Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

**CALIFORNIA:** Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. San Francisco: 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

**CONNECTICUT:** New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516. Tel: (203) 688-5418.

**FLORIDA:** Miami: 137 N.E. 54th St. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

**GEORGIA:** Atlanta: 803 Peachtree NE. Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 724-9759.

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018.

**IOWA:** Des Moines: 2105 Forest Ave. Zip: 50311. Tel: (515) 246-8249.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** Boston: 780 Tremont St. Zip: 02118. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

**MINNESOTA:** Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** St. Louis: 1622 S. Broadway. Zip: 63104. Tel: (314) 421-3808.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: 141 Halsey. Mailing address: 1188 Raymond Blvd., Suite 222. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

**NEW YORK:** Albany: P. O. Box 2357, E.S.P. Zip: 12220 Tel: (518) 465-0585. Brooklyn: 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217 Tel: (718) 399-7257; New York: 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 388-9346; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

**NORTH CAROLINA:** Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 221-2691. Cleveland: 1855 Prospect. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

**Pittsburgh:** 4905 Penn Ave. Zip 15224. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

**TEXAS:** Houston: 6969 Gulf Freeway, Suite 250. Zip: 77087. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

**UTAH:** Salt Lake City: 147 E. 900 S. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** 1802 Belmont Rd. N.W. Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip: 26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

## AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010.

Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297.

## BRITAIN

**London:** 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 071-928-7993.

**Manchester:** Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 061-839-1766.

**Sheffield:** 1 Gower St., Spital Hill, Postal code: S47HA. Tel: 0742-765070.

## CANADA

**Montreal:** 4581 Saint-Denis. Postal code: H2J 2L4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

**Toronto:** 827 Bloor St. West. Postal code: M6G 1M1. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

**Vancouver:** 3967 Main St. Postal code: V5V 3P3. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

## FRANCE

**Paris:** 8, allée Berlioz 94800 Villejuif Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21

## ICELAND

**Reykjavik:** Klappargstíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: (91) 17513.

## NEW ZEALAND

**Auckland:** La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Postal Address: P.O. Box 3025. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

**Christchurch:** 199 High St. Postal address: P.O. Box 22-530. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

## SWEDEN

**Stockholm:** Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33.



**They're still working?** — United Airlines, now assertedly owned by its employees, has a new message telling callers on hold that "one of the new owners will be



Harry Ring

with you shortly."

**Tell it to the pickets** — The August 1 San Juan, Puerto Rico, *Star* ran a Caterpillar handout that says the company wants to get the public to realize mechanics aren't

just "grease monkeys," but highly skilled workers with a grasp of computers, electronics, etc. (It also asserts they make "big bucks.") It doesn't explain why, if Cat loves mechanics, they forced them out on strike.

**Would fit nicely in Clinton's crime bill** — Five Florida county jails have eliminated inmate TV and two others have restricted viewing. Said one public relations cop: "Knowing there's no television here, maybe they'll think twice before committing a crime." Adds another: "The sheriff felt this should be a jail, and this is no place for people to come and watch TV."

**Not till the last drop of blood**

**is sucked** — In the second quarter of this year, GM and Ford broke all profit records (GM, \$1.9 billion; Ford, \$1.7 billion). Declared a Ford honcho: "It isn't good enough." Echoed a GM counterpart: "Not as good as we wanted."

**May he rest in hell** — Increasing evidence is being offered that a workplace nap increases productivity. Not many bosses are impressed. Like, Action Products Int'l prez Ron Kaplan: "Rest? Hell no. Rest in front of me for 15 minutes and see what happens."

**Act now!** — St. Michael's, a New York-area cemetery, has a \$1,000-off coupon on a "Com-

panion Crypt for two." (Singles, \$500.) One murky point, the coupon "entitles bearer" to the discount. Does that mean one of the departed must be clutching it firmly in hand? Or can it simply be taped to the coffin?

**Gay bashing — who profits?** — A University of Maryland study confirmed that the persistently promoted notion of a "gay elite" is a myth. The study found that gay men earn 11 to 27 percent less than similarly job-situated heterosexual males. For lesbians, the gap is 5 to 14 percent.

**Welcome to the Third World** — "IMF report urges federal sales tax: The International Monetary

Fund's annual report says the United States should consider the tax to reduce its budget deficit." — News brief.

**Note to Young Socialists** — In good part, the material in this column is based on clippings sent in by readers. Items pointing out the injustice and/or insanity of this system are greatly appreciated. Meanwhile, welcome aboard.

**Oops** — We almost forgot: Clippings, including name and date of publication in which they appeared, should be sent to Great Society c/o Pathfinder Bookstore, 2546 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90006. Fax: (213) 380-1268.

## The role of federal troops in the civil rights fight

Reprinted below are excerpts from an article by Joseph Hansen titled "Should federal troops be used in Boston?" It first appeared in the Nov. 25, 1974, issue of *Intercontinental Press* during a massive struggle to desegregate the Boston public schools.

The entire article can be found in the *Education for Socialists* bulletin, "From Mississippi to Boston: The demand for troops to enforce civil rights." Copyright © Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY JOSEPH HANSEN

The problem of mobilizing an effective mass defense against the lynch-minded mobs that have resorted to violence in the streets of Boston to put a stop to busing of Black schoolchildren has touched off a debate in the American radical movement. Although other questions are involved, the debate has centered on the question, "Is it principled for revolutionary socialists to support a demand that the laws concerning desegregation be enforced against racist mobs even if this requires the use of federal troops?"...

