

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Labor and the fight for
safety on and off the job

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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'Leaks' brew tempest in Britain over Ireland talks

BY ALAN HARRIS
AND MARCELLA FITZGERALD

LONDON — Prime Minister John Major made a dramatic "appeal to the nation" on prime-time television February 1, calling for "time" and "trust" over current negotiations between London and Dublin on the future of the north of Ireland.

Major's initiative was taken following an article in the *Times* of London "leaking" sections of the framework document being drawn up by the two governments for the talks. The article described proposals for joint bodies between Dublin and a future "Northern Ireland assembly."

The article was written in terms sure to be inflammatory to the leaderships of Unionist organizations staunchly opposed to anything they fear could weaken British rule over Ireland's six northern counties. The *Times* described the proposals as the closest thing to a united Ireland since its partition in 1920. The workers and farmers of Ireland waged a revolutionary struggle in 1920 that defeated Britain's imperialist army and led to an independent Irish republic in the southern part of the island.

Major's televised appeal to salvage the "peace process" was hailed by the *Financial Times*, which asserted that "the Protestant ascendancy is over" in the six counties. The opposition Labour Party pledged to maintain full support for Tory policy toward Ireland. The big-business press here also praised Sinn Féin leader Gerry Adams for backing continuation of the talks.

Unionist politicians isolated

Ulster Unionist politicians from James Molyneux to David Trimble reacted like Pavlov's dogs to the revelations, vowing to fight measures allowing the capitalist government in Dublin greater say in the affairs of the north of Ireland. Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party, sidelined last year after being thrown out of 10 Downing Street by Major, was given

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Target sales week set for socialist press Feb. 18-26

Supporters of the *Militant* and the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* have announced a target week for February 18-26 for sales of the socialist press. This will help distributors around the world to wrap up on time and in full an international campaign to sell 1,500 copies of *New Internationalist* no. 10 — which features the articles "Defending Cuba, defending Cuba's socialist revolution," "What the 1987 stock market crash foretold," and "Imperialism's march toward fascism and war" — and renewal subscriptions to the *Militant* and Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial*.

—SEE PAGE 4

Two-party budget axe targets social benefits

BY GREG ROSENBERG

Democrats and Republicans from city halls and state houses to the White House and Capitol Hill are announcing new fronts in their war to shift the growing burden of capitalist economic stagnation and social decline onto the backs of the working class and small farmers. Packaging their proposals as "deficit reduction," the big-business parties are resolutely if somewhat warily circling in on entitlements — the social wage the working class has fought for and won since the labor battles of the 1930s to provide a modicum of lifetime security for all.

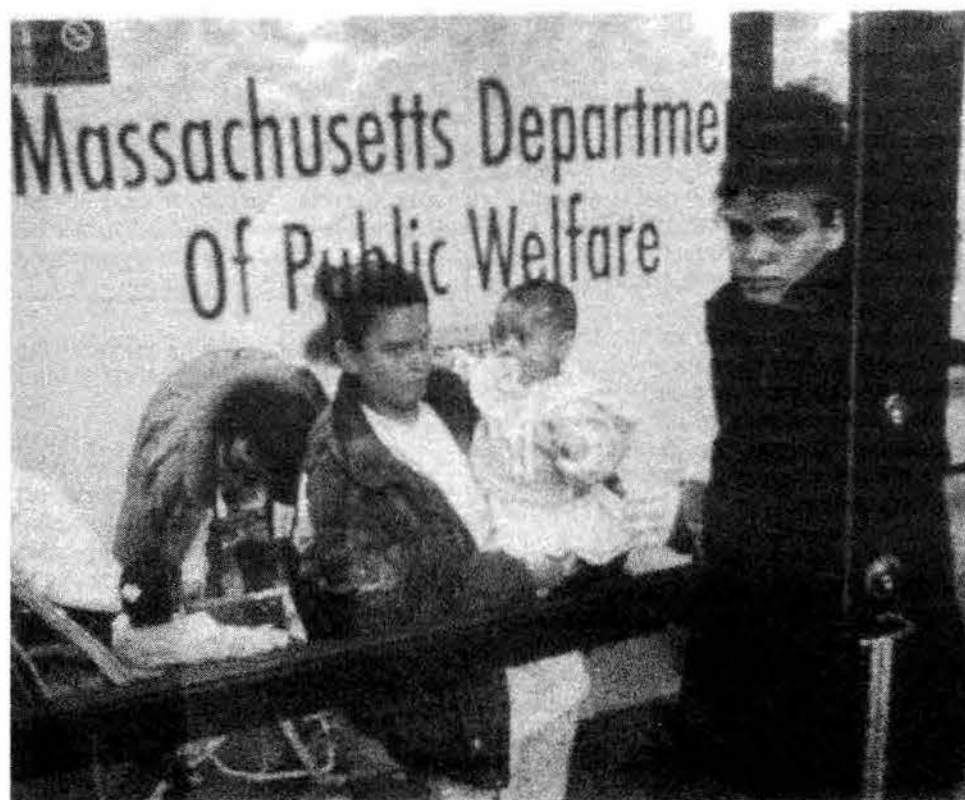
With the presentation of President Bill Clinton's draft budget to Congress February 6, a new round in the two-party shell game has begun. The administration's plan, while slashing many vital social programs and services, avoids a frontal assault on Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid. White House spokespeople have "leaked" to the press their hope that the new Republican congressional majority will have to take the political heat for the next moves to cut these programs, on which tens of millions depend to survive.

Responding to Republican criticism that the administration had failed to propose the necessary cuts, White House budget director Alice Rivlin said, "As a tactical matter, it seemed more advisable to work with Congress" on a bipartisan approach to slashing social spending.

In a January 31 speech to hospital profiteers, Republican House speaker Newt Gingrich argued for the need to "rethink Medicare from the ground up." In fact, it was Clinton who last year first proposed large-scale cuts in Medicare, to the tune of \$100 billion.

But "there is no hard evidence that the Republicans, any more than the president, are yet willing to take on the sacrosanct 'entitlement' programmes," noted the *Financial Times* of London. "It remains axiomatic that the political risk attached to

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Welfare office. Bipartisan 'welfare reforms' prepare ground for planned assault on universal entitlements, such as Social Security, won by working class in struggle.

Socialist candidate hits cutbacks and retreat from D.C. home rule

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Socialist candidate Greg McCartan condemned sweeping moves by Mayor Marion Barry to cut essential services, wages of city workers, and public education.

"Unlike what the mayor, city council members, congressional representatives, and the media are all claiming," McCartan said, "this is not a D.C. crisis. These austerity moves are a product of the depression conditions and social crisis capitalism

is inflicting on working people around the world." A member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 11322, McCartan is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council Ward 8 in a special election to fill the vacancy left when Marion Barry was elected mayor.

"We need to build a massive social movement based on the unions that will speak and act in the interests of all working people, whether employed or

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Thousands at Havana rally honor deeds of Cuban revolutionary leader José Martí

BY SUSAN SMYTHE
AND DAMON TINNON

HAVANA — While the streets are normally dark here after the sun sets, on the night of January 28 they were lit up for blocks by the tens of thousands of youth

and workers who poured out carrying torches to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the death of José Martí in the Second War of Cuban Independence. Martí is a national hero who helped lead the fight against colonial domination and for the in-

dependence of Cuba at the close of the last century.

A number of participants in the International Youth Brigade to Cuba joined with the thousands who assembled at the University of Havana and marched to the Plaza of the Revolution. Some 70 young people from seven countries joined the brigade to see Cuba for themselves; 49 were from the United States. All brigade participants were on editorial assignment for community and campus media and are returning to their respective cities to write and speak about conditions in Cuba today.

The brigadistas spent two weeks visiting factories, schools, and health-care facilities, as well as spending time on a banana farm.

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Militant/Damon Tinnon

Students assemble at dusk for torchlight rally honoring political contributions of José Martí

New Jersey students protest racist 'slip'—page 13



Miners protest in Guyana

More than 2,000 bauxite workers and supporters marched in Guyana January 18 against government plans to reduce the workforce from 2,100 to 600 miners. The protest took place in the mining town of Linden, 65 miles south of Georgetown, the capital of that small country on the Caribbean coast of South America.

The workers, members of the Guyana Bauxite and General Workers Union and the Guyana Mine Workers Union, were also protesting plans by the mining enterprise LINMINE to discontinue financing social services for the 10,000 people who live in Linden. The unions won an agreement with the government in 1993 that LINMINE would provide such funding.

Strikes hit West Germany

Workers in West Germany, demanding a 6 percent pay hike, organized a series of warning strikes January 30 against companies in auto and other industries. The IG Metall trade union said almost 30,000 workers participated in work stoppages and rallies that lasted from a few hours to a whole day. On February 3, 130,000 workers walked out briefly, paralyzing almost 500 businesses.

A spokesperson for the employers federation said the pay raise should be similar to the 2 percent increase paid in 1994. An IG Metall official pointed out that such a raise would barely keep up with inflation. The union is also demanding a uniform 35-hour workweek.

German railway to slash jobs

Officials of Germany's state-owned passenger and freight railroads announced proposals to eliminate 90,000 jobs from the payroll by the end of 1997 as part of privatization plans. The cutbacks would involve 29 percent of the 306,800 rail jobs.

Ukraine floats privatization plan

The Ukrainian government announced plans to sell shares of some 8,000 state-owned enterprises and open its economy to foreign capital. Three and half years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, virtually all industry in Ukraine remains state-owned. Government officials enlisted capitalist consultants to prepare an auction of



Dutch farmer trying to seal his barn from flood waters January 31. Some 200,000 people were forced to flee the surging waters, prompting criticism that the government failed to strengthen the dike system in the Netherlands.

these shares as a condition for receiving loans from imperialist financial institutions.

According to a Ukrainian business newspaper, "most people are quite indifferent" to the plan, given the widespread perception that "most of the best companies in which to invest" will end up being run by the same state bureaucrats and managers that already control them. According to the *Washington Post*, companies in the defense, energy, transportation, and telecommunications industries will not be sold.

Sell-offs stall in Poland

Polish government officials are locking horns over the sale of some key state-owned enterprises, according to an article in the *Financial Times* of London headlined "Political shadow over Polish privatization."

Officials of the so-called Peasants Party, for example, are opposing the sale of more than 49 percent of the Krakow tobacco works to Philip Morris. Some government officials are opposing the sale of the state-run newspaper distribution agency, Ruch.

Although the Polish government launched a "privatization plan" in 1991, the majority of state-owned companies have not been sold since that time. According to the *Financial Times*, "supporters of privatization are also worried about 'commercialisation', the jargon for a plan to turn some 3,000 state sector companies into wholly state-owned joint stock companies."

Bungei Shunju Co. announced January 30 it was ending the publication of *Marco Polo* after the magazine printed an article stating there "were no Nazi 'gas chambers'" in Germany. The magazine had a circulation of 200,000.

Japan magazine denies holocaust

In the summer of 1994 an official of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party, which governed the country for most of the post-World War II period, published a book praising Adolf Hitler as an example whose methods could "assure victory in modern elections." World outrage forced the LDP to have the book withdrawn.

Mandela canceled Namibia's debt of \$700 million, President Nelson Mandela told President Sam Nujoma of Namibia December 6. Mandela said that all colonial assets, including Walvis Bay, would be transferred to Namibia. Namibia won its independence from South Africa in 1990 in the wake of the defeat of the apartheid invasion of neighboring Angola by the combined forces of the Angolan govern-

ment, Cuban internationalist volunteers, and Namibian freedom fighters.

According to *The Windhoek Advertiser*, Mandela informed Nujoma that the new South African government considers it unacceptable for a country to repay debts incurred by past colonial masters.

NLRB moves on union pickets

The National Labor Relations Board ruled in a 3-2 vote that picketing by members of the United Food and Commercial Workers outside a retail store in Ohio was illegal. When the employers ordered the union off the premises, the union appealed to the NLRB.

The pickets asserted that the nonunion company's low wages were depressing wages at unionized stores. NLRB chairman William Gould cited a 1992 Supreme Court decision stating that employers can bar nonemployee union organizers from company property.

Gay rights protection assailed

The New York state attorney general plans to eliminate job protection for gays working at the New York State Law Department. The move reverses a 15-year antidiscrimination policy won at the agency, which employs 1,800 people. The executive director of the Lambda Legal Defense and Education Fund called the proposal a "trial balloon, so that the new administration [of Gov. George Pataki] can see how far they can go in gutting civil rights protection" of other state workers.

Texas executes two in one day

The U.S. Supreme Court denied last minute appeals from two men who were executed in Texas less than 90 minutes apart January 30. The legalized murders were Texas's first multiple execution since 1951, when three men were electrocuted by the state. Cheering on the barbarity, the assistant attorney general gloated that what was "remarkable" was not the double execution "but that for a combined 29 years the people of the State of Texas were waiting for justice to be done."

Indians say no to nuke waste

The Mescalero Apaches voted February 1 to reject a tentative agreement allowing 33 utility companies to store thousands of tons of nuclear waste on their land in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Mescaleros, with an unemployment rate estimated as high as 36 percent, rejected a deal their Tribal Council president made with the utilities in December 1994, despite his claim that the Mescaleros would gain \$250 million. Opposition to the proposal broadened to include people in neighboring towns including Ruidoso, a town of 4,600 people. "I don't quite trust the powers that be who keep saying that it's safe," said the executive director of the Ruidoso Valley Chamber of Commerce. Meanwhile, the Nuclear Energy Institute estimates that 26 plants will run out of storage space for nuclear waste within three years.

—MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

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Workers bear brunt of budget slashers in New York state, city

BY ANDY BUCHANAN

NEW YORK — Working people in this city are facing a new round of cuts in social services initiated by New York State governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Pataki's budget proposals, announced February 1, aim to reduce the state budget by \$1.1 billion, or 3.3 percent, from last year's. The cuts, among other things, are intended to finance \$1 billion in what Pataki portrays as a "middle-class tax cut." In fact, the governor's plan would reduce the state income-tax rate on New York's wealthiest capitalist families and high-paid professionals by at least 25 percent.

The largest chunk of the cuts — some \$1.2 billion — will fall on Medicaid spending for low-income workers and their families. The political heart of Pataki's package is the proposed slashing of \$343 million from the welfare budget. Cutbacks will include reduction or elimination of rent subsidies and allowances for basic household items, elimination of emergency housing assistance to welfare recipients who are disabled or blind, and halting emergency payments to people facing utility cutoffs. Families receiving welfare payments whose children miss school will be penalized, and more applicants for welfare will be fingerprinted. Altogether 100,000 people will be cut from the welfare rolls, and many more will be forced onto "workfare" schemes at low wages.

Not simply 'budget-driven'

Pataki says these cuts in welfare are not "simply budget-driven" but stem from a "very real belief that we have got to incentivize work and disincentivize dependency." Welfare, Pataki concludes, is currently a "way of life for far too many New Yorkers." The governor failed to mention that New York City's official unemployment rate in January was 7.7 percent, with job prospects so poor that less than 54 percent of the working-age population are counted in the labor force, compared to 67 percent in the United States as a whole.

Other cuts are to include reducing services to the house-bound elderly and programs for the mentally ill, mentally retarded, and alcohol and drug addicts. Six

alcohol rehabilitation centers and two psychiatric centers will be closed.

Pataki proposes cuts in state subsidies for the Metropolitan Transit Authority, which runs the New York City subways, and in funding for the city and state university systems. Fare hikes on the subways, higher tuition fees, larger classes, and faculty layoffs will result. Gene Russianoff of the Straphangers Campaign, an organization for riders of public transportation, noted that fare increases are a "tax hike on the more than 4 million moderate-income and working people who use city subways and buses every workday."

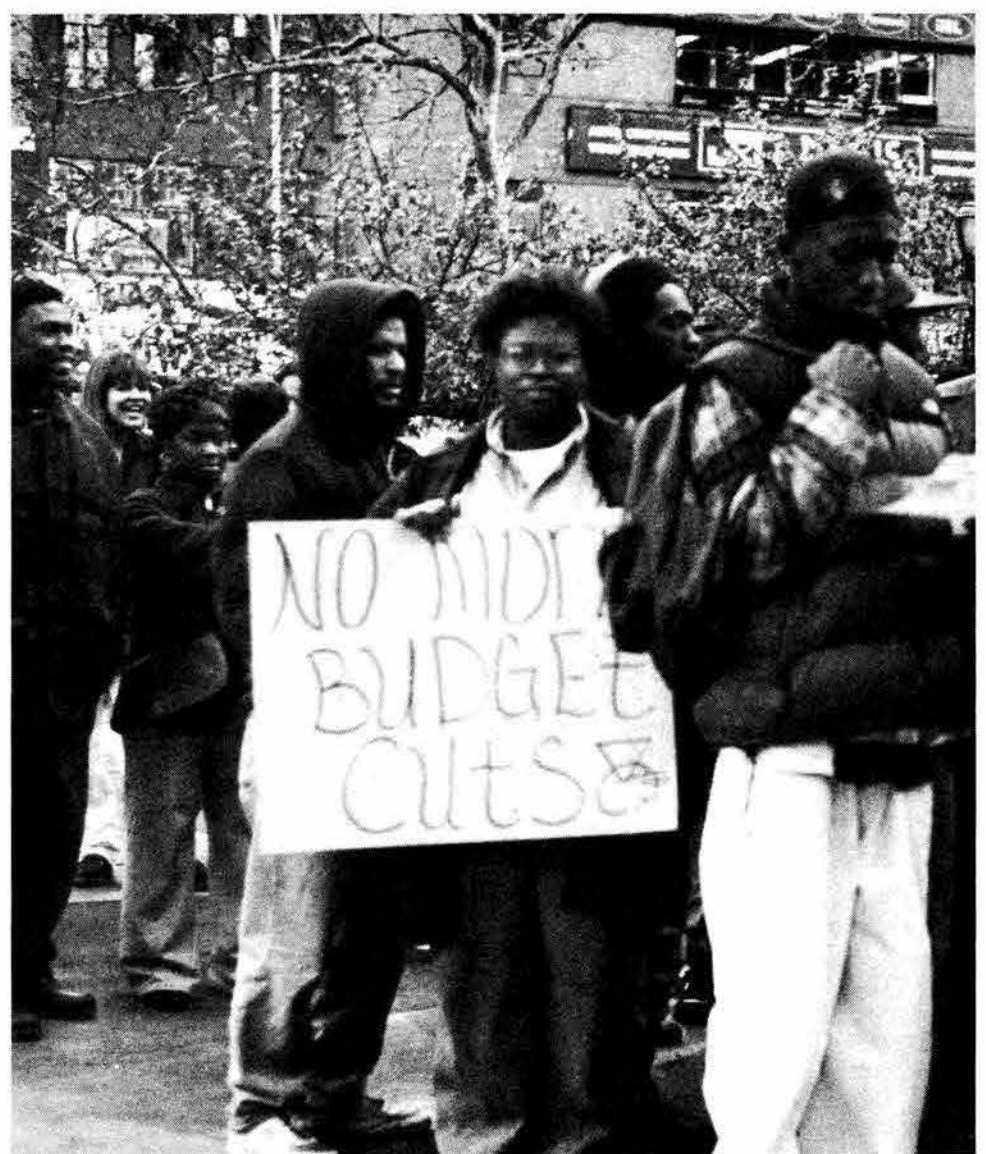
The budget proposals will reduce the state workforce by 11,400. One result will be delays or cancellation of bridge and road repairs.

