

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Castro speaks on early years
of revolutionary struggle
 — PAGES 8-9

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 59 NO. 46 DECEMBER 11, 1995

20,000 U.S. troops begin deployment in Bosnia

Intervention aims to advance Washington's imperialist interests

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Appealing to bourgeois public opinion to support the U.S. rulers' decision to send 20,000 troops to Bosnia, U.S. president Bill Clinton claimed in a televised speech November 27 that Washington can help "the people of Bosnia to secure their own peace agreement." Two days later a small reconnaissance team of GIs landed in Tuzla, northwestern Bosnia, where the U.S. army is to have its headquarters.

This will be the largest force U.S. imperialism has deployed inside a workers state since the Korean War in the early 1950s. A small detachment of 550 GIs has been stationed in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia since 1993.

Being slightly more frank than Clinton, U.S. secretary of state Warren Christopher said in an op-ed piece in the November 27 *New York Times*, "Without American leadership [read military and economic muscle], there would have been no agreement. Without our troops, an agreement that serves our interests will not be carried out" (emphasis added).

The 20,000 GIs will be part of a 60,000-strong NATO force, which will enforce the partition of Bosnia brokered by Washington in Dayton, Ohio. The accord was signed November 21. "We have worked out all the arrangements on the military side," Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, assured reporters in Brussels.

Some 1,400 U.S. soldiers are scheduled to arrive in Bosnia and Croatia in early December as part of a 2,600-strong NATO advance group. According to the *Washington Post*, 735 GIs will be included in an advance unit of 1,400 in Bosnia. Another 700 U.S. soldiers will be part of an additional 1,200-strong NATO force sent mainly to the Croatian capital of Zagreb, where many of the command and logistics operations will be based.

Clinton stated that the military "mission should and will take about one year." Other Democratic Party politicians, campaigning



U.S. troops train in Germany to be sent to Bosnia for 'peacekeeping'

in favor of the imperialist expedition set in motion by the White House, went to lengths to express their view that U.S. Marines could be in Bosnia much longer. "We signed the

Continued on Page 12

'Keep up the fight to free Mark Curtis'

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — "Mark Curtis and his supporters around the world scored an important victory November 21 when Iowa officials granted the socialist and union activist parole," John Studer, coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, said in a recent interview. "This opens a new stage in the fight to defend Curtis that poses substantial immediate challenges and opportunities."

"Today, Mark Curtis remains in prison at the Iowa State Penitentiary in Ft. Madison," Studer said. "Although the parole board has set December 7 as the effective parole date, this only means that is the date Iowa corrections authorities will begin the paperwork for Curtis's release on parole from Iowa to Illinois, where his wife, Kate Kaku, resides. Curtis will remain in prison while this request is processed by Illinois authorities, and he will not be freed unless they decide to accept him for parole in their state."

Studer noted that Walter Saur, chair of the Iowa parole board, told the press at Curtis's recent hearing that it will take a month or two after December 7 for an interstate parole to be processed. The Mark Curtis Defense Committee, said Studer, is urging Curtis supporters everywhere to remain vigilant to make sure that Curtis is paroled and "to be prepared to respond to any attempts by the authorities to throw new obstacles in the path of Curtis's release or attempt to revoke his parole."

"After more than seven years, we've gotten to the one-yard line with the parole fight," Studer emphasized. "Now, with the help of supporters everywhere, we can push over the goal line."

Studer said that Curtis and his defense committee are working with Curtis's general counsel, William Kutmus, to retain an Illinois lawyer to represent the political activist in that state to help prepare his re-

Continued on Page 3

Divorce referendum passes in Ireland

BY MARCELLA FITZGERALD

DUBLIN, Ireland — "It's always been no for women in this country. No! No! No!... And now I've just voted Yes!" This is how one woman explained her feelings

coming out of the polling booth on Friday, November 24, when the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland held a referendum on whether to allow civil divorce. By a narrow margin of 9,000 votes, divorce be-

came legal, ending a decades-long ban.

The vote to change the provisions of the 1937 constitution — which formally recognized the family as the basic unit of society and laid down that "No law shall be enacted providing for the grant of a dissolution of marriage" — was carried by 50.3 percent of the 1.6 million ballots cast.

The votes from the working-class districts in Dublin weighed heavily in the outcome. One-third of the country's population lives in the Dublin area. However, even in rural Ireland the vote against the reform was 15 percent lower than in a similar referendum in 1986.

While opinion polls indicated that 80 percent of those over 65 were against the option of divorce being introduced, there was a very high turnout of 20-30 year olds who, in their vast majority, were in favor.

Many here describe the result as the most serious rebuff to the influence of the Catholic church on legal and political life. It reflects the deepgoing changes in social attitudes in what is still a predominantly agricultural and rural society with a 93 percent Catholic population.

Despite an influx of overseas industrial investment, agriculture in Ireland still accounts for 42 percent of all foreign earnings. At the same time, a recent report by the Employment Equality Agency states that more women than ever are entering the labor force. By 1994, 327,000 women were working — 36 percent of the workforce.

And for the first time the majority of

Continued on Page 12

Why Detroit workers stand firm in strike

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

DETROIT — On a cold morning in November, many workers here were shocked to hear a report on the local news radio station that led off, "Is the Detroit newspaper strike over?"

The story, presented as news, was actually a press statement by Detroit *News* editor and publisher Robert Giles proclaim-

NEWS ANALYSIS

ing victory over the six striking unions. The Detroit *News* and *Free Press* were operating at full capacity, Giles said. The strikers were all but permanently replaced, and subscribers were receiving the paper on time every day, so the workers might as well concede defeat. The radio station did not see fit to play a response from the striking unions.

This pronouncement was followed by an obituary for the strike in the *New York Times* on November 11. "Nearly four months into a newspaper strike here, the companies that own this city's two daily

Continued on Page 11

Celebrate the life and political contributions of Ed Shaw

Ed Shaw (1923-1995) was a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party. He was a union militant as a seaman in the merchant marine when he joined the party in 1944. Elected to the SWP's National Committee in 1959, he served on it until 1981. Shaw was a leader of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in the early 1960s and the SWP candidate for U.S. vice president in 1964. He was also the party's organization secretary in the late 1960s.

New York

Sun., Dec. 10, 1 p.m.

Speakers:

Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary
 Virginia Garcia, longtime socialist
 Tom Leonard, longtime SWP leader and former seaman
 Tony Thomas, member, Transportation Workers Union Local 291 in Miami
 Mary-Alice Waters, editor, *New Internationalist*
 Leader of the Young Socialists

For more information call the New York branch of the SWP. Tel: (212) 388-9475.

San Francisco

Sun., Dec. 17, 2 p.m.

Bayview Opera House
 4705 Third Street

Speakers:

Jack Barnes
 Tom Leonard
 Tami Peterson, Young Socialists
 Tony Thomas
 Harry Ring, former *Militant* editor
 Mary-Alice Waters

For more information call San Francisco SWP branch at (415) 282-6255.

Mexico's economy shrinks

The Mexican economy contracted 9.6 percent in the third quarter of 1995. The country's gross domestic product shrank 10.5 percent in the second quarter. Through the first nine months of the year the economy contracted 7 percent, signaling that the country isn't likely to recover soon from recession. Manufacturing activity fell 9.2 percent in the third quarter and retailing 19 percent. Construction has fallen 21 percent since the start of the year.

"This is the deepest recession that Mexico has seen since the Great Depression," said Arturo Porzecanski, chief economist at ING Capital Holdings Corp. The government tried to put its best face forward regarding the bad economic news, saying if the numbers were seasonally adjusted they would show a modest rebound from the second quarter.

Mexican sweepers seek asylum

Twenty-five Mexican street sweepers sought political asylum at the Swedish embassy November 23, after facing persecution for demanding higher wages. The workers, some still wearing their orange coveralls, entered the embassy in a wealthy neighborhood in Mexico City.

The workers said they represented some 320 cleaning workers from the southern state of Tabasco who had been unjustly fired for demanding an increase in their monthly wage of \$70.

Japan banks and bad loans

Japanese banks were holding bad loans totaling 37,390 billion yen (\$368 billion) at the end of September this year. This represents more than 5 percent of the banks' total lending. Even these staggering figures are likely to be understating the banking problem in Japan.

The estimate does not include some bad loans in the agricultural and insurance sectors. As well, banks are only required to report as bad debt those loans made to bankrupt borrowers or on which no interest has been paid for more than six months. Restructured loans, on which interest has been reduced to keep a borrower from insolvency, are not required to be listed.



November 12 protest in front of police station in Brentwood, a suburb of Pittsburgh, demanding the cops who killed Jonny Gammage be charged with murder.

Chernobyl shutdown stalls

Negotiations in Kiev collapsed November 2 between representatives of the Group of Seven, an association of the world's leading capitalist powers, and the government of Ukraine over the closing of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. Ukrainian environment ministry spokesman Volodymyr Martyniuk stated that his government, which has pledged to shut the remaining two functioning reactors at the plant by the year 2000, wanted "a very detailed scheme for the final plan: which country gives how much money through which bank and so forth" to finance the cost of closing.

Current talks foundered on demands by the G-7 governments for more guarantees on the timetable for the shutdown. The crippled facility still provides 5 percent of

the nation's electricity. The government of Ukraine now estimates the death toll from the 1986 nuclear explosion and its aftermath at 125,000 people.

Spain death squads probed

The lower house of the Spanish parliament voted to lift immunity for former Socialist Party interior minister José Barionuevo, opening the way for a probe into his role in death squads that operated against Basque separatists in the 1980s.

Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez has been badly tarnished by former police officials who implicated past and current government officials and members of the ruling Socialist Party in a murderous campaign against members of Basque separatist groups.

Ex-presidents of S. Korea may be charged in Kwangju killings

A proposed new law is expected to be approved in South Korea that could lead to prison sentences for two former South Korean presidents for the massacre of student and worker protesters in 1980. By official count some 192 people were gunned down or beaten to death in the Kwangju massacre, after protests grew in response to a military coup. Estimates by human rights activists put the actual death toll at Kwangju in the thousands.

Former president Roh Tae Woo, who now sits in jail awaiting indictment on bribery charges, and Chun Doo Hwan, who seized power in the 1979 military coup, are widely viewed as responsible for

the massacre. Democratic rights groups are pressing for an investigation into U.S. military involvement in the killings as well. Many students and workers in South Korea believe the U.S. military was a behind-the-scenes accomplice to the killings.

Three officers charged in killing of Afro-American businessman

Chanting, "The jury said murder," some 100 people rallied outside the City-County Building in Pittsburgh November 13 to protest the police murder of Jonny Gammage. A 31-year-old Black businessman, Gammage was beaten and killed October 12 after a routine traffic stop.

The latest protest was organized after Allegheny County district attorney Bob Colville rejected an inquest jury's recommendation to bring criminal homicide charges against the five suburban Pittsburgh police officers involved in the death. Colville said he is considering lesser charges of manslaughter against some of the cops involved.

"The harshest possible degree is what they should be charged with," said the jury foreman, Richard Lyons. The inquest jury, which included whites and Blacks, unanimously recommended homicide charges after hearing testimony for three days, mainly from the cops.

On November 27 two of the cops were charged with third-degree homicide and a third with involuntary manslaughter. The two other cops were not charged. "Involuntary manslaughter, that is like a slap on the wrist to me," said Gammage's mother Narves. She said all five cops should go to jail. "None of them tried to stop it."

— PAUL MAILHOT

Jon Hillson from St. Paul, Minnesota, and Bill Scheer and Sandi Sherman from Pittsburgh contributed to this column.

'Militant' on the Internet

The *Militant* newspaper can now be accessed through any internet provider at:

gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/pubs/militant

Readers of this socialist publication no longer need to subscribe to Peacenet to have access to the newspaper on-line.

Every Thursday evening as the paper goes to press in New York it is also loaded onto the internet. By Friday morning, every week, regular readers of the *Militant*, and others who are looking for a socialist perspective on the news and political events worldwide, can access the current issue — several days before it arrives by mail. The internet site for the *Militant* includes a menu item to browse the last four issues, as well as the capability to search by key words all the *Militant* articles that have been put on-line over the past year.

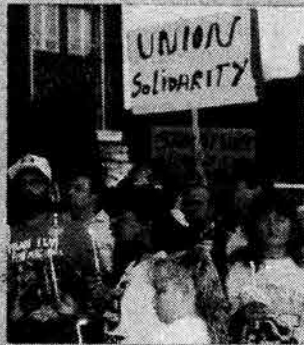
THE MILITANT

Worldwide working-class solidarity

As the capitalists around the world drive to slash jobs, wages, and social security, workers can link up and fight these attacks — and in the process find the road toward taking political power.

'Militant' correspondents from Paris to Mexico City and Sydney bring you first hand news from picket lines, labor solidarity rallies, student strikes, and many other struggles.

Don't miss a single issue!



SUBSCRIBE TODAY!

NEW READERS

☐ \$10 for 12 issues

☐ \$15 for 12 weeks
RENEWAL

☐ \$27 for 6 months

☐ \$45 for 1 year

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____

PHONE _____

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

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

The Militant

Vol. 59/No. 46

Closing news date: November 30, 1995

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Laura Garza, Martin Koppel, Paul Mailhot, Agnieszka Malapanis, and Maurice Williams.

Published weekly except for one week in December and three weeks in July by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Telephone: (212) 243-6392; Fax (212) 924-6040.

The *Militant* can be reached via CompuServe at: 73311,2720 or via Peacenet at: themilitant Internet: 73311.2720@compuserve.com or: themilitant@igc.apc.org

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

Second-class postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the *Militant*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

Subscriptions: U.S.: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address. **Latin America, Caribbean:** for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By

first-class (airmail), send \$80. **Asia:** send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. **Canada:** Send Canadian \$75 for one-year subscription to *Militant*, 4581 St. Denis, Montreal, Quebec H2J 2L4. **Britain, Ireland:** £36 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. **Continental Europe, Africa, Middle East:** £40 for one year by check or international money order made out to *Militant* Distribution at above address. **France:** Send FF300 for one-year subscription to *Militant*, 8 allée Berlioz, 94800 Villejuif cheque postale: 25-465-01-S, Paris. **Belgium:** BF 1,900 for one year on account no. 000-1543112-36 of IMei Fonds/Fonds du 1 mai, 2140 Antwerp. **Iceland:** Send 5,000 Icelandic kronur for one-year subscription to *Militant*, P.O. Box 233, 121 Reykjavík. **Sweden, Finland, Norway, Denmark:** 500 Swedish kronor for one year. Pay to *Militant* Swedish giro no. 451-32-09-9. **New Zealand:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand. **Australia:** Send Australian \$75 to P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000, Australia. **Pacific Islands:** Send New Zealand \$90 to P.O. Box 3025, Auckland, New Zealand.

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

'Keep up the fight to free Mark Curtis'

Continued from front page

lease and the conditions under which he will serve out his parole.

"Everything we do over the next few weeks — selling the Pathfinder pamphlet *Why Is Mark Curtis Still In Prison?*, publicizing the parole board decision, holding public meetings to explain the meaning of Curtis's long-standing fight, raising funds," Studer said, "can make a difference in assuring he wins his freedom."

Curtis was framed up on charges of third degree sexual assault on a Black teenage girl and first degree burglary in 1988. His arrest came in the midst of a struggle he was involved in at the Monfort meatpacking plant to defend 17 Latino co-workers following their arrest by the Immigration and Naturalization Service cops after a raid conducted in collaboration with the company. Curtis was beaten by the cops after his arrest as they called him a "Mexican lover, just like you love those coloreds." Several weeks later, cops and prosecutors tacked on the burglary charge, claiming he had entered private property with the intent of committing a felony.

During the November 21 hearing, parole board member Saur noted that Curtis had served out his sentence on the sexual abuse charge. However, the burglary

charge carried a mandatory 25-year sentence, and that sentence will not be exhausted until at least the year 2000. Under Illinois statutes, as in other states, parole officials have wide latitude to determine the exact terms of an inmate's parole.

Studer pointed out that numerous states, Illinois included, have laws on the books requiring convicted "sex offenders" to "register" with the police.

Under the current Illinois law, a convicted sex offender is required to report to the police annually for ten years, even if they have completed their parole.

The Illinois legislature recently approved a new bill that will also require the cops to compile lists of sex offenders whose alleged victims are under 18 and to disclose these names to the state Department of Children and Family Services, and to officials at area schools and licensed day-care centers. These lists would be also available to the public on request. The bill is on Illinois governor Jim Edgar's desk now.

Studer also explained that in 1989, Keith and Denise Morris, the parents of the woman Curtis was accused of raping, filed a civil lawsuit against Curtis seeking punitive financial damages.

In pre-trial motions, the presiding judge

in this suit ruled that since Curtis had been convicted in criminal court earlier, he had to be presumed guilty in the civil case. He was precluded from arguing he was not guilty and therefore should not be subjected to any financial judgment. Curtis was even barred from attending the trial, which boiled down to how much he would owe the alleged victim's family.

The Morris' attorneys also argued that the Mark Curtis Defense Committee was nothing but a private "bank" for Curtis, and sought to have its bank account seized as an additional part of the damages award.

"After an international response protesting this outrage, the judge ultimately disallowed the petition to turn over the defense committee's funds," Studer stated. "But in early 1991, that judge served Curtis with a damage judgment of \$80,000. Interest has been accumulating on this damages judgment ever since."

"When Curtis won a significant lawsuit against the Des Moines cops who beat him, the Morris' attorneys moved in and seized \$11,000 of the award Mark won," Studer added.