First of all, let us consider the experience of the American working class. This goes back to at least 1877 when President Rutherford B. Hayes used federal troops as one of the means to break a widespread railroad strike.

President Grover Cleveland's use of federal troops in 1894 against a nationwide railroad strike and boycott of the Pullman Palace Car Company had profound consequences in the American labor movement....

During World War II, the workers gained further experience along the same lines when Franklin Delano Roosevelt sought in 1943 to crush a strike of the coal miners by ordering government seizure of the mines. In a bitter, protracted struggle in which the fate of the union — and the whole American labor movement — was at stake, the "President and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy" threatened to call out the troops.

The response of the miners became a saying among American workers: "You can't dig coal with bayonets."

Again, during the great upsurge of 1946, Truman toyed with the strategy of using

troops to stem the strike wave. He met with the same kind of response from the workers as Roosevelt had received.

The experience gained by the American workers with respect to the use, or threat of use, of federal troops to break strikes is a precious asset in the class struggle. Revolutionary socialists are duty bound to keep this historic memory fresh and alive. It involves nothing less than a correct, if only rough, insight into the nature of the capitalist state and whose interests it fundamentally represents.

Unfortunately for those who find it difficult to get beyond ABC in learning the political alphabet, this does not end the matter. Experience happens to be contradictory in this case as in so many others.

Following the Civil War, federal troops were used for a number of years in the South to safeguard the civil rights of the Blacks. The troops were kept there, in fact, until President Hayes withdrew them as part of the "Compromise of 1877," the reactionary secret deal in which the Northern capitalists handed back rule of the Southern states to the Bourbons. Hayes could be said to have followed the slogan, "Withdraw the troops from the South; use them against the strikers in the North."

The favorable experience of the use of federal troops to uphold civil rights in the South in the aftermath of the Civil War constitutes part of the historic memory of the oppressed in the United States. Some important events in the past two decades have freshened that memory.

One was Eisenhower's decision in September 1957 to send federal troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, where they defended Black schoolchildren against the lynch-minded mobs and state troopers ("National Guard") that had been mobilized by the reactionary Governor Orval Faubus. The use of federal troops in Little Rock gave great impetus to the Black liberation struggle.

Another was Johnson's deployment of federal troops in Selma, Alabama, in March 1965 to protect civil-rights demonstrators against the attack of state troopers, local police, and mobsters. The action represented a severe defeat for the segregationists throughout the country....

The differences between the federal and state authorities were of course only tacti-



Federal troops escort students into Little Rock, Arkansas, high school in 1957.

cal.... [T]hey were nonetheless real and the outcome was the Little Rock and Selma victories....

Obviously at the core of the appeal for federal troops is to be found a correct, if only rough, grasp of the fact that the civil rights of oppressed minorities in the United States cannot be assured without the application of force on a scale demanding an army — or its equivalent....

The main features in the swiftly developing crisis in Boston were the lack of preparedness of the Black community and the

interrelated lack of adequate leadership. The key problem, then, was to overcome these lacks. What course was required to accomplish this?...

The [Socialist Workers Party] set to work to help those currents in the Black community that sought to mobilize mass forces. In the beginning only small and insufficient actions could be undertaken, but no other road offered any promise of leading to effective defense measures against the racists.

In the Black community itself, sentiment was strong for the use of federal troops. The fact that this sentiment was voiced by leaders enmeshed in the politics of the two-party system might appear to offer grounds for discounting it. The sentiment, in fact, did stem in part from illusions in the federal government. But it also reflected knowledge among the Black masses of how quickly white racists can calm down when faced with bayonets.

To have disregarded this sentiment would have meant refusal to take advantage of a big opening....

With such considerations in mind, the SWP found no difficulty in correctly applying revolutionary-socialist principles in the Boston situation. The SWP's central aim was to get mass action going. Through this a strong base could be formed for self-defense. Support for the demand of the Black community that federal troops be sent in to enforce civil rights came within this context....

## —25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



The courageous refusal of a battle-shattered company of GIs to carry out fruitless and unreasonable orders is heartening news to the antiwar movement. It is an ominous portent to the U.S. government. When the ranks of any army begin to question battle orders, that army is in trouble.

According to AP reporters Horst Faas and Peter Arnett, 'A' Company of the 196th Light Infantry Brigade's 3rd Battalion had obeyed orders for five days to move "down the jungled rocky slope of Nui Lon Mountain into a deadly labyrinth of North Vietnamese bunkers and trench lines." On the sixth day they said no. The aim of the entire mission was to reach a downed helicopter whose crew and passengers, everyone realized, were dead.

The lieutenant who had given 'A' Company the command it rejected told his commanding officer, "I think they understand [what it means to disobey orders under fire] but some of them simply had enough — they are broken. There are boys here who have only 90 days left in Vietnam. They want to go home in one piece. The situation is psychic here."

Finally, Faas and Arnett report, a bald-face lie by a "quick-tempered" sergeant, flown in from the battalion base across the valley, moved 'A' Company into action.



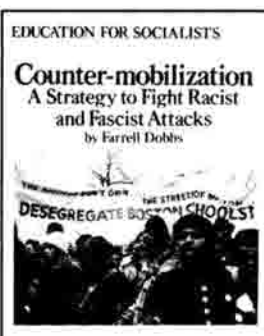
September 2, 1944

Pressed by the masses of war-weary Rumanian workers and peasants, the monarchist-capitalist-landlord gang in this Balkan country has thrown the dictatorial regime of Gen. Ion Antonescu into the discard and set up a new government. Its first steps have been to repudiate the alliance with the Axis, accept the Allied terms of "unconditional surrender," and proclaim Rumania's adherence to the camp of Anglo-American imperialism.