New York City crisis

These cuts in state funding overlap with Mayor Giuliani's attempts to further shift the burden of the city's financial crisis onto the backs of working people. Despite cutting city spending by \$1.9 billion over the last year, the administration still faces a budget deficit estimated at \$2.1 billion in 1995-96. Commenting on this looming crisis, the *Economist* magazine noted in its January 21 issue that in real terms this shortfall would be "almost as big as fiscal 1975's yawning gap." That year the city's budget crisis was "solved" by deep cuts in wages and working conditions of city employees, social service cutbacks, and massive borrowing on the bond market at high interest rates. "The 20th anniversary of New York's last fiscal meltdown will be nothing to celebrate," the *Economist* added.

The city administration is faced with declining tax income, stemming from the weakness of the capitalist economic upturn in New York and from what the *Economist* calls the "woes on Wall Street." *Barrons* magazine reports that brokerage houses and banks have been laying off staff over the past year. It quotes bond fund manager Peter Allegrini as saying, "Wall Street and the financial industry are leading indicators" of where the city's economy is headed.

Giuliani hopes to close this budget gap



Militant/Rose Ana Berbeo

Students protesting cuts in education funding in New York on Nov. 7, 1994.

by refinancing part of the debt, issuing more bonds, and slashing spending. These financial operations, however, are poised on a knife-edge. The Standard & Poor's credit rating agency, unnerved by a projected tax shortfall of \$400 million and refinancing of \$120 million in debt, has put New York's \$23 billion worth of bonds on their "negative CreditWatch" list. Standard & Poor hints that it may soon downgrade the city's already shaky A-minus credit rating for the first time since 1975. Such a move could lead to panic selling of city bonds and give rapid downward momentum to the financial crisis.

"In the meantime," the *Economist* notes, "Mr. Giuliani can do little more than keep on cutting." What's more, Pataki's projected cuts in state expenditures on Medicaid and welfare will trigger further assaults on city spending. After making a show of opposition to the last round of cuts announced by Giuliani, the

Democratic Party-dominated city council adopted a \$647 million deficit-reduction package on February 2.

Builds on Cuomo, Dinkins cuts

Sweeping austerity measures were initiated under the previous Democratic administrations in the New York State House and city hall. Former governor Mario Cuomo launched a state budget in 1993 that slashed Medicaid benefits, eliminated more than 5,000 employees, and hiked tuition at state universities, while raising taxes at the same time. Democratic mayor David Dinkins proposed draconian cuts in city services, including layoffs of 20,000 workers and drastic reductions in basic services. State and university education cutbacks have been met with student protests in New York City, most recently in November when more than 2,000 demonstrated at city hall against cuts at 14 city university campuses.

Democrats, Republicans circle in on social wage

Continued from front page
doing something is very great indeed."

Both parties recognize that an open assault on Social Security or existing government-funded health insurance programs will provoke resistance from the working class and worse-off sections of the middle class.

Balanced-budget fakery

As part of the process of softening up these entitlements for coming salvos, the House of Representatives on January 26 approved by a large bipartisan majority a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The stipulation, if approved by the Senate and two-thirds of state legislatures, would mandate that the federal budget be balanced by 2002. By current projections, that would require \$1 trillion in spending cuts over the next seven years.

While the pledge to implement a so-called balanced budget is transparent fakery, it nonetheless gives politicians in both parties a hedge to hide behind as they chop away at social programs.

On February 6, another bipartisan majority in the House, in this case with Clinton's vocal support, voted to give the White House a line-item veto. If it wins Senate approval, this measure for the first time gives the president the authority to single out and veto specific provisions or appropriations in spending and tax bills adopted by Congress.

The current plans by the administration and Congress to cut Aid to Families with Dependent Children and other welfare

benefits prepare the ground for broader attacks on the working class as a whole down the road. Bourgeois politicians judge their more or less subtle "welfare queen" demagoguery to be politically expedient right now, since it targets the most vulnerable sections of the class. To date the procapitalist officialdom of the labor movement has not raised a finger to use union power to resist this assault on the living standards, social rights, and elementary unity of working people.

Some in Congress propose curtailing welfare and health-care expenditures through so-called block grants. Under this scheme, Congress would allocate money to state legislatures for these programs. If the money ran out, states would have to raise the necessary funds or turn away people needing assistance. Clinton advanced his own "block grant" proposal as part of the 1995 budget.

All these proposals are being put forward amid a long-term decline in workers' real wages in the United States since the early 1970s.

An expanding number of workers have been driven from the job market and aren't even counted as part of unemployment statistics — a growing reserve army of labor that business uses to drive down wages.

Attacks on schools, housing

The White House budget would slash funding for public housing. The administration proposes to eliminate rent subsidies altogether and give the estimated 3.9

million people in public housing projects "vouchers" that could be applied to rental payments elsewhere. The move would accelerate the dilapidation of large housing projects. Many will be privatized or torn down.

The president would gouge \$700 million from public transport, and cut money for nuclear weapons cleanup and myriad other programs. Defense Department expenditures will take a brief and shallow dip, but the war budget is slated to increase by \$25 billion over the next six years to \$306 billion. The White House said this is in line with the Pentagon's need to be able to fight two major wars at once. The plan also boasts of hiring more cops while cutting road construction.

The Clinton budget, nonetheless, protects the largest group of welfare recipients — the wealthy bondholders. Any Republican revisions in Congress will do the same. Interest payments to the capitalist coupon-clippers this year alone — some \$234 billion — far exceed combined totals for spending on the environment, agriculture, housing, transportation, education, and job training. Combined payoffs for 1994-97 are projected just shy of \$1 trillion.

Calls for deeper cuts

Many voices in the big-business press, think tanks, and universities — with the advantage of being a bit further from direct political fallout — are heaping scorn on what they present as the timidity of the budget cut proposals coming from both

parties.

"Such largesse cannot last," complained the January 21 *Economist*.

"Now is the time for Americans and their representatives to stop whining about taxes and benefits and make hard choices," demanded the editors of *Business Week* February 13. "Democrats dissemble when they say that Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security, the largest of the entitlement programs, are off the table. Republican hints that some entitlement programs may be included are not sufficient. There simply can be no balanced budget without cutting them."

Late last year Democratic senator Bob Kerrey and Republican senator John Danforth proposed making senior citizens pay more for Medicare, raising to 70 the age at which retirees can get full Social Security benefits, and cutting Social Security payroll taxes but forcing workers to put their tax savings in private accounts.

The senators "suggest partially privatizing the Social Security system," the *Wall Street Journal* crowed, "a notion that heretofore has been talked about only by extremists and tried only in a handful of Latin American countries."

"The most provocative element is the Social Security one," the *Journal* continued. "Instead of taking Social Security off the table, as everyone else in Washington does these days, the two senators take a cleverer to it." Sadly right now for the propertied class the *Journal* speaks for, however, the article notes the plan "hasn't a prayer."

Target week set for sales drive

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Sales of the new issue of *New International* took a sharp dip last week. Distributors report additional sales of only 103 copies of the Marxist magazine in the seventh week of the 10-week international sales drive. To successfully meet the international goal of 1,500 on time, supporters of *New International* must sell 161 copies per week for the rest of February. A substantial effort is still also needed to meet the goal of 320 renewals to the *Militant* and 80 renewals to the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* by the same date.

To help supporters of the socialist press focus their efforts, the last full week of the drive, February 18-26, will be a target week. This will be an opportunity to make special plans for sales tables on campuses and at factory gates promoting *New International* no. 10, which features articles on defending the Cuban revolution, the implications of the 1987 stock market crash, and imperialism's march toward fascism and war.

Distributors can use the target week to follow up with those who have expressed interest in the magazine but have not yet decided to purchase a copy. Supporters in many cities report it often takes two or three discussions on world politics and the contents of *New International* no. 10 before a coworker or student is convinced to buy and begin reading the magazine.

Building classes on *New International* no. 10 where readers can get together to discuss the articles and how they clarify developments in world politics today can help with sales and get people who've bought the magazine to collectively study and discuss it.

The target week will be a chance to complete calling to *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* readers as well, both about renewing their subscriptions and to encourage them to get *New International*.

Supporters of these socialist publications who are members of industrial trade unions can use the target week — and the weeks before too — to pick up the pace of sales to their coworkers. Reports

from Atlanta — where more than a quarter of the copies sold so far have been to unionists in auto, garment, and meatpacking plants — demonstrate that it is possible to make the goals these supporters have taken.

Five members of the United Auto Workers at the Ford plant in nearby Hapeville, Georgia, have already bought *New International* no. 10. The article titled "What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold" has especially caught workers' eyes, reported Miguel Zárate. Many Ford workers participate in a company savings plan where tax-deferred deductions from their paycheck are automatically put into stocks, bonds, and other funds.

Another copy was purchased by a student at Georgia State University who had bought a subscription to the *Militant* at a campus table the week before. He said he wants to attend the classes especially to learn more about Cuba. Distributors in Atlanta are now discussing how much to raise their goal.

Supporters of the socialist press in New Zealand also plan to raise their targets next week. Most of the copies of *New International* no. 10 have been sold to longtime readers of the Marxist magazine, but through the campaign they've found new interest as well. Janet Roth writes from Auckland that

one new reader is a student who "wanted to discuss the current situation facing the Cuban revolution, as he hopes to go on a brigade to that country." He bought a copy of the *New International* after a Militant Labor Forum on the Russian invasion of Chechnya at the Pathfinder bookstore. House visits to subscribers and others who express interest help as well. Roth said one *Militant* subscriber bought \$200 worth of Pathfinder books, including *New International* no. 10, when local supporters brought them to his home.

Two members of the United Mine Workers of America who are long-term readers of the *Militant* live several hours from the nearest Pathfinder bookstore in Morgantown, West Virginia. So they purchased their copies of *New International* no. 10 by mail.

Four copies of the new issue of *New International* were sold at a San Francisco Militant Labor Forum where participants in the recent International Youth Brigade to Cuba spoke about their trip, reports Osborne Hart. These were among some 13 copies sold at the Pathfinder bookstore there in the last few weeks. "The sales included students who saw the book at a campus table but didn't have money at the time, so they came to the bookstore later," said Hart.

Special attention needed on 'Perspectiva Mundial' sales

Even before the target week begins, special attention is needed to signing up readers of the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial* to renew their subscriptions. As the chart shows, only 11 *Perspectiva Mundial* renewals have been received at the *Militant* business office — not quite 14 percent of the international goal.

Turning this around will require local distributors organizing to systematically call each *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriber in their area about renewing and arrange visits to deepen political discussions with them and pick

up the subscriptions.

The February issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* is now available, which can help in this effort. The new issue features a report on the agricultural markets and other developments in Cuba from a recent reporting trip by Argiris Malapanis and Mary-Alice Waters; an interview with a leader of the African National Congress on the challenges in advancing the democratic revolution in South Africa; an article on the governmental crisis in Britain; and coverage of the January 22 march to defend abortion rights in Boston.

U.S. government harasses academic delegation returning from Cuba

BY LAURA GARZA

Six members of an academic group that returned from Cuba January 23 were held by Treasury Department and customs agents in

Miami for more than four hours and threatened with arrest. They were eventually released and their passports returned.

According to a press release, the six considered recently imposed regulations which require academics to request Treasury Department licenses to travel to Cuba "to be a blatant violation of First Amendment rights." The licensing restriction was among a series of measures imposed in August 1994 designed to further limit the right to travel to Cuba.

The members of the delegation were Joel Edelstein of the University of Colorado; Michael Erisman of Indiana

State University; Jean Handy of the University of North Carolina; Jack Hopkins of Indiana University; Reid Reading of the University of Pittsburgh; and Wayne Smith of Johns Hopkins University, who had headed the U.S. Interests Section in Cuba during the Carter administration. They were supported by Margaret Ratner of the Center for Constitutional Rights.

This is the second academic delegation to have challenged the new regulations since last August, and Smith is coordinating another trip for late February.

Another group organizing against Washington's travel restrictions is the San Francisco-based Freedom to Travel Campaign, which has scheduled its fifth travel-challenge delegation to visit Pinar del Rio and Havana April 7-14.

While the government froze the group's bank account on one occasion and confiscated passports of some participants on another,

Sold to date: 67%
Should be: 70%

	New International no. 10			Militant renewals		Perspectiva Mundial renewals	
	goal	sold	percent	goal	sold	goal	sold
New Zealand							
Christchurch	15	15	100%	5	5	0	0
Wellington	3	3	100%	5	5	0	0
Auckland	30	24	80%	10	5	1	1
Total	48	42	88%	20	15	1	1
Sweden							
	15	12	80%	7	4	3	3
Canada							
Toronto	50	40	80%	15	10		0
Montreal	45	33	73%		5		0
Vancouver	35	22	63%	8	2	1	0
Total	130	95	73%	23	17	1	0
Britain							
London	55	38	69%		0		0
Manchester	40	26	65%	15	0		0
Total	95	64	67%		0		0
United States							
Atlanta	30	28	93%	9	4	2	1
Houston	25	21	84%	8	4	2	0
Miami	35	29	83%	13	6	6	3
Philadelphia	50	41	82%	12	4	3	0
Morgantown, WV	25	20	80%	4	2	0	0
Seattle	40	31	78%	9	6	2	0
Cleveland*	30	23	77%	10	7	3	0
Los Angeles	100	75	75%	20	13	10	0
Boston	45	33	73%	12	9	4	0
San Francisco	90	66	73%	16	13	5	0
Pittsburgh	40	27	68%	11	6	2	0
New York	100	66	66%	13	4	4	0
Twin Cities, MN	50	33	66%	14	4	2	0
Peoria, IL	20	13	65%	6	4	0	0
Des Moines, IA*	40	25	63%	9	4	4	0
Detroit	40	25	63%	11	7	2	0
Chicago	50	31	62%	15	9	3	0
Salt Lake City	45	27	60%	13	10	3	2
Newark, NJ	100	58	58%	12	9	3	0
Brooklyn	100	51	51%	12	3	4	0
Greensboro, NC	35	18	51%	7	5	2	0
Washington, DC	45	22	49%	10	9	3	0
Birmingham, AL	40	14	35%	8	2	2	0
Tucson, AZ	5	0	0%				
Other		6			6		0
Total U.S.	1180	783	66%	254	150	71	6
Australia							
	16	10	63%	9	5	2	0
Puerto Rico							
	2	1	50%	0	0	2	1
Greece							
	5	2	40%	4	3		0
France							
	20	6	30%				
Iceland							
	4	1	25%	5	0	0	0
International Total	1515	1016	67%	322	194	80	11
SHOULD BE	1500	1050	70%	320	224	80	56

In the Unions

UMWA	10	7	70%				
UFCW	5	3	60%				
OCAW	30	16	53%		4		
USWA	20	8	40%				
ACTWU/ILGWU	20	7	35%	11	1		
IAM	40	14	35%				
UTU	55	12	22%	24	4		
UAW	60	11	18%		2		
Total	240	78	33%	35	11	0	0

*raised goal

ACTWU — Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; IAM — International Association of Machinists; ILGWU — International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; OCAW — Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW — United Auto Workers; UFCW — United Food and Commercial Workers; UMWA — United Mine Workers of America; USWA — United Steelworkers of America; UTU — United Transportation Union.

both attacks were eventually reversed. No further legal action has been taken against participants in these trips.

The upcoming journey, according to the flyer, will focus on "Cuba's innovative response to its current economic crisis and amaz-

ing advances in the field of Sustainable Development. Visit organic agriculture cooperatives, green medicine centers, alternative energy institutes, alternative food factories, urban planning institutes, day-care centers, family doctors and schools."

Thousands in Havana honor life of José Martí

Continued from front page

About a dozen brigade members stayed a third week to participate in the January 28 march, which was organized by the Union of Young Communist (UJC).

A torch-lit march

Youth converged on the Plaza of the Revolution from three different assembly points in the city, where everyone was given a torch.

A number of brigadistas remarked that few governments today would have the confidence to let thousands of young people march through the streets of the capital carrying burning torches. The largest assembly point was the University of Havana and it was from there that Cuban president Fidel Castro and the UJC's first-secretary, Victoria Velázquez, joined the march.

"For us it was the first real chance to witness a massive demonstration and to be able to talk with people involved about why they were there and whether or not they supported the revolution," said Bill Estrada, a brigade participant from Los Angeles.