"This damages suit was always designed to continue the scapegoating of Curtis during and after his incarceration,"

Studer explained, "with the aim of hounding Mark and his wife Kate, two workers, for years and years for payment."

"When he is released, one of the challenges facing Curtis will be how to deal with this claim," Studer stated.

He noted that the victory registered by the parole board's decision provides important opportunities to win new support. "First," he said, "the Mark Curtis Defense Committee is urging supporters everywhere to write to him in prison. Mark will be glad to hear from everybody and the letters will also serve to inform prison officials that we are remaining steadfast in our efforts to secure Mark's freedom."

Studer said if they haven't done so already, Curtis backers should also immediately "contact those in your area who sent letters to the parole board thanking them for the help in winning this victory and informing them of the challenges ahead." Already, he noted, Mark is receiving congratulatory letters.

Olivier Meler, president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth headquartered in Budapest, Hungary, wrote, "It's with a great delight we learned [of] the tremendous victory scored last 21st November when the Iowa Board of Parole granted Mark Curtis parole effective December 7. We'd like to express our best congratulations for this first victory and we especially address to Mark himself, for his own courage, our best wishes."

Studer continued, "We should urge supporters to contribute generously. We need to raise \$25,000 by the end of the year in order to retain a topflight Illinois attorney, to help ensure that Mark is released under the least onerous conditions possible, deal with the continuing legal challenges he faces, and help spread the word about the new stage in his fight," added Studer. He urged defenders of Curtis to concentrate in the days ahead on distributing the booklet *Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?*

3,000 attend Kunstler memorial in N.Y.

BY PAUL MAILHOT

NEW YORK — Some 3,000 people participated in a memorial meeting to honor the life of William Kunstler here November 19. The diverse crowd, which included veterans of civil rights battles and fights for democratic rights as well as many young people, filled to capacity the seats and aisles of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in Manhattan.

Kunstler, an attorney who was well-known for defending victims of political and police frame-ups, died September 4 at the age of 76. His memorial meeting took on the character of a protest meeting, particularly against racist injustice, as the program centered on many cases Kunstler had fought defending Black rights and Native American fighters.

Among the political causes Kunstler supported over the years was the fight for parole for Mark Curtis, a socialist and union fighter who was framed up by police in Des Moines, Iowa. In a message sent to the Kunstler memorial meeting, John Studer, national coordinator of the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, wrote, "I

join with you in celebrating the life of William Kunstler. I had the opportunity to meet with Bill a number of times to discuss the fight to win freedom for imprisoned Iowa unionist and member of the Socialist Workers Party Mark Curtis, and on other political questions.

"Bill, like hundreds of others, had written to the Iowa State Board of Parole urging Curtis's release. We serve Bill's memory best by continuing our own efforts to defend democratic rights," the letter concluded.

The large crowd and the character of the meeting as a celebration of democratic and anticracist fights apparently rankled the editors of the *New York Times*. In an article published the day after the memorial meeting writer Richard Pérez-Peña attempted to trash the gathering.

Calling Kunstler a "defender of the despised and a world-class contrarian" Pérez-Peña estimated the crowd at only 1,000 people and described those in attendance as "mostly gray-haired and stoop-shouldered."

For those of us in attendance the *Times*

piece was far from the reality and proved to be controversial. "Pérez-Peña must have walked into the cathedral with the story already written," wrote Alexander Cockburn in the *Nation* magazine.

"Young, Old, White, and Black Came to Celebrate Kunstler's Life," headlined a retort to the *Times* in the paper's letters page November 24. "It was as if your reporter and I attended different events," said the writer, a freshman at Wesleyan University in Connecticut.

Fund closes in on goal

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

BROOKLYN, New York — "We have collected \$7,510 on the Militant Fund and expect to collect \$325 more." That was the welcome message faxed in by Marilee Taylor, local fund director in Chicago, just before the *Militant* went to press. *Militant* supporters there have a goal of \$7,500.

That's exactly the spirit that's needed to finish the Militant Fund campaign.

The scoreboard shows the campaign advanced by 10 percent in the past week, putting us at 86 percent of the \$125,000 goal. However, only half the areas sent in payments. If readers in every area had sent along what has already been collected, we could easily be on schedule.

The most important thing to note is that the goals from international supporters total just over \$132,000. This is the amount we need to top by December 3, when the campaign ends.

Achieving this will take the efforts of partisans of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in every city — those who are ahead and those who are behind.

Fund campaigner Ilona Gersh in Salt Lake City reports that supporters there are fighting to make their goal of \$3,800. Since their pledges still fell a little short of the goal, they have been organizing a systematic phone calling effort to reach out more to readers and supporters of the socialist press. One young woman they contacted by telephone was planning a visit to the Pathfinder Bookstore to check out the books and make a contribution to the Militant Fund.

The biggest jump in the past week came

from readers in Detroit, who sent in \$2,150. Chuck Guerra reports that the bulk of this money came from a successful fund-raising event that featured Doug Jennings, a member of the Steelworkers union from St. Paul, Minnesota, who has reported for the *Militant* on political developments in Japan, including firsthand reports on the 50th anniversary of the U.S. atom bombing of Hiroshima.

Also on the platform was Floyd Davis, a pressman on strike at the *Detroit News*. He thanked the *Militant* for supporting and spreading the truth about the newspaper strike. The audience contributed \$2,000 and made additional pledges of \$200.

Fund-raisers in New York also made a big leap in the past week, sending in more than \$1,650 and jumping to fourth place on the scoreboard. "We got on the phones to supporters of the *Militant* and raised \$900 from seven new contributors," reported Danny Booher. "Plus, we collected on outstanding pledges." With that extra boost, supporters in New York are confident they can surpass their goal of \$7,500.

Militant supporters are urged to send in money collected right away and not wait until December 3. This will make it possible to assess before the deadline how close we are to making the international goal and any final steps needed to close the gap.

All money received at the *Militant* by Tuesday, December 5, at 5:00 p.m. will be counted on the final scoreboard.

Let's top the \$132,000 and ensure the working-class voice keeps being published!

\$125,000

End of week nine

Militant Fund

	Goal	Paid	Percent
\$125,000	\$60	\$60	100%
MEXICO	\$100	\$100	100%
PUERTO RICO	\$400	\$376	94%
AUSTRALIA			
UNITED STATES			
Philadelphia	\$6,000	\$6,350	106%
Twin Cities	\$7,000	\$6,555	94%
Seattle	\$7,000	\$6,380	91%
New York	\$7,500	\$6,742	90%
Pittsburgh	\$5,000	\$4,415	88%
Los Angeles	\$10,000	\$8,827	88%
Birmingham	\$3,700	\$3,254	88%
Atlanta	\$4,500	\$3,943	88%
Brooklyn	\$8,000	\$6,812	85%
San Francisco	\$10,000	\$8,470	85%
Newark	\$8,000	\$6,735	84%
Peoria	\$2,400	\$1,979	82%
Chicago	\$7,500	\$6,145	82%
Cincinnati	\$250	\$200	80%
Greensboro	\$2,100	\$1,676	80%
Detroit	\$6,750	\$5,295	78%
Cleveland	\$2,100	\$1,582	75%
Washington, DC	\$3,000	\$2,251	75%
Morgantown	\$2,600	\$1,913	74%
Houston	\$4,250	\$3,030	71%
Salt Lake City	\$3,800	\$2,662	70%
Boston	\$5,000	\$3,415	68%
Miami	\$2,600	\$1,775	68%
Denver	\$500	\$300	60%
Des Moines	\$3,200	\$1,883	59%
Albuquerque	\$550	\$300	55%
Other		\$620	
U.S. Total	\$123,300	\$103,509	84%
FRANCE	\$300	\$244	81%
NEW ZEALAND			
Christchurch	\$650	\$759	117%
Auckland	\$2,470	\$1,661	67%
Wellington	\$80		
New Zealand Total	\$3,200	\$2,420	76%
BRITAIN			
Manchester	\$375	\$376	100%
Sheffield	\$150	\$157	105%
London	\$525	\$30	6%
Britain Total	\$1,050	\$563	54%
SWEDEN	\$750	\$300	40%
CANADA			
Vancouver	\$200	\$265	132%
Montreal	\$1,050	\$89	8%
Toronto	\$1,500	\$5	0%
Canada Total	\$2,750	\$359	13%
GREECE	\$130		
Int'l Other		\$101	
Goal	\$132,040	\$108,031	86%
Should Be	\$125,000	\$112,500	90%

Enclosed is \$_____ I pledge ☐ \$1,000 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other_____

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zip_____ Country_____

Send contributions to The Militant, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Building a Party of Communist Workers

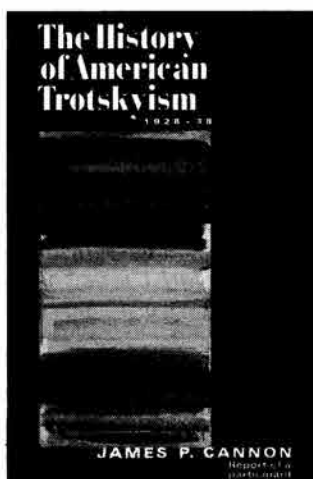
Struggles that Forged the Socialist Workers Party

BY JAMES P. CANNON

A traveling organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World before and during World War I and a leader of the working-class left wing of the Socialist Party, Cannon became a central leader of the Communist Party of the United States following the Russian revolution in 1917. He was expelled from the Communist Party in 1928. Cannon collaborated with Leon Trotsky, a central leader of the Bolshevik Party in the early years of the Russian revolution, in fighting to maintain the communist course of V.I. Lenin in face of the counterrevolution in the Soviet Union led by Joseph Stalin. A founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party, Cannon served as SWP national secretary until 1954 and was national chairman emeritus at his death in 1974.

The History of American Trotskyism

"Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine," Cannon says, "but the restoration, the revival of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian revolution and in the early days of the Communist International." In this series of twelve talks given in 1942, Cannon recounts an important chapter in the efforts to build a proletarian party in the United States. \$18.95 (Special: \$14.20)



The First Ten Years of American Communism

Report of a participant
An account of the early years of the U.S. communist movement. Companion book to *The History of American Trotskyism*. \$19.95 (Special: \$14.95)

The Struggle for a Proletarian Party

In a political struggle in the late 1930s with a petty-bourgeois current in the Socialist Workers Party, Cannon and other SWP leaders defended the political and organizational principles of Marxism. The debate unfolded as Washington prepared to drag U.S. working people into the slaughter of World War II. A companion to *In Defense of Marxism* by Leon Trotsky. \$19.95 (Special: \$14.95)

The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party

Minutes and Resolutions, 1938-39
JAMES P. CANNON AND OTHERS
At two conventions and surrounding leadership meetings in 1938-39, revolutionists in the United States codified some 20 years of experience in building a communist party. Taking the name Socialist Workers Party, they reaffirmed the Marxist approach in the fight against the coming imperialist war, the spread of fascism across Europe, and attacks by the bosses at home. \$20.95 (Special: \$15.70)

25% discount

Special holiday offer to members of the Pathfinder Readers Club

Offer ends January 1

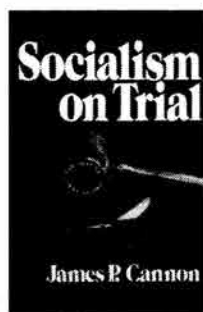
Speeches to the Party

The Revolutionary Perspective and the Revolutionary Party

Writing in the early 1950s, Cannon discusses how a proletarian party can resist the conservatizing pressures of the emerging capitalist expansion and anticommunist witch-hunt. He discusses Washington's failure to achieve its goals in the Korean War, why the rulers reined in McCarthyism, and how class-conscious workers under these conditions carried out effective union work and political activity to build a communist workers party. \$21.95 (Special: \$16.45)

Socialism on Trial

The basic ideas of socialism, explained in testimony during the frame-up trial of 18 leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters union and the Socialist Workers Party charged with sedition during World War II. \$15.95 (Special: \$11.95)



Writings and Speeches

FOUR VOLUME SERIES: \$22.95 EACH VOLUME
(SPECIAL: \$17.20 EACH VOLUME)

The Left Opposition in the U.S.: 1928-31

Supporters of the fight to continue Lenin's revolutionary course begin to rebuild the Marxist movement in the United States.

The Communist League of America: 1932-34

The communist movement turns toward new openings in the unions as the industrial working class begins to recover from the initial blows of the Great Depression.

The Socialist Workers Party in World War II: 1940-43

The communist workers movement in the United States prepares to campaign against wartime censorship, repression, and antiunion assaults.

The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century": 1945-47

The challenges posed by the post-World War II labor upsurge, the rapid expansion of openings for the communist movement, and the subsequent ebb in face of the stabilization of U.S. capitalism and the employers' antilabor offensive and witchhunt.

In Defense of Marxism

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONTRADICTIONS OF THE SOVIET UNION



In Defense of Marxism

The Social and Political Contradictions of the Soviet Union

BY LEON TROTSKY
Leon Trotsky replies to those in the revolutionary workers movement at the close of the 1930s who were

beating a retreat from defense of the degenerated Soviet workers state in face of looming imperialist assault. He explains how the rising pressures of bourgeois patriotism in the middle classes during the buildup toward U.S. entry into World War II were finding an echo even inside the communist movement, and why only a party that fights to bring growing numbers of workers into its ranks and leadership can steer a steady revolutionary course. \$24.95 (Special: \$18.70)

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution

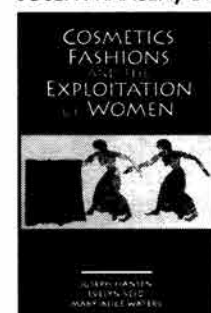
A Marxist Appreciation

JOSEPH HANSEN

How did the Cuban revolution come about? Why does it represent, as Joseph Hansen put it, an "unbearable challenge" to U.S. imperialism? What political challenges has it confronted? This compilation, written with polemical clarity as the revolution advanced, is irreplaceable in understanding the Cuban revolution today. \$20.95 (Special: \$14.95)

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women

JOSEPH HANSEN, EVELYN REED, AND



MARY-ALICE WATERS

How big business promotes cosmetics to generate profits and perpetuate the oppression of women. In her introduction, Mary-Alice Waters explains how the entry of millions of women into the workforce during and

after World War II irreversibly changed U.S. society and laid the basis for a renewed rise of struggles for women's equality. \$12.95 (Special: \$9.70)

BY FARRELL DOBBS

Revolutionary Continuity

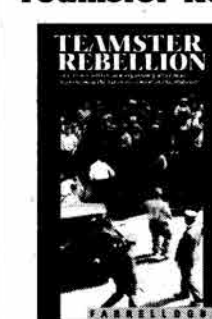
Marxist Leadership in the United States



How successive generations of fighters took part in the struggles of the U.S. labor movement, seeking to build a leadership that could advance the class interests of workers and small farmers and link

up with fellow toilers around the world. 2 vols. *Revolutionary Continuity: The Early Years, 1848-1917; Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement 1918-1922*. \$16.95 each (Special: \$12.70)

Teamster Rebellion



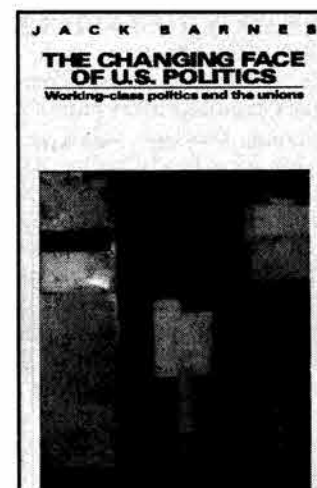
The 1934 strikes that built an industrial union and a fighting social movement in Minneapolis, recounted by a leader of that battle. The first in a four-volume series on the Teamster-led

strikes and organizing drives in the Midwest that helped pave the way for the CIO and pointed a road toward independent labor political action. \$16.95 (Special: \$12.70)

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions
JACK BARNES

A handbook for workers coming into the factories, mines, and mills, as they react to the uncertain life, ceaseless turmoil, and brutality of capitalism in the closing years of the twentieth century. It shows how millions of workers, as political resistance grows, will revolutionize themselves, their unions, and all of society. \$19.95 (Special: \$14.95)



Join the Pathfinder Readers Club

The Pathfinder Readers Club enables workers, young people, and others involved in struggle today to build up their libraries of revolutionary books. Club members get a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder titles at any of the Pathfinder bookstores around the world. Periodic special offers, such as books and titles promoted in this ad, are also available at steeper discounts.

Join today! \$10 annual fee

Available from bookstores listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.
If ordering by mail please include \$3.00 for the first book and 50c for each additional title to cover shipping and handling. Write for a free catalog.

Young Socialists plan action, education

BY LAURA GARZA

NEW YORK — "As youth today, what are our options?," asked Tami Peterson, a leader of the Young Socialists speaking at a Militant Labor Forum here November 25. "We are faced with an abundance of crises around the world: from Yugoslavia to the nuclear testing by France's imperialist government, and from attacks on women's rights, immigrant rights, and workers rights to the continuing British occupation of Ireland.

"But we, the Young Socialists, offer and fight for an alternative," she said. Contrary to the image of Generation X pushed in the big-business media, "Youth have quite a bit of revolutionary potential in our hands. This fact has begun to manifest itself through struggles against the anti-immigrant Proposition 187 and for affirmative action," Peterson said pointing to the demonstrations of up to 70,000, which high school students and others in California participated in. The option for youth, she stated, is to "become part of the struggles to fight back."