In the initial reports three facts indicate the tremendous mass pressure to which the ruling junta in Bucharest was being subjected. In his proclamation of August 23, announcing Rumania's unconditional surrender to the Allies and the Soviet Union, King Michael was obliged to declare: "Rumanians — the dictatorship has ended!" The first two decrees of the new government proclaimed an "amnesty for all political crimes since 1918, except certain cases such as assassinations" and "the closure of all concentration camps and the restoration of full liberty of the internees."

While compelled to take these steps, the Rumanian ruling clique has not, in reality, relinquished its dictatorship. The new government has proclaimed a state of siege over the entire country and instituted a rigid curfew. This state of martial law is directed against the masses who desire to get out of the war and settle scores with their age-old exploiters and oppressors.

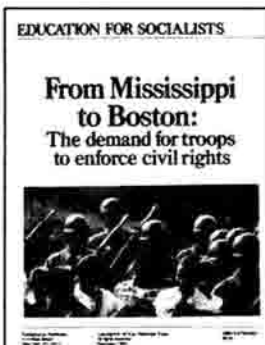
### for FURTHER READING . . .



**Counter-Mobilization**  
A Strategy to Fight Racist and Fascist Attacks  
by FARRELL DOBBS

Education for Socialists  
booklet \$5

**From Mississippi to Boston**  
The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights  
Education for Socialists  
booklet \$6



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 for the first book and 50 cents for each additional item.



# Socialists: U.S. out of Guantánamo!

Continued from page 8

working to multiply today. Clinton's August 20 announcement of increased broadcasts by the provocatively misnamed Radio and TV Martí are another front in this reactionary effort.

In the most serious provocation so far, Washington is taking advantage of its forcible occupation of Cuba's Guantánamo Bay area by detaining thousands of Cubans in Camp Bulkeley there, right across the heavily mined border with the Republic of Cuba. By August 24 the Pentagon was announcing plans to create facilities to house more than 60,000 Cubans on the U.S. base, in addition to the 15,000 Haitian refugees already held at another camp in the naval station. These government figures have been upped once or twice a day for nearly a week.

As a report over Havana's Radio Rebelde aptly stated, Cubans brought to Guantánamo by the U.S. Navy "could be used for acts of provocation or as cannon fodder" in the event of a U.S. armed attack.

As if scripting a scenario for such a provocation, both Defense Secretary William Perry and Under Secretary of State Peter Tarnoff made separate statements August 24 warning that the U.S. government would regard as "an unfriendly act" — both used precisely the same words — any move by the Cuban government to open its gates and permit Cubans to enter the base over land. Washington "would take appropriate actions" in such an event, Perry said. Thus the stage is set to hold Havana accountable for any incident along the border of Guantánamo — either efforts by Cuban authorities to stop, or not to stop, any rush by Cubans to reach the base.

This is the purpose to which Washington has always intended to put this military base on 45 square miles of soil stolen from the Cuban people. It has been held against their will ever since 1898, when U.S. troops invaded Cuba to prevent independence fighters on the verge of defeating Spanish colonialism from taking control of their country.

Having signed gentlemen's agreements with subservient local exploiters put into office by Washington, every U.S. administration for nearly a century has claimed it holds this piece of Cuban territory "in perpetuity." But these "contracts" are the moral equivalent of bonded labor, of slave labor, which were also sanctioned by bourgeois legality until overthrown by revolutionary class struggle in the last century.

The U.S. government still holds colonies in Puerto Rico and several Pacific islands, but nowhere else in the world today does it continue to claim that a piece of another sovereign country belongs to the Empire forever. It has even been forced to sign an agreement with Panama pledging to return the Canal Zone at the end of this century.

But not a single U.S. administration or leading figure in either the Democratic or Republican parties has ever even let slip a whisper about withdrawing from Guantánamo. And for one and only one reason. Because it is their permanent beachhead against the socialist revolution in Cuba.

## What Washington hates about Cuba

Why this implacable hostility? Why this refusal to budge from this occupation of Cuban soil? Why this unremitting economic pressure without parallel in modern times?

The victory of the Cuban working people against the U.S.-backed tyranny of Fulgencio Batista in 1959 brought the opening of the socialist revolution in the Americas.

The new revolutionary government — led by Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara among others — mobilized urban and rural toilers to carry out a land reform, to organize a literacy campaign in order to draw more and more working people into political and social life, and to implement other measures against U.S. imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

As Washington stepped up its hostile actions against the workers and farmers government in Cuba, the revolutionary leadership organized working people in late 1960 to expropriate the domestic and U.S.-owned capital that formed the foundations of the old exploitative social system.

From the earliest days of the revolution, Cuban communists recognized and acted on the scientific truth that the advance and defense of the revolution are indissolubly bound together with the impetus of revolutionary struggles around the world. Ever since, the Cuban revolution has stood as a beacon — as an example of a socialist revolution with an internationalist leadership — to millions of exploited toilers and revolutionary-minded youth throughout Latin America and the world.

This is the source of Wall Street's determination to overthrow the government in Havana.

Many capitalist politicians and pundits claim that what is unfolding in Cuba today is a rerun of the events that led to the collapse of the hated Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union. But those regimes, which falsely spoke in the name of communism, were in fact based on a privileged middle-class social caste whose members had usurped the political power of workers and working farmers. The governments that acted on behalf of these social layers organized the armed forces, police, and other institutions to silence and

marginalize working people — by political corruption and demobilization where possible, by intimidation and murderous violence where necessary.