"It was a good opportunity to get an ev-

eryday Cuban opinion on things. This will help me carry out my editorial assignment," he continued.

A 24-year-old carpenter, Bill Raga, who had served with other Cuban volunteers in Angola, came to the event by bicycle. He explained why this demonstration was special. "It is not unusual to have a large demonstration in Cuba but many of Martí's ideas are principles of our revolution. Fidel built upon Martí's ideas and advanced them.

"Because many Cubans now have two jobs, there is less time to attend meetings to discuss politics and important events, so mobilizations are important," he continued.

Boris Hernández, a Cuban student at the University of Havana thought there were an "amazing number of people" at the mobilization. "This is due to the UJC's present orientation towards taking interest in the lives of all young people — not just UJC members — and mobilizing them as well," he said.

The march was greeted by a massive, cheering crowd in the plaza where the keynote address was given by UJC leader Velázquez. "More than homage through

words and songs, we pay daily homage [to Martí's ideals] through the giant economic, political, and ideological battle we are relentlessly waging," she said.

Visits to workplaces

Brigade members visited a railroad yard and a cigar factory to learn what workers say firsthand about the battle Cubans are waging to survive in the face of both the U.S. government's harsh economic embargo and the loss of preferential trade terms with the countries of the former Soviet Union.

We learned more about the workers assemblies that have taken place at work-sites throughout Cuba.

We asked how unemployment is dealt with, and how the special period is affecting jobs. The special period refers to measures initiated by the revolutionary government to deal with the sharp decline in production as a result of shortages in imported oil and other raw materials.

At the main rail yard in Havana we met with the administration of the railroad. We were given a tour of the yard and spoke with several switchpersons and brakepersons. Of the 240 workers in the yard, 80 percent are women and the average age is 35. An administrator told us that during the special period, employment had dropped from 560. While they have less resources and fewer workers, they are fighting to deliver the same level of service.

In the last round of workers assemblies, workers decided there was a need to upgrade their education both to help keep the railroad economically efficient and to ensure the safe operation of equipment.

As a result, they coordinated classes with the University of Havana that raised workers' technical knowledge of the railroad and enabled those who previously didn't have the skills to attain better-paying jobs.



Militant/Damon Tinnon

Cigar factory in Havana. Communist youth leader Victoria Velázquez told crowd at Plaza of the Revolution that Cubans honor José Martí "through the giant economic, political, and ideological battle we are relentlessly waging."

Chicago protest hits U.S. seizure of brigade passports

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

CHICAGO — A meeting here of 65 people at the Pathfinder bookstore February 4 rallied support for three young people who had their passports seized at O'Hare Airport when they returned from a visit to Cuba.

On the weekend of January 21-22 U.S. Customs agents detained and interrogated Sukul Baul, 21, Dannen Vance, 27, and Aislinn Pulley, 15, as they were returning from a trip organized by the International Youth Brigade. Baul, Vance, and Pulley were on editorial assignments for the *Daily Vidette*, the *Valley Courier*, and *Family Matters* respectively to write first-hand reports on life in Cuba.

Behind the speakers platform a large banner read: "Return the Passports Now! Lift the Unconstitutional Travel Ban!" Brian Taylor, a 21-year-old rail worker in Chicago who recently spent three weeks in Cuba, chaired the event.

At the meeting the three gave accounts

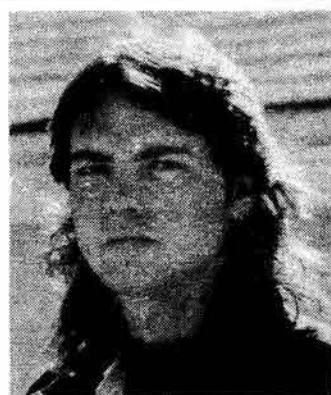
of what they learned in Cuba and the stakes in the campaign to win back their passports.

Vance, who lives in Des Moines, Iowa, said U.S. Custom agents, "harassed and intimidated me for one and a half hours. They repeatedly called me a liar and threatened me with prosecution." He said he wants to make sure this doesn't happen again. In addition to his writing assignments, Vance has been speaking publicly explaining what he saw in Cuba and soliciting support for the passport campaign. So far he has collected 40 letters protesting the government's actions.

Those signing protest letters to U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher, Under Secretary of State Richard Shattuck, and Treasury Department official John Newcomb include: Iowa State University professors Mack Shelly and Wayne Osborne; four members of United Rubber Workers Local 310 on strike at the Bridge-

Continued on Page 12

—REPORT BACK FROM CUBA YOUTH BRIGADE—



Why I Went To Cuba

by Dannen Vance

Special to the Courier

My name is Dannen Vance. I was born in Iowa City in 1968 and grew up mostly in average small towns across Iowa. I was raised in a working-class family and have spent most of my adult life working in industry. Until just before departing for Cuba, I was employed by Fawn Engineering, Clive.

I have some experience at free-lance writing due to my personal interests in things such as labor disputes, a woman's right to choose, and human rights issues.

My recent trip to Cuba was inspired by my increasing interest in the situation there. Much of what we hear about Cuba tends to be negative. It's commonplace to hear about the difficult economic situation on that island nation, the "rafters crisis" of the summer of 1994, and the "terrible dictatorship" that the Cuban people supposedly live under.

I am not one to accept second-hand information as fact. That's why I decided to go and to see the situation there for myself.

The *Valley Courier* newspaper was helpful in my being able to go and to write about what I experienced by providing an outlet to share what I learned with others when I returned.

Readers will be able to find out what I learned in the next few issues of the *Courier*, including the answers to the questions that are most commonly asked about Cuba.

Seventy young people from the United States as well as Britain, Canada, Germany, Iceland, Mexico, Spain, and Sweden participated in the International Youth Brigade to Cuba in January. Brigade participants were on editorial assignment for newspapers and radio stations and are reporting back on the Cuban revolution today. Over the next few weeks the *Militant* will feature reprints and excerpts from those reports.



The Cuban people look ahead

BY DANNEN VANCE
Special to the *Valley Courier*

The portrait most commonly described in the press of Cuba is of a people trying to flee this Caribbean island to escape hunger and a brutal dictatorship. This was particularly the theme hammered home during last

year's "rafters" crisis.

The perspective described in the following article is somewhat different than that of most articles written in the press on the topic of Cuba.

I am basing my description on first-hand experience. Along with 75 young people from around the world, I visited Cuba for two weeks in January. We talked with a variety of Cuban people about their problems, their outlooks on the future, the relationships between the U.S.

and Cuban governments, and the relationships between the U.S. and Cuban people.

The Cuban people face very unique challenges today — the necessity

of becoming a self-sufficient country in the face of an intense economic embargo forced on them for three and one half decades by the U.S. government.

We learned how the U.S. government seeks to starve the Cuban government of its ability to import and export goods.

Washington also uses intimidation tactics against other countries willing to trade with Cuba.

Cuba's economic problems increased dramatically after the collapse of the Soviet-bloc in 1989 with Cuba losing its preferential trade status with the Russian government. The Cuban government has increasingly had to turn to the country's workers and farmers for help in stabilizing the country.

We stayed for several days talking to workers at a camp in the banana fields near Ciego de Avila.

The unity and friendship and basic human solidarity shown each other was also bestowed on the group of visitors. We were treated as complete equals and encouraged to join them in all of their activities — from recreational to political discussions, which proved to be quite educational.

They explained the priorities of their government and how they go about implementing the policies to best benefit the people as a whole.

To Be Continued in Feb. 10's *Valley Courier*

British nationalism fuels street actions for 'animal welfare'

BY CELIA PUGH
AND PETER ROSNER

LONDON — A wave of street actions hit coastal ports in Britain in January, as thousands of protesters tried to stop shipments of live animals to other parts of Europe. The protests took place from Shoreham and Plymouth in the south, to Brightlingsea in the south east and Swansea airport in South Wales.

Campaigners blocked roads, sat in front of trucks, and smashed windows of moving vehicles. A spectrum of so-called animal welfare groups were joined by large numbers of local residents. In response, the Shoreham port authority announced January 19 that it would drop the trade starting in March.

Interimperialist rivalry

Extensive national media coverage shed light on where these protests fit in the context of intensifying interimperialist trade rivalry and the nationalist reaction in sections of bourgeois public opinion in Britain. For example, the right of member states in the European Union to ban live animal exports is point four in the eight-point manifesto for British sovereignty in relations with Europe issued January 19 by eight Tory (Conservative Party) members of Parliament. The MPs, known as the "Euro rebels," are part of a group expelled from the Tory parliamentary caucus for failing to support a vote of confidence in the government of Prime Minister John Major.

A longtime supporter and financial contributor to the animal welfare campaign is Alan Clark who was appointed minister

for defence procurement in 1989 in the previous Tory government of Margaret Thatcher. During Clark's time in that post, the British government prepared to take part in the slaughter of more than 100,000 Iraqis in the Gulf war.

Agriculture Minister William Waldegrave said January 13 that the government is powerless to stop the trade in live animals, since this is guided by European Union regulations that individual member countries cannot override.

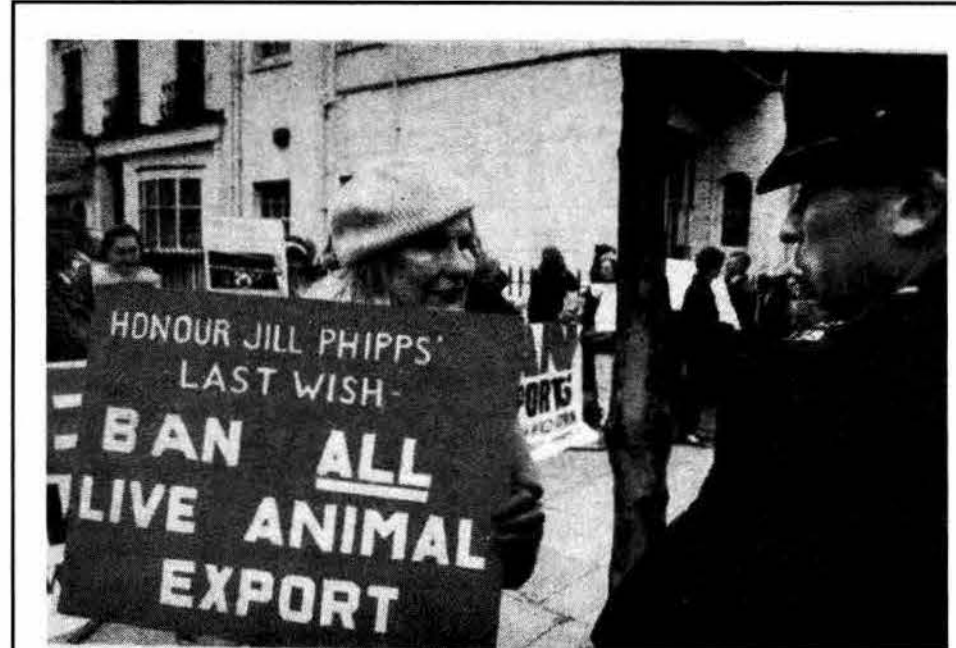
Media coverage has also highlighted the middle-class composition of these protests. The *Observer* newspaper carried a photograph January 8 of a protesting pensioner at Shoreham captioned, "Even nice people are prepared to go to extremes."

"I'm a policeman's daughter and I've never been to a demo in my life," a protester in Swansea told the *Guardian* January 17, "but I'm feeling very very militant. I'm willing to take direct action to stop this cruel trade as people don't seem to have power anymore, whatever the government."

Appeals to buy British

The London *Evening Standard* reported January 19 that "children in school uniforms and pensioners were again in the front line as 600 people battled with a wall of riot policemen" at Brightlingsea. That evening BBC Newsnight reported that 1,500 Brightlingsea residents, almost 20 percent of the town's population, crammed into a community center to plan further actions and protest police action.

Protesters expressed anger at the treat-



Pickers protest outside the February 7 annual meeting of National Farmers' Union of England and Wales, an organization led by capitalist farmers. The week before "animal welfare" activist Jill Phipps was struck by a truck and killed while trying to prevent a load of live calves from reaching an airport.

ment of live sheep in transit to France, as well as the crating of calves in near darkness in Holland prior to slaughter for veal, a practice that is illegal in Britain. Campaigners are demanding a ban on the trade. The Royal Society for the Protection of Animals appeals to veal eaters to buy British.

Particular resentment is focused on Waldegrave, the agriculture minister, who owns 1,000 acres of dairy farm land. Calves reared on his land have ended up in Dutch crates for veal. Booby-trapped letters and death threats have been sent to Waldegrave's home.

Britain is the third largest milk-producing country in Europe and has 41,600 dairy farms. Most farmers keep only female calves and do not rear male calves for beef. Instead, they are sold on the market, with half a million being sold

each year for live trade to Europe. In 1993 live animal trade to Europe was worth £200 million (£1=\$1.50). Some £150 million of this trade was in sheep; Britain is the biggest sheep producer in the northern hemisphere. Most is sold slaughtered, but sheep shipped live to France are sold as "French-reared" and fetch a higher price.

In early February owners of the North Wales port of Holyhead announced that livestock shipments from the Irish Republic would be stopped, saying they feared disruption of the port. Twenty percent of live animal exports from Ireland flow through Holyhead. John Donnelly, president of the Irish Farmers' Association, condemned the action.

Celia Pugh is a member of the Amalgamated Union of Electrical and Engineering Workers in London.

'Leaks' brew tempest in Britain over Irish talks

Continued from front page

plenty of time to vent his brand of rightist street politics.

But as journalists scoured the streets and pubs of Belfast looking for intense reactions among working people, they came up largely empty-handed.

Most businesspeople in Belfast also seem to have responded with equanimity. Two interviewed in the London *Indepen-*

highly publicized effort were several "Euro-sceptic" politicians and top military brass. Clegg, a 26-year-old paratrooper, was convicted of murdering 18-year-old Karen Reilly. A British army patrol shot the teenager dead in 1990 in West Belfast, a strong republican area, while she was on a joyride. At Clegg's 1993 trial, the soldiers said they had fired 19 bullets into the car because they felt their lives were at

driver, who was also killed.

The campaign for Clegg's freedom has stepped up since the recent rejection of his appeal to have the conviction reduced to manslaughter.

More than 100 Tory members of Parliament have backed the demand, and many have called for an emergency debate in Parliament.

The national daily newspaper the *Express* has organized a petition campaign for Clegg, claiming to have collected more than 100,000 signatures so far. Sections of the Dublin capitalist press have also called for Clegg's release.

A senior officer at the prison where Clegg is held commented that the former paratrooper "is no danger to anyone except the Queen's enemies. You can draw your own conclusions from that as to what our recommendations will be" on his release.

Clegg's family compares the case with that of Private Ian Thain, the only other British soldier convicted of murder while on duty in Northern Ireland. After serving just 26 months of a life sentence in the mid-1980s, Thain was released and rejoined his regiment.

The campaign to free Clegg has also won support from the Labour Party leadership. Marjorie Mowlam, the party's spokesperson on Ireland, said she had been assured by Patrick Mayhew, the Northern Ireland secretary, that consideration of Clegg's release will not be delayed.

Sinn Féin vice president Martin McGuinness condemned the campaign to free Clegg at a Troops Out demonstration in Manchester organized to commemorate Bloody Sunday, when British troops killed 13 civil rights marchers Jan. 29, 1972 in Derry.

Television programs on the case also show opinions in Britain are divided on Clegg's release.

British troops still on patrol

Since 1979 British soldiers have killed more than 300 men and women in the north of Ireland — the vast majority of them from republican areas. Yet there have been just 33 prosecutions, and only 4

convictions have been sustained. That's an acquittal rate of more than 90 percent.

While ruling-class politicians in Britain have tactical differences over what kind of constitutional changes are needed to ensure capitalist stability in Ireland, they are united behind the use of British troops to achieve that shared objective.

At the same time Prime Minister Major announced the end of daytime patrols by British troops on the streets of Belfast January 13, troop deployments in less high-profile areas have been increased. In Cappagh, County Tyrone, for example, 20 incidents were reported in five days, with British troops and RUC officers searching the village with dogs, digging up gardens and fields, and detaining people on their way to mass.

"Before the cease-fire [the troops] never felt safe walking around here," explained 21-year-old Sinn Féin councilor Denise Sutton whose garden was one of those dug up. "But now they're everywhere and they take their time."

In London the cops' Anti Terrorist Squad has not been reduced on the streets, despite the five-month cease-fire.

Unionist MPs swing to Labour

As the Unionist politicians become more isolated politically, the stage is being set for Major to call a referendum in the six counties asking for a mandate to continue the "peace process." Major wants to further strengthen his hand against his rivals in the ruling class, including those in Dublin.

Since the rebellion of nine Tory MPs late last year, Major has relied on the votes of the nine Unionist MPs to have a majority in Parliament and maintain his government. The Unionist MPs announced February 5, however, that they have decided to shift their votes to Labour.

Labour's Marjorie Mowlam spoke to a meeting of local Unionists in Derry in the north of Ireland two days earlier promising them "an open, honest, and straight-talking relationship." Leading Unionist Ken Maginnis praised Mowlam and said Labour seemed to be "rowing back" from any commitment to a united Ireland.



Front pages of some British big-business dailies involved in campaign to free Private Lee Clegg, sentenced to life in prison for 1990 murder of a young Irish woman.

dent described the "leaks" as "over hyped" and "a minor deviation."

The whole episode reflects the fight within ruling-class circles in the United Kingdom over how best to maintain stability and reorganize capitalist rule in Ireland.

In the wake of the *Times* revelations, the so-called pro-European wing of the ruling class for whom Major speaks has regained the initiative.

Campaign to free paratrooper Clegg

Over the previous two weeks, a national campaign had begun to be mounted to win the release from prison of British private Lee Clegg. Among the backers of the

risk. One claimed to have been struck by the car.

A Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) officer on duty with the soldiers originally corroborated their story.