Some 75 people attended the forum, which was held in conjunction with a National Committee meeting of the Young Socialists November 25-26. YS leaders active in coalitions and protest actions in defense of the Cuban revolution, to oppose the death penalty and police brutality, and to defend affirmative action and abortion rights were featured speakers at the event. Several have been involved in supporting striking workers in Detroit, Seattle, and elsewhere.

During the leadership meeting, members of the YS National Committee and organizers of local chapters of the revolutionary youth group from a dozen cities discussed the next steps in building the YS. Noting that two dozen people have joined the organization over the past two months, the YS leaders charted an ambitious course of reaching out to more young fighters across the United States and around the world.

In addition to involvement in important upcoming protest actions, building on efforts to win new readers to the *Militant* and distribute Pathfinder books, the National Committee voted to hold a national meeting of the YS over Easter weekend, April 6-7.

In opening the forum, Peterson took special note of a victory in a fight many in the room had taken part in, that of Mark Curtis to win parole from prison in Iowa. She read a message from Curtis to the young fighters. In issuing a call for a national gathering the socialist youth also issued an invitation to Curtis to attend the gathering.

The fact that the YS is becoming more established as a socialist youth organization, and gaining a reputation among a layer of co-fighters, was evident at the forum.

Active participants in class struggle

Veronica Poses from Miami explained how the YS has joined in demanding that cops who shot and killed a 17-year-old student be jailed, and in supporting immigrant farmworkers fighting in Immokalee, Florida. The workers are demanding a raise in their wages to \$5.25 an hour, after being cut to below minimum wage.

Poses also pointed to the great value in distributing revolutionary literature, saying the debates and discussions during the Miami Book Fair provided proof of the openings to discuss the Cuban revolution and other issues. YS members joined with members of the Socialist Workers Party in staffing a table featuring books published by Pathfinder, including those by leaders of the Cuban revolution, Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara.

Tom Alter, a student at the University of Indiana at Bloomington, said the Young Socialists has helped bring people to the picket lines in Detroit to support the striking newspaper workers, including students who have been involved in issues ranging from gay rights to supporting affordable housing.

"You learn the most from action, and this has been a strike full of action," he said, explaining they participated in mobilizations of workers to stop the delivery trucks from rolling with the papers produced by strikebreakers. They joined on October 8 with about 100 people from



Militant/Carole Lesnick

September rally in front of City Hall in Pasadena, California, in defense of affirmative action. Young Socialists have helped build actions like these around the country.

Women Involved in Labor Disputes to support the strike and have brought these experiences back to Bloomington.

"Recently we participated in a protest at a local Shell station against the killing of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other environmentalist and human rights activists in Nigeria," Alter said. "We want to get some of these activists up to Detroit so they can see what happened in Nigeria is what capitalists do all over the world, to varying degrees, depending on what they think they can get away with," he stated, noting the attacks by cops against strikers on the picket lines.

Participating from Montreal, Carlos Cornejo discussed how the Young Socialists there joined in mobilizations with tens of thousands to support the struggle against the national oppression of the Quebecois and for a Yes vote on the recent referendum. "The Quebecois receive lower average pay, have less chance at getting a job, and have a higher illiteracy rate," he said.

The YS also helped mobilize Quebecois and other youth to come to New York for the October 21 march against the U.S. embargo of Cuba and to work in Canada on a speaking tour by two youth leaders from Cuba. Building this demonstration, and those a week earlier in San Francisco and Chicago, had been a central activity of the YS across North America in September and October.

In the audience were a number of workers and youth who recently heard about the Young Socialists after buying a copy of the *Militant* newspaper or seeing YS members at a literature table on their campus. Students attended from the State University of New York-Stonybrook on Long Island, Medgar Evers College, and Brooklyn College. Several activists who were in town from the University of Minnesota also joined in the discussion, which ranged from questions on the threats by Canadian capitalists to move out of Quebec if the pro-autonomy referendum passed to comments on the fight to defend affirmative action from California to Minnesota.

Activities projected

The YS National Committee meeting was kicked off by a report by Brock Satter, who presented a tasks and perspectives report on behalf of the YS national steering committee.

Satter pointed to several political developments around the world as examples of the crisis of the capitalist system, such as the war in Bosnia, and the inevitable deepening of the war with the deployment of U.S. and NATO troops; the unstemmed crisis in Mexico; and the continued attacks on social services and unions at home.

As this crisis unfolds, he said, the wealthy rulers are meeting resistance to their assaults. He cited experiences of YS members joining picket lines of Boeing strikers, meeting students protesting austerity measures in Mexico, participating in actions in defense of Black rights, and finding growing interest in the Cuban revolution.

The YS, Satter said, joins in actions that can strengthen the ability of the working

class to fight in its own defense. Socialist youth also bring a perspective to other fighters of the kind of revolutionary struggle that will be necessary to overturn the dog-eat-dog system of capitalism and open the road to socialism.

Satter said one of the central accomplishments of the YS over the past several months was joining in the campaign to win new readers of the socialist press and to help distribute revolutionary books. Such propaganda work, he said, "is essential to getting the lessons of the working-class movement into the hands of those coming into political struggle today."

"While we continue to organize activities in defense of Cuba along with others," Satter said, "there is a range of other protest action we can deepen our involvement in." These include joining picket lines in Detroit; building the December 9 Mumia Abu-Jamal Activist Conference in Philadelphia; participating in events to be held to celebrate the life of longtime Socialist Workers Party leader Ed Shaw on December 3, 10, and 17 in Miami, New York, and San Francisco respectively; and becoming part of an action to defend abortion rights in Boston December 30.

A major effort will be made to bring youth and others from all these activities to the one of the four regional socialist educational conferences to be held December 30-January 1 in Atlanta, Boston, Detroit, and Seattle.

The discussion showed a range of activities YS members have participated in, and some common experiences they are gaining. Meg Novack from Seattle said that when strikers at Boeing rejected the newest contract offer, YS members there immediately went out to the picket lines. That experience has inspired chapter members to read *Teamster Rebellion*, which explains some of the lessons of working-class fighters from earlier generations.

High school students from Chicago and Salt Lake City described the interest other students had in hearing about trips they made to Cuba in August. Cecilia Ortega, from Cleveland, said her class on 20th century world issues voted to study Cuba for several weeks after discussions she raised on her recent visit. A Political Awareness Club is now being formed by radical-minded students on campus.

Jack Willey from New York said the organization would join with other groups participating in a task force of the National Network on Cuba to build a U.S. youth brigade to Cuba for August 1996.

Several YS leaders, including Vanessa Knapton from Los Angeles, explained how education is becoming an important part of the meetings of the YS membership in their cities. At each one of their bilingual chapter meetings, Knapton explained, members discuss an article from the current issue of the *Militant*.

Tom Alter reported that the KKK has announced plans for a January 13 rally in Ft. Wayne, Indiana. Leaders from the traditional civil rights from groups like the NAACP agreed to a plea by city officials not to call a counterprotest. Alter asked for discussion on other experiences that could help in thinking out how to respond to this

right-wing action. He also said weekly literature tables set up on campus are "the main organizing and building tool" of the YS.

Megan Arney, from the Twin Cities, Minnesota, agreed with the proposal for YS members to write for the *Militant*, using it to exchange experiences building their chapters and discussing political issues and events YS members are participating in.

Part of the meeting was a tour for several hours of the Pathfinder building, where the socialist arsenal of books and periodicals is published, and where the national offices of the Socialist Workers Party are located. Over the last year members of the Young Socialists from many cities have joined the volunteer workers in the print shop of the communist movement, learning how to run presses and produce high-quality revolutionary books and papers.

Revolutionary youth organization

YS steering committee member Diana Newberry presented a report drawing the lessons of the last year's efforts to forge a socialist youth organization.

One step the National Committee approved was for chapters to start voting on taking in members, as opposed to someone being considered a member if they sign up and pay a one dollar initiation fee, as is the practice now.

This new norm will help insure that each person wanting to become a member knows the rights and responsibilities of membership, and the political foundations of the YS's revolutionary perspectives. Where there is no chapter, members can be voted in by the steering committee. Newberry also presented proposals that anywhere three or more members of the YS function together a chapter be constituted, and a coordinator elected.

The organization voted that membership is open to anyone between the ages of 14 and 26. Currently, most members of the YS are in their teens or early twenties. The payment of dues was also discussed. It was decided to set the monthly contribution at \$3, and to make it a requirement of membership. The dues, Newberry pointed out, "are not the primary way the YS will finance itself. They are a way of defining the membership, a commitment that each member makes as part of the decision to be in the organization."

Making the YS self-financing will be accomplished with national and local fund raising projects, and some chapters reported that members already make voluntary pledges to finance the activities of the organization. The meeting agreed to launch a \$10,000 fund drive to begin January 1 and last through February.

A national steering committee of three was elected: Diana Newberry, Brock Satter, and Jack Willey.

MARCH AND RALLY IN BOSTON TO DEFEND ABORTION RIGHTS

Saturday, December 30, 12:30 p.m.

March on the first anniversary of the murders of clinic workers Shannon Lowney and Leann Nichols and the wounding of five others by right-wing activist John Salvi. March to demand an end to the attacks and harassment of patients at clinics across the country, and full prosecution of Salvi, whose trial is scheduled to begin February 5, 1996.

Assemble at 12:30 p.m.

Boylston and Tremont Street.

March: 1:00 p.m.

Rally: 2:00 p.m.

at Arlington Street Church, 351 Boylston Street.

Speakers: David Gunn Jr., whose father, Dr. David Gunn, was killed outside a clinic in Florida; author Marge Piercy; poet Rosario Morales and others.

Sponsored by National Organization for Women. For more information call (617) 782-9183.

How Roosevelt provoked Tokyo's attack

The following are major excerpts from the article "War Guilt in the Pacific: A Political Analysis of the Pearl Harbor Reports." It was first published in the October 1945 issue of the Marxist magazine *Fourth International*, a predecessor of *New Internationalist*. The author, C. Frank Glass, signed the article with the pen name Li Fu-Jen.

We are publishing it on the occasion of the 54th anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbor by Tokyo, which took place on December 7, 1941.

C. Frank Glass (1901-1988) was a revolutionary socialist journalist and a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party. Born in Birmingham, England, he emigrated with his family to South Africa when he was 10.

Glass was one of the founding members of the South African Communist Party in 1921 and was later elected as one of the party's four executive officers. He broke from that organization in 1928 as part of those veteran communists who opposed the growing Stalinization of the party leadership and supported the fight led by Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky to continue V.I. Lenin's communist course.

In 1930, Glass's work as a journalist took him to Shanghai, China. At that time the bourgeois regime of Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek was carrying out bloody repression of a powerful revolutionary uprising by workers and peasants in China that had erupted in 1927.

Glass worked actively to help establish the Communist League in China, whose ranks included veteran militants of the Chinese Communist Party who had continued to fight for a Leninist course in the face of that party's Stalinist degeneration.

Glass reported for the *Militant* during the 1937 invasion of China by the Japanese armed forces. He was forced to leave the country in 1941 as Tokyo's troops approached Shanghai, and he moved to New York. There he joined the SWP and served on the *Militant's* editorial staff for the remainder of World War II.

Glass was elected to the SWP's national committee in 1944 and served on that body until 1963. In the late 1940s he moved to Los Angeles, where he became active in the party branch. He lived there for the rest of his life.

Over the years he contributed many articles to the revolutionary press, particularly to the early *New Internationalist* magazine, and its successors, *Fourth International* and *International Socialist Review*. His articles appeared under the pen names Li Fu-Jen, Ralph Graham, and John Liang.

The *Fourth International* and the other theoretical magazines of the communist movement in the U.S. are being scanned and will soon be available on CD-ROM.

The article below is copyright *New Internationalist* and is reprinted by permission. Subheadings are by the *Militant*.

BY C. FRANK GLASS

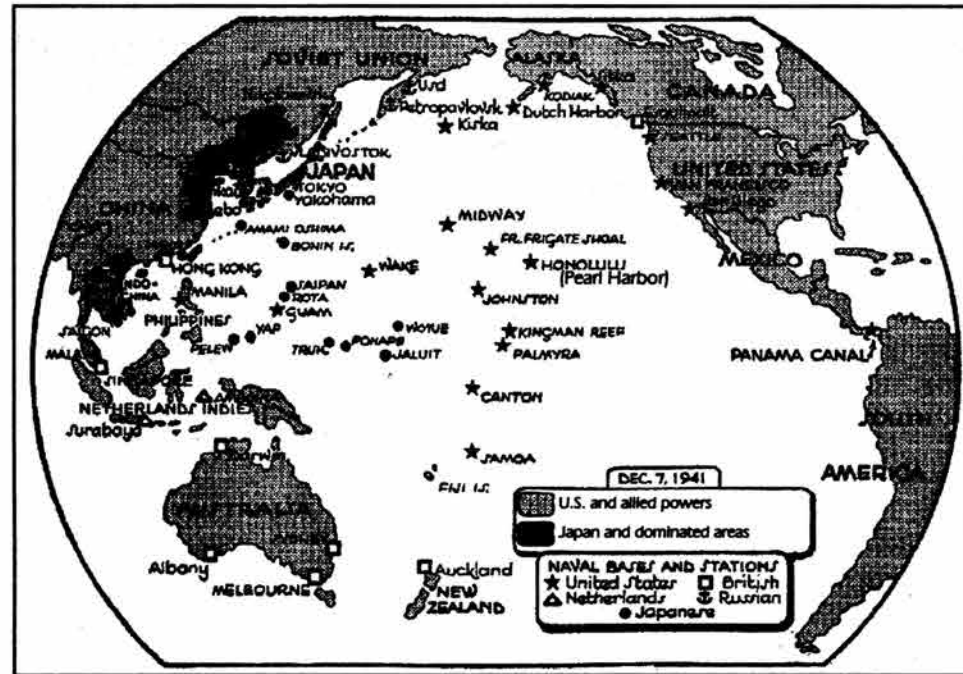
After this article was written, striking confirmation of the author's thesis was given by John Chamberlain, in an article which appeared in the September 21 [1945] issue of *Life* magazine. Chamberlain declared that "long before" the 1944 election Republican Presidential Candi-

date Thomas E. Dewey learned "that we had cracked the Japanese 'ultra' code some time prior to Pearl Harbor and that [U.S. president Franklin D.] Roosevelt and his advisers knew what the Japanese were going to do well in advance of the overt rupture of relations."

But Dewey joined Roosevelt in the conspiracy of silence and deception which made it possible to brand Japan as the

was involved than simply matters of military precaution and preparation. The investigators, too, had to delve into Administration policies, for without doing so there clearly existed no possibility of establishing the full truth or apportioning the blame for what had occurred.

It is precisely here that the reports are highly revealing, for they establish incontrovertibly the following conclusions, even



Positions of imperialist powers and Moscow in Pacific at time of Pearl Harbor attack

"aggressor" and fasten "war guilt" on the Japanese nation. Had the American people known the full truth, even as late as the 1944 election campaign, the "political impact," as Chamberlain says, "would have been terrific and might well have landed Dewey in the White House." But Dewey, concerned like Roosevelt for the interests of U.S. imperialism, kept silent, and by keeping silent sacrificed the chance to deliver a telling and perhaps fatal blow to his opponent's candidacy.

* * *

On August 29, 1945, President Truman released for publication lengthy reports by the Army and Navy giving the facts and circumstances of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor which precipitated the extension of the Second World War to the Pacific area. The lengthier of the two reports, that of the Army Pearl Harbor Board, is dated October 20, 1944, and is accompanied by a statement of Secretary of War Stimson. The other is a fact-finding report of a Navy Court of Inquiry with a statement by the Secretary of the Navy and is dated October 19, 1944.

Why were these reports withheld from the public for almost a year? An attempt has been made to represent the suppression as having been necessitated by considerations of military security, since the war was still in progress. It is true that the reports deal largely with matters of a purely military character.

Yet the principal event to which they relate, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, had occurred almost three years prior to the completion of the reports. What they contain in the way of military information was already stale and musty and had no bearing whatever on the further course of the Pacific war. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that the reports were suppressed for political and not for military reasons....

The Army Board and the Navy Court were charged with the task of ascertaining the facts of the Pearl Harbor disaster and establishing the responsibility therefor. The Army investigation centered on the acts and policies of General Short, who was in charge of the Hawaii Command of the Army. The Navy investigation centered on the acts and policies of Admiral Kimmel, who was commander-in-chief of the Pacific Fleet.

These high-ranking officers were removed from their posts after Pearl Harbor and were called upon to defend themselves against charges of incompetence and dereliction of duty. In order to exculpate themselves from blame for the disaster, they were obliged to make reference to the general policies of the Administration by which they were bound, for much more

though these conclusions are not drawn in the reports:

1. That President Roosevelt, while proclaiming his love of peace and hatred of war, was embarked on a deliberate course of war with Japan (and Germany) long before Pearl Harbor and that this was the conscious policy of his Administration.

2. That Roosevelt's policy toward Japan was one of systematic pressure to force the Japanese imperialists to commit the overt act which would touch off a war explosion. Roosevelt was obliged to pursue this strategy in order to be able to brand Japan as the "aggressor" and stampede the people of the United States into a war to which a majority of the nation had been steadfastly opposed. The "peace-loving" President had assured the American people that their sons would not be sent to fight in "foreign wars." This made it necessary that the United States should be "attacked" so that the drive of American imperialism for mastery of the Pacific could be presented in the guise of a war of national defense and survival.