This is not the case in Cuba. The Communist Party of Cuba remains the only leadership holding state power anywhere in the world that defends the interests of the working class, seeks to advance the struggle against imperialist domination the world over, and explains the horrible consequences of a reintroduction of capitalist exploitation in Cuba. The Cuban government and its leadership have maintained this course despite the fact that the revolution since the opening of the 1990s has been forced to retreat under pressure of formidable economic difficulties and a resulting rise in social tensions and class differentiation and conflicts.

The most important and durable conquest of Cuba's socialist revolution is the internationalism and the social and political class consciousness of decisive layers of working people and youth. With whatever missteps and dead-ends along the way, millions of workers and farmers in Cuba have begun transforming the ways in which they labor, think, fight, and cooperate, as they have collaborated to change their own conditions of life and work and to aid others fighting for national liberation and socialism the world over.

The events of recent weeks have once again confirmed the accuracy of this judgment. A broad majority of working people and youth in Cuba have not been ground down, politically disoriented, and demobilized by the country's current economic crisis. Since the beginning of August, hundreds of thousands of workers from factories, construction sites, and farm cooperatives, as well as peasants from the countryside, have turned out to express outrage against U.S.-organized provocations and to defend the revolution's socialist course. Massive numbers of students have joined the mobilizations.

On August 7 half a million Cubans poured into the streets of Havana to speak out against the killing of a young police officer by would-be boat hijackers. On August 14 tens of thousands turned out in the port of Mariel and in Camagüey to honor the life of navy officer Roberto Aguilar Reyes who was murdered in another hijacking. Thousands filled the streets of Mariel August 15 and 16 to support the government's actions to end the seizure of an oil tanker by 700 people seeking to leave the island.

## A campaign of lies and slanders

The big-business media has organized and maintained a conspiracy of silence about these mobilizations by hundreds of thousands of Cuban working people. Not a single story, not a single photograph has been printed in the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post*, for example, and the major television and radio networks have helped keep an embargo on the truth as well. This is not news "that's fit to print," because these working-class mobilizations prove that the picture peddled on a daily basis by the bourgeois press — that the Cuban people are ready to explode in violence to bring down the government headed by President Fidel Castro — is a transparent lie.

Instead, major television and radio talk shows and news programs in recent weeks, from Larry King Live to David Brinkley's *Journal*, have presented as good coin outlandish tales such as that Castro is planning to spread a deadly virus into the United States.

More significant than these wild slanders, however, is the systematic, decades-long concealment of the truth about the accomplishments of millions of revolutionary-minded Cuban workers and youth and why they remain committed — even in face of the grinding pressures they face today — to fight and die to defend the revolution.

## 'Socialism or death'

Top ruling-class politicians in both the Democratic and Republican parties, however, recognize that the defeats of revolutionary governments in Nicaragua in the late 1980s and the shortages of more and more basic goods over the past few years are fueling a sharp class polarization in Cuba. A growing layer in Cuba, especially among middle-class professionals and those who aspire to rank and privilege, responds to the hardships with hostility and despair. A substantial number of workers and farmers have also become demoralized and turned their backs on the revolution and class solidarity.

Tens of thousands want to leave Cuba today. In recent weeks, more and more have been trying to do so by sea. Seeking to exacerbate social tensions in Cuba and spark provocations, the U.S. rulers play a double game. On the one hand, they encourage illegal emigration from Cuba, undoubtedly including organizing clandestinely inside the island to encourage the recent rash of "refugee" departures, hijackings, riots, and accompanying murders and goon violence. On the other hand, the U.S. government continues to prevent most Cubans who want to emigrate from doing so legally.

But a broad majority of workers and farmers in Cuba are unwilling to be bought off, to bow to the domination of the capitalist market system. Castro speaks the truth when he insists that "socialism or death" has become the first, and only, line of defense of the Cuban revolution.

"Grave dangers have threatened our country since the triumph of the revolution," Castro wrote in 1968 in his introduction to the *Bolivian Diary* of Ernesto Che Guevara. "But imperialism will never make us give in for

these reasons, because the difficulties that flow from a consistently revolutionary line of action are of no importance to us." The communist leadership in Cuba remains true to that course more than a quarter of century later, and they are backed in that commitment by millions of Cuban workers, farmers, and youth.

The majority of Cuban toilers know what Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno really mean when they speak of "freedom and democracy" or of the "post-Castro" Cuba. They know that Wall Street intends to turn Havana back into a source of superprofits for a few at the expense of the brutal exploitation of the many. They don't want to return to the degrading prostitution, drug trade, and gambling joints, to the racist discrimination, or to the assaults on workers' and farmers' living and job conditions that marked "pre-Castro Cuba" — and that mark the lives of growing millions in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, as well as in the United States and other imperialist countries themselves.

Above all, revolutionary-minded workers and youth in Cuba are determined not to return to the dog-eat-dog individualism of capitalism, where there is no higher goal in life than getting the most for yourself and your family.

## Rapid escalation of Clinton's measures

In mid-August Clinton's aggressive moves against Cuba escalated rapidly, sometimes hour by hour, over a period of only a few days. The new camps in Guantánamo, the ban on charter flights, the halt in remittances to family members in Cuba, the buildup of U.S. naval forces off Cuba's shores, the threat of a naval blockade — each of these measures and their cumulative and reinforcing results lead, willy nilly, in a single direction: toward increased dangers of conflicts at flash-points, followed by military aggression to overthrow the government headed by Fidel Castro and crush the Cuban revolution.