But the RUC officer, not named for "security" reasons, later said the shots had been "totally unjustified," since the patrol had never been in danger and nobody had been struck.

The judge ruled forensic evidence showed the bullet that killed Reilly had been fired by Clegg from about 50 feet behind the car after it had passed. Clegg was sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder and to four years for attempting to wound Martin Peake, the 17-year-old

Seattle conference discusses Cuba, South Africa

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists, an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS or to join write: Young Socialists, P.O. Box 2396, New York, NY 10009, or call (212) 475-6482.

BY MEG NOVACK

SEATTLE — Young people from the length of the West Coast came together here January 28-29 for a socialist educational weekend jointly sponsored by the Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party. They came from San Francisco, Los Angeles, and San Jose, California; Olympia, Spokane, and Seattle, Washington; and Vancouver, British Columbia.

Vana Knap, a Young Socialist and rail worker from Los Angeles, and Rob Jenkins, a young worker from Seattle who used to live in South Africa and helped organize an African National Congress chapter there, opened the weekend with a forum on the democratic revolution in that country. Jenkins spoke about the experience of working in the ANC with people from very diverse political backgrounds. Knap showed slides she took on a recent *Militant* reporting trip to South Africa. A lively discussion followed the presentations.

Reports from brigade to Cuba

Saturday evening the Militant Labor Forum sponsored a report from three brigadistas who returned January 21 from the International Youth Brigade to Cuba.

Melissa Harris, a Young Socialist and member of the International Association of Machinists in Seattle, described how brigade members stayed on a farm organized by the Union of Young Communists and the Cuban Communist Party, observing firsthand the conditions of Cuban workers and youth. Kim Sherman and Chuck Domitrovich, also from Seattle, said they had gone to Cuba with many

questions about whether the revolution was alive and the country was really socialist.

"People said Fidel Castro is a dictator, but how many dictatorships have free education and health care?" Domitrovich asked. "I was very impressed with Cuba, especially how they've planned the use of their resources to meet their needs under the tough economic condition they are in" as a result of the U.S. government embargo.

The brigadistas said the Cubans they spoke with made clear they do not want handouts. "The Cubans want support for the revolution, not charity," Domitrovich explained.

"If you want to support the material gains of the revolution, like education and health care, you also have to support the socialist revolution in Cuba, because that is what made these things possible," Sherman added.

"What impressed me the most about Cuba was the humanity. In Cuba there's a place for everyone in defending the revolution and fighting for socialism," Harris stated.

Brigadistas answered a broad range of questions about Cuba, from problems with the re-emergence of prostitution and the debate taking place on the role of women in the revolution, to the production of food in the special period, where pesticides and fertilizers are virtually unavailable.

Interest in the Young Socialists

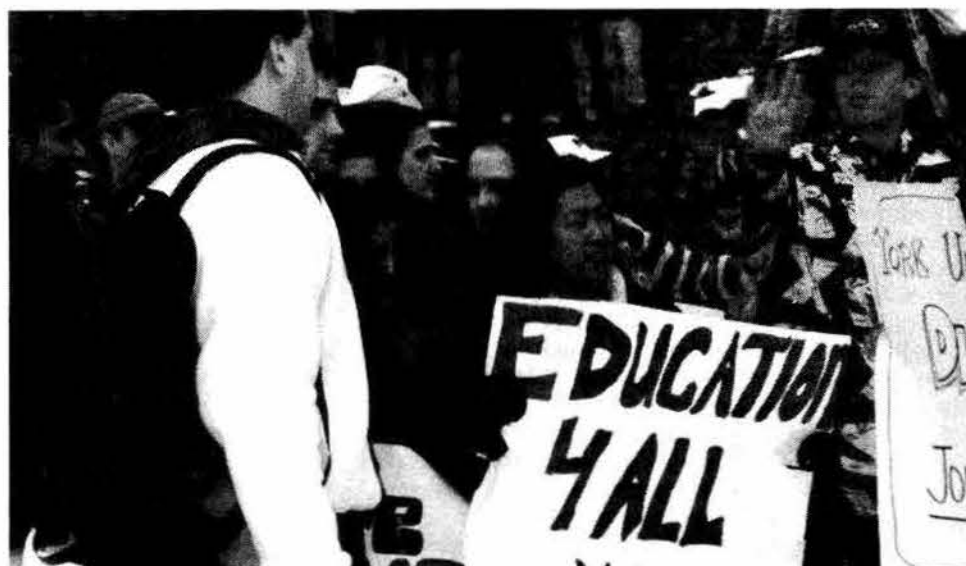
The weekend ended with a meeting Sunday morning of about 15 young people interested in the YS. Will Meyers, a YS member from San Jose, spoke about the fight against Proposition 187, a law passed in California that denies undocumented workers and their children the right to education and health care.

Jason Phelps, a student and worker from Vancouver, British Columbia, spoke about his experience in helping to organize the national student strike in Canada

January 25. Federal government human resources minister Lloyd Axworthy's "plan is a low-wage strategy intended to make workers expect lower wages and less social programs," he said, referring to a package of social-service cuts the Canadian government is trying to force on

Jose, called the weekend "very informative. It gave you a feeling you're not alone, that there are other people out there who think like you, that things can be changed in a progressive manner."

Phelps said the participation of YS members from San Jose and Seattle in the



Militant/Monica Jones

Thousands of youth marched against budget cuts in Canada, January 25. Young Socialists shared their experience in this action at the socialist educational weekend.

workers, including a projected doubling of college tuition.

"This isn't just a problem in Canada," he said. "It's a part of what the wealthy are trying to do to the working class internationally. It's time that we stood up to them and said this is enough."

Participants also discussed the Young Socialists' campaigns in the coming months, including helping set up more reports for brigadistas, helping organize a leg of the tour of two Cuban youth in the spring, and raising money toward the \$16,000 goal for the YS International Travel Fund. More than \$100 was raised at a raffle and party.

Diego Sanchez, a student from San

Juan, budget-cuts protest in Vancouver showed him the internationalism of the Young Socialists. "It was very inspiring to see young people from Seattle and California participating in the struggle we are waging in Canada," he said.

Meg Novack is a member of the Young Socialists and International Association of Machinists Local 289 in Seattle.

D.C. socialist candidate: 'Labor must fight cuts'

Continued from front page

unemployed, native- or foreign-born, young or old, Black or white, male or female," McCartan said. Supporters of the socialist candidate are currently petitioning to place McCartan's name on the May 2 ballot.

crisis 'discovered'

The mayor and city council wrapped up 1994 by approving \$280 million in school and health-care cuts. On February 3, Barry announced that his administration had "discovered" another \$350 million in debts owed by the city, pushing the municipal deficit to \$722 million. Calling it "the most serious financial crisis since 1873," Barry announced a series of sweeping austerity moves.

The bulk of the newly unearthed deficit is said to be unpaid Medicaid costs. Barry has asked Congress for \$267 million to cover those bills. But congressional representatives say no federal aid will even be considered until the mayor and city council have driven through spending cuts.

Setting the stage for a direct assault on the municipal employee unions, Barry announced measures that would in essence tear up existing union contracts. He asked Congress for the authority to impose an across-the-board 10 percent wage reduction, two weeks of unpaid furloughs, and layoffs of 4,000 workers this fiscal year.

An additional \$45 million is to be slashed from public schools on top of the \$31 million cut last December. The school board rapidly moved to lay off 300 teachers and shorten the school year by seven days. Barry has proposed that spending authority for education be transferred from the school board to the mayor.

These moves have met some initial resistance by youth and working people. Bus drivers and the Amalgamated Transit Union responded to proposed route reductions and fare hikes by passing out flyers

to riders, encouraging a big turnout at a Metro hearing. Hundreds came to condemn the moves. Students, teachers, immigrant workers, and others have also turned out to protest at city council meetings.

"I work at D.C. General Hospital," a worker told McCartan while supporters were collecting signatures to put him on the ballot. "I'm not going to vote for either the Democrats or Republicans any more," the hospital worker said. "I'm tired of them telling us one thing and then turning the ax on us when they get into office." Plans call for a 50 percent reduction in staff at D.C. General, the city's only public hospital. Five of 15 clinics are also to be closed.

D.C. 'home rule'

Barry has made also made proposals to weaken the limited "home rule" granted the city in 1974 by the federal government. Until then the District's largely Black and working-class residents were governed directly by Congress through an appointed commissioner. The fight for home rule was part of the broader rights struggle in the 1960s.

Until 1974, the 500,000 residents of the District had no elected representative in Congress. The home rule law provided a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives. The city's budgets and all legislation remain subject to approval by the federal government. Barry proposes a federal takeover of administration and funding of the District's courts, prisons, a hospital, and many Medicaid and welfare programs.

"These measures are not solely economic attacks on working people but an assault on our democratic rights," McCartan said. "Placing the city's courts, prisons, Medicaid, and welfare programs under congressional rule weakens the leverage of working people to fight racist



Militant/Sam Manuel

Socialist candidate Greg McCartan

frame-ups and imprisonment, the ability of prisoners to fight for better condition and more rights, and to effectively oppose the bureaucratic indifference of Medicaid and welfare administrators."

McCartan particularly condemned the proposal to disperse working people at D.C.'s Lorton Correctional Complex to federal prisons across the country. "This would isolate workers in prison from family members and supporters, giving prison authorities a freer hand to curtail the rights of workers behind bars."

Barry's proposals prompted the District's nonvoting congressional delegate, Eleanor Holmes Norton, to caution that the mayor was being forced to "cede whole elements of home rule."

Republican representative James Walsh, who heads the D.C. Appropriations Committee in the House, has said a federal takeover of the city is inevitable. But Republican majority leader Newt Gingrich and Virginia representative Tom Davis, who heads a House committee that oversees District affairs, are downplaying that idea.

"It seems to me Barry is actually doing a good job of wandering around, poking holes in the cupboard and finding things to delineate the problem," Gingrich said. He proposes the District become part of the state of Maryland.

Young Socialists \$16,000 Travel Fund

The Young Socialists are on an international campaign to defend the Cuban revolution, sending a representative to an African National Congress conference in South Africa, and sending YS representatives around the globe.

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Greensboro, NC	75	15
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Twin Cities, MN	1000	213
Washington, DC	500	38
Yellow Springs, OH	100	0
Other contributions	1306	1196
TOTAL	14661	10515
SHOULD BE	16000	16000

New edition of 'In Defense of Marxism'

An irreplaceable guide to understanding politics in the former USSR today

Reprinted below are major excerpts from the preface to the fourth edition of *In Defense of Marxism—The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union*. Published by Pathfinder, this Marxist classic was authored by Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution. In addition to the updated preface, the 1995 edition features a glossary, expanded footnotes, revised index, and redesigned cover and typography.

The opening section of the preface, not reprinted here, briefly reviews events in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe since the disintegration of the dominant Stalinist apparatuses in those countries between 1989 and 1991. The new petty-bourgeois regimes, Jenness says, are attempting to integrate these extremely deformed workers states into the crisis-ridden world capitalist system, but the course toward restoration of capitalist social relations will inevitably engender growing resistance by the working class and other toilers.

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BY DOUG JENNESS

These momentous changes taking place in the former USSR and Eastern Europe are stimulating interest and discussion among working people, students, and others around the world. There is a thirst for a clear explanation of the economic, social, and political contradictions in the structures of these countries.

Questions include: What is the social character of these states? Is capitalism being restored? What, if anything, is there for workers to defend in these societies? What is the character of workers' struggles? What should be the stance of working people in the United States and other countries to these developments? What is the relationship of workers in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to struggles against capitalist exploitation and imperialist domination around the world?

This book by Leon Trotsky is a helpful guide for working through answers to these and other questions. As a central leader of the October 1917 Russian revolution and of the Communist International in its early years, Trotsky provides a materialist analysis reinforced by direct experience. Although the articles and letters in this volume were written more than fifty years ago, their evaluation of Soviet society and its contradictory place in world politics is not only accurate but *essential* to understanding the permanent crisis of the Stalinist parties and the growing instability of the regimes in Eastern Europe and in the former USSR.

Counterrevolution against Bolshevism

In the late 1920s Trotsky had been expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and forced into exile by Joseph Stalin. Trotsky's "crime" was to have continued to fight for the communist course that V.I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks had followed before the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution under Stalin. "Stalinism"



Mass mobilizations in Moscow in August 1991 by working people defeated coup attempt and shattered the Stalinist apparatus.

refers to the counterrevolutionary policies of the privileged social caste that emerged and consolidated its power at that time and continues its domination in the countries of the former Soviet Union to this day. These Stalinist policies were endorsed by the leaderships of parties that called themselves "Communist" around the world. They subordinated workers' struggles to serving the diplomatic needs of the caste in the Soviet Union and, after World War II, of the castes that exercised power in other countries where capitalism had been overturned in the decade following the war.

In 1939-40, when the materials in this book were written, Trotsky was living in exile in Mexico. In August 1940 he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin.

Trotsky wrote these articles and letters as part of a debate inside the Socialist Workers Party during the opening stages of the second interimperialist world war. The key issue in dispute was what kind of party needed to be built in the United States and around the world: a revolutionary party that was truly part of the working class and its struggles, or a petty-bourgeois radical party calling itself working-class in words while buckling in deeds to bourgeois public opinion? What kind of party could stand up to the pressures of the capitalists' intensifying prowar propaganda and anticommunist hysteria?

Trotsky's standpoint was that of the working class, both inside the Soviet Union and internationally. He explained that clarity on the class character and contradictions of the Soviet Union was interlinked with the political tasks and orientation of revolutionary workers the world over. It was necessary to distinguish between the nationalized property relations that resulted from the expropriation of the capitalist class, which were conquests of the workers and peasants during the opening years of the Russian revolution, and

the counterrevolutionary policies of the privileged social caste. Only by doing so could working people around the world know what they should do to defend the Soviet Union against impending military attack (which came with imperialist Germany's invasion in June 1941, less than a year after the final items in this collection were written).

The underlying cause of World War II was the rivalry among the competing capitalist ruling families for world domination, Trotsky explained....Despite the Stalin regime's continuing counterrevolutionary course during the war, the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union successfully beat back the German imperialist invasion. The military turning point came in early 1943, when Soviet resistance broke the siege of Stalingrad. The victories of Soviet workers and farmers, won at great human and material cost, prevented the restoration of capitalism and imperialist domination in the Soviet Union. They also gave a powerful impulse to anticolonial and other national liberation struggles throughout Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Caribbean. Capitalist property relations were overturned in the late 1940s and early 1950s in Eastern and Central Europe, North Korea, China, and then North Vietnam.

Postwar revolutions

The extension of the socialist revolution in these countries, however, occurred under the domination of Stalinist, not revolutionary, leadership. Moreover, the strength of Stalinism in the workers' movement in Western Europe, especially France and Italy, blocked any chance for socialist victories in a major imperialist power. Thus, the revolutionary advances impelled by the triumph of Soviet working people over imperialist aggression did not "inevitably lead to the overthrow of the bureaucracy in the USSR and regeneration of Soviet democracy," as Trotsky had anticipated. Nor did these advances result in a political revolution that restored power to the Soviet working class under the leadership of a renewed communist party.

In Trotsky's 1936 book *The Revolution Betrayed: What Is the Soviet Union and Where Is It Going?* (Pathfinder, 1972), which is an essential complement to *In Defense of Marxism*, he based his prognosis of a political revolution in the Soviet Union on the communist consciousness that still existed among tens of thousands of workers who had gone through the October revolution or had been deeply influenced by its revolutionary leadership.

In the decades since, however, this political consciousness has eroded so much under the stultifying conditions imposed by the Stalinist regimes that today there is no communist working-class vanguard in the former Soviet Union or anywhere in Central or Eastern Europe. Instead, there has been a complete break in continuity

with the rich communist traditions of the early Soviet government under Lenin's leadership and the first five years of the Communist International.

Workers throughout Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, however, are regaining political room to organize and become involved in politics. They are beginning to resist attacks on their economic and social conquests. It is through struggles like these that working people from Berlin to the Pacific coast of Russia will link up with fights by other workers and farmers the world over, test alternative strategies and ideas, and begin anew the building of proletarian communist leaderships.

Struggle for a proletarian party

The political crisis in the Socialist Workers Party discussed by Trotsky in these pages was precipitated by the signing of the "nonaggression" pact between the governments of the Soviet Union and Germany (the Stalin-Hitler pact) on August 22, 1939, and the outbreak of war a week later with the invasion of Poland by German imperialism. Far from being surprised, a majority of the SWP were well-equipped for the Stalin-Hitler pact—an event Trotsky predicted as early as 1933. Despite this, a substantial minority in the SWP leadership and membership concluded that there was no longer anything progressive in the Soviet Union to defend. This panicky turning away from historic conquests of the international workers movement reflected a more fundamental retreat from any perspective of building a revolutionary proletarian party in the United States and worldwide.

For several years, Trotsky had been urging the SWP to adopt an "orientation of the whole party toward factory work" and to deepen its active involvement in the industrial trade unions. He called for systematic political activity among workers who are Black.... His views on these questions can be found in *Background to 'The Struggle for a Proletarian Party'* and *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*, both published by Pathfinder.

Many questions of communist leadership and party building that arose in the 1939-40 debate were also addressed in *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party* (Pathfinder, 1972) by James P. Cannon, SWP national secretary at the time. This book remains a valuable companion volume to *In Defense of Marxism* and should be studied along with it.