When Roosevelt read the reports, he must have realized their explosive political quality. Here, out of the mouths of his own generals and admirals, he was convicted as a war conspirator who under cover of unctuous protestations of his love of peace plotted to plunge the American people into the most terrible of all wars so that the "manifest destiny" of American imperialism might be achieved....

The Roosevelt strategy

The Roosevelt strategy of forcing Japan to become the "aggressor" is revealed unmistakably in that section of the report which relates to messages between the War Department and the Hawaiian Command in the last days before Japan struck. On November 27, 1941, 10 days before the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Chief of Staff radioed General Short as follows:

Negotiations with Japanese appear to be terminated to all practical purposes with only the barest possibilities that the Japanese Government might come back and offer to continue. Japanese future action unpredictable but hostile action possible at any moment. If hostilities cannot, repeat cannot, be avoided, the U.S. desires that Japan commit the first overt act.

That Roosevelt himself was the author of this policy was stated by General Gerow of the War Department who testified that "the President had definitely stated that he wanted Japan to commit the first overt act." From desiring the commission of an overt act by Japan it was but a short step to provoking one. This is just what Roosevelt sought to do.

The vast economic power of the United States, and the economic frailty of Japan guaranteed the success of Roosevelt's strategy of provoking war by tightening an economic noose around Japan. The sanctions imposed on Japan in 1940-41 are referred to in the Army Board's report. The Army's investigators understood their drastic character and had no doubt that the Roosevelt policy "led only to war." The pertinent section of the report reads, in part, as follows:

It was in the fall of 1940 that we cast the die and adopted economic sanctions. And we find it significant that about June 1940 General Herron as Commanding General of the Hawaiian Department upon Washington orders went into an all-out alert into battle positions with live ammunition for six weeks.

In September the export of iron and steel scrap was prohibited. The effect of the United States policy was to cut off from Japan by the winter of 1940-41 the shipment of many strategic commodities, including arms, ammunition, and implements of war, aviation gasoline and many other petroleum products, machine tools, scrap iron, pig iron and steel manufactures, copper, lead, zinc, aluminum, and a variety of other commodities....

Nor was this all. These disastrous embargoes were supplemented by Washington's abrogation of the U.S.-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation which deprived Japan of "most favored nation" treatment in her remaining trade with the United States, and by the freezing of Japanese credits in this country. Among the most important consequences of these moves was the destruction of Japan's lucrative and vital silk trade with this country, upon the proceeds of which Japan largely depended for the financing of her imports.

'Zero hour' approaching

Finally, in August 1941, after Japan had moved troops into southern French Indo-China, thereby flanking the Philippines on the West, Washington and London joined in delivering a warning to Tokyo against "new moves of aggression." Roosevelt dispatched a military mission to China. Zero hour was approaching. The imperialist conspirators sat back to await the development of the inevitable, and they were under no misapprehension as to what that development would be.

The effect of their pressure against Japan was reported to Washington by the American ambassador in Tokyo, Joseph C. Grew, who on October 9, 1941, two months before the Pearl Harbor attack, said that "the frozen-credit policy of the United States was driving Japan into national bankruptcy and she would be forced to act." Earlier, Grew had stated that:

Considering the temper of the people of Japan (read Japanese imperialists, for that was the circle Grew moved in) it was dangerously uncertain to base United States policy on a view that the imposition of progressive and rigorous economic measures would probably avert war; that it was the view of the Embassy that war would not be averted by such a course.... Finally he warned of the possibility of Japan's adopting measures with dramatic and dangerous suddenness which might make inevitable a war with the United States.

Grew may or may not have harbored the illusion that Washington's policy was intended to "avert war." What he thought is of little importance, since he was an executor and not a maker of policy. The important thing is that the high policy makers in Washington, Roosevelt and Hull, working in the closest consultation with the Wall Street barons, had already determined on war and were concerned only to force Japan to commit the first overt act of hostility, while gaining whatever time they could to prepare for war.

They knew Japan was choking in the noose of their sanctions. They knew the Japanese imperialists would try to fight their way out of the noose. They had Grew's warning that Japan would attack with "dramatic and dangerous suddenness." In the light of this last fact, espe-



C. Frank Glass, left, with his wife Grace Simons in Shanghai, August 1935.

on Pearl Harbor

cially, it can be said that Roosevelt transcended all bounds of nauseating hypocrisy when he pretended surprise and shock at the Japanese "sneak" attack on Pearl Harbor.

The 10-point ultimatum

The final negotiations "for peace" before Pearl Harbor put the finishing touch to the plans of the imperialist conspirators in Washington. On Nov. 26, 1941, Secretary of State Hull presented to Japanese representatives in Washington a 10-point proposal as the basis for an agreement.

This proposal required Japan to withdraw her armed forces from China and from French Indo-China. In return, the United States would unfreeze Japanese credits, end all other economic sanctions, and conclude a new commercial treaty with Japan. The Japanese imperialists were asked, in effect, to abandon entirely their plan of empire and surrender their position as a Pacific power.

Although the 10-point proposal was not couched in the form or language of an ultimatum, but took the form of a proposed draft agreement, it was understood by Tokyo as an ultimatum and was intended as such by the Washington conspirators. Hull and Roosevelt certainly regarded the proposal as an ultimatum.

They knew it meant war. For on the morning of November 27, as the Army Board report states, Secretary of War Stimson called Hull on the phone and Hull "told me now he had broken the whole matter off. As he put it, 'I have washed my hands of it, and it is now in the hands of you and Knox (Navy Secretary), the Army and Navy.'"

The Army Board also reports that on the same day (November 26) that the 10-point proposal was delivered to the Japanese representatives, the Chief of Staff (Gen. Marshall) and the Chief of Naval Operations (Admiral Stark) wrote a joint memorandum to Roosevelt, "requesting that no ultimatum be delivered to the Japanese as the Army and Navy were not ready to precipitate an issue with Japan." They were apprehensive as they saw the quickening drift toward war. They wanted more time to prepare. But their attempt to check the drift came too late in any event....

Irreconcilable imperialist antagonism

Roosevelt had decided to cut the Gordian knot which tied the country to a peaceful status. While, naturally, he was aware of the military deficiencies of the United States, he knew, too, that the American productive capacity, once fully geared to war, would quickly make good any losses sustained in the initial encounters with Japan. That is why, in asking Congress for a declaration of war on Dec. 8, 1941, he could confidently predict "inevitable victory" for the United States.

The 10-point ultimatum to Japan reflected the irreconcilable antagonism between American and Japanese imperialism, an antagonism with deep economic roots, an antagonism that could be resolved only by recourse to war. The question of who fired the first shot in the Pacific war has only an episodic interest.

The rivalry of the two imperialist Powers was lodged in the contest for trade, for raw materials, for colonies, for spheres of influence, for investment opportunities, for the right to dominate and exploit the teeming millions of the Orient.

War between them did not develop suddenly, but over long years. From the beginning, the interests, and therefore the policies, of the two Powers developed in diametrical opposition. The logic of this development made ultimate war between them inevitable.

A consideration of the nature of America's first contact with Japan illumines the whole future course of U.S.-Japanese relations.

In the year 1853, under orders from President Fillmore, Commodore Perry sailed an American naval squadron into Tokyo Bay to demand of Japan the opening of her ports to American shipping and commerce. The use of naval power to conduct a seemingly peaceful diplomatic mission is in itself significant. The frightened feudal rulers of Japan acceded to the American demands.

Japan's two centuries of isolation from

the rest of the world (the Tokugawa seclusion, 1641-1853) was at an end. Perry's mission inaugurated the period of Japan's modernization which was marked by the Meiji Restoration (1868) and set its ruling class on the road of capitalist growth and imperialist expansion.

Historical background

The circumstances dictating the forcible opening of Japan were a signpost pointing to the future imperialist policies of both the United States and Japan and the clashing of their interests in the broad basin of the Pacific. As a result of China's defeat by Great Britain in the Opium Wars of 1839-42 and the forcing open of China's ports, a profitable Oriental trade began in which American merchants quickly seized their share....

In order to maintain and develop the Pacific trade route to China an intermediate port of call was required, so that ships could replenish their food and water supplies. Japan lay directly on the sailing route, but Japan was closed and forbidden territory. Seamen unfortunate enough to be shipwrecked off the Japanese coast were frequently put to death by Japan's feudal rulers who had decreed the total isolation of the country.

It was Perry's mission to break this isolation and obtain, by force if necessary, the right of American ships to call at such ports as Yokohama and Nagasaki. In subsequent treaties the United States secured extraterritorial rights for its nationals in Japan, as it had already done in China.

To Japan's rulers, gazing out for the first time on the outside world, it seemed as if their country was to suffer the fate of nearby China, which had been humiliated and subjugated by the Western Powers and reduced in all but name to a colony. They escaped this fate by feverish modernization and the creation of armed forces to withstand external pressure. The stage was thus set for the progressive development of a rivalry with the Western Powers which reached its denouement at Pearl Harbor.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the last vestiges of what has become known as the "American frontier" were rapidly vanishing. The growth of American capitalism was coming to depend more and more upon foreign trade.

The great lands of the Orient, above all China, were the logical scene of American expansion, together with South America. Seizure of the Philippines in the Spanish-American war of 1898 and the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands started American imperialism on its career in the Pacific.

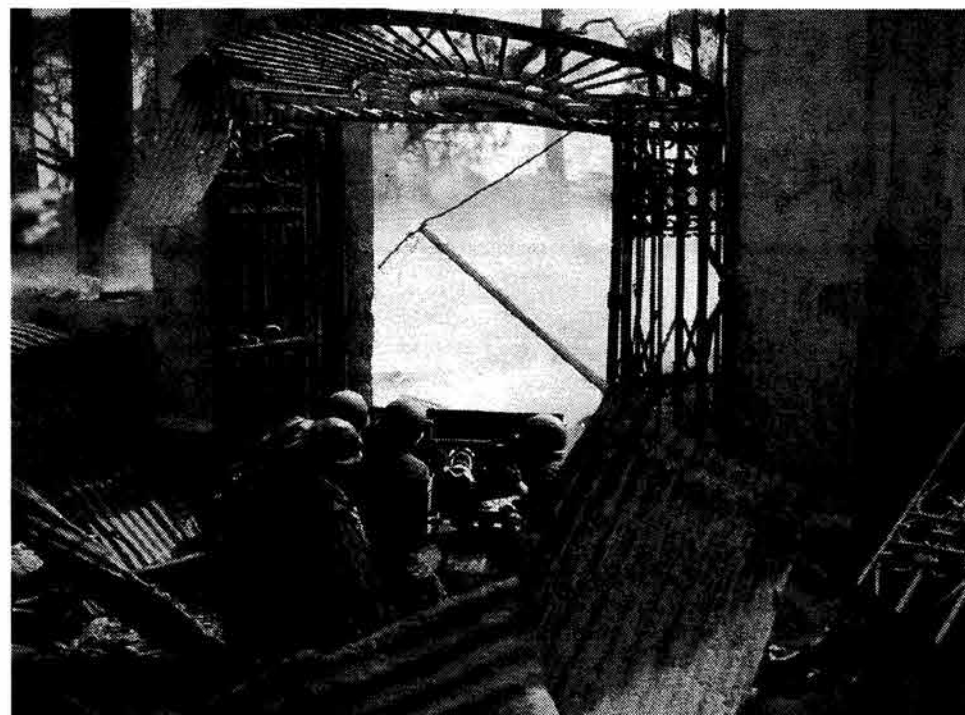
Revivified Japan, meanwhile, had fought a war with and inflicted total defeat upon China (1894-95). Japan annexed the rich island of Formosa off the coast of China and established a protectorate over Korea, formally annexing the latter in 1910. Manchuria had become a sphere of interest of Czarist Russia. Britain and France had established similar spheres in China proper.

U.S. doctrine of 'Open Door'

Washington, highly conscious of America's own destiny as an imperialist power, was alarmed by the piratical freebooting of its rivals. In 1899 John Hay, Secretary of State in the McKinley administration, enunciated the famous doctrine of the "Open Door" with regard to China. By this doctrine the American imperialists served notice on their rivals that they would not countenance any treaties or agreements which would have the effect of creating closed preserves and denying equal trade opportunities to American capitalists doing business in China.

The "Open Door" policy was vigorously reiterated during the Boxer Rebellion in China (1900-01) which the rivals of the United States, including Japan, tried to use as a pretext for dismembering China. Again and again in the years that followed, the State Department delivered to Czarist Russia, to Britain and Japan and other powers, reminders that it demanded respect for the "Open Door" in China.

In 1904-05 Japan warred on Czarist Russia and seized the latter's "rights and interests" in Manchuria.... In 1915, while the Western Powers were preoccupied with the war in Europe, Japan presented



U.S. infantry fight Japanese forces house-to-house for control of Philippines in 1945.

her "21 demands" to China, threatening to take charge of the whole country. She took over the German "sphere of influence" in Shantung province.

At the Washington Conference of 1921-22, the American imperialists compelled Japan to withdraw from Shantung and from the Soviet maritime provinces. They negotiated the Nine-Power Treaty under which the policy of the "Open Door" was reaffirmed. All the imperialist powers having "interests" in China undertook to "respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

This agreement between the imperialist bandits broke down before the subsequent reality of sharpening antagonism between the Powers. Britain sought merely to maintain the status quo in the Orient, being satisfied with the loot she had already obtained. But Japan, the new and hungry guest at the imperialist table, cast a greedy eye on the trade and possessions of both her British and American rivals and revived her plans for subjugating China.

In 1931, Japan's armies moved into Manchuria. Secretary of State Stimson reminded Japan of the "Open Door" once again and proclaimed the new implementing doctrine of "Non-recognition" under which the United States refused to recognize any "situation, treaty or agreement" which Japan might bring about by force of arms.

Six years later, Japanese imperialism moved into China proper. On October 6, 1938, Ambassador Grew in Tokyo delivered a note to the Japanese Government charging Japan with violation of her promises to maintain the "Open Door" and demanding that these promises be implemented.

Japan's answer was to proclaim her "immutable purpose" to establish a "New Order in East Asia." There were other diplomatic exchanges. It is noteworthy that in all of them the expression of American concern for American "rights and interests" is the motif.

The hypocritical pretense that the American imperialists were concerned solely or even mainly with "liberating" the Orient from "Japanese banditry" so that the Chinese and other Asiatic peoples might be free, was to come later, after Pearl Harbor, in order to furnish a cover of disinterested idealism for the predatory aims of the Wall Street brigands.

As we have seen, war between Japan and the United States was prepared step by step over a period of half a century. It was not the result of sudden, unexpected aggression by Japan.

Pearl Harbor was merely the conflagration point of a long-smoldering antagonism lodged in the development of the two imperialist powers and caused by their greedy appetite for profits. For the right to dominate the Orient and exploit China with its millions of inhabitants, the imperialists on both sides of the Pacific sent their nations' youth to the shambles. They have caused unimaginable destruction, killed millions of people, and brought untold grief and privation to the survivors.

War guilt? Yes! But it rests as heavily on the Wall Street brigands and their government in Washington as it does on the defeated imperialists of Japan.

1 Feudal lord Tokugawa Ieyasu founded the last shogunate (hereditary military dictatorship) in Japan in 1603. The Tokugawa state lasted over 250 years, until 1867. During most of this period, known as the Tokugawa Seclusion, a succession of dictators from the Tokugawa family literally closed Japan off to the outside world.

2 The Japanese emperor Meiji was restored to power in 1868, following the destruction of the Tokugawa shogunate. Under Meiji, who ruled until his death in 1912, Japan was gradually transformed from a feudal into a capitalist state and an imperialist power without a bourgeois revolution.

3 From the early years of the 19th century, the British government sought to exploit the Chinese market by the forcible importation of opium from India. In 1839 the Chinese government destroyed large quantities of British opium at Canton. In retaliation London launched the Opium Wars, which ended in the reduction of China to the status of a semi-colony. They began with the arrival of British warships in Hong Kong in June 1840 and led to the bombardment of the South China coastal ports in 1842.

4 The so-called Boxer rebellion (this name is not used in China) was an anti-imperialist uprising led by the I-ho Ch'üan (Righteous and Harmonious Fists) secret society in 1899-1900. The revolt was crushed after the sacking of Beijing in August 1900 by an eight-power expeditionary force including troops from the United States, France, Britain, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Japan.

for further reading in 'New International'

Opening Guns of World War III: Washington's Assault on Iraq

in issue no. 7 \$10.00

Also includes: Communist Policy in Wartime as well as in Peacetime • 1945: When U.S. Troops Said 'No!'

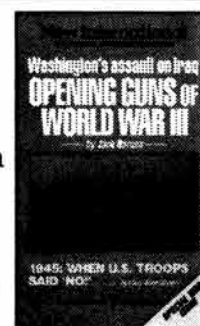


Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War

in issue no. 10 \$14.00

Also includes: What the 1987 Stock Market Crash Foretold • Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution • The Curve of Capitalist Development

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150. When ordering by mail, please include \$3 for the first issue and \$.50 for each additional title to cover postage and handling.



Castro speaks at University of Havana on early years of revolutionary struggle

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

Before a receptive crowd of students at the University of Havana at the opening of the new academic year in September, Cuban president Fidel Castro gave a vivid account of the crucial years when the revolutionary leadership in that country began to be forged in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Much of the history he presented is well known in Cuba. From an early age, Cubans are steeped in their century-long revolutionary heritage and traditions — from the struggle to wipe out slavery and win independence from Spanish rule, to the fight against U.S. imperialist domination. They are familiar with the major battles and leading figures in the revolutionary struggle that led workers and farmers to take power in 1959, expropriate the capitalist ruling classes, and open the socialist revolution in the Americas.