Coming together as they have, these measures go beyond the brutal squeeze of the 33-year-long trade embargo, which was tightened in 1992 with the so-called Cuban Democracy Act that Clinton pushed through Congress.

When a Democratic administration took office in January 1992, there were those in the United States and elsewhere who harbored illusions that this change in the White House would bring about "dialogue" and accommodation with the Cuban government. The rapid escalation of bipartisan-backed U.S. assaults against Cuba over the last week should be a cause for all supporters of the Cuban revolution and other workers, youth, and democratic-minded people to step back and begin acting on the basis of the reality before us.

The record of nine successive administrations — from Dwight Eisenhower and John Kennedy, through George Bush and William Clinton — are convincing evidence that the class interests of Wall Street and Washington are irreconcilable with the existence of a workers and farmers government 90 miles off Florida's Keys. The U.S. rulers will not tolerate a revolution that set an example to the exploited world over by expropriating the landlords and capitalists; ending once and for all imperialist domination and oppression of the toilers; combating the corrupt bourgeois values that dominate the rest of the Americas and the world; and showing a way forward to a socialist future for humanity.

## Defend Cuba's socialist revolution

For the same reasons that the twin parties of U.S. imperialism hate and fear the Cuban government and its revolutionary leadership, working people and youth in the United States and around the world should join our brothers and sisters there in defending Cuba and its socialist revolution. We must reach out to striking workers, abortion rights defenders, opponents of racism and police brutality, and working farmers and try to enlist their support in this fight.

An integral part of mobilizing opposition to Washington's course will be campaigning to get out the truth about the Cuban revolution and the stakes for working people in defending it. Trade unionists and youth can take advantage of the political toolbox of books distributed by Pathfinder Press in English, Spanish, French, and other languages presenting the real record of Cuban revolutionists going back four decades and more. Many of these books present the views of Cuban revolutionary leaders in their own words — something the U.S. government and big-business media do their best to suppress.

Defenders of the Cuban revolution will be organizing public meetings with broad panels to discuss and debate the issues, as well as protest actions in front of government buildings and elsewhere. Even if small at the outset, such public protests and educational activities can and do have an impact on growing numbers of thinking workers and youth, drawing broader forces into action as events unfold.

All out to demand:

- U.S. out of Guantánamo!
- End the brutal trade embargo and unconstitutional travel ban!
- Stop the lies about Cuba!
- Repeal the ban on charter flights and on sending money to Cuban citizens! End all immigration restrictions!
- Halt the U.S. war drive against Cuba!



# Eleven workers die in Australia coal mine blast

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.

A deadly mixture of methane gas and coal dust exploded at BHP's Moura No. 2 underground mine in Queensland, Australia, on August 7. Eleven miners were

Methane levels are so high that BHP has publicly considered the possibility of exploiting the coal seams for the methane content alone, as a source of commercial power generation.

In a concerted drive to shore up their declining profit rates, the coal bosses have forced fewer miners to extract more tonnage. Now attempts are being made to impose 12-hour shifts in the industry, which the United Mineworkers union adamantly opposes.

Underground mining in Australia has the highest fatality rate of any industry in the country, with an average of 30 deaths a year over the past six years. The latest Australian Mining Industry Council report describes the fatality rate as "alarming," and notes that this rate

votes — 101 to 78. However, a year later the NLRB announced that 23 previously uncounted sealed ballots put the vote in a 101-101 tie. Under current labor laws, the companies — not the unions — win in the case of tie votes.

Laura Atkinson, acting director of the NLRB, stated that she did not know why it took nearly a year to count the challenged votes. She said no appeal will be allowed. Since May 1993, the UMWA has conducted successful union organizing drives at three other area mines. These are Wolf Creek Collieries in Martin County, Kentucky; Lost Mountain Coal Co., in Perry County, Kentucky; and Marrowbone Development Corp. in Mingo County, West Virginia.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes  
Pontiki miners meet in Inez, Kentucky, discuss union organizing drive, June 1993. Labor board just ruled union lost due to tie vote.

## ON THE PICKET LINE

trapped and died in the blast.

A second nine-man crew closer to the mine entrance made it to the surface safely after donning their self-rescue breathing apparatus. If an explosion floods a mine with deadly carbon monoxide, miners have less than a minute to put on the self-rescuers they carry. The breathing apparatus is designed to last about 45 minutes.

For 37 hours after the first explosion, which was followed by a second blast, rescue teams were unable to reach the trapped men because of extremely high levels of toxic gases.

This is the fourth major disaster in 19 years at the Kianga-Moura coal seam, some 270 miles northwest of Brisbane. The Moura mines are 80 percent owned by mining giant BHP, the largest corporation in Australia, with the balance owned by Mitsui.

The mines throughout this Bowen Basin area are well-known for being extremely "gassy."

is twice that of the U.S. underground mining industry.

Adrian McGregor, writing in the August 13-14 *Weekend Australian*, reported that grief is now giving way to anger among Moura miners and their families. "Mining union inspectors, impounding records and equipment for the statutory inquiry to come," he said, "speak darkly of safety negligence. 'From what we are learning, a time bomb might as well have been rolled into No. 2 and set ticking,'" said one official."

### Labor board overturns UMWA vote in Kentucky

In early August, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) reversed last year's vote in which workers at the Pontiki Coal Co. near Lovely, Kentucky, had won the right to be represented by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). The union had won the Aug. 18, 1993, election by 23

### Taxi drivers in Miami strike over new fines

Nearly 1,000 taxi drivers in Miami struck August 8-12 to protest new county government regulations that include plans to enforce higher fines. Under the new rules, steep fines will be imposed if drivers do not: offer passengers a receipt, drive the least expensive route to a destination, keep the air conditioner on, or if they are not considered courteous. Other possible fines could result if a driver asks for tips, or smokes or sleeps in the taxi.