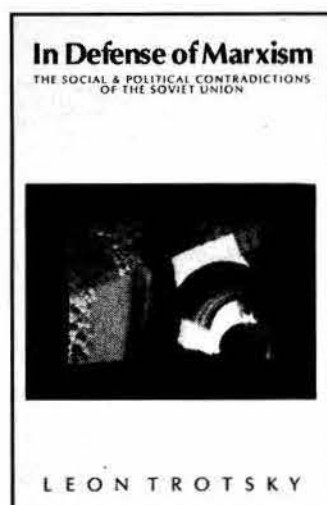
For a broader picture of the effort to forge a party of the working-class vanguard in the United States, Pathfinder's four-volume series on the struggle to organize the Teamsters union in the Midwest is especially useful: *Teamster Rebellion*, *Teamster Power*, *Teamster Politics*, and *Teamster Bureaucracy*. The series was written by Farrell Dobbs, a prominent leader of the Teamster organizing drives in the 1930s who later served as the SWP's national secretary. Dobbs describes the hard-fought labor battles through which an entire layer of working-class fighters learned how to carry out serious revolutionary work in the trade unions and were won to socialism. The impact of the Teamsters experience on the evolution and development of the forces that founded the SWP was deeply felt in the 1939-40 struggle, in which the proletarian character of the party was challenged and successfully defended.

Labor moves back to center of politics

During the period of capitalist expansion following World War II, the labor movement was pushed out of the center of politics in the United States. This began to change as the 1974-75 international recession, the deepest since 1937, registered the scope of the economic crisis facing the capitalist rulers. To bolster declining profit rates, employers began squeezing more out of working people and launched an assault on the unions.

Labor's resistance to this assault, which has gone through ups and downs, has

Continued on Page 12



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Museum, bowing to Washington, drops Hiroshima exhibit

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — In response to a reactionary year-long campaign, the federally funded Smithsonian Institution January 30 essentially scrapped a major exhibit on the atomic bombing of Japan in August 1945 at the conclusion of World War II. The exhibit's most vocal opponents in the American Legion and other such forces drew support from Democratic and Republican politicians from Capitol Hill to the White House.

The display was to have opened in May at the National Air and Space Museum here. But the capitalist rulers were unwilling to brook even a hint of dissent from the bipartisan orthodoxy that the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtering more than 200,000 civilians, was justified as the only way to end the war in the Pacific without the deaths of hundreds of thousands more U.S. soldiers.

The planned exhibit, entitled "The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II," raised questions about the decision of Democratic president Harry Truman to drop the atomic bomb on the two cities. Among other things, it quoted after-the-fact admissions by top Allied commander and former U.S. president Dwight Eisenhower and Adm. William Leahy, wartime chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that at the time of the bombings the Japanese government was already suing for peace.

In place of a 10,000-square-foot exhibit, the Smithsonian will now display just part of the fuselage of the Enola Gay, the B-29 bomber that dropped the atomic bomb on Japan, with a commemorative plaque and possibly a video of recollections by the men who flew the plane.

At a packed news conference to an-

nounce the scuttling of the exhibit, Michael Heyman, secretary of the Smithsonian, claimed, "Veterans and their families were expecting, and rightly so, that the nation would honor and commemorate their valor and sacrifice. They were not looking for analysis and, frankly we did not give enough thought to the intense feelings such analysis would evoke."

Michael McCurry, the White House press secretary, said President Bill Clinton supported the Smithsonian's decision. He said the president conceded that academic freedom was an issue in the debate, but "nonetheless felt that some of the concerns expressed by veterans groups and others had merit."

Hiroshima mayor Takashi Hiraoka criticized the revamping of the exhibit as depicting the bombing solely "from the logic of the victorious nation." Artifacts lent to the museum by the Japanese government are being returned. Last September, in response to criticism from members of Congress and veterans groups, the Smithsonian agreed to omit parts of the exhibit that displayed the horrible effects of the bombings. A section on the development and proliferation of nuclear arms after the war was also dropped.

A week prior to Heyman's January 30 announcement, 80 Republican and Democratic members of the House of Representatives demanded the dismissal of Martin Harwit, director of the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum, for his role in promoting the exhibit. House Speaker Newt Gingrich demanded that the Smithsonian's board of regents root out "political correctness" that has been "distorting and prejudicing" its exhibits.

"Political correctness may be OK in some faculty lounge," stated Gingrich,



Hiroshima, August 1945. More than 200,000 people were killed and many others maimed by atomic bombs Washington dropped there and on Nagasaki. Inset: Col. Paul Tibbets aboard the Enola Gay, the plane used to drop the bomb on Hiroshima.

who is a former history professor, but "the Smithsonian is a treasure that belongs to the American people, and it should not become a plaything for left-wing ideologies."

Martin Sherwin, a professor of history at Dartmouth College and member of the academic advisory panel that worked on the exhibit, said, "I'm appalled that Congress has come into this with an official history over the debate, leaving no room for informed debate."

Both houses of Congress had scheduled hearings on the Enola Gay controversy and the operations of the Smithsonian. Republican senator Thad Cochran from Mississippi said he expects the hearings to go forward to "look at how the Smithsonian will be managed in the future and what standards will be developed for interpretative exhibitions."

Another recent display that particularly irked right-wing forces was one on the U.S. government's internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, presented as part of the extended commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution.

Recycling the U.S. imperialist rulers' rationalization for their atrocities that Washington was the innocent champion of democracy and colonial freedom in a war against Tokyo's tyranny and expansion, Smithsonian secretary Heyman said he had "a number of regrets about this sad situation. One is that it has gotten in the way of the commemoration of our nation's victory over aggression 50 years ago."

Brian Williams is a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 27 in Cheverly, Maryland.

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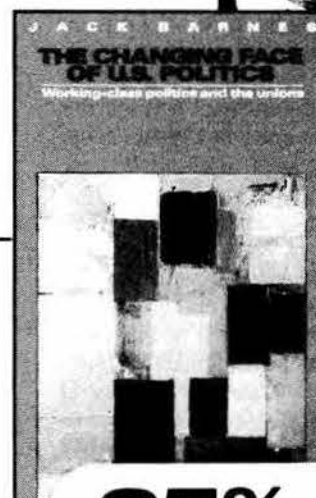
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Workers face mounting death toll in steel plants

BY BILL SCHEER

PITTSBURGH—The editorial in the January 9 issue of the *Militant* on workplace safety was a timely reminder of the challenges facing the labor movement. Referring to the rash of airline-related disasters over the past year, the editorial said, "As long as the unions identify with the employers and 'our airline,' rather than fighting against company attacks, the pressure on individual workers to cut corners and work less safely will mount. It will take workers standing up and forcing

UNION TALK

the companies to follow safe practices to turn this situation around."

In the steel industry, where I work, there has been a rise in deaths and injuries, as companies have pushed up production to reap profits from growing demand. In the first half of 1994 there were already more steelworker deaths than in all of 1993, when 13 steelworkers were killed. These figures, moreover, understate the reality, since they don't include deaths of workers employed by contractors. For example, the most deadly accident in the steel industry in 1994—in fact, the most deadly in 15 years—is not even counted. It involved four contract workers at AK Steel's Middletown, Ohio, plant who were killed in an explosion.

Recently Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation, where the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) won a hard-fought battle against union busting, was fined \$2.1 million in connection with the May 13 death of a millwright. According to the USWA magazine *Steelabor*, safety protections deteriorated during the 20-month lockout when the company used "replacement workers." The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) cited the company for 30 willful and 3 serious violations in the millwright's death.

On December 22 the USX Corp. was fined \$7,000 in connection with the death of Frank Parell last June at the Clairton Works coke plant, near Pittsburgh, where I work. According to a report in the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, the company was cited for failure to provide an atmosphere "free from recognized hazards that were causing or likely to cause death or serious physical harm to employees."

Parell had almost 30 years of service with USX and almost 20 years as a trade and craft motor inspector. He

had worked at USX's Fairless steel mill near Philadelphia until 1992. When the company cut production there, he and several other workers moved to Pittsburgh to maintain their employment with USX.

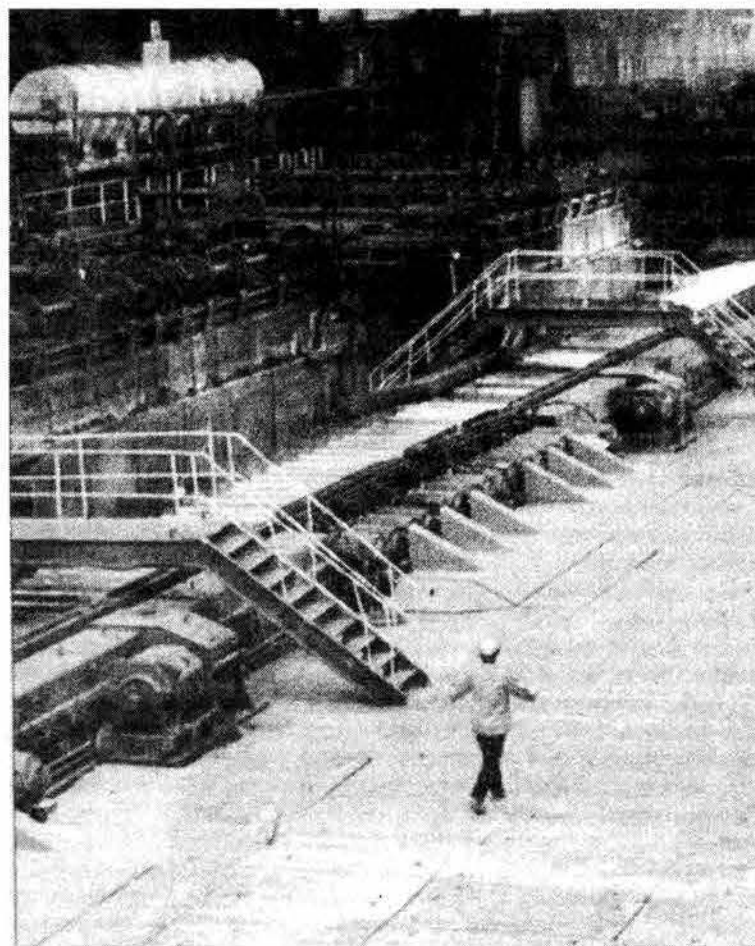
Parell had only three years until he could retire. He never made it.

On June 24 Parell was performing electrical work on a moving larry car, a large vehicle that moves on a track across the top of coke ovens and pours coal into them. He was caught between the roof of the larry car and a coal hopper gate and crushed to death. Parell had failed to lock out the larry car. Locking out equipment is a company safety procedure and one we should enforce. But as workers will tell you, with coke sales booming, there is big pressure from foremen and front-office management to make production goals. Locking out equipment and other safety procedures take more time and energy and can trim output as a result.

In addition, the incentive system in the plants builds in pressure on workers to meet production goals. If we make our schedule we get an incentive bonus, and if we finish ahead of time we can get out of there earlier. This is similar to the piece-rate system I experienced as a cutter in a garment factory, but with an important difference. Here you are part of a crew, and what one person does can directly affect not only himself or herself but the entire crew.

According to coworkers, there were other factors that may have contributed to Parell's death. The coke plant he transferred to two years ago is very different from the steel mill he was used to. The larry car he was working on was unlike the one at the battery complex where he was normally assigned. According to coworkers, the larry car at his normal battery has clearance and the procedure he was doing would not have resulted in his being crushed. In addition, the weather was bad and he was anxious to finish and get out of the rain.

The larry car operator tested positive for drugs but was exonerated in the accident. The fine from the Labor Department, however, was based on the company's failure to follow its own regulations regarding



A hot-strip mill at USX Gary Works. The drive for profits by steel bosses has driven up injury and death rates on the job

substance abuse. At the time of Parell's death some workers expressed a kind of fatalism along the lines of "it's a dangerous job, accidents will happen, and you have to look out for yourself." But we have to take collective responsibility, both right on the shop floor and through our unions, for enforcing safety standards and fighting against any company attempts to subordinate safety to profits or production.

Bill Scheer is a member of USWA Local 1557 at Clairton Works outside Pittsburgh.

USAir crash inquiry shows bosses delayed repairs

BY EDWIN FRUIT
AND DAVE WELTERS

PITTSBURGH—The National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) concluded five days of public hearings here January 27 on the crash of USAir Flight 427. Last September, 132 people died when the aircraft plunged to the ground on its approach to Pittsburgh International Airport.

The hearings consisted of a parade of witnesses representing Boeing Co. and other manufacturers, various federal agencies, and other "experts" on the Boeing model 737-300 plane that crashed. After five days of testimony there was still no agreement as to what caused the disaster, although an uncommanded rudder movement was pointed to as the likely suspect.

Government, industry collusion

Even though the hearings provided little new evidence, it became apparent that the government, the airlines, and aerospace companies acted in collusion to put off needed changes in the aircraft.

In March 1994, after several serious incidents and two years of studies, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) ordered that the rudder power control, which directs the flow of hydraulic fluid, be redesigned and that the airlines replace the old units with new ones by 1999. Tests showed that under some circumstances, the power control valve could move the rudder in the direction opposite to the pilot's command.

The FAA also ordered the airlines to do ground tests on older rudders every 750 hours of service until the control units had been replaced. There are some 2,400 Boeing 737s in service, and the airline companies claimed they would need five years to make the changes at an estimated labor cost of \$1,100 per plane.

Sudden change of heart

Since the Pittsburgh crash, however, the carriers have stepped up their timetables for replacements. USAir says it expects to complete the switchover for its entire fleet of 235 737s by the end of 1995. United has replaced the part on 120 of its 227 planes, and Southwest Airlines, whose

fleet is exclusively 737s, said it had changed the part on more than half of its planes.

So it took the fatal crash of Flight 427 to convince the airline owners to change a part it previously claimed would take five years to replace! As far back as 1993, the Air Line Pilots Association wanted each plane retrofitted as soon as replacement parts rolled off the manufacturing line.

During the hearings, NTSB chairman James Hall said Boeing had not told the board everything it knew about "incidents" involving 737 planes. In fact, Boeing had compiled more than 180 in-flight upsets over the past 25 years—35 of them in the last two years—that could have been connected to the rudder control system. In contrast, the FAA database showed just 43 incidents between 1974 and 1994.

The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* reported January 26 that Richard Schaden, a Colorado attorney and former Boeing executive, criticized the laboratory tests being done by Boeing and the rudder manufacturer. He also chided the NTSB's technical panel for not asking more challenging

questions of the hearing witnesses, most of whom were from Boeing, its suppliers, and customers.

Jack Gamble, Boeing's chief spokesperson, replied by saying, "We want as badly as anyone else to find out if there is something wrong with that airplane. We need to get it fixed and get it fixed now. Dollars and cents are not a factor." Meanwhile, as the Boeing official was defending his company at the hearings, the NTSB released information that last year two Air France Boeing 737s had experienced unexpected rolling motions. This had been reported to Boeing but the NTSB had not learned about it until January.

Faulty flight recorders

Another point of contention was the minimum amount of information on Flight 427's flight data recorder (the "black box"). Newer planes apparently record the status of more than 100 parts of an aircraft. NTSB chairman Hall complained that Boeing was shipping planes with recorders that tracked only 31 pieces of information, and that Flight 427's recorder had even less information and nothing on

possible rudder movement.

According to the January 27 *New York Times*, Paul Turk, a USAir spokesperson, said it would take 3,000 hours of work and cost \$66,000 per plane to install wiring for a 28-channel flight recorder. "We don't put a price on safety, but it is money which we do not have," Turk said. It should be noted that USAir is currently in the process of laying off mechanics as a "cost-cutting" move.

A number of family members of the victims of Flight 427 attended the hearings, hoping to find the cause of the September 8 disaster. Commenting on the fact that the airlines' original timetable for replacing the rudder units had been spread out over years instead of being done immediately, Donna-Kazan White, who lost her father, said, "It goes back to money. It's a corporate thing. I don't know if it's Boeing or USAir but it's basically where you decide to put your money."

Edwin Fruit and Dave Welters are members of International Association of Machinists Local 1976 and work for USAir at Pittsburgh International Airport.

Airline owners say life rafts too costly

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

LOS ANGELES—A number of major airlines have received permission from the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) to remove life rafts from flights over water that are less than 162 miles from land.

This decision comes as airlines are cutting safety measures through crew reductions, delays in engine overhauls, and increasing use of inadequately trained workers to perform jobs previously done by mechanics.

Delta Air Lines and Continental Airlines have removed inflatable rafts from the cabins of planes that fly certain over-water domestic and Mexican routes, according to a report in the *Wall Street Journal*. Other carriers such as Northwest Airlines, USAir, American Airlines, and Alaska Airlines have been flying over-

water routes without rafts since the mid-1980s.

Delta spokespersons say that they petitioned the FAA and were granted permission to eliminate the suitcase-size rafts, which hold up to 46 people, because it would be only a 13-minute glide time to shore. The assumption is that even without any power, the plane could make it to land safely.

Mechanics from United and Northwest airlines that this reporter spoke to thought differently. Some planes might be able to glide to land, they said, but that depends on a lot of factors, such as the type of aircraft, the gross weight of the plane, the experience of the pilot, and wind direction and speed. The margin of error would be very slim, they pointed out.

Why are the airlines looking to elimi-

nate rafts? The answer lies in the \$5,400 cost of each raft and the added weight to the plane of about 300 to 400 pounds. Without the equipment, airlines say they would save \$19,000 per plane in fuel costs plus undisclosed maintenance costs of checking on the integrity of the rafts. A spokesman for American Airlines told the *Journal* that rafts are like sophisticated on-board safety medical equipment—luxuries the industry simply cannot afford.

Meanwhile, airline profits have soared over the past year with concession contracts, lower employee wages, longer working hours, and cutting corners on safety and maintenance.

Mark Friedman is a member of International Association of Machinists Local 2785 in Los Angeles.

Ruling curbs U.S. gov't attempt to deport Palestinians

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Two Palestinians residing in the United States recently won an important court ruling in their ongoing fight against deportation on January 24. A federal judge ruled that the government cannot deny them legal residence status on the basis of secret information.

Judge Stephen Wilson found that denying Alad Barakat and Naim Sharif access to the government's claimed information against them violated their constitutional right to due process of law since it deprived them of any meaningful opportunity to rebut government allegations.