Castro's September 4 speech, however, offered some revealing insights. In particular, it shed light on the continuity of the central leadership of the Cuban revolution. A high percentage of those who have been in the front ranks of the revolution's leadership for four decades were forged politically in the early battles of the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army — the vanguard political organizations that the leadership team around Castro systematically built.

The full text of the speech appeared in the September 20 English-language Cuban weekly *Granma Internacional*.

Became revolutionary at university

Castro explained that it was at the University of Havana, which he entered in 1945 at the age of 19, that "I discovered the greatest ideas of our epoch and of our times; here I became a revolutionary." This campus, he noted, has been a political center throughout Cuba's revolutionary history. "When I arrived at this university, I was very rapidly imbued with the university traditions," he said, citing the student martyrs executed in 1871 by the Spanish colonial authorities; Rafael Trejo, a student leader killed during the struggle against the dictatorship of Gerardo Machado in 1930; and Julio Antonio Mella and Rubén Martínez Villena, leaders of the early Communist Party and the anti-Machado movement.

International events like the Spanish Civil War and firsthand experience with the Cuban regime's brutality against peasants also instilled in youth like Castro "a profound sense of justice," as he put it.

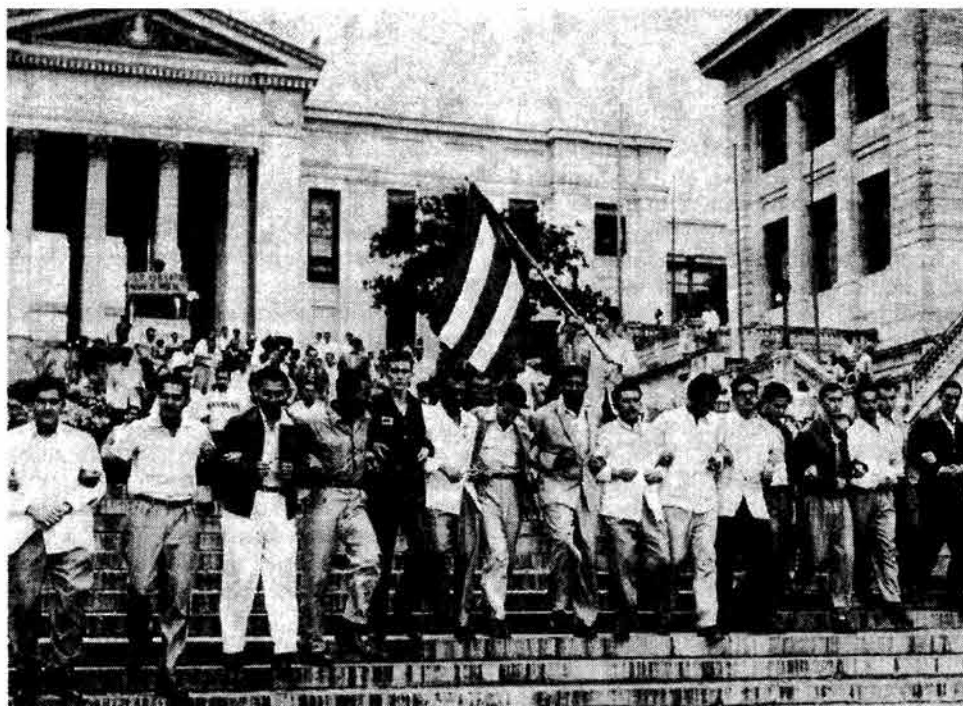
Although he had entered the university's law school with the idea of studying political economy and getting four degrees, after a while "I gave up on those projects and devoted myself entirely to the revolutionary struggle," he said.

At that time "the university was bubbling" with political debate and demonstrations against the government of

Ramón Grau San Martín, he said. Castro successfully ran in the Federation of University Students (FEU) elections and mobilized opposition to the social inequalities and corruption under the regime.

Cuban students were involved in anti-

overabundance of food in some places and hunger in others. I was becoming aware of the chaotic nature of capitalist society and was coming to the conclusion that this type of economy, which they told us about and taught us about, was absurd.



Protest at University of Havana a few weeks after 1952 coup by Batista. Demonstrators include Raúl Castro, with flag, and José Antonio Echeverría, fifth from right. Echeverría became the central leader of student-based Revolutionary Directorate.

imperialist struggles like the fight for the independence of Puerto Rico, led by Pedro Albizu Campos, and against the U.S.-backed tyranny of Rafael Leónidas Trujillo in the Dominican Republic.

"There was great opposition to Trujillo at the university, and [support] for things like the liberation of Puerto Rico. Albizu Campos was around at that time and led in many of the uprisings [in Puerto Rico], gave rise to many large demonstrations," he stated. "I had already been designated as president of the Dominican Pro-Democracy Committee, as well as of the Committee for the Liberation of Puerto Rico."

Reading Martí, 'Communist Manifesto'

At the university Castro began to read and study politics, starting with the writings of Cuba's foremost pro-independence and anti-imperialist leader, José Martí. "Here I became a devotee of Martí," he said. "I had read virtually everything there was to read on the wars of independence, and I then became acquainted with economic concepts and the absurdities of capitalism."

As a result, he added, "I developed my own utopian way of thinking, which was utopian socialism, rather than scientific socialism. My thinking concerned the chaotic nature of things, how everything is disorganized with overabundance in some places and unemployment in others, an

"That's why when I first came across Marx's famous *Communist Manifesto*, it had a great impact on me," Castro said about his junior year in college. He was exposed to other writings by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and over time began to develop a materialist world outlook and revolutionary perspective. Buying books at the Communist Party bookstore — all on credit since he was short on funds — "I gradually built up a complete Marxist-Leninist library of my own."

He explained that many revolutionary-minded youth in Cuba rejected the Communist Party, then called the Popular Socialist Party (PSP), because of its support to the bloody dictator Fulgencio Batista, who ran the government through most of the 1930s and was president in 1940-44, during World War II. After an eight-year period under the Authentic Party regimes of Grau and Carlos Prío, Batista launched a coup in 1952 and imposed a military dictatorship, until his overthrow in 1959.

Castro described the revolutionary upsurge of 1933, in which dictator Machado was forced out of power and replaced by a short-lived "revolutionary junta." This government included Batista and other young military officers.

"There were many revolutionaries in that movement, and students even participated in that government that removed all the old army guard from power," he said. "That is to say, Batista began his life with an activity that was revolutionary. The problems came later, when the United States started interfering. They butted into the internal politics of Cuba and made Batista an instrument for their interests in this country.... A series of revolutionary measures were adopted by that government, which only lasted three months," he added, "until the United States toppled that government, and that's when the stage of the governments with Batista behind the throne began, that is to say, he kept on removing and replacing different governments, and he maintained power for 11 years, until 1944."

The Batista-led regimes "committed abuses of all kinds, crimes of all kinds, thefts of all kinds. No one knows how much those people stole, how much they extracted from this country! He was the United States's puppet," Castro said. "Then came the big struggles. Then came the strike of March 1935, an attempt to overthrow the government, which was repressed mercilessly by Batista's government, by the soldiers. They sowed terror in the city and all of the country and frustrated the revolution."

Around that time the Communist Inter-

national, dominated by the bureaucratized Soviet Communist Party under Joseph Stalin, had launched its international "Popular Front" policy. Moscow dictated this shift after Hitler walked into power in Germany in 1933 without a fight from the Communist Party or the Social Democrats, the two mass workers parties there. Instead of forming a united front to defeat the fascist terror gangs, the German CP had divided the workers movement by directing its fire at the Social Democrats, labeling them "social fascists."

Comintern's 'Popular Front' policy

This class-collaborationist policy, faithfully applied by all Stalinist parties around the world, consisted in seeking to form coalition governments with liberal capitalist parties. Such a Popular Front regime was established in France in 1936. In the United States the Communist Party threw its full support behind the administration of Franklin Roosevelt in its entry into World War II.

And in Cuba the CP backed Batista, claiming he had "ceased to be the center of reaction and now professes democracy," as a 1938 party resolution put it. Batista reciprocated by immediately legalizing the party, which at that time played an influential role in the Cuban union movement. The regime sought the party's help to curb labor militancy.

In 1940 the Cuban CP supported Batista's successful presidential campaign. The dictator appointed two Communist Party leaders, Juan Marinello and Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, to his cabinet. The party changed its name in 1944 to the Popular Socialist Party.

One of the PSP's main justifications for its support to the regime was that during World War II Batista had loyally aligned himself with Washington, which under the pretext of combating fascism and "defending democracy" was joining the interimperialist slaughter to grab territory and markets.

In his September 4 speech, Castro, in describing the role of the PSP at that time, presented his view of the Comintern's Popular Front policy and its application in Cuba by the Popular Socialist Party. These events in Cuba, he stated, occurred during "a complicated international situation: the rise of fascism, with Hitler acquiring tremendous power in Europe and arming himself to the hilt."

Stalin 'decapitated party'

"The USSR was following a purge policy with all kinds of abuses and crimes taking place. Of course, all these things came out later, after [Soviet premier Nikita] Khrushchev's denunciations in the 1950s, after Stalin died. They practically decapitated the Party, they decapitated the armed forces, they decapitated everything and helped create the most adverse conditions when the war started, with the exception of the great industrialization effort," Castro said. In the late 1920s and 1930s, the Stalin regime executed, jailed, or exiled most of the central leadership of the Bolshevik revolution as well as tens of thousands of vanguard workers. On the eve of the world war, Stalin executed many of the Red Army's top commanders and thousands of officers.

The Communist International, Castro noted, "launched the slogan of a broad front given the danger of fascism, a policy that all the Communist Parties followed with great discipline, we could say with exemplary discipline, which created a new situation."

"Batista also started to call himself antifascist and he agreed with the creation of this broad front. The Communist Party had a very disciplined participation in this broad front policy, and I'm not making a historical judgment, far from it. Maybe it's up to the researchers and historians to consider whether under these circumstances, another variation, another alternative, was possible."

"But it was an unquestionably correct policy on the outside, because what allowed Hitler to come to power was the division among the German left, between

for further reading from Pathfinder...

**FIDEL CASTRO'S
POLITICAL STRATEGY**

BY MARTA HARNECKER

FROM MONCADA
TO VICTORY

Fidel Castro's Political Strategy

from Moncada to Victory

Marta Harnecker and Fidel Castro

Includes *History Will Absolve Me*, Castro's 1953 courtroom speech explaining the democratic goals of the revolution against the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. \$13.95

Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution

Joseph Hansen

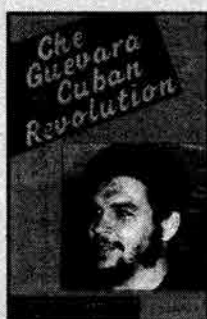
See description and special offer on Page 4.

Che Guevara and the Cuban Revolution

Writings and Speeches of Ernesto Che Guevara

The most complete collection in English. Guevara writes about the revolutionary war that brought the workers and farmers to victory; Cuba's efforts to overcome economic backwardness while transforming the economic and social relations inherited from capitalism; and Cuba's commitment to freedom struggles around the world. \$21.95

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014, Tel: (212) 741-0690, Fax: (212) 727-0150. Please include \$3 for postage and handling.



the Social Democrats and the German Communist Party, which left the doors wide open for Hitler to do what he did later. In other words, perhaps an anti-Hitler policy should have begun to develop before, but in Cuba, a Marxist-Leninist party had to become allied with the bloody, repressive, and corrupt government of Batista."

Castro then remarked, "I say this because it has subsequent consequences, in my judgment, in the policy of the country. While the army repressed the *campesinos* [peasants], the workers, and the students, the Party still saw itself as being obliged, because of international commitments, to become allied to that government, even though it must be said, really, that it was tireless in its defense of the workers' interests."

"All of the strikes, all of the fundamental battles that were carried out in that period for better wages, to improve the living conditions of the population, were actually carried out by the Communist Party and the working-class Communist leaders with great loyalty, with complete dedication," he said. "But a large part of the people were anti-Batista," Castro continued. "A large part of the people repudiated the abuses, crimes, and corruption, and that contradiction logically brought many young people, people with revolutionary tendencies, and people on the left to stop looking favorably upon the Cuban Marxist-Leninist party. This is the objective historical reality."

Political confusion among students

Castro noted that in this situation, "When I enrolled in this university at the end of 1945, we were living one of the worst epochs of the history of our country, and also one of the most deceptive. I was actually living through the leftovers of a frustrated revolution, the Revolution of 1933."

Shortly before, he said, "Batista lost the 1944 elections and Grau stepped into office. Many people were deluded into thinking that a government of the people, an honest, almost revolutionary government, you could say, had finally arrived. But that administration had already been subject to political erosion, politicking, and corruption."

While the PSP had backed Batista's nominee in the 1944 elections, it quickly switched its support to the winner, Authentic Party leader Grau. In 1947, however, the Grau regime made a shift in conformance with Washington's cold war policies. Labor minister Carlos Prío unleashed a witch-hunt against militant unionists. In 1948 Prío won the presidency on an anticommunist plank.

At the same time, many of the capitalist and petty-bourgeois forces that called themselves revolutionary because of their identification with the 1933 revolution were now holding government posts. As a result, Castro pointed out, "There was a great deal of confusion" among students and others.

"The anti-imperialist sentiment had grown much weaker, and in our university, which had been the bastion of anti-imperialism.... [I] almost never heard anyone say anything anti-imperialist." Grau's forces controlled the university administration as well as the campus police.

The regime unleashed "a ferocious anti-communist campaign and propaganda in all the media" and a wave of repression against unionists, Castro said. However, "the credibility of the government had begun to deteriorate quickly," he stated, and "the protests about dirty business and misappropriations had already begun."

The young fighter had begun to draw the attention of the authorities, and the "mafia that dominated the university" physically threatened Castro, telling him to leave the campus. He did so, but later returned accompanied by a group of fellow students and packing a 15-shot Browning pistol for self-protection. His fearlessness won him the respect of friend and enemy alike.

Another experience that marked Castro's revolutionary development occurred

in the summer of 1947, when he took part in an aborted armed expedition to the Dominican Republic to overthrow the Trujillo dictatorship. A group of Dominican exiles was joined by people belonging to the Authentic Party.

Goes to Dominican Republic to fight

"I, naturally, seeing that the battle against Trujillo was about to be waged, being the president of the Dominican Pro-Democracy Committee, didn't think twice. I packed my bags, and without saying anything to anyone, went to Cayo Confites to enlist in that expedition," he said, referring to the place in the Bay of Nipe in Oriente province where the fighters shipped off from.

The operation was hampered from the start by its dependence on the ruling Authentic Party. "Alemán, the education minister, supplied most of the funds. It was one of the most badly organized things I have ever seen in my life," he remarked. "They rounded up people from the streets of Havana, paying no heed to their level of education, political awareness, and knowledge in general. They simply wanted to organize an artificial army as quickly as possible; they got together about 1,200 men." Castro was put in charge of a company of armed fighters.

The expeditionaries were already on their way to the Dominican Republic on three ships when Cuban army chief Genovevo Pérez called off the attack at the request of Washington and the Trujillo regime and sent frigates to intercept the combatants. To escape arrest, Castro jumped from the ship he was on and swam ashore. This experience had a big impact on him. "From that moment on I had the idea of guerrilla warfare," he told the university students. It also helped him learn not to rely on capitalist forces in a revolutionary struggle — a valuable lesson he later applied in the July 26 Movement.

The young revolutionary continued to assume leadership responsibility in the anti-imperialist student movement of Latin America. On his return from the Dominican operation, he told his audience at the University of Havana, "I took on the task of trying to organize a Latin American students' conference in Colombia" to coincide with a meeting of the Organization of American States in April 1948. After traveling to Venezuela and Panama to build the conference, he was in Bogotá, Colombia, when opposition Liberal Party leader Eliécer Gaitán was assassinated.

Castro joins uprising in Bogotá

The city erupted in a popular uprising, the *Bogotazo*. Castro joined thousands of others who rushed to the police stations and seized weapons. He found himself helping to organize the resistance to the impending military assault on working people who had taken the streets.

Meanwhile, Castro had become a founding member of the Cuban People's Party — the Orthodox Party (*Ortodoxos*), as it became known, a bourgeois-led party that campaigned against government corruption and for nationalist measures against U.S. monopolies.

He became a leader of its student-based left wing. "I began to think about the possible ways and means of carrying out a revolution," he explained.

After the suicide of Eduardo Chibás, the Orthodox Party's popular leader, in late 1951, the organization gained wider support and was expected by many to win the 1952 elections. Convinced by experience that it was not possible to effect revolutionary change through elections, Castro set out to use the elections as a platform to popularize a revolutionary program around which to mobilize masses of people.

"Faced with the impossibility of a revolution by that means and the inevitability of it being rapidly thwarted, I prepared a plan for the future: to launch a revolutionary program and organize a people's uprising from within that government and from within Congress itself," he stated.

"From that time on, I already had the concept totally worked out. I had estab-

lished all the ideas which are in *La Historia me absolverá* [History Will Absolve Me]: what should be the measures, how to institute them, what to do. That was the first revolutionary concept that I was able to draw up, let's say, barely six years after having started university."