At a parking lot near the Miami International Airport, drivers explained that they often work 14 hours a day. "Sometimes I go home only for one hour to change and get ready for another day," one said. If business is slow, the drivers might be waiting at the airport for two to four hours before they get a fare. The majority of these workers are Haitians and Latinos.

The strike ended after the city commission threatened to provide licenses to other companies. The

Dade County Commission agreed to once again discuss and vote on the proposed new fines, which were not enacted on August 11, as had previously been announced. Taxi drivers are planning to mobilize for the upcoming vote at the commission meeting.

### Bus drivers in Stockholm refuse to work overtime

In protest of longer hours, wage cuts, and worsening working conditions, bus drivers in Stockholm, Sweden, are refusing to work overtime. The action, which began August 15 at the Nyboda garage in the southern part of the city, comes in response to moves by the government to privatize public transportation.

About 200 full-time and 100 part-time drivers are employed at the Nyboda garage. As an official union action, refusing to work overtime is illegal, according to Swedish labor laws. "So the blockade of overtime is voluntary,"

stated Vera Söderback, a worker involved in the protest action.

A year ago 450 bus drivers and mechanics, employed by state-owned Swebus in western Stockholm, went out on strike. Many of these workers subsequently lost their jobs.

Those remaining had to accept deep wage cuts and worsened working conditions, as a result of the government's privatization drive.

A leaflet being distributed by the bus drivers states, "We think that the need for personnel should be solved by hiring the unemployed. That is why we are not working overtime."

The following people contributed to this week's column: Doug Cooper, member of the Australian Workers' Union in Sydney, Australia; Rollande Girard, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 694A in Miami; and Inge Hinemo in Stockholm, Sweden.

## LETTERS

### Fighting racism in WW II

The July 25, 1994, Philadelphia *Daily News* printed a story about a struggle against racism which occurred in that city 50 years ago.

On Aug. 1, 1944, the white employees of the Philadelphia Transportation Company conducted a wildcat strike shutting down the entire system. They were protesting the upgrading of eight Black maintenance workers to the position of motorman. The company, after months of protest by the Black community, had been forced to abide by a Fair Employment Practices Committee ruling to hire and train Blacks for operators jobs.

In an interview with one of the Black motormen, who retired in 1980, the *Daily News* says that while the Transport Workers Union (TWU) did not sanction the strike, virtually all of the 6,000 employees stayed off the job. Eventually, federal troops were called, the employees were forced back to work with threats of being drafted, and after six days the walkout ended.

This story seemed to me to be incomplete so I looked at Pathfinder Press's *Fighting Racism in World War II*. Sure enough, there were four articles from the *Militant* written in August 1944 on the strike.

The articles pointed out that the reactionary racist strike was led by leaders of a company union which had just been defeated by the TWU, part of the CIO in the bargaining election. The *Militant* also points to the complicity of the company in the strike despite its being forced to upgrade the Black

workers. In at least one instance, a southern soldier tried to separate Blacks and whites on a trolley car. This led to protests in the Black community against the imposition of Jim Crow policies in Philadelphia. One of the *Militant* articles says, "At the height of the strike, a colored worker rang the famous Liberty Bell and shouted 'Oh, Liberty Bell, where is your liberty?'" The capitalist court sent him to a mental institution for asking such a question."

Even though the *Daily News* researched the strike, little of what the *Militant* articulates appears in the article.

The *Militant* has expressed the interests of working people for 66 years and I am glad that Pathfinder has seen fit to record this working-class history.

Edwin Fruit  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

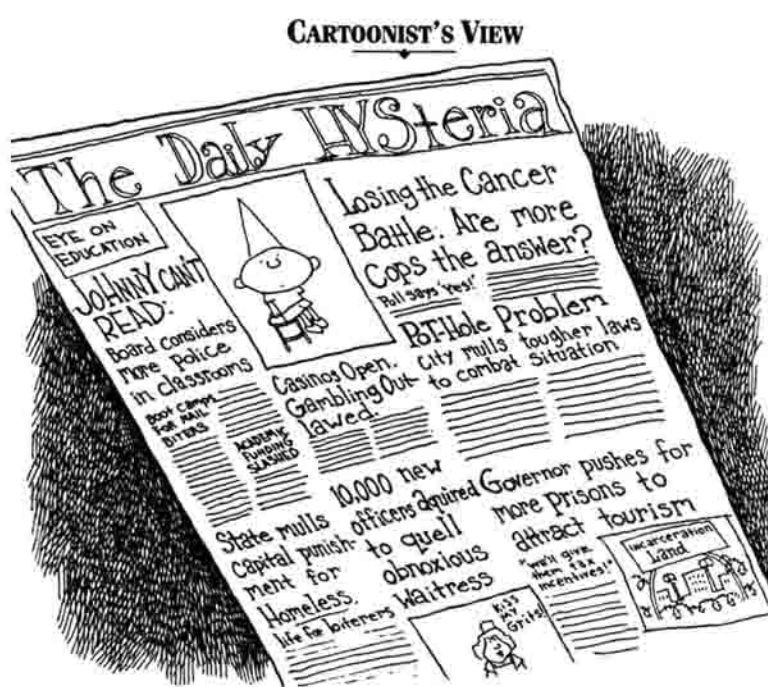
### Enjoys the 'Militant'

Greetings to you brothers and sisters at the *Militant*. I would like to extend my gratitude for providing me with your paper. I enjoyed reading it, and I derived from it plenty of insight. I also passed it on to the other prisoners who like myself are in the same boat.