Barakat and Sharif are part of the group who have become known as the L.A. 8 — seven Palestinians and the Kenyan spouse of one — who were targeted for victimization because of their solidarity with the Palestinian liberation struggle.

They were rounded up in 1987 on trumped-up charges of "terrorism," and since then the government has pursued its stubborn drive to deport them.

The Justice Department charges that they are members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), an organization that Washington brands as "terrorist."

Recently, President Bill Clinton issued a directive ordering any accounts in the United States held by the PFLP, as well as a number of other groups associated with the Palestinian struggle, frozen and their assets seized.

In his January 24 decision, Judge Wilson said he reviewed the government's classified documents in the case and indicated he found little more than written material by the PFLP assertedly advocating the ideas of "world communism."

Rally backs death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal's release

BY LISA STOLARSKI

HARRISBURG, Pennsylvania — "No justice, no peace, free Mumia now!" chanted more than 300 people who gathered here January 17 on behalf of framed-up activist Mumia Abu-Jamal. The journalist has been on death row since 1982. The demonstration, which took place during the inauguration of Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, marched from a park to the back of the governor's mansion. One of Ridge's main campaign promises was that he would swiftly execute death-row prisoners.

Demonstrators hailed from across Pennsylvania and from as far away as Chicago; New York; Washington, D.C.; and Amherst, Massachusetts. Police followed the march from beginning to end, using dogs and horses to block the street in one location, rerouting the march around the corner and onto the sidewalk.

At the time of his arrest on charges of killing a cop, Abu-Jamal was the president of the Philadelphia Association of Black Journalists. He was particularly noted for his probe into the 1978 police assault on the home occupied by the MOVE organization, during which one police officer died. Nine MOVE members were sentenced to between 30 and 100 years in prison in that case.

On Dec. 9, 1991, Abu-Jamal was driving a taxi cab when he saw police beating his brother and tried to intervene. In the events that followed, Abu-Jamal was shot and seriously wounded and one cop was killed.

There were many eyewitnesses at the

scene. Only two testified that Abu-Jamal shot the cop; others gave descriptions of an assailant who in no way resembled the activist. Abu-Jamal himself was beaten twice by the cops as he lay wounded, once at the scene and later at the hospital.

Having no physical evidence to go on and relying on the testimony of two witnesses of questionable character, the prosecution found it necessary to further stack the deck against Abu-Jamal.

His request to represent himself at the trial was denied, and an attorney who openly stated he had neither the training nor the time to represent Abu-Jamal was appointed by the court. Only \$150 was allocated by the court for an investigation. At one point the activist was actually removed from his own trial for insisting that a witness be cross-examined. The prosecution tried to put Abu-Jamal on trial for his politics, including statements he supposedly made when he was 16 years old and a member of the Black Panther Party.

All of Abu-Jamal's direct appeals have been exhausted, and Governor Ridge could sign a death warrant at any time. Authorities have moved him to a prison in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, where the state plans to house all 171 inmates currently on death row. Abu-Jamal's defense committee and legal counsel are in Philadelphia, at the opposite end of the state.

For more information about the defense campaign contact: International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, P.O. Box 19709, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Tel (215) 476-8812.



L.A. 8 defendants Julie Mungai (center), Naim Sharif, Amjad Obeid, Aiad Barakat, Bashar Amer (from left behind Mungai), and attorney Leonard Weinglass (right).

Furthermore, he stressed there is no evidence in the secret dossiers that Barakat and Sharif "personally advocate the doctrines, nor does it indicate that they have participated in any 'terrorist' activity."

And, the judge added, the two men have never been charged with any crime, "and there is no indication that they are violent terrorists."

If Washington wants to continue its efforts to deny Sharif and Barakat permanent residence, it must either open its secret files to them or come up with new evidence.

Meanwhile, two others of the L.A. 8 — Khader Hamide and Michel Shehadeh — have been subjected to a court hearing that has dragged on for several years. Both are legal permanent U.S. resi-

dents and cannot be deported unless they are first stripped of that status. To that end, an Immigration and Naturalization judge is presiding over the hearing, which has a two-fold purpose. One is to establish, as a matter of official government policy, that the PFLP is a "terrorist" organization; and the other is to establish that the two have "abetted" the PFLP.

The remaining four of the L.A. 8 face deportation on charges that they violated various terms of their visas.

Judge Wilson's "due process" ruling was welcomed by David Cole, one of the lawyers for the eight. He said, "The ruling means that immigrants have the same right to confront charges the government attempts to use against them that citizens do."



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

By Mary Ellen Marus

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Britain, and Canada, publishes books and pamphlets by revolutionary fighters whose struggles against capitalism, racism, and all forms of exploitation and oppression point the way forward for humanity. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

A special effort by Pathfinder representatives this January has netted a number of sales appointments with bookstores and libraries in the New York City region. Pathfinder sales representatives from Los Angeles, Boston, and Montreal, as well as the New York New Jersey area, have contributed to the effort.

At a Barnes & Noble bookstore in Brooklyn, the manager was most interested in *New International* no. 10 titled "Imperialism's March Towards Fascism and War." While in Brooklyn, the representatives dropped off several Pathfinder catalogs to university professors with suggestions of titles related to their courses.

The manager of the York College bookstore in Queens placed an on-the-spot order for a wide selection of Malcolm X titles, saying he planned a Black History Month display featuring Pathfinder books.

Sales representatives also made effective use of the Internet, the worldwide computer network, in their sales calls to libraries. Through Internet, sales representatives are able to search library Pathfinder holdings and call to the attention of libraries books they don't carry. A social science bibliographer at Hofstra University in Hempstead expressed interest in *New International* no. 10 after noticing the title in the Pathfinder catalog on the Internet. A Pathfinder representative immediately transmitted the magazine's introduction to her through the Internet.

Pathfinder publications remain a popular source for college and university courses.

Several Malcolm X titles have been ordered for courses in political science and religion at colleges in Salem, Oregon; Oberlin, Ohio; and Collegeville, Minnesota. Seventy copies each of *By Any Means Necessary* by Malcolm X and *Malcolm X: The Final Speeches* were ordered for an Afro-American Studies course at Brown University in Rhode Island, as well as 69 copies of *Malcolm X: The Last Speeches* for a history class at the same university.

Nelson Mandela's *The Struggle Is My Life* is required reading at George Washington University in Washington, D.C., for a course titled "South Africa: Race and Politics," while the same book will be used for an English composition class there. A philosophy professor at Luther College in Decorah, Iowa, ordered 60 copies of *Nelson Mandela Speaks* for his class.

History professors at State University of New York have placed orders for two books by Leon Trotsky, *In Defense of Marxism* and *The Revolution Betrayed*. One class where this is being used is titled "Marxism and Post-Colonialism." In a course at Plymouth State College in New Hampshire, Trotsky's *My Life* is required reading.

Classroom orders for *To Speak the Truth* by Che Guevara and Fidel Castro and Guevara's *Socialism and Man in Cuba* have been faxed to Pathfinder, as well as for *Labor's Giant Step* and *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*.

Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music by Frank Kofsky is being considered for course material by a professor of American Culture in Music.

Several classroom orders for classics of Marxism have also been noteworthy. Universities in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, have ordered the *Communist Manifesto* for sociology and philosophy classes. The University of Iowa in Cedar Falls ordered 100 copies of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*. Okanagan University College in Kelowna, British Columbia, ordered 55 of the same title. The University of Albany in New York ordered *The Housing Question* by Engels.

For further reading

New International no. 6

The 50-Year Domestic Contra Operation

by Larry Seigle

Describes the fight by the U.S. labor and Black rights movements — including the communist movement — against attacks on political rights by the government's police agencies from the late 1930s, as the U.S. rulers prepared to enter World War II, to today. \$10

New International

The second assassination of Maurice Bishop

by Steve Clark

CUBA'S RECTIFICATION PROCESS

Two speeches by Fidel Castro

Land, labor, and the Caribbean revolution in Cuba

The 80-year domestic contra operation in Cuba

by Larry Seigle

by Steve Clark

COINTELPRO

The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom

by Nelson Blackstock

The FBI's spying and disruption against socialists and activists in the Black and antiwar movements. Includes FBI documents. \$15.95

FBI On Trial

The Victory in the Socialist Workers Party Suit against Government Spying

Edited by Margaret Jayko

The historic 1986 federal court ruling, trial testimony, and commentary tracing 50 years of government spying. \$17.95



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

Continued from Page 5

stone/Firestone plant in Des Moines; 12 activists from Casa Cultural at Drake University in Des Moines; several workers at Fawn Engineering, from which Vance is on layoff, including United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 270 president Harold Ruggless; several members of Drake's Amnesty International chapter; and farm activist Larry Ginter.

Aislinn Pulley, of Chicago, said she has received a lot of support from classmates at Lane Tech. Four thousand students attended the high school. Pulley was assigned by *Family Matters* to write on child care in Cuba. Pulley said she was impressed with what she learned, quoting one Cuban woman who said, "Child care here is almost used by everyone and is necessary in order for women to work and have a life."

Pulley was detained for three and a half hours when she arrived in Chicago. Most of the interrogation was directed at Pulley's mother who, after some effort, was allowed to be with her daughter. Pulley reported that the agents took turns denouncing "Cuba, Castro, and my mother." One agent said, "How can you allow your 15-year-old daughter to travel to a place that doesn't even have a U.S. embassy?"

The customs agents claimed any travel to Cuba had to be in violation of current regulations, which the Clinton administration made more restrictive in August. These unconstitutional regulations prohibit most people from being able to travel to the island by making it illegal to spend money in Cuba.

Baul, of Bloomington, Illinois, said three things had helped him prepare for the reporting trip before leaving for Cuba: reading the Pathfinder book *To Speak the Truth*; reading the *Militant* newspaper; and attending the January socialist educational conference near Minneapolis.

Baul said one of his family members warned him "to watch himself when he was down there." As it turned out, the "problem wasn't down in Cuba but in the United States when I tried to get back in the country," he said.

Ken Riley, a brigade organizer, was the final speaker. He encouraged participants to get involved in the defense campaign to win back the seized passports. If we build a broad defense campaign, "we can make the government pay a high price for this," he said. He urged supporters of First Amendment rights to join the campaign to send letters of protest to the State and Treasury departments. Riley pointed to the upcoming defense meeting in Peoria, Illinois, at Bradley University as another opportunity to gather support.

A total of \$450 was raised toward the \$5,000 goal needed for legal fees. During the event, Taylor read messages and protest letters from Shelly Davis, a Chicago civil rights attorney; Gary L. Cozette, director of Chicago Religious Leadership Network on Central America; Milton Greek, vice president of Amnesty International in Peoria; and Doug Thompson, president of Peoria Area Peace Network and a member of UAW Local 974 on strike against Caterpillar.

New preface to 'In Defense of Marxism'

Continued from Page 8

moved the unions back into a central place in U.S. and world politics. Moreover, the unions have been deeply affected by the conquests of social and political battles of recent decades (the struggle for Black rights, the anti-Vietnam War movement, fights for women's rights, etc.) and by the changing composition of the working class in the United States (growing numbers of immigrant workers, the increasing percentage of women).

In response, the Socialist Workers Party entered a new stage of its evolution by once again turning its face and activity to work in the industrial trade unions. The 1978 report by Jack Barnes for the SWP National Committee that adopted this perspective explained that this turn was necessary to "carry forward the basic proletarian orientation the party has had for decades." That report and other documents outlining a course to build a proletarian party in the closing decades of the twentieth century are contained in *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics*, published by Pathfinder in a new edition in 1994.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Living Legacy of Malcolm X. Speakers: Roger Calero, Socialist Workers Party; Ollie Bivens, member, United Auto Workers Local 148. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

South Africa Today. Speaker: Vanessa Knapton, member, Young Socialists and United Transportation Union Local 1544, recently returned from a reporting trip to South Africa on behalf of the *Militant* newspaper. Sat., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd Street (near 24th and Mission BART). Donation: \$4. Tel: (415) 285-5323.

FLORIDA

Miami

The 'Bell Curve' Controversy: Intelligence, Race, and Other Class-Biased Myths. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m.

The Legacy of Malcolm X. Panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. Both events at 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War. Celebrate the Publication of *New International* no. 10. Speaker: Greg McCartan, *Militant* reporter to the 1994 conference of the African National Congress, Socialist Workers candidate for the 8th Ward of Washington, D.C., City Council, and member of the United Steelworkers of America Local 11322. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. Dinner: 5 p.m. 545 W Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$6. Dinner: \$7. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Report Back from Youth Brigade to Cuba. Speaker: Jean Belliard, recently returned from a two-week visit to Cuba with international youth brigade. Sun, Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Revolutionary Cuba Today: Report from Participants in Recent Youth Brigade. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m.

Malcolm X: His Revolutionary Perspective and His Legacy for Today. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.

Both events at 7414 Woodward Ave. (1 block north of Grand). Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Cuba: Through The Eyes of Youth. Report back from the youth brigade to Cuba. A panel discussion from the participants and a video of their trip. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5.

The Bell Curve: The Historical Roots of Racism and Pseudo-Scientific Theories. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$3.

Both events at 1906 South Street. Tel: (215) 546-8218.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Malcolm X. How We Can Use His Ideas To Struggle against Oppression Today. Video: *Malcolm X—El Hajj Malik El Shabazz.* Speaker: Steve Iverson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 18, 7 p.m.

Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War. Speaker: Norton Sandler, member, Na-

tional Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 25, 7 p.m.

Both events at 147 East 900 South. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Bipartisan Assault on Entitlements: Billions to be Slashed from Social Programs. Speakers: Jeff Powers, member, Socialist Workers Party and United Transportation Union. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 1405 E Madison Ave. Donation: \$3. Tel: (206) 323-1755.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Celebrate Black History Month. 1) Malcolm X: His Legacy for Working-Class Fighters Today. Speaker: Representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2) The Political Contributions of Maurice Bishop and Thomas Sankara: Lessons from the Grenada and Burkina Faso Revolutions. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.

Both events at 1802 Belmont Rd., NW. Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

BRITAIN

London

Ireland and the Tory 'Peace' Initiative: Is There Anything In It for Working People? Speaker: Pete Clifford, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 18, 6 p.m. 47 The Cut. Donation: £2. Tel: 071-928-7993.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

South Africa: Next Steps in the Democratic Revolution. Speaker: Brigid Rotherham, member, Communist League. Sat., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Donation: \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

On the Cuban revolution from Pathfinder

Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS



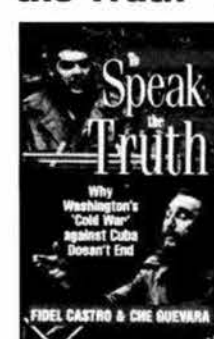
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BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

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SWEDEN

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

User friendly — Bill Gates, the software biggie, is building a \$30-million hi-tech shoreside home near Seattle. A report says that when he gets home, a network of computers "will alert the boulder-



Harry Ring

rimmed hot tub, the video-art walls, the climate controls, the library, the trampoline room and other sections that the master has arrived and expects an evening tailored to his mood."

Royal cut — The Royal Canadian Mounted Police are tired of hucksters cashing in on movie-type images of uniformed Mounties (from dolls to beer bottles). So now the image will be licensed — for 10 percent of the take.

Give that guy a Barbie doll — Besides the take, the Mounties feel licensing will get rid of demeaning images. Like the "brutal" wrestler who sported a uniform and wielded a dummy cattle prod.

Too dumb to steal? — William Aramony, ex-prez of United Way, is charged with pocketing \$1.5 million of the charity's take. His lawyers will argue he's suffering

brain atrophy, which may have affected his judgment. Also, they speculate, the disease may have left him incapable of criminal intent.

Cracked bell? — Scott Adams, creator of Dilbert the comic-strip put-upon office worker, polled his readers on pet gripes. Top of the list: "Management idiots."

Chip off the old block — Stockton Smith, a member of the DuPont clan, which began its bankrolling by making explosives, is being sued by an armored truck driver who charges Smith caused him severe shock and fright. A military nut, Smith wheeled up to

the guy in an army-type tank and began firing blanks from a turret gun.

Great getaway car — You'd like to drive a Lamborghini Diablo VT (up to 200 miles an hour), but you don't want to tie up money in the \$239,000 purchase price? No problem. You can lease one for \$52,000 down and \$2,999 a month.

It figures — New York City budget-chopping forced 114 youth agencies to end efforts in drug treatment, teen-pregnancy counseling and other services. A lone youth agency escaped the budgetary ax — the Police Athletic

League.

They don't miss a trick — Assertedly to reduce congestion, New York officials required street food vendors to get permits for their carts.

Curiously nearly half the permits went to companies. Vendors can now pay these companies as much as \$140 a week for use of a cart and permit.

The system that works — Over five years, the number of U.S. children under six living in poverty increased from 5 million to 6 million. And that's according to the very modest official definition of poverty.

Rutgers students protest official's racist remark

BY JANINE DUKES AND KATY KARLIN

NEW BRUNSWICK, New Jersey — More than 500 students marched to the office of Rutgers University president Francis Lawrence February 1 demanding his resignation. Students held the demonstration one day after the Newark *Star-Ledger* printed racist comments Lawrence had made in a November 11 speech to 30 faculty members at the College of South Jersey in Camden.

Protests have continued since then. More than 150 students staged a sit-in on the basketball court at Rutgers February 7, cutting short the sold-out game. A meeting of 300 February 6 called for a student walkout from classes at the New Brunswick campus February 8, as well as for a walkout at the Newark campus February 10 during a meeting of the school's Board of Governors there.

Lawrence had told the faculty last November that "disadvantaged" students score lower on Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SATs) because they don't have "the genetic hereditary background to have a higher average." Rutgers is a New Jersey state university.

Protesters at the February 1 action chanted, "Lawrence must go! Our genes ain't slow!" and "Who's school? Our school!" as they marched five blocks down College Avenue to the president's office. The spirited crowd included students who are Black, white, Latino, and Asian. Many were participating in their first demonstration.