"History Will Absolve Me," which is reprinted in *Fidel Castro's Political Strategy* by Marta Harnecker, published by Pathfinder, is the defense speech Castro gave at his 1953 trial following the assault he led against the Moncada army barracks on July 26 of that year. This program, based on the perspective of taking state power, proposed a far-reaching land reform, government steps to guarantee full employment, and other democratic and social measures. It also called for international solidarity with popular struggles throughout the Americas.

Builds armed movement against Batista

Castro ran for Congress on the Orthodox ticket in the elections scheduled for 1952. But on March 10, 1952, Batista, with the backing of the army general command and Washington's blessing, carried out a coup against the Prío government. Batista canceled the elections and established a military regime.

Soon after the coup Castro began to assemble an armed movement to overthrow the dictatorship. "We began to prepare the people here in the university. It was a secret operation," he related.

The liberal forces of the Orthodox Party and the deposed Authentic Party used their wealth to buy arms and plot against Batista, but they were in disarray, fragmented, and hostile toward the Castro-led revolutionary forces. "They tried to blame me for the coup d'état," he noted.

"Only when we saw the enormous errors of those who could have boosted the rebellion with all of their resources, the divisions between parties and organizations, and the incapacity for action, when there was no other alternative, did we decide to initiate the armed struggle with the forces of the July 26 Movement."

He added, "All of the experience in Cayo Confites and all of those problems taught me a lot. Some of those experiences we had during the first months of the clandestine struggle taught us a great deal about how to work, and we came to train some 1,200 members before July 26, with the cooperation of a number of comrades from the FEU and the university."

Castro worked with other revolutionaries to begin the process of forging a political vanguard organization. "In all the preparations for the 26th of July, we took



Pathfinder Press
Fidel Castro speaks as organizer for Orthodox Party Youth. Poster reads "We look to Chibás."

part in those demonstrations" called by other forces against the dictatorship, he noted. The new revolutionary group, he explained, "was organized in absolute legality. We used the No. 109, Prado office of the Orthodox Party. I met there with each one of the cells; we sent them here to train in the university and then to other places. It was an enormous task based, fundamentally, within the youth movement of the Orthodox Party, which, as I said, had great influence at a grass roots level, a great deal of following among the young people."

On July 26, 1953, some 160 carefully selected fighters from this organization carried out armed assaults on the army barracks in the eastern cities of Santiago and Bayamo. Their goal was to create conditions for an armed popular uprising in Santiago. While the attacks were crushed, they were the beginning of the mass revolutionary struggle that triumphed on New Year's Day of 1959, when Batista and his henchmen fled to Miami and the Rebel Army marched into Havana.

Castro ended his speech to the students at the University of Havana by pointing out that throughout Cuba's history "there has been the spirit and the presence of mind to fight and to resist. That spirit is present in our people and that spirit is like a seed which cannot die."

Fifty years ago, U.S. imperialism "thought they had it sewn up for a thousand years," the communist leader stated. But today other peoples around the world "are reacting, they are devising new forms of struggle and they are making it increasingly more difficult for the United States to rule the world."

Today, he concluded, "we are all involved in the same struggle. But now, 50 years later, we can also say that we will come out victorious."

You are invited to ...

New Year's Weekend

Regional Socialist Educational Conferences

December 30-January 1

Atlanta ♦ Boston
Detroit ♦ Seattle

Sponsored by
the Young Socialists
and Socialist Workers Party

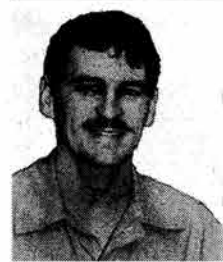
For more information on classes, presentations, and travel to events, see listing on page 12.



'Communist Manifesto' class gets under way

FORT MADISON, Iowa — Under the impact of strikes, wars, and going to prison, a person's view of the world around him and of himself often starts to change. Previously held beliefs, like, "I'm an American," or "I'm a free individual," are replaced by questions like "Who are my people?" and "What is the history and the future of others like me?"

The search for identity leads some into



Mark Curtis

the blind alleys of religion, race-based theories, and crack-pot notions. Some will seek out scientific explanations as they are attracted to communists they meet in struggles like the democratic movement in South Africa, the Cuban revolution, or demonstrations against police brutality.

I've seen men heading in all these different directions inside the penitentiary. Here at Fort Madison three of us have been getting together to study these questions. Our first choice was to read the *Communist Manifesto*. We meet once a week, in the yard around a table or in the gym. Occasionally someone will see us

and come over to join the discussion.

The *Manifesto* was written by two young Germans, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in 1848. Why study a pamphlet first published 147 years ago? For one thing, it answers the question of who we are and where we are going.

For most of the group, eager to know what socialism is, it was a surprise to read the first section of the *Manifesto*, which deals with capitalism and its two main class components, "Bourgeois and Proletarians." These words mean "capitalists and workers." This section dissects the society we live in and explains that all of us belong to classes based on our place in the economy as either producers or exploiters.

Understanding social classes is the beginning of wisdom to understanding all history and politics. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," wrote Marx and Engels.

One of the first practical applications of this theory came up in the study group when someone said that the cause of the U.S. Civil War wasn't slavery, but taxation. His argument was the fact that President Lincoln was willing to allow the southern states to continue slavery if they would put down arms and end the war. Lincoln's tactical and changing positions, however, were less important than how the interests of the different classes collided in 1860.

When we used the class approach to identify the slaveowners, slaves, northern

capitalists, workers, and small farmers we saw how slavery was supported or attacked by the different groups based on their interests as classes.

This applies not only to the past, but to the present too. When we got to section II, "Proletarians and Communists," we came across this sentence: "They [the communists] have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole."

Political questions are class questions

Every political question then, has to be answered by each class in their own interest. Supporting President Clinton's plan to send troops to Bosnia, for example, has to be answered not from the starting point of what is best for "American interests" but what is best for the working class — in Bosnia, in the United States, and everywhere else, "as a whole." Immigration, abortion rights, the question of who the police really "protect and serve" are all, under the outer skin, class questions.

It is the destiny of the proletarians, according to the *Manifesto*, to put an end to class conflicts by first becoming the new ruling class and ruling in the interests of the "immense majority" rather than for the profits of the bourgeoisie.

"Would it be fair," asked one member of the class, "for a talented inventor to make the same amount as an ordinary worker would under socialism?" "Doesn't the dream of becoming rich keep people motivated?" "How can people be made to

see the 'big picture'? Doesn't it go against human nature?"

Marx and Engels anticipated some the objections that "universal laziness will overtake us" without the drive to acquire private property. "According to this," they answered, "bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work."

What the class will read next hasn't yet been decided. The framework of class politics that we are in now will make easier to understand other concepts as well as current political events.

For me, rereading the *Communist Manifesto* underlined the most urgent reason of all to organize a movement that can do away with capitalism: the natural workings of this system are driving the working majority into deeper poverty, misery and brutality.

As Marx and Engels put it, "And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society...."

James P. Cannon, an American communist, said that when people begin to fight to throw off the unbearable shackles of their exploitation, there is nothing more powerful than the knowledge that their struggle is "historically necessary, theoretically sound, and that a new and better world can be won."

Pathfinder Bookshop in London holds reopening

BY TONY HUNT

LONDON — One hundred people attended the grand re-opening of the London Pathfinder bookshop here November 11. The store was recently repaired and redecorated after extensive flood damage eight months ago.

Cuban artist José Delarra, a founding member of the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, was a special guest at the event. He gave a lively presentation and answered questions on his work and on the place of art and culture in the Cuban revolutionary process. On display in the bookstore, where they will remain for two weeks for public viewing, were some of Delarra's paintings. Participants at the re-opening were able to meet the artist personally and discuss his work.

The event raised £600 (\$930) for the bookshop reconstruction fund.

Railway track worker Shellia Kennedy, who recently attended the United Nations forum on women's rights in Beijing, China, chaired the meeting.

Car worker Ian Grant, who led the reconstruction project, opened the program. Since the flooding last April, he said, the bookshop had remained open thanks to the voluntary efforts of supporters to clear away the debris and salvage the stock. "Hundreds of hours have been spent in wrangles with insurance companies, planning improvements, and implementing the refurbishment," Grant stated. "The strength and power of volunteer labor as championed by Che Guevara and practiced in Cuba was the driving force behind this effort."

Sandy Jeffrey, one of several Cuba Solidarity Campaign activists at the meeting, described how one Friday she had attended a Militant Labor Forum at the Pathfinder bookshop to hear an eyewitness report on the women's rights meeting in Beijing, which Kennedy presented. Inspired, Jeffrey signed up for the reconstruction effort. She joined several others from different countries.

"We valued collective, not individual, achievement," she told the grand re-opening. "We worked to high quality standards and there was no such thing as 'women's work' or 'men's work.'"

Delarra closed the program. The most important event in his life as an artist, Delarra said, was the revolution in 1959 that overthrew the tyranny of Fulgencio Batista. The revolutionary government's measures paved the way for a growth in

art and culture. National institutes for each art form, schools of fine art in each province, and yearly international cultural festivals were created, "which continue today despite the economic difficulties."

The literacy campaign in the early days of the revolution, the Cuban artist said, and the growing access to education for working people were at the heart of this progress. "Before the revolution there were 17,000 university students," he stated. "Today there are 200,000." It is these revolutionary conquests, Delarra said, that have opened the way for the "hundreds of Cuban artists around the world who are leaving the imprint of our art and culture."

Socialist books sell at 'Claridad' festival

"I've been looking for this book," said one participant in the annual festival sponsored by the pro-independence newspaper *Claridad* in San Juan, Puerto Rico, as she picked up a copy of *FBI on Trial*. She explained that she was doing research on Washington's disruption of groups that oppose U.S. policy, including those that support independence for Puerto Rico. *FBI on Trial* prints the ruling and other documents from the Socialist Workers



Militant/Ron Richards

Pathfinder table set up at protest against U.S. radar installation in Puerto Rico

Ron Richards, who distributes Pathfinder books in Puerto Rico, joined a team of five socialists from the United States to staff the table that included Pathfinder titles. Richards recently won a victory when charges filed against him for selling revolutionary literature in a working-class neighborhood in San Juan were dropped.

An article after his arrest in the November 17-23 issue of *Claridad* noted, "We

pessimistic about the market for political books." He changed his mind, Kidd noted, "once he saw our books and book covers." The buyer ended up ordering all four issues of the Marxist magazine *Nueva Internacional*. The total order was for \$100.

Elizabeth Lariscy, who volunteers at the Pathfinder bookstore in Brooklyn, reports that sales in Brooklyn more than doubled in October and November compared to the average of previous months. The increase in sales coincided with the *Militant* subscription drive, in which Brooklyn distributors excelled.

"Some \$2,400 worth of books were sold in eight weeks, including \$1,657 off of tables on street corners, college campuses, and at political events," Lariscy said. All together copies of 94 different titles were sold. The best-seller was the Pathfinder catalog — 115 copies were sold!

Some \$400 worth of books and other literature was sold from a booth at the San Francisco Bay Area Book Festival November 4-5. Forty thousand people attended the event. Twenty-two different titles were sold, as well as 2 posters of the Pathfinder Mural, 20 copies of the *Militant*, and 1 *Militant* subscription.

Seth Galinsky, reporting from Puerto Rico, Cappy Kidd from Chicago, Elizabeth Lariscy from Brooklyn, and Mary Lipman from San Francisco contributed to this column.



PATHFINDER AROUND THE WORLD

By Sara Lobman

Party's 1986 victory in its lawsuit against U.S. government spying. She bought a copy of *New International* no. 6 with the article "Washington's 50-year Domestic Contra Operation," on the history of the government's harassment against the labor, Black, antiwar, and other movements.

The four-day *Claridad* festival, which included live music, food vendors, and arts and crafts, attracted tens of thousands of independence supporters and others across the island, including thousands of university and high school students. The Cuban Solidarity Coordinating Committee and Ofensiva 92, which is campaigning to free 15 Puerto Rican political prisoners being held in the United States, were among the organizations that had tables at the event.

frequently see [Richards] participating in different activities of the independence movement in the country, selling literature published by Pathfinder Press. At a stage in our struggle where socialist literature is found with less and less frequency in the bookstores of the country, their sales and distribution constitutes a political task of growing importance for socialists."

Fifty-three books and pamphlets, in English and Spanish, including 10 Pathfinder catalogs, were sold at the conference and at the University of Puerto Rico.

Pathfinder sales representative Cappy Kidd wrote in about a recent meeting with the buyer at a Spanish-language bookstore in the Chicago area who "was originally

Caterpillar strikers to vote on contract

BY ANGEL LARISCY

PEORIA, Illinois — For the first time in seven years members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) will vote on a new contract with Caterpillar Inc.

On November 28 representatives of the company presented union officials with a new written proposal here. The UAW announced that Local 974 in East Peoria will meet to discuss and vote on the offer December 3. Locals in Aurora, Pontiac, and Decatur, Illinois, as well as York, Pennsylvania, will also vote on December 2 or 3. The UAW leadership has released no official details of the proposed contract.

Some 9,000 members of the UAW have been on strike against Caterpillar for more than 17 months, and without a contract for over four years. The company has been running its plants with union members who crossed picket lines, office and management personnel, and temporary and permanent replacements.

While the company has boasted of record profits throughout the current labor dispute in every quarter except the last, it has faced a determined union membership that has refused to give up its fight.

In addition, Caterpillar has faced criticism and problems in the business community. Last week in U.S. District Court

in Peoria, two people filed suit against Caterpillar and 13 of its vice presidents accusing the company officials of withholding information to inflate stock prices and then selling off the bloated stocks before their value fell sharply.

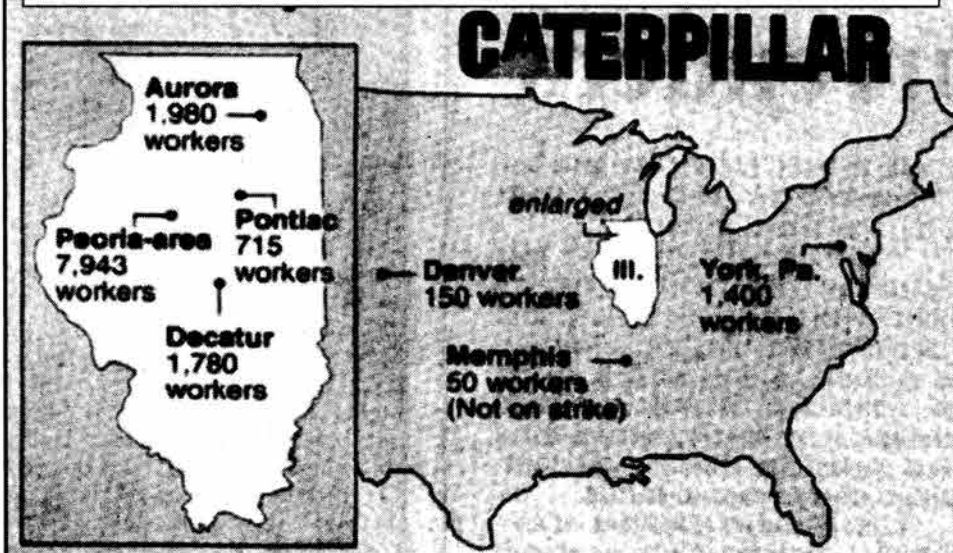
Nathaniel Baratz and Jannette Zigaldo contend that Caterpillar engaged in "fraud" and "deceit" against all those who bought its stock between July 18 and October 17 by not informing them that production was cut early in the third quarter. They also note that the 13 vice presidents cited sold 35,000 shares in that period for \$2.4 million, reflecting record-high prices. Baratz and Zigaldo are seeking class-action status, meaning thousands could join the suit.

The local and national big-business press rumor the proposed contract will be a six-year deal with two-tier wages, less choice on health-care plans, and flexible schedules that can allow the company to set work hours on the weekends without paying overtime. The *Chicago Tribune* ran the headline "Was strike worth it? Will anger fade?"

But most strikers are refusing to talk to the press about rumors and say they will wait until union officials present the offer to them.

UAW strikes Caterpillar

The United Auto Workers began the longest - ever strike against Caterpillar Inc. June 21, 1994. About 9,000 UAW members remain on strike. Some 4,000 have crossed the picket lines. The numbers below represent the number of UAW positions when the strike began.



In a letter to the editor of the *Peoria Journal Star* printed on November 26, Gary Romans of East Peoria summed up the sentiment of the majority of strikers who say that the company finally negotiated a contract only because of the workers' willingness to fight.

"Many people wonder, 'Did the union win?'" Romans said. "I do know that the union survived.... What with a whirlwind

P.R. campaign, a security force of mercenaries for hire and untold millions of dollars to spend, the corporate giant has been fought to a standstill.... It was done with picket lines and solidarity. And the union, despite all the overwhelming odds, was able to survive."

Angel Lariscy is a member of UAW Local 1494 in Peoria.

What's behind resolve of Detroit news strikers?

Continued from front page

papers appear to be defeating their unions," read the story's lead paragraph.

These attempts to demoralize and disarm the strike have not had the impact the bosses hoped for. The strikers counterattacked on November 19, when 300,000 copies of a new weekly Sunday paper produced by their unions hit the streets. Many working people who have shunned the scab paper since the strike began were eager to buy the new weekly. Strikers hawking the *Detroit Sunday Journal* sold out quickly, and got many donations over the 60-cent cover price.

The message was clear. This strike is far from over. The unions will not roll over and play dead. What's behind the strikers' resolve to continue the fight?