A prisoner  
Corcoran, California

### Indian rights activist

Bea Swanson, a leader of the fight for Indian treaty rights in the upper Midwest, died of cancer in Minneapolis on July 25. From 1989 to 1992, as Anishinaabe (Ojibwe) tribe members in Wis-



consin exercised their rights under treaties with the U.S. government to spear fish beyond the confines of their reservations, they were harassed by mobs of racists. To counter these attacks, the spearfishers mobilized supporters to stand with them as they fished. Bea was a key organizer of these supporters in Minneapolis, and spent many cold nights on the boat landings.

In 1993, Bea was one of nine Anishinaabe elders who challenged the state of Minnesota's refusal to recognize the treaties. Carrying fishing spears, they put out onto Lake Mille Lacs in canoes and were arrested and ticketed by game wardens.

Bea was born in 1929 on the

White Earth reservation in north-west Minnesota. She became a leader of the Indian community in Minneapolis, taking part in community struggles, organizing the feeding of homeless people, and visiting native prisoners in Minnesota jails.

Bea once told me she couldn't think of herself as an American, that she couldn't bring herself to sing the song "This land is your land, this land is my land." This land, she explained, had been stolen from her people and didn't feel like hers.

A staunch opponent of U.S. imperialism's wars, Bea was one of four native drummers who initiated the drum protest across the street from the White House dur-

ing the Persian Gulf War; President Bush complained that the drummers kept him from sleeping. She was also active in protests against the racist nicknames of sports teams, such as the Washington, D.C., football team.

Women spearfishers in the treaty rights struggle refer to themselves as "Ogichidaa Ikwe," or "Warrior Woman." Bea earned that title for herself by spending her life fighting for justice.

Tom O'Brien  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

### Politically aware

I received my first issue of the *Militant*. When I read your paper it confirms all the theories I perceived before becoming fully enlightened by such papers as the *Militant*.

I would like to thank you for the subscription and I will continue reading your paper. Where I am currently housed it would be unreasonable to have the library order a subscription as very few people would have the opportunity to read the paper. But I will do my best to make sure the papers I receive circulate among the other prisoners here in maximum security. Your paper keeps me politically aware.

Another prisoner  
Corcoran, California

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.



## 'We're battling for our future'

Canadian Pacific rail workers resist company's crushing concession demands

BY JON HILLSON

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA—In rallies, expanded picket lines, and solidarity demonstrations, hundreds of rail strikers and their allies from rural northwestern Minnesota and western Wisconsin to streets of Chicago, and rail yards here, are proving that they will not bow to crushing concessions demanded by the millionaire owners of the Canadian Pacific (CP) railroad.

This weighty confrontation between rail workers and the rail bosses began July 14 when 1,100 United Transportation Union (UTU) members on the CP-owned Soo Line railroad — its major U.S. subsidiary and the ninth largest carrier in the United States — set up picket lines in 11 midwestern states. Some 3,000 workers in 16 craft unions who are honoring the strike have helped the UTU cripple the CP's operation.

Losses exceeding \$1 million a day, and the specter of the railroad's inability to ship a bumper crop of soybean and corn in the north central grain belt here forced the rail bosses to agree to negotiations for the first time in three weeks August 19.

Dumping grain on the ground by the side of elevators was reported for the first time August 20, in Roffman, Minnesota, along with an appeal by the president of a suburban Minneapolis corporation to U.S. Department of Transportation secretary Federico Pena to "intervene" in the strike. Similar pleas were made earlier by the Iowa Farm Bureau and a task force appointed by Iowa Governor Terry Branstad.

### Solidarity actions expand

On August 20, more than 200 strikers and supporters attended a solidarity rally in Portage, Wisconsin. "It seems like we're breaking the camel's back," Richard Price of the BMW told the crowd, "and that's what we've got to do."

The next day 100 rail and other unionists rallied in Superior, Wisconsin.

On August 22, more than 50 BMW members from Milwaukee joined 25 fellow Chicago-area track workers who have recently started regular solidarity duties as they honor UTU picket lines in that city's Bensenville Yard. A significant number of the track workers are Mexican and Latino.

The big show of force has increased picket lines of two and three strikers with



Striking rail workers picket CP-Soo Line headquarters in St. Paul, August 15.

Militant/Jon Hillson

as many as 25 additional supporters. One scab contractor, delayed 45 minutes by spirited picketers, needed a police escort to enter the yard.

The same day, 40 workers, including UTU strikers, BMW members, activists from the Transportation Communication Union, unionists from the Burlington

Northern and the Chicago and Northwestern Railroads, and others expanded picket lines at the CP's main terminal in St. Paul.

Picket sites have been fortified by tents and, in some cases, wooden-framed shacks, with housekeeping functions to service 24-hour daily picket duty.

"We're all in the same boat," said Rich Eng, who passed probation and joined the union while on strike, and is scraping by on \$55 a week strike benefits. "We're all in it together. That's the solidarity, the camaraderie of fellow coworkers."

The high stakes and sharp pressures of the strike highlight the capacity of the rank-and-file to stand up to the hard shots of the bosses.