Students speak out

"It's not a minority issue," an 18-year-old freshman said. "It's everybody's issue."

"There are 48,000 of us and one of him," senior Claudia Reis said. "It's disgusting that he won't apologize."

Several students marched waving copies of the *Targum*, the main student newspaper at Rutgers, which ran a front-page editorial calling for Lawrence's resignation. Some members of the Scarlet Knights football team, both Black and white, participated in the march.

"Minority students at Rutgers have been disenfranchised, disregarded, and just plain disrespected," student Otis Rolley said at the opening rally. "Now, according to President Lawrence, we're genetically disadvantaged."

Demonstration organizers halted the march several times en route to allow any student who wanted to take the bullhorn and address the protesters. Sophomore Kathy Sweeney urged the crowd to help her organize a delegation to Trenton calling on Gov. Christine Whitman to demand Lawrence's ouster.

In the course of their remarks, several students condemned *The Bell Curve*, the book by Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein that puts forward a theory of genetic intelligence.

Thirty student organizations built the demonstration, including the Latino Student Council, the Haitian Association of Rutgers, the Paul Robeson Club, and the



Rutgers students protest February 1 against racist remarks made by university president Francis Lawrence. Students continue to organize meetings and demonstrations demanding Lawrence's resignation.

Committee to Save the Women's Center, as well as several fraternities, sororities, and student government groups.

At the time of the rally, Lawrence admitted he had made the remarks but issued a statement saying that the idea of genetic intelligence is "precisely opposed to my beliefs." He did not apologize and refused to meet with the students who gathered outside his office.

By 10:00 p.m., however, when some 700 students crowded into a standing-room-only meeting room to discuss what to do next, Lawrence had issued a statement of apology. In the one-page release the president said he "could not be more sorry about it" and went on to boast of Rutgers's commitment to "minorities."

Those at the late-night meeting were not satisfied. They organized an open mike for students to express their opinions and make proposals for further action. As the meeting began, one of the meeting organizers called a voice vote to decide if some administrators in the room would be allowed to speak in Lawrence's defense. The students voted to let them speak, but only after students had their say.

"Unlike many of you," Bob Washington, a member of the football team said, "I know Fran Lawrence. He's in our locker room after every game, win or lose. He shakes our hands, he pats us on the back. He looks us in the eye. Now he says we're genetically inferior." To an ovation Washington concluded, "We will stand behind whatever the student body decides to do."

Attacks on democratic rights, funding

Many noted that Lawrence's comments came in the context of increasing attacks on students' democratic rights, slashing of funding for minorities and women's studies programs, and a poor record of granting tenure to Black and Latino professors. Some students proposed that the demand for Lawrence's ouster be dropped because he could be replaced by someone worse. Others countered that they should press for an election by the student body of the next university president.

A debate broke out on whether white

students should be welcome in the struggle. "This is *our* problem," one student who is Black said to scattered applause. Others, Black and white, disagreed. "This

integrity" of the university.

Janett Brammer contributed to this article.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
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The longest strike in General Motors history was settled Jan. 22 in what appears to be a victory for the striking 2,700 UAW [United Auto Workers] members at the GM Fisher Body plant in Flint, Mich.

The strike began Sept. 24 when the corporation tried to force a 25 percent increase in the number of production units per hour and eliminate the jobs of 900 workers.

The agreement which ended the strike provides for 43.5 bodies per hour instead of 55 units the company originally demanded. The job elimination issue is still under negotiation, but 200 of the disputed workers are being transferred to other jobs.

The settlement came immediately after the UAW head office called for a regional conference to consider ways of giving further support to the strike since the issues have national implications for the upcoming negotiations with the entire auto industry.

The strike at Flint attracted national attention and required top-level negotiations involving the president of GM and the UAW. Consequently, this settlement will be more closely watched than others. We can only wait and see just how much the Flint workers at GM Fisher Body actually have won. For sure, they taught GM management that arbitrary speedup brings counter measures.

THE MILITANT
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February 17, 1945

ST. PAUL, Minn., Feb. 2 — The CIO Packinghouse Workers ranks are at hair-trigger temper in this area after over 17 months of government stalling on their wage case. Resentment boiled over two days ago when 1,200 workers at the Cudahy packing plant in Newport, near here, went on strike following what they termed an "unwarranted" discharge of 3 fellow-workers.

The prompt action against the company's provocation brought a quick showdown. The strike was called off yesterday after the company agreed, according to the report, to reinstate the fired men.

The workers are so fed up with the run-around they have been receiving on their wage demands from the WLB, followed by Economic Stabilization Director Vinson's order last month further holding up the WLB decision, that they are starting to demand real action.

Prior to the Cudahy strike, the St. Paul Packinghouse Council had addressed a letter to Vinson threatening to withdraw the no-strike pledge unless he permitted the release of a WLB order granting increases through adjustments and reclassifications. Negotiations with the Big Four — Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson — began in July 1943. The case was certified to the WLB in December 1943, but the board stalled the case through elaborate hearing of sub-panels, etc., for over a year. Vinson's ruling has held up a decision since.

Why rulers hate Hiroshima display

Nearly 50 years ago Washington ushered in the horror of nuclear warfare with the slaughter of some 200,000 men, women, and children in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The first use of the atomic bomb — carried out against civilian populations in a country whose government was suing for peace — set the stage for Wall Street and Washington's dominance in world capitalism following World War II. The bombings laid the groundwork for still more terrible wars to come.

"The Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing." Those words of former Republican president Dwight Eisenhower, a top U.S. general in World War II, were among the first stricken from the Smithsonian Institution display on the August 1945 bombings. The campaign by politicians, the American Legion, and others against the showing was the latest attempt to shore up the official rationalization for this crime against humanity, which leaders of both ruling-class parties consider sacrosanct in order to justify imperialist foreign policy today.

The de facto cancellation of the planned exhibit is an outrageous attack on freedom of speech and academic inquiry. No facts were to be tolerated that might challenge Washington's lie that the bombings saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of U.S. soldiers. That official rationalization itself, of course, is founded on the arrogant presumption that human lives in Japan were of lesser worth than those in the United States.

The truth, however, is that the bombings were aimed at upholding U.S. capitalist interests at the expense of workers and farmers the world over — not "saving lives," either U.S. or Japanese. The U.S. ruling class had already sent more than 450,000 U.S. workers and farmers in uniform to their deaths in its quest for profits. Nor did the bombings have anything to do with making the world "safe for democracy."

Two weeks after the bombing of Nagasaki in August 1945, Socialist Workers Party national secretary James Cannon explained that "American imperialism killed or injured half a million human beings...because of a quarrel between the imperialists of Wall Street and a similar gang in Japan." The U.S. rulers, he said, hoped to gain "the power to exploit and enslave hundreds of millions of people in the Far East." The administration of Democratic president Harry Truman aimed to prove the U.S. rulers were willing and able to use such monstrous weaponry. Washington hoped in that way to forestall revolutionary upsurges in China and the rest of the colonial world and be on a better postwar footing to roll back the workers state in the Soviet Union.

By August 1945 the imperialist murder machines on all sides — in their drive to redivide the world and become the capitalist power — had already reached new heights in wartime atrocities against civilian populations. Hundreds of thousands of working people in Dresden, Tokyo, London, and other cities had been killed in "conventional" saturation bombing. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the culmination of this mass slaughter on the altar of world capitalism.

Today, for reasons detailed in the recent issue no. 10 of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, the world capitalist system, for the first time since the years leading up to World War II, is once again mired in depression conditions and set on a course toward fascism and war. In the closing years of this century and the opening years of the next, the likelihood of the use of nuclear weapons is growing, not decreasing as both Democratic and Republican politicians would have us believe.

That makes the stakes higher than ever for working people to build an international revolutionary movement capable of getting rid of capitalism and the wars it inevitably breeds.

Social Security is a universal right

In bankrupt Orange County, California, county employees are now being told that 10 percent of their supposedly vested pension savings is being wiped off the books. Lawyers warn that workers will be lucky to get that much. The civic-minded bondholders, you see, must take their cut first.

"The county wants to work its way out of this mess without having a solution dictated by people who may not share the priorities of the local electorate," a recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial noted. "Certainly we sympathize....But good alternatives are few here." The editors took comfort in the fact that "even during the Depression almost all municipal notes ultimately got paid."

The pensions of millions of workers, farmers, and small business owners have been sunk into financial arrangements like that of Orange County. Stock and bond markets, mutual funds, and myriad other schemes are awash in the lifetime savings of working people, used as capital to enrich a tiny handful.

Over the last 50 years, the ruling class has sold millions of workers on the illusion that retirement funds, health-care insurance, and supplemental benefits tied to individual industries, companies, and their profits were a sure bet.

The bosses were aided by the top union officialdom, who bought into these schemes and blocked any labor-

led social and political fight for government-funded social security for all.

Tens of millions of workers are now in for a rude shock, as private pension funds begin to come apart under the pressure of capitalist instability. The tag-team assault on entitlements by the Democrats and Republicans in federal, state, and local governments seeks to turn workers in on ourselves. The capitalists aim to break down the elements of class solidarity forged in labor's fight for universal social security during the upsurge that built the industrial unions in the 1930s.

In a letter in the February 8 *New York Times*, for example, the authors proudly speak on behalf of an "overt opponent" of Social Security, a lobbying outfit named PAC 20/20. It describes the system as "a pyramid scam being perpetrated upon younger Americans." This logic heads back toward orphanages, the workhouse, the poor house, and subjecting the working class to the humiliating "means-testing" that marks many welfare programs today.

The Orange County disaster underlines the stakes for the labor movement in leading all working people in a battle to defend and expand universal social security to include health care, disability pay, and everything working people need to live out their lives. That's neither a privilege nor a "safety net." It's a basic social right.

Workers in U.S., Mexico need unity

"The bailout is another sellout to Wall Street. U.S. workers will lose thousands more jobs," stated William Bywater, president of the International Union of Electronic Workers, in a February 2 news release condemning the Clinton administration's \$50 billion loan guarantee package for the Mexican government. Rightist politician Patrick Buchanan used almost identical phrases in a column on the same topic two weeks earlier. Many similar arguments were put forward earlier by forces both in the labor movement and on the right opposing the North American Free Trade Agreement.

Whether it comes in the form of Buchanan's naked "America First" chauvinism or dressed up with the U.S. labor officialdom's crocodile tears for workers in Mexico, "protecting American jobs" is a trap for the working class everywhere in the world.

President Bill Clinton's package is aimed at protecting the profits of U.S. and international banks and other financial institutions from the meltdown threatened by the fall of the Mexican peso. It also aims to secure a greater

chunk of Mexico's patrimony — its natural wealth, and the fruits of the labor of workers and peasants — for superexploitation by U.S. capital.

But that's not why the U.S. labor officialdom, many liberals, and the ultraright condemn the bailout. Their nationalist campaign is reactionary. It is the workings of the crisis-ridden capitalist system that is creating growing unemployment and destitution among working people worldwide, not particular trade pacts, loan packages, or other deals among the capitalists of various countries.

What the working class needs above all is international unity and solidarity to carry out a common struggle to defend the interests of working people the world over. Workers in the United States must fight shoulder to shoulder with our brothers and sisters in Mexico to organize a fighting labor movement that can effectively resist the employers' attacks on both sides of the border. Counterposing jobs for workers in the United States and in Mexico, or any other country, is an obstacle to this class-struggle course.

Abortion rights backers hit death threats in Canada

BY ROGER ANNIS

MONTREAL — Two of four doctors who performed abortions at the Victoria General Hospital in Halifax, Nova Scotia, have stopped performing the medical procedure following death threats sent by mail in January. The hospital is one of the few in Atlantic Canada that provide abortion services. The doctors' decision will reduce the estimated number of abortions performed there from 1,500 to 800 per year.

The news prompted Dr. Henry Morgentaler to renew his call for the Nova Scotia government to pay the full cost of abortions performed in private clinics. Currently, the provincial administration covers only the cost of doctor fees for abortions. Clinic operating expenses must be covered by the patients.

Morgentaler, a pioneer of the abortion rights movement in Canada, has founded private clinics in Halifax and across the country in face of stiff opposition and costly legal harassment by provincial governments. Morgentaler told reporters February 3 that he hopes doctors will not bow to death threats and "follow up by giving up care of their patients."



Militant/Monica Jones
Dr. Henry Morgentaler

The Nova Scotia Advisory Council On The Status Of Women has called on Victoria General Hospital to step up efforts to recruit new doctors to perform abortion services. It criticized the hospital's refusal to commit itself to this course. "They are not taking the stand they would if all their heart surgeons quit at once and went to the U.S.," said council president Katherine McDonald. "They would be out recruiting immediately."

The government of Newfoundland has the same funding policy as Nova Scotia. Abortion services there are now being referred to the Morgentaler clinic in St. John's, after the only doctor in the province performing abortions in hospitals recently retired. The New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island governments pay nothing towards the cost of abortions performed outside hospitals. On February 2 the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island struck down that province's policy, ruling it was based on moral, not medical, grounds.

Following the decision, Henry Morgentaler's Halifax clinic sent a bill of more than \$50,000 to the island government for abortions it has performed on women from that province. There is no hospital in Prince Edward Island that offers abortion services.

Reply to a reader

Editor's note: As reader John Steele says in a letter on the facing page, the way capitalist governments collect and report national income figures makes it difficult to calculate the industrial rate of profit as analyzed by Karl Marx in volume 3 of *Capital* and used in the articles in *New Internationalist* no. 10. Various efforts have been made over the years to account for such distortions by academics with the time and resources to take on the research.

It's not necessary to look to these occasionally useful but often technical, obfuscatory, and conflicting studies, however, to confirm the pressures on profit rates faced by the capitalists in the United States and other imperialist countries. That reality is manifested in their intensifying belt-tightening and union-busting drive ever since the latter half of the 1970s and registered even in the profit figures as maintained by the bosses and their governments. To cite one example from the past year, the *New York Times* business section reported last June 16, "One reason that businesses have been reluctant to expand is that such an investment has been less profitable than it used to be....Until the early 1970's, the average return was 10 to 15 percent a year....Since then, the average after-tax return on invested capital has never exceeded 8 percent, and in the 1990s it has ranged from 5 percent in 1991 to 6.8 percent last year, the Commerce Department reports."

But the tendency of the rate of profit to fall does not mean it falls at all times and under all circumstances. As the articles in *New Internationalist* explain, the capitalists in the United States have been reaping hefty profits from their stepped-up downsizing drive in recent years (e.g., speedup, longer hours, plant shutdowns, declining real wages, etc.), perhaps even conjuncturally lifting the industrial profit rate. The longer-term decline in the rate of industrial profit and capital accumulation can only be reversed, however, if — in the course of coming class battles — the capitalists succeed in defeating working-class resistance to their march toward fascism and war.

Marx laid the basis to understand this aspect of capitalist social relations in part 3 of volume 3 of *Capital*, which deals with "The Law of the Tendency of the Rate of Profit," including chapters on "The Law Itself" and "Counteracting Factors."

Unionists rally in Chicago for striking workers

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

dren. But "you are not preserving the future of your family if you give back wages just to say you have a job," she said.

Lane said workers in the United States should emulate recent struggles by working people in South Africa and France. He called on unions across the country to adopt a family engaged in the current labor battles and urged everyone to sign a petition demanding that Pepsi Cola end its

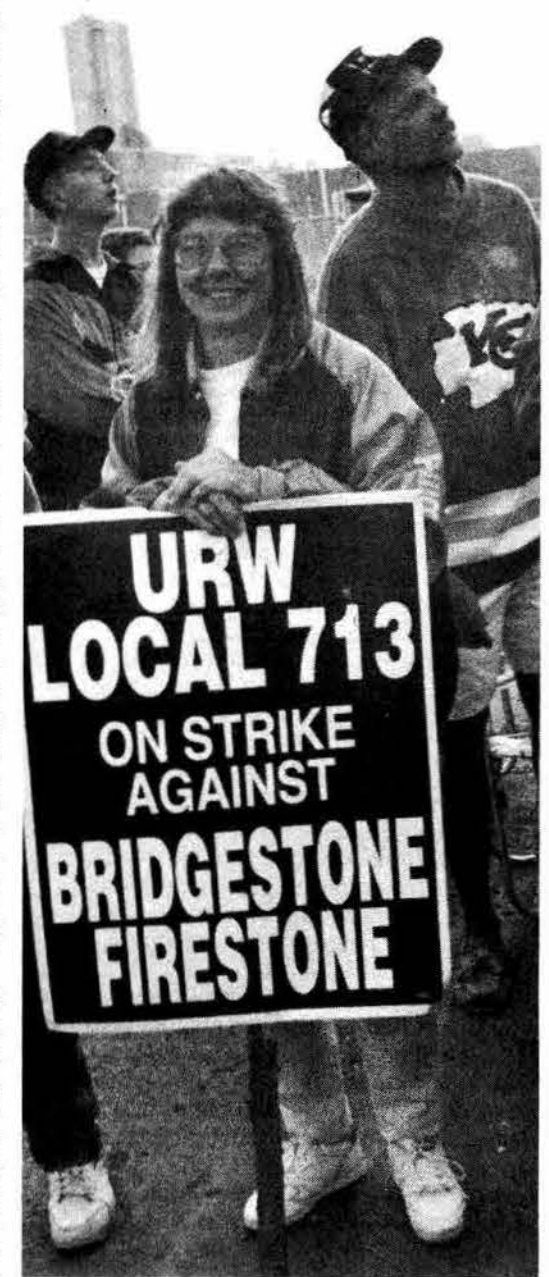
led the delegation. Watts said he had come to appeal to Tate & Lyle chairman Neil Shaw to end the 19-month lockout of the 760 workers. Union representatives from several other Tate & Lyle subsidiaries, including Western Sugar in Billings, Montana, and Domino sugar plants in Brooklyn, New York; Baltimore; and New Orleans joined Watts.