Part of the answer lies in what happened before the strike, which began July 13.

In 1989, Detroit's two daily papers won permission from the federal government to merge their business operations. This arrangement, called the Joint Operating Agreement (JOA), allowed the two papers to cut jobs in advertising, circulation, the press room and elsewhere. They remained "editorially independent" but published a joint paper on weekends and holidays.

The unions agreed to the cuts under threats that the papers might fold if the unions did not grant concessions.

But by 1994 the papers were showing a \$46 million yearly profit. The *Detroit News* is owned by the giant Gannett Co., which reported earnings of \$3.82 billion in 1994. The *Free Press* is owned by Knight-Ridder Inc., which posted profits of \$2.64 billion last year.

The unions came to the bargaining table this year prepared to take more cuts in jobs, but also with demands to recoup some of the losses they had incurred since the JOA was imposed. The company demanded not only deep job cuts, but also sweeping changes in the work rules and operations that would have gutted the unions in every area.

"If it was just about money, I'm not sure we would have stayed out this long," said Mike Pasella, a striking Teamster. "This strike is against corporate greed."

Negotiations at a standstill

Negotiations are at a standstill. The company flat out rejected a union offer to return to work under the old contract and to submit bargaining to binding arbitration. The company's position was summed up by Giles at the end of August. "We're going to hire a whole new workforce and go on without unions, or they can surrender unconditionally and salvage what they can," the *News* boss stated.

This union-busting stance sounds all too familiar to working people in the Detroit area. In response they have rallied to the side of the unions. Solidarity has been an important factor in the newspaper workers' determination to outlast the company in this fight.

The six striking unions set the example themselves when they decided to stick together in bargaining the economic issues in the contract. The strikers are proud of the unity they've forged. Journalists, truck drivers, mailers, press operators, typesetters, and photographers all walk the picket lines together. "Before this strike, I didn't think I had much in common with Teamsters," commented reporter Dan Holly in the strikers' *Detroit Journal*. "To the extent I thought about it, I saw them as unskilled workers doing unskilled jobs—not much like me, a reporter with a graduate degree. Now, I see them as my brothers who will lend a helping hand when times get tough."

Tens of thousands of people, some estimates are as high as 300,000, canceled their subscriptions to the scab paper. Lawn signs supporting the strike dot front yards across the metropolitan area.

Thousands mobilized at the Sterling Heights printing plant on Labor Day weekend. For two weekends in a row workers were able to substantially delay the delivery of the Sunday edition of the paper. When the company was forced to ferry papers out in helicopters, the pickets claimed it as a victory.

Strikers and their supporters got a firsthand lesson about the role of the police in a capitalist society. On several occasions the Sterling Heights police donned riot gear and charged unarmed pickets with

clubs and pepper gas to clear the way for trucks to leave the plant. Goons hired by the company, such as Vance Security, drove trucks through gates blocked by picket lines. These vicious attacks, far from intimidating the strikers, convinced them that their cause was just.

There is significant support for the strike. AFL-CIO leaders working with the striking unions have shifted the emphasis away from mobilizations, however, toward a boycott of retailers who advertise in the scab press. Officials of the striking unions have not called for mass pickets at the Sterling Heights plant since an injunction was imposed, limiting the number of pickets to a handful.

Since September, only one solidarity rally was called, for December 3, which was later changed to a solidarity concert. Officials of the UAW, the largest union in the region, provide funds for the strike, but they are no longer organizing among their thousands of members to get them to the picket lines.

Saturday night picketing is limited to distribution centers where the papers are dispatched to carriers. Yet hundreds of strikers are joined by other union members who, despite little publicity or advance notice, find their way to these actions.

One important gauge of support for a strike is how many workers have crossed. So far, the largest number of defectors have come from the Newspaper Guild. Some of these are well-known columnists and reporters who decided that their "career" was more important than sticking with the union. The company was able to break almost half of the editorial staff away from the strike. But among those who have stayed out are some of the most active and vocal supporters of the strike.

Joe Adams, a sports copyeditor, called the paper one day to inquire about getting his job back. He was told his old position might not be available for him anymore and he would have to talk to publisher Giles to get final approval.

"I talked to Bob Giles, who said to me, 'Have you decided to surrender? If you go back to work, you surrender,'" Adams said. "I hung up on him. After that I decided I just couldn't do it."

Several craft unions made a separate agreement with the Detroit newspapers and continued to work in the struck plants. But on November 8, eight members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers said "enough" and joined their brothers and sisters on the picket line. Twenty more electricians remain in the Sterling Heights printing plant.

Aside from the Guild, only 108 of 1,150 members of Teamsters Local 372 have crossed. Two pressmen and three mailers have crossed.

Strikers have organized a food bank and spouse support group called Women Involved in Labor Dispute (WILD). More than 30 strikers have participated in the speakers' bureau. They've spoken to union locals, churches, and community groups.

Strikers more confident

Paul Kulka, a striking member of Teamsters Local 372, has done speaking tours on both coasts with Kate DeSmet, a Guild reporter. Kulka was overwhelmed by the "wonderfully committed, caring people that you find out there." Besides getting out the truth about the strike, the road trips have raised thousands of dollars for the strike fund, Kulka added.

Nearly five months of a very public and active strike have made the newspaper strikers more self-confident. "I've become stronger and wiser," said Dave Wilczak, a Teamster, "I speak up for myself now."

Solidarity is broader than the union movement. A significant number of newspaper carriers, for example, who are not organized and whose attempts to unionize have been opposed by the company and Teamsters union alike, supported the strike from the beginning and have signed on to help distribute the strikers' Sunday paper on their old routes.

Another section of workers who are actively supporting the strike are the part-time mailers who work for the papers. Their wages are negotiated by the full-time mailers' local, Teamsters 2040. But they are not union members. They have a direct stake in the strike because the company proposes to cut their wages in half. Many pull picket duty alongside the full-time workers.

Support for the strike has been won among Black rights activists, the clergy, gay and lesbian organizations, and even marathon runners.

These examples and many more show that the Detroit newspaper strike is a winnable strike. It is winnable if the wide support for the strikers' cause is mobilized. The strike in Detroit can link up with other important labor struggles, such as the machinists' strike against Boeing.

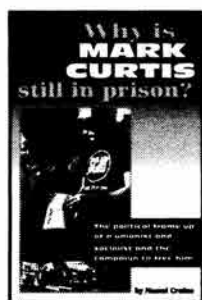
Gary Lamb, a veteran of the A.E. Staley lockout in Decatur, Illinois, recently spoke at a fund-raising dinner attended by many strikers. As a "road warrior" who recognized the importance of reaching out, he told the strikers, "Don't just walk the picket line. You've got to go out and spread the word. No longer can you stay in your own city and expect to win the fight. They want you to feel isolated, but you're not. We must step forward and fight."

Holly Harkness is a member of UAW local 235 in Detroit.

Why Is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?

The Political Frame-Up of a Unionist and Socialist and the Campaign to Free Him

by Naomi Craine



Available in French, Spanish, and English \$6

Available at bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or write Pathfinder, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014. Tel: (212) 741-0690. Fax (212) 727-0150. Or contact the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, Iowa, 50311. Tel: (515) 246-1695.

U.S. troops begin deployment in Bosnia

Continued from front page

NATO treaty in 1949, but we didn't say we were going to stay in Europe only one year," said Senator Bob Kerrey (Democrat-Nebraska) in a television interview aired on C-SPAN November 27. "Now, I'm not saying we'll stay in Sarajevo for 40 years. But we may need to be in Bosnia longer than 12 months."

Emphasizing that Washington will be calling the shots in Bosnia, Clinton declared in his TV address, "American troops will take their orders from the American general who commands NATO." The British government announced November 27 that it would also send 13,000 troops to Bosnia for one year, but only if Washington participated in the intervention. The next day, Moscow said it would send 1,500 Russian soldiers, and the German government announced plans to send 4,000 troops to help impose the plan. The deployment of German troops would be the largest since World War II.

The accord partitions Bosnia, with 49 percent of the territory to be held by the Belgrade-backed Serb forces and 51 percent going to the tenuous alliance of the Bosnian and Croatian governments. If the agreement goes through, those who were driven from their homes would theoretically be permitted to return. But there is no procedure for determining how disputes would be settled or who would gain property rights.

A conference to discuss implementing the "peace deal" is set for December 8-9. The formal signing of the accord is

planned for December 13-14 in Paris.

Senator Robert Dole, the Republican presidential front-runner, equivocated his support for troop deployment, saying, "I want to find a way, if it's possible, to support the president." House Speaker Newt Gingrich, who put himself at a distance, said, "The burden is on the president" to win public support.

Capitalist politicians debate 'mission'

Rightist politician Patrick Buchanan, who is also running for president, chided the two Republican leaders for sitting on the fence. "I think the Republican Party should stand up and say we oppose American troops in Bosnia," Buchanan stated.

Clinton and other big-business politicians are preparing for the storm in the event of combat casualties. "No deployment of American troops is risk-free and this one may well involve casualties," Clinton said. "We can't just rush for the door when the casualties occur," declared Sen. John Chafee. Seeking to quell nervousness concerning the imperialist intervention, national security advisor Anthony Lake vowed on the ABC News program "This Week with David Brinkley" that "if anybody fools with our forces, they will get hit very hard."

The U.S. Army's chief of staff, Gen. Dennis Reimer, recently estimated that 6 million mines have been planted in Bosnia, many of them in uncharted fields and currently covered by snow.

"I expect there will be a lot of angry men gunning for us," said one NATO mil-

itary official. "After all, we bombed the Serbs for two weeks."

Meanwhile, in Sarajevo angry groups of young men stoned and turned over UN vehicles passing through sections of the city held by pro-Belgrade Serbs. "The Dayton agreement has created a new Beirut in Europe; it is going to bleed for decades," said Serb chauvinist leader Radovan Karadzic. "We never agreed to give up Sarajevo." Under the accord, which Karadzic initiated, the entire city of Sarajevo is supposed to be under control of the Bosnian-Croat federation.

On November 25, about 1,000 people in the section of Sarajevo held by Karadzic's troops organized a demonstration against the plan. The same day some 2,000 Croats marched in Dubrovnik to protest the Croatian regime's agreement to cede the Prevlaka peninsula to the Serbian government in exchange for land in the mountains

above Dubrovnik.

"We will still fight," said Nedjeljko Prstajevic, mayor of Ilidza, a suburb of Sarajevo held by pro-Belgrade troops. "If the multi-national force tries to drive us from our homes, or take away our rights to defend ourselves, there will be no authority on earth, including the Serbian authorities, that can stop us."

Sarajevo was carved up between Belgrade-backed Serb forces and the Bosnian government after the war erupted in 1991. Some of the most vicious fighting, including house-to-house street battles, sniper fire, and shelling that killed thousands, has occurred there. A new violent confrontation there could draw in NATO troops.

"Remember Somalia? We too will drag the bodies of dead soldiers through the streets," warned Jovan Busarin, a Serb worker in Ilidza.

MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

What is Behind U.S. Policy in Bosnia? Panel discussion. Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$4 Tel: (415) 285-5323.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Working-Class Resistance to Capitalist Attacks on Social Gains. Speaker: John Votava, Socialist Workers Party and member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308. Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Support Boeing Strikers: Eyewitness Report from Rally of 4,000 in Seattle. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party and member of International Association of Machinists Local 1726. Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 780 Tremont St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Police Killing of Kimberly Frazier. Speakers: Louisa Frazier, Kimberly's mother and eyewitness to the shooting; Frank LaMere, American Indian activist in Sioux City, Iowa. Sat., Dec. 9, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. (East side of Hwy 280, on 16A bus line). Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

TEXAS

Houston

Nigeria: A Panel Discussion. Speakers: James

Okorafori, president of the Nigerian Foundation; representative of Amnesty International, University of Houston Chapter; Jerry Friewirth, Socialist Workers Party, member of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Local 4-367 at Shell Oil. Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 3260 S. Loop West (corner South Main St. and the Loop). Donation: \$4. Tel: (713) 349-0090.

WASHINGTON D.C.

No U.S. / NATO Troops to Bosnia! Fri., Dec. 8, 7:30 p.m. 1930 18th St. N.W. (18th and Florida, entrance on Florida). Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

The Weipa Strike: An Example for All Working People. Speaker: Bob Aiken, Communist League and member of AWU-FIME. Fri., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 281-3297.

CANADA

Vancouver

What's Behind the Executions in Nigeria. Panel Discussion. Fri., Dec., 8, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Auckland

The Struggle for An Independent Kashmir. Speaker: Representative of the New Zealand Kashmir Association. Fri., Dec. 8, 7 p.m. La Gonda Arcade, 203 Karangahape Road. Donation \$3. Tel: (9) 379-3075.

Divorce referendum in Ireland

Continued from front page

these women are married rather than single. Most women workers hold low-paid jobs and earn 30 percent less than their male counterparts.

Bridget Price, a woman in her 50s and married for 30 years, gave her reasons for voting Yes. "The church is giving us all a bad example lately. I'm a Catholic, I go to mass daily, but I still think we should have divorce."

The official position of all the main political parties was in favor of change, but most politicians did not campaign on the question. The Fine Gael-led coalition government proposed to hand £500,000 (£1=\$1.55) to an advertising agency and leave the campaign up to that agency, until it was blocked by a decision of the Supreme Court. In a suit initiated by Patricia McKenna of the Green Party, the court ruled it was unconstitutional to use public funds for only one side of the debate.

That decision was popular, including with activists campaigning to legalize divorce who this reporter spoke to. Several said they agreed a political fight was needed, with those supporting a Yes vote getting out and campaigning.

Officials of Fine Gael later claimed that groups pushing the No campaign were getting funding from Human Life International (HLI), a U.S.-based antiabortion organization. They publicized an unsigned copy of a letter by Peter Scully of the Divorce Action Group asking for an emergency donation of £40,000 from HLI. Scully and others in the No camp denounced the letter as forgery.

On the No side, the hierarchy of the Catholic church waged a vigorous campaign. Mother Teresa of Calcutta and numerous academics called for a vote against the amendment. Campaign posters throughout the state declared, "Hello Divorce...Bye Bye Daddy," and "Divorce will lead to 10 percent increase in taxes." In the predominantly rural western part of the country, the potential breakup of family farms if divorce was allowed was portrayed as a major issue.

Four days before the vote, Princess Diana of the royal family of the United Kingdom weighed in with her own hour-long broadcast on marriage and the family, stating that despite separation she did not want a divorce from her husband Charles, the Prince of Wales. The interview was widely watched and publicized in endless pages of newsprint in the following days.

On the last day of campaigning Pope John Paul made his effort to tilt the balance against reform. He called on Catholics in the Irish republic to "reflect on the importance for society of the indis-

soluble character of the marriage bond."

Most of the campaigning for a Yes vote was carried out by activists from pro-divorce groups, including the Right to Remarry Campaign. Some 80,000 couples are separated in Ireland, and many have developed new relationships. Until this referendum they had no right to divorce and were unable to remarry.

Sinn Fein, the party leading the fight for self-determination in Ireland, campaigned for a Yes vote under the slogan "Divorce is a Civil Right." Coverage in the party newspaper took on the arguments of many rightists, such as that divorce is imposed on women. Sinn Fein supporters pointed out that in Britain 72 percent of divorces are initiated by women and that in the 26 Irish Counties 75 percent of judicial separations are initiated by women.

Pamela Holmes in London contributed to this article.

IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

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

UNITED STATES

ALABAMA: Birmingham: 111 21st St. South. Mailing address: P.O. Box 11252, Zip 35202. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460, 380-9640. E-mail: Compuserve 74642.326. **San Francisco:** 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 285-5323. E-mail: Compuserve 75604.556.

CONNECTICUT: New Haven: Mailing address: P.O. Box 16751, Baybrook Station, West Haven. Zip: 06516.

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

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: 545 W. Roosevelt Rd. Zip: 60607. Tel: (312) 829-6815, 829-7018. **Peoria:** P.O. Box 302. Zip: 61650-0302. Tel: (309) 674-9441.

INDIANA: Bloomington: P.O. Box 1304. Zip: 47402. (812) 333-6859.

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

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

MICHIGAN: Detroit: 7414 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-0100. E-mail: Compuserve 74767.1050.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: 2490 University Ave. W., St. Paul. Zip: 55114. Tel:

(612) 644-6325. E-mail: Compuserve 103014.3261.

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

NEW YORK: Albany: P. O. Box 2357, E.S.P. Zip: 12220. Tel: (518) 465-0585. **Brooklyn:** 59 4th Avenue (corner of Bergen) Zip: 11217. Tel: (718) 399-7257. Compuserve: 102064.2642. **New York:** 214-16 Avenue A. Mailing address: P.O. Box 2652. Zip: 10009. Tel: (212) 388-9346; 167 Charles St. Zip: 10014. Tel: (212) 366-1973.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St. Zip 27406. Tel: (910) 272-5996. E-mail: Compuserve 75127.2153.

OHIO: Cincinnati: P.O. Box 19484. Zip: 45219. Tel: (513) 662-1931. **Cleveland:** 1832 Euclid. Zip: 44115. Tel: (216) 861-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: 1906 South St. Zip: 19146. Tel: (215) 546-8218. **Pittsburgh:** 1103 E. Carson St. Zip 15203. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

TEXAS: Houston: 3260 South Loop West. Zip: 77025. Tel: (713) 349-0090. E-mail: Compuserve 102527.2271.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: 1930 18th St. N.W. Suite #3 (Entrance on Florida Av.). Zip: 20009. Tel: (202) 387-2185. E-mail: Compuserve 75407.3345.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: 1405 E. Madison. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 323-1755. E-mail: Compuserve 74461.2544.

WEST VIRGINIA: Morgantown: 242 Walnut. Mailing address: P.O. Box 203. Zip:

26507. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney: 19 Terry St., Surry Hills 2010. Mailing address: P.O. Box K879, Haymarket, NSW 2000. Tel: 02-281-3297.

BRITAIN

London: 47 The Cut. Postal code: SE1 8LL. Tel: 0171-928-7993.

Manchester: Unit 4, 60 Shudehill. Postal code: M4 4AA. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CANADA

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

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

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

FRANCE

Paris: MBE 201, 208 rue de la Convention. Postal code: 75015. Tel: (1) 47-26-58-21.

ICELAND

Reykjavik: Klappartíg 26. Mailing address: P. Box 233, 121 Reykjavik. Tel: 552 5502.

NEW ZEALAND

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

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

SWEDEN

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

Special feature — To cope with a bulging file on the subject, we are devoting this week's column to "the few bad apples" among the police.

Nuke 'em — Princeton prof.



Harry Ring

John DiIulio is not reassured by the reported 4 percent drop in violent crimes. "This," he glumly declared, "is the lull before the crime

storm." He warned that "40 million kids, ten years old and under" are about to become teenagers, and many of them are "fatherless, godless, and jobless."

Public Service Announcement

— If you live in Jersey City and your car vanished in the past few years, call the state police auto unit at (908) 627-0646. They're investigating Jersey City cops who made sure owners of impounded or recovered stolen cars didn't get notified and then snapped them up at rigged auctions.

Not willful, just a habit

— Criminal perjury charges will not be pressed against LAPD detec-

tive Andrew Teague, who got caught offering forged evidence in a homicide case, compelling the prosecutor to drop murder charges against two men. It was decided not to prosecute Teague, the DA's office said, because it's hard to prove he willfully lied to the jury.

Wanna bet on the outcome?

— Nearly three months ago, it was reported that a Los Angeles County grand jury is probing the case of LAPD ex-detective Raymond Doyle, who assertedly forged a judge's name on a warrant. Faced with a department investigation, Doyle retired, with pension. One source said Doyle did go to the judge for his signa-

ture, but "the judge had a long line and was busy."

Gang-busters — Guillermo Aburto, 26, of Atlanta, sat in jail 42 days before being brought before a judge. He had been arrested for failing to pay a \$100 fine meted out because he had been fishing with more than one pole and was using corn as bait. (Don't ask us why either is illegal.)

And they're the boss — Bernice King Floyd, 82, was jailed on charges of stealing \$6 worth of food from an Atlanta area Kroger supermarket. Cops said she seemed down on her luck and that they busted her only because

Kroger insisted.

Wants his members behind bars? — Sgt. Ed Kirste of the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Dept. announced formation of the Association of White Male Peace Officers. He said the ranks of the organization are "seeking only to be recognized and rewarded according to our accomplishments."

Why not? — "I should not have to explain to my family and friends that I am not a liar." — Boston Detective Tommy Montgomery, at a Harvard conference on the nationwide abuse of the criminal justice system by cops.

Boeing: fight for jobs is international struggle

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

SEATTLE — "When Jobs Go South," read the November 12 Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* front-page headline. That day some 4,000 workers rallied to back the six-week-old International Association of Machinists (IAM) strike against Boeing.

Contingents from many unions turned out, joined by activists from community groups. The spirit of solidarity was in the air.

The issues posed by the Seattle daily

UNION TALK

were on everyone's mind. What is the future for working people? How can we avoid unemployment? Is there any job security in the "global market?"

Featured speakers were the newly elected leadership of the AFL-CIO — President John Sweeney, Secretary-Treasurer Richard Trumka, and Executive Vice President Linda Chavez-Thompson — as well as IAM president George Kourpias. The crowd greeted them enthusiastically, encouraged by their appearance and their pledge to back the strike.

A central issue is Boeing's demand, raised in the final hours of negotiations, that workers bear a higher burden of medical costs. This provoked outrage that a company that has raked in over \$6 billion in profits since 1990 now wants workers to pay hundreds of dollars or more each year for health care.

Looming over the strike, however, is the issue of job security. Discussions with strikers inevitably turn to what is known as "outsourcing" — Boeing's growing practice of producing parts at overseas facilities and nonunion U.S. plants.

The aerospace giant has cut over 60,000 jobs since 1993. Like other corporations worldwide, it is cutting costs in an effort to gain an edge over its competitors.

Boeing, with close to 60 percent of the world market for commercial aircraft, is the industry Goliath, far outpacing its only serious competitors, Airbus and McDonnell Douglas. But it is under pressure from Wall Street and the banks to keep driving down the cost of labor and increase productivity.

For the working class here, a job at Boeing is one of the best around. Layoffs are a fact of life, but those who keep working get wages, benefits, and conditions of work that are better than most. The IAM is a key union in the Seattle area and a defeat at Boeing would be a setback to all of us. Workers at the rally listened closely to proposals on how to win the strike and protect jobs.

Working-class solidarity needed

The answers we heard from the AFL-CIO and IAM officials are a dead end. They set the labor movement on a course aimed directly against what all working people need most in today's world: working-class solidarity. Without it, we can't fight effectively.

"Boeing seems more interested in selling airplanes than building them," IAM president Kourpias told the rally. "Of course we want Boeing to sell airplanes," he continued, "but we want to be the ones to build them."

The first observation is certainly true. Boeing would be more interested in build-

ing paper airplanes if that's how it could make the biggest profit. Boeing isn't in business to make planes. It's in business to make money.

Kourpias also remarked briefly that Chinese and Mexican workers, "are not our enemy." But he, Sweeney, Trumka, and others made it clear that good-paying jobs building airplanes should belong to U.S. workers first, last, and always.

Their speeches were laced with appeals to U.S. nationalism and references to "our" economy, "our" jobs, "our" company, and "our" country.

Union members in the United States cannot convincingly argue that workers in other countries have no right to build airplanes. Nor can we argue that such jobs must stay in the United States until workers abroad win the same wages and benefits that workers have won at Boeing or Douglas. Instead we should support the efforts of fellow workers on every continent to improve wages and conditions. Meanwhile, working people have an unfinished job fighting for union wages and conditions here.

Any "fight for jobs" based on U.S. nationalism is a fraud. We will find ourselves cut off from the only allies we have in the "global marketplace" — fellow workers in other countries.

The fundamental condition of the working class is competition. The employers buy our labor power and force us to compete among ourselves to sell it. This competition increasingly takes place on a world scale. That will be true so long as capitalism — production for profit — dominates the world market. No contract signed by any union with any employer can change that.

Unions need to overcome divisions

The purpose of unions is to overcome this division the bosses impose on us. Workers at Boeing and Douglas, for instance, expect their unions to cooperate in a fight against these competing employers.

The fight for jobs can't be waged effectively — not to mention won — factory by factory, industry by industry, or one contract at a time. The reality of capitalist competition in the world market is that there is no job security. The wealthy families who own these corporations will continue to cut every job they can.

We can't guarantee how many jobs there will be at Boeing or any other company over the next years. But we can mobilize the power of labor to demand that the government guarantee everyone a job at decent union wages. We can organize the labor movement and its allies to fight for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay. A 30-hour workweek at 40 hours' pay would spread the available work around.

We can demand the government put people to work on a massive program of public works to rebuild roads, bridges, and schools; to construct housing, hospitals, mass transit systems, and other socially useful and necessary projects.

Working-class history says that the most "unrealistic" and seemingly unreachable goals were reached only after a fight was organized — often a long, hard, and difficult fight. This was true of the civil rights movement that defeated Jim Crow segregation. It's the story of the rise of the CIO in the 1930s and the subsequent organization of the "impossible-to-organize"



Boeing IAM members signal to fellow Machinists their opinion of the company's recent contract offer as vote began November 21. Offer was rejected by 60 percent.

mass production industries like auto, steel, and — aerospace.

The answer is to rely on the power of labor, and its allies like those at the strike rally, to fight for demands that reinforce solidarity among all working people the

world over.

Geoff Mirelowitz is a switchman on the Burlington Northern Railroad and a member of United Transportation Union Local 845.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
December 11, 1970 Price 10¢

A widespread movement has developed in Mexico for presidential amnesty for 68 political prisoners just given harsh sentences. The prisoners were jailed during the period of the 1968 student movement, which culminated in a bloody police massacre on the eve of the Olympic Games. The demands for a pardon will be one of the first things Mexico's incoming president Luis Echeverria will have to deal with when he takes office Dec. 1.

The 68 political prisoners, including Mexican intellectuals and student leaders, were sentenced Nov. 12 to prison terms of from three to 17 years and fines totaling \$160,000 on charges such as sedition and damaging federal property.

Among those sentenced Nov. 12 were the Mexican scholar Eli de Gotari, who was given 16 years in prison, and the internationally known novelist and revolutionary José Revueltas, also given 16 years. Only a small number of the prisoners received sentences under five years, which allow for parole.

THE MILITANT

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

December 8 1945

CHARLEROI, Belgium, Oct. 30 — An

inspiring demonstration of international working class solidarity is taking place among Belgian mine workers and German slave laborers. Despite the all-out anti-German and chauvinistic campaign carried on by bourgeois, Socialist, and Stalinist parties, Belgian workers are showing in action that they do not hold the German workers responsible for Nazism.

The Belgian capitalist class and its Socialist and Stalinist lieutenants have left no stone unturned in their effort to justify the disgraceful use of German workers as slaves to swell the profits of the mine owners. "The unpaid wages of German prisoners" they lie, "will augment funds for rebuilding the ruined villages of Ardennes, etc."

But such arguments just don't take. Belgian workers understand perfectly what the Trotskyist paper *La Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers' Struggle) explains: that the German workers are not responsible for Nazism, which reduced both Germans and Belgians to slavery; that the coal bosses want to use the German prisoners as strikebreakers.

For instance, at the mining town of Anderlues, German prisoners have backed Belgian miners striking for holiday pay. The Germans put it this way — "We are forced into the pits," they said, "because we are under soldiers' guard. But we promise you we will NOT work."

In another town in Charleroi (Trieu-Kaisin) recently, Belgian, Polish, and Spanish miners went out on strike in support of the Germans. They walked out because the bosses failed to send an ambulance quickly enough to remove a German prisoner who had been seriously injured in a fall.

No U.S. troops to Bosnia!

The capitalist rulers in the United States are now leading the charge for the largest intervention of imperialist troops into a workers state since the Korean War four decades ago.

Unlike what Clinton claims, the deployment does not have much to do with bringing peace or ending the slaughter of Muslims and other working people. The intervention is aimed at boosting Washington's military and economic domination in the region, getting one up on imperialist rivals like Paris and Bonn, imposing the division of Bosnia and the rule of the wannabe capitalists on the working people of the region, and taking a step closer toward re-establishing capitalism in the former Yugoslavia.

This "mission," like recent military interventions in Iraq, Somalia, and Haiti, is about imperialist domination and ultimately about boosting the profits of the sharks on Wall Street. Like those interventions as well, it could end up in a quagmire for Washington — the only reason conservatives like Newt Gingrich are taking their distance from Clinton.

Rightist politicians like Patrick Buchanan are denouncing Clinton's steps toward military intervention seeking to tap in to widespread sentiment against war to build up their fascist cadre.

Working people and fighting youth must clearly speak against the deployment of any U.S. or other imperialist troops in Bosnia and demand that the "peacekeepers" already there be removed.

It was the working people of Yugoslavia who success-

fully fought to cut across divisions along national, religious, or language lines, and raised demands for equal treatment of all working people in the region during World War II. This is how the Partisans gained the allegiance of the majority, defeated the fascists, and led a worker and peasant revolution that overthrew capitalism and established a workers state.

The aspirations of the toiling masses in Yugoslavia were subsequently subverted by the Stalinized bureaucratic caste that ran the country more and more for their personal gain and privilege.

The goal of these bureaucrats — from Milosevic to Tudjman and Izetbegovic — has been baldly laid out before the world for some time: they want to go back to the dog-eat-dog capitalist market system and are willing to lead hundreds of thousands to slaughter in the process.

Now American GIs are going in to stabilize the rule of these warring ganglords and boost the fortunes of Wall Street and Washington in the process.

It will be workers from Yugoslavia, the United States, and elsewhere who will pay a dear price for this attempt.

What is needed now are meetings to tell the truth about Yugoslavia, and public protests against the administration's war drive. Opponents of Washington's war moves should take advantage of every opportunity to jump into the debate about the real causes of the fighting in Bosnia, and to explain why the intervention of U.S. troops is not in the interests of workers here or there.

We should speak out loudly and demand: No U.S. Troops to Bosnia! End the U.S./NATO intervention!

Curtis fight enters new stage

The fight to free Mark Curtis reached a new stage on November 21 when Iowa officials decided to release the union militant on parole. As defense committee coordinator John Studer explains in a front-page interview this week, the challenges and opportunities facing supporters now are as substantial as any since the frame-up of the socialist trade union activist began in 1988.

If supporters don't blink or pause in this fight, important progress will be registered that can have an impact on what Curtis faces when he leaves the Iowa State Penitentiary a couple months down the road.

We urge readers to join the Mark Curtis Defense Committee in prioritizing the following activities:

- Write to Mark Curtis in prison. These letters will be welcomed by Curtis and serve notice on prison officials that his supporters around the world are closely following what transpires in prison between now and his release. Write to: Mark Curtis #805338, Iowa State Penitentiary, P.O. Box 316, Ft. Madison, IA 52627.

- Circulate as widely as possible the Pathfinder Press booklet *Why is Mark Curtis Still in Prison?* Available in English, Spanish, and French, this pamphlet offers the best explanation of where the Curtis fight comes from, how Mark Curtis remained an intransigent communist fighter in prison, and how he and his supporters worldwide have effectively fought for his release. More work-

ers, youth, and other fighters than ever will be interested now in learning the facts about Curtis's fight.

- Help raise the \$25,000 that the Mark Curtis Defense Committee needs to retain an Illinois attorney and to prepare for the legal challenges Curtis faces upon release. The committee has set a Jan. 1, 1996, deadline for raising the funds. Everyone who sent a letter to the Iowa Board of Parole should be contacted about the victory in the parole fight and asked to contribute. Those who purchase a copy of the pamphlet on the Curtis fight over the next several weeks should also be urged to kick in on this special fund-raising effort.

- Organize public meetings where the victory can be discussed along with the pressing challenges ahead. These meetings can also help to raise funds for the defense effort.

- Finally, heed the call of the defense committee for volunteers from around the world to go to Des Moines to help on these projects, especially the fund-raising.

Taking advantage of the stepped-up interest in Mark Curtis's fight as a result of the parole victory will put trade unionists, young fighters, and democratic rights defenders everywhere in the strongest possible position to meet the challenges ahead. This is necessary to ensure Curtis's freedom and set an example for all those battling police brutality and frame-ups.

Join workers' fights in Canada

The Ontario Federation of Labor has called a one-day strike in London, Ontario, for December 11 to protest cuts in social services and antilabor legislation. Workers from other cities are making plans to bus and carpool to join the picket lines and rallies starting at 12:00 a.m. This is an opportunity for working people and fighting youth to stand together to defend our rights.

We can take our cue from the victory won by workers in Alberta. "We don't just fight for ourselves — we fight for everybody," said hospital striker Cerena Ribeiro about the wildcat strike that pushed back Alberta government attacks on health care and jobs.

The Alberta government has led the rulers' campaign to slash social services in Canada. It cut its \$4.2 billion health-care budget by \$600 million and planned to axe another \$53 million. Alberta premier Ralph Klein insisted he would maintain his cuts without blinking. That is, until the unexpected happened. When striking hospital laundry workers were ordered back to work, over 3,000 other hospital employees joined the strike. Paperworkers, steelworkers, postal workers, and others joined the picket lines. Patients came to offer their support.

On November 23, headlines across Canada read, "Ralph Blinked," as the Klein government announced it would retreat from the planned cuts and postpone contracting work out.

Around the world, capitalist governments are attempting to slash funding for health care and education, unemployment insurance, and other social services to shore up sagging profits at the expense of working people. They aim to take back gains won through labor battles and other social struggles.

They tell working people in Canada that they have "too much" — health care and other social services are

supposedly "costly privileges" they can no longer afford. The employers say that those workers who are the hardest hit by the economic crisis — the unemployed, disabled, elderly, and immigrants — are robbing those of us lucky enough to have a job by receiving social services from our tax dollars. They say the Quebecois fight for independence is a threat to workers' future. The employers hope to get us to turn against each other, soften us up for bigger attacks on our rights and working conditions, and prevent us from fighting back.

But they are learning that they can't always divide and rule. Last week, France was swept by strikes of workers and students fighting against attacks on public services and education. In Canada, hundreds of thousands of Quebecois, through Quebec's referendum campaign, advanced their fight against national oppression. Thousands demonstrated in Sydney, Nova Scotia, against health-care cuts. Eleven thousand day-care workers staged a one-day strike in Ontario.

Working people are showing that we can stand up for our rights. To do this, we need to reject the bosses' divide-and-rule game and fight to defend all workers' needs by joining the protest rallies and picket lines throughout Canada and presenting demands on the government such as: jobs for all, by reducing the workweek with no cut in pay; affirmative action; defend the rights of Quebecois, immigrants, and the most oppressed; cancel the foreign debt of