### Cowardice at top level of BLE

The same tensions and strains of struggle, however, revealed cowardice at the summit of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, as its president, Ronald McLaughlin, made good on his threat to start a back-to-work movement. In an August 22 news release, he announced that "as of 4:30 p.m. (EST) today, over 450 locomotive engineers...were preparing to return to work on the Canadian Pacific Rail's

Continued on page 12

## UAW strikers slow Caterpillar output

BY BETH FINNEAS

EAST PEORIA, Illinois — The strike by thousands of United Auto Workers (UAW) members against Caterpillar Inc., the world's largest manufacturer of earthmoving equipment, has slowed production to a crawl in the company's central Illinois plants.

Workers struck the company June 20 over its refusal to resolve 92 outstanding unfair labor practice complaints, including unjust firings of union members. The 10-week-long strike is the most recent battle in a three-year struggle by UAW members against the company's drive to reduce wages and benefits, and gut the union.

Caterpillar has been working overtime to promote the illusion that production is up to prestrike levels, hoping to demoralize the strikers and weaken their resolve. An August 23 article in the Peoria Journal

Star emphasized this point with its headline, "Inside plants, it looks like business as usual." Television and radio commercials paint a picture of bustling production. Caterpillar spokesmen claim the Mossville plant is turning out 500 engines per day, superseding its prestrike quota of 488.

But workers on the picket line tell another story. "Caterpillar announced record sales in July, but most of it was inventory already built up before the strike," said Jack Fritzinger, a picketer at the Mossville facility. "They're pushing a pencil to get their profits."

Others on the line confirmed that while the company has succeeded in getting some workers to cross the line, neither engines nor assembled vehicles are being shipped out or are on the highways around the Caterpillar plants.

Management claims that 30 percent of union-represented workers have crossed the picket lines. UAW Local 974 president Jerry Brown places the figure at 15 to 20 percent. In addition, management personnel are working in the plants along with some recently hired strikebreakers. Caterpillar has given various figures on the number of new hires, ranging from 500 to 700 corporation wide.

Caterpillar dealers are feeling the pinch. The UAW Local 751 newsletter from Decatur, Illinois, reports some dealers' lots are nearly empty. It states that one dealer in the area was told he would have to wait more than 18 months to get a Caterpillar engine in a new truck. Caterpillar has contracts to supply engines for several other large companies, including General Motors, Navistar, and Kenworth.

### Industrial output affected by strike

Statistics released August 18 by the Federal Reserve bear out the workers' assessment that the strike continues to cripple production. The Industrial Production Index rose a modest 0.2 percent in July, following a 0.5 percent gain the month before. The Fed attributes the difference in large part to the strike at Caterpillar and Firestone Rubber, as well as a decline in electricity generation.

While production at the earthmoving equipment giant has slowed, Caterpillar stock continues to perform well on the New York Stock Exchange — at least for the time being — rising by 21 percent so

far this year, and posting another healthy gain in the second quarter of this year.

"This can't go on forever," Fritzinger said. "Those figures are based on sales for the last quarter. And those sales were based on production before we went on strike. We'll see what happens when the stockpiles run out."

Because it accounts for more of the value of the Dow Jones Industrial Average than any other company, a steep decline in Caterpillar stock value could send shock waves through the market. *Business Week* and some other capitalist mouthpieces have been urging the company to negotiate with the union and settle the strike.

### Workers press solidarity campaign

Solidarity activities continue on a regular basis. The Pontiac local recently held a social and dance that drew more than 200 people, including a delegation of strikers from East Peoria.

In Decatur, UAW Local 751 is working together with United Rubber Workers strikers and workers locked out by the A.E. Staley Manufacturing Co., to support each other's struggles and reach out to the community. Weekly coalition meetings involving members of the three unions plan out support activities.

Two strikers recently returned from a solidarity tour hosted by two Seattle locals of the International Association of Machinists and the King County Labor Council. They spoke to union gatherings and collected donations for strikers and their families. Bob Dunn and Mike Masching, illegally fired workers from East Peoria and Pontiac, were joined by UAW International representative Ken Jordan on the tour.

In Memphis, Tennessee, 44 workers at a Caterpillar parts distribution facility have been collecting \$1,000 weekly to donate to the strikers. Because of a separate labor agreement, these workers are not currently on strike. However, that hasn't stopped them from being part of the struggle.

UAW Local 1989 president Danny Boren reports that members enthusiastically donate an average of \$20 apiece. "We don't even have to collect in the plant" he said in a phone interview. "They just come up and give it to us. We send the money directly to a different local each week, starting with the smallest," he said.

Special Offer from **PATHFINDER**

**25% OFF**

### THE TEAMSTER SERIES

FARRELL DOBBS

*Manuals of revolutionary politics, organization, and trade union strategy, written by a leader of the communist movement in the United States and organizer of the Teamsters union during the rise of the CIO.*

#### TEAMSTER REBELLION

The 1934 strikes that built a fighting union movement in Minneapolis and helped pave the way for the CIO. \$15.95. (special offer \$11.95)

#### TEAMSTER POWER

The 11-state Midwest over-the-road organizing drive. \$17.95 (special offer \$13.45)

#### TEAMSTER POLITICS

The fight against antiunion frame-ups and assaults by fascist goons; the battle for jobs for all; and advancing independent labor political action. \$17.95 (special offer \$13.45)

#### TEAMSTER BUREAUCRACY

Organizing to oppose World War II, racism, and government efforts — backed by the union officialdom — to gag class-struggle-minded workers. \$18.95 (special offer \$14.25)

Available from bookstores including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. FAX (212) 727-0150. If ordering by mail, please add \$3 to cover postage and handling for the first book and 50 cents for each additional item.



SPECIAL OFFER LASTS THROUGH SEPTEMBER 30