Alan Simpson, union convenor from the Silvertown Tate & Lyle plant in London, reported that last year he had taken a \$1,000 donation from workers at his plant to the picket line in Decatur. In the days prior to the protest, union representatives from Tate & Lyle plants in Europe and North America met in a Tate & Lyle union council, calling on the company to end the lockout.

One coworker, Maria, returned the copy she had bought the next day, saying that her son had already purchased it at his college campus. Later that day, Margarita, a machine operator, motioned to Cantrick and said, "I hear you have pamphlets on abortion," asking if she could get one. As she was handing him \$3.00, Anna, who was standing nearby, asked what the pamphlet was about. When Cantrick explained it was pro-choice, Margarita said, "Oh, I thought it was against abortion." But she decided to keep it, even cheerfully declining the offer of a refund if she didn't like it. Even though she and several other coworkers expressed opposition to abortion, they were interested in hearing both sides of the issue.

Early the next morning, Cantrick said he met Margarita at the plant entrance, where she was talking with another worker. Margarita told Cantrick she had been reading the booklet, catching the other woman's attention. Margarita made sure to explain that the pamphlet was in favor of abortion rights, whereupon her coworker immediately expressed interest in getting a copy.

Male coworkers were also interested and several bought copies. The pamphlet and leaflets for the Boston march spurred political discussions for several



Militant/Stu Singer
Picket in Decatur, Illinois, August 1994.

weeks before and after the action.

The following people contributed to this week's column: John Votava of Chicago, Illinois; Pete Clifford of London; and Bob Cantrick, member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 62-32 in Queens, New York.

ON THE PICKET LINE

other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

At a January 28 rally at Teamster City in Chicago, more than 800 supporters of the strikers taking on Caterpillar Inc. and the Bridgestone/Firestone tire company and the workers locked out by A.E. Staley called for renewed efforts to build solidarity for these labor battles. More than 100 Caterpillar, Firestone, and Staley workers came into the city for the rally.

John Paul Yarbrough, president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 145, which organizes the Caterpillar plant in Aurora, Illinois, set the tone for the event, affirming the strikers' determination to continue their fight. He concluded by recalling the slogan on a T-shirt produced by union packinghouse workers on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota, in the mid-1980s: "If not us, then who? If not here, then where? If not now, then when?"

Two A.E. Staley workers spoke, Dan Lane, president of the locked-out United Paperworkers International Union Local 7837, and Lorel Patterson, one of the union's Road Warriors that take its message to other working people around the country. Patterson said that when she was hired by Staley in 1990, it was the first job she ever had that permitted her to pay her bills and raise her chil-

contract with Staley.

Solidarity messages were read from Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and from a UAW local in Flint, Michigan, that staged a successful strike last September demanding General Motors hire more workers instead of imposing more overtime. Also speaking were J. Michael Stanley, an international vice president of the United Rubber Workers union; Diane Kilmury, the only woman on the International Executive Board of the Teamsters union and a member of the New Democratic Party in Canada; and Elmer Chatuk from the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. Two Chicago City Council aldermen and two Illinois state representatives were introduced, and a state senator addressed the rally.

Tom Balanoff from Service Employees' International Union Local 373 chaired the event on behalf of the central sponsor of the rally, Jobs for Justice.

Staley solidarity protest held in London

Shareholders at Tate & Lyle's annual general meeting were met by a protest delegation January 26 supporting workers locked out at the A.E. Staley plant in Decatur, Illinois. Tate & Lyle owns Staley.

Dave Watts, president of United Paperworkers International Union Local 7837 at Staley,

Garment workers discuss abortion rights march

According to Bob Cantrick, a union garment worker at Quality Braid in Queens, New York, interest in the issue of women's right to abortion runs high at the plant. Quality Braid employs some 300 workers who apply sequins to cloth used by fashion designers and for theatrical costumes. The shop is organized by International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) Local 62-32. Most workers speak Spanish as their first language. At least half are women, many of them between 20 and 35 years of age.

Earlier this year, Cantrick began talking to coworkers about participating in the January 22 march in Boston, called to defend abortion rights in response to the murders of two Boston-area clinic workers December 30. Although Cantrick was the only worker from the plant who ended up marching in Boston, he reports that all the same he had many discussions with coworkers about abortion rights and related issues and sold 10 copies of the Pathfinder pamphlet *Abortion is a Woman's Right*, available in English and Spanish.

LETTERS

Canada's 'peacekeepers'

Readers of the back-page article in last week's issue of the *Militant* will be interested to know that the head of Canada's war machine, Minister of Defense David Collenette, got all tripped up when he proudly released a new Canadian dollar coin in mid-January honoring Canada's "peacekeeping" soldiers. (See "Canadian gov't disbands airborne regiment exposed for racist abuses" in the February 13 issue.)

On the very day of the ceremony announcing the coin, an amateur video depicting the "peacekeepers" bragging about their racist murders of Somali citizens hit the news networks. Two days later, a second video hit the airwaves showing the brutal and degrading initiation ceremonies forced on new recruits to the Canadian Airborne Regiment.

Although the airborne regiment was disbanded, the publicity campaign for the new dollar coin was not. Newspaper advertisements for the coin read, "When you use the 1995 Peacekeeping Dollar Coin, share the pride of being a peacekeeping nation."

Roger Annis
Toronto, Ontario

Cuba on 'Peacenet'

I assume you know about Cuba-L, a listserver dedicated to distributing information on Cuba. I distribute, among other items,

the materials on Cuba that the *Militant* posts on Peacenet or the Internet. Numerous readers have stated that they find your material of high quality and very useful. Just wanted to express my appreciation for the information and analysis you generate.

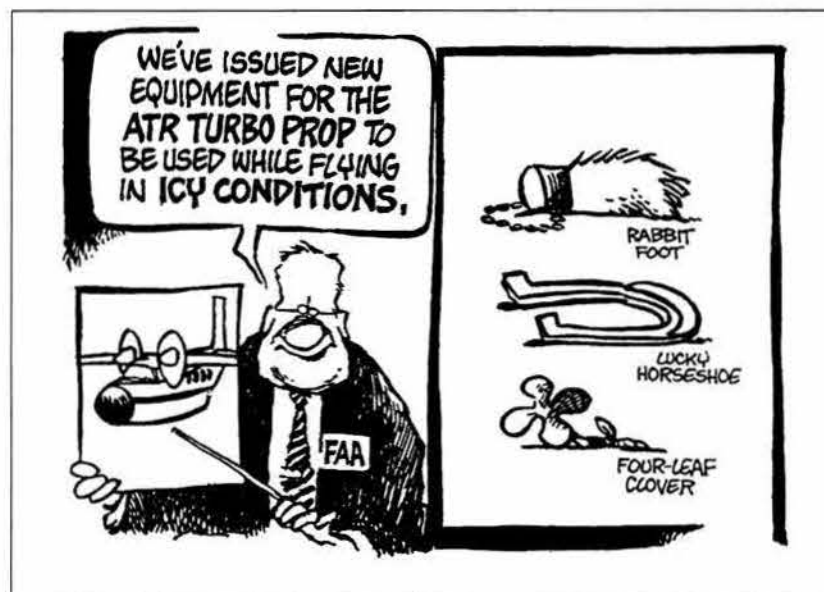
Nelson Valdes
Moderator, Cuba-L

Delaware infant mortality

A few salient facts emerge from a lengthy article in the January 13, 1995, issue of the *Wilmington, Delaware, News Journal*. In the United States as a whole, Black infants are twice as likely to die as white infants, but in Delaware Black infants are two and a half times as likely to die as white infants. Delaware has the highest infant mortality rate in the 50 states, while Wilmington, the state's largest city, has an infant mortality rate of 20.9 per 1,000 live births.

Delaware has the second highest average personal income in the 50 states. New Castle County, is the richest county in the 50 states. It's worth thinking about; the "richest" county in the "second richest" state in the United States has the highest infant mortality rate in the United States. The same rich state has an adult literacy rate of almost 80 percent.

Of course, the high average income in Delaware includes the income of the Du Ponts, Du Ponts



de Nemours, Smiths, Wrights, Whites, Weymouths; the ruling class, their cousins, in-laws, a swarm of executives, and other hangers-on.

In reality, the ruling rich in Delaware are doing good and the other 600,000 people of Delaware aren't doing so good, and in the American tradition, the Black people are doing worst of all.

One final thought, the capitalists have run Wilmington since the mid-17th century, where today 21 out of every 100,000 children born will die in their first year and 2 out of every 10 cannot read. Contrast this to the three and a half decades of the Cuban revolution, where in Havana infant mor-

tality is only 8.8 out of every 100,000 children, and literacy is 98 percent.

Roy Inglee
Wilmington, Delaware

Falling rate of profit

At Ford Electronics, one of my coworkers who is reading *New Internationalist* no. 10 showed me an article in the January 30, 1995, *Business Week*, "Plumper Profits, Skimpier Paychecks." The article argues that increased productivity in the United States has resulted in both rising profits and a sharp drop in the share of income from the corporate sector going to workers. *Business Week* says that

the economy looks like the low-inflation 1960s and predicts that a rise in the wages of workers, despite the present "pain," is just around the corner.

My coworker suggested that the article challenged the analysis of the developing depression presented in *New Internationalist* no. 10. I argued that the claim of a 25-year high in profit rates in the article lumped together banking and industrial profit rates, covering up the long-term slide in industrial rates of profit.

If this is taken into account, the 1990s are not like the 1960s and world capitalism is marching humanity into depression, fascism, and war.

My coworker thought that made sense but wondered where *New Internationalist* and the *Militant* gets its facts, since he did not know where to go for this kind of information. I think it would be useful for the *Militant* to take up the *Business Week* article.

John Steele
Toronto, Ontario

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.

Australian gov't steps up campaign against rights of refugees from Asia

BY DOUG COOPER

SYDNEY, Australia — Headlines in the big-business dailies purport to tell the story: "Thousands flee China," "Stop flow of boat people, China told," "We'll send them back, warns Bolkus," "Tougher law to keep out boat people," and "UN rejects refugees' claims."

The headlines have amplified Labor government immigration minister Nick Bolkus's swelling rhetoric in response to the unauthorized arrival by boat of just under 1,000 people in 1994, most from Vietnam and China.

The scaremongering includes reports in early January of "fears" by Coastwatch, immigration, customs, and quarantine officials that anywhere from 5,000 to 20,000 Sino-Vietnamese people are ready to depart from Beihai, southern China, or are already under way for the northern coast of Australia.

The facts paint a different picture. In 1993 three boats arrived carrying 81 people. Last year 945 people arrived in 18 boats in and around Darwin, capital of the Northern Territory. For the entire month of January the expected "thousands fleeing China" added up to 65 Sino-Vietnamese people on one boat who landed January 18 on Christmas Island, an Australian colony 1,700 miles west of Darwin in the Indian Ocean.

Final blow to 'White Australia' policy

Beginning in the late-1970s the Australian government, based in the capital city of Canberra, opened its doors for the first time in more than a century to large numbers of Asian immigrants, initially from Vietnam in large part.

As capitalists sought to expand the pool of low-wage labor to exploit in their efforts to compete with imperialist rivals in Japan, Europe, and North America, this wave of immigration from Asia helped deal a final blow to the remnants of the rulers' racist, decades-long "White Australia" policy.

The goal of Canberra's campaign to intimidate and stigmatize the so-called boat people is to undercut human solidarity in the working class, thereby weakening the unity of the labor movement. The refugees are belittled as coming merely for "economic" reasons.

In a broadside against democratic rights, Bolkus announced December 30 he was preparing legislation to change refugee law retroactive to that day. Mark Sullivan, deputy secretary of the Department of Immigration, said, "Those who had an arguable case could test unfavorable departmental rulings in the courts, while those judged by the department to be 'frivolous' would be deported without legal recourse."

The proposed legislation, presented to Parliament February 3, will bar people from applying for asylum here if they are already regarded as refugees in another country and are being protected by that government. It will also overturn a December 1994 court decision that Beijing's draconian population control measures are grounds for refugee status.

Sullivan admitted January 28 that officials are not notifying the new detainees, many of whom have little or no idea of their rights, that they have a right to a lawyer. Delays of as long as three weeks are normal when people have requested legal counsel. These policies led some people imprisoned since mid-December to organize a four-day hunger strike in mid-January at the Port Hedland Processing and Reception Centre in a remote area of Western Australia. Journalists are barred from the center.

These attacks follow legislation ap-



Demonstrators protest deportation of Cambodian immigrants from Australia in 1992. Labor government is preparing new restrictions limiting right to asylum.

proved in 1994 that allows the government to immediately deport refugees who renew their claims here after being rejected while in a third country.

The federal Opposition, composed of the Liberal and National parties, has largely confined its criticisms of government actions to questions about why nothing was done to prevent or prepare for the arrivals. Opposition immigration spokesman Alan Cadman also called for tightening the definition of "refugee," a course the government has already begun carrying out.

Coastwatch beefed up

Other aspects of the Labor government's political campaign include trying to eliminate the possibility of undetected arrivals by beefing up the number of Coastwatch planes and ships and the number of patrols along the northern coast of Australia.

Plans for two more immigration detention centers were announced January 6. One will be set up at an air force base near Derby, Western Australia. Canberra has a blanket policy of imprisoning anyone who arrives "illegally," that is, without a visa, pending a determination of their claim. Most are quickly flown to the detention center, which is now filled to capacity, in the small town of Port Hedland.

Canberra is also applying diplomatic pressure on Beijing to stanch the boat departures and is holding "delicate discussions" to avoid the Chinese government refusing to take back people who won't return voluntarily. Reports from Beihai, where most of the refugees are from, indicate that fines of nearly a year's average wage as well as prison terms for some passengers and crews have begun to be imposed. Some boats have been confiscated as well.

Ultrarightist and rightist politicians have been quick to utilize the Labor government's assault on democratic rights to get a hearing for their proposals.

Federal Labor MP Graeme Campbell, an ultrarightist often described as a "maverick" in the big-business press, called for maintaining "our sovereignty," saying, "Australia's reputation as a soft touch for illegal immigrants is placing our border controls in grave danger." He called for building a new prison for "illegals" on an island off the Australian coast, from which lawyers would be

barred.

Tim Fischer, the leader of the conservative National Party, called on Beijing to "turn these boats around within 100 kilometers [62 miles] of the coast of China." Fischer also condemned the decision to permit thousands of Chinese students to stay in Australia following the 1989 Tienanmen Square massacre.

The Sydney *Sun-Herald* editorialized January 1, "From now on the Australian Navy should be employed to board any boat entering Australian waters that clearly intends to illegally offload people on our shores....escort the vessel back into international waters, and ensure it never returns."

Many longtime defenders of refugee rights have begun to buckle under the government's propaganda campaign. "If they are refugees, they are eligible for resettlement," said Kerry Murphy of the Jesuit Refugee Service Australia. "If they are not refugees and there are no humanitarian or other reasons for them to remain, they should be returned to their country of usual residence."

Canberra's dismal asylum record

As with all capitalist governments, asylum decisions by Canberra have to do with domestic and foreign policy, not the merits of individual cases.

According to Margaret Piper of the Refugee Council of Australia, currently 15 percent to 20 percent of all applicants for asylum win permanent residency. In 1991-92 the figure was some 5 percent.

Piper told the *Militant* that only one Fijian has ever won asylum in Australia. Fiji's neocolonial governments since independence have maintained close links to Canberra. Only one Bougainvillean has ever won refugee status as well. Canberra is directly and indirectly involved in the Papua New Guinean government's war to prevent secession by Bougainville.

Before 1989, the year of the massacre of students and workers in Tienanmen Square by the Chinese government, a trickle of only about 500 people sought asylum in Australia each year. Between 1989 and 1991 the total shot up to

Murray Stack, president of the Law Society of New South Wales, told Radio National that if the detainees were not entitled to refugee status under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "the department is quite correct to return them."

Margaret Piper of the Refugee Council told the *Militant* the arrivals' applications "should be processed quickly and if it is determined they are not refugees they should be sent back." Anything else "sends an unclear message and gives false hope," she said.

The big-business press has prominently featured the views of some refugees who have won political asylum in the past who back the government's campaign. Ray Supian, himself about to be deported to Singapore for overstaying a tourist visa since 1982, told the media in Port Hedland, "They are using the taxes I paid from working in this country to house the boat people."

Bob Aiken, Communist League candidate in the upcoming March state election in New South Wales, slammed the government's campaign. "The gross violations of the rights of these fellow working people will help legitimize the chipping away of everyone's rights," said Aiken. "The labor movement has a special responsibility to oppose the government's moves." He pointed out that trade unionists on strike could easily become the target of retroactive laws (or retrospective, as they are called here), such as those aimed at refugees today.

"Working people should also oppose the calls by Australian politicians for the Stalinist regime in China to take stronger repressive measures to prevent working people just like us from using their right to seek refuge. We should demand that the government close the detention centers now and open the doors to all those who have come or who wish to," he said.

Doug Cooper is a member of the Australian Workers Union in Sydney.

Help get the 'Militant' to prisoners

The Militant Prisoner Fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help, send contributions to Militant Prisoner Fund, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

23,000, due to the large numbers of Chinese students at Australian universities who applied. In 1992-93 there were 2,957 new applications and in 1993-94 there were 4,125. As of August 1994, the Immigration Department was handling 13,791 applications of which 9,548 were by immigrants from China.

Australian government figures show that since 1989 slightly more than 30 percent of all asylum-seekers were given permanent residency, some 36 percent were forcibly or voluntarily deported to their country of origin, and another 29 percent remain in detention pending the outcome of their claims. Just 38 have been released from detention while awaiting the results of appeals, and 8 have escaped from detention centers.

The unemployment rate for Southeast Asian immigrants who arrived since 1991 is officially 41.5 percent; the unemployment rate of those granted refugee status is even higher.

— D.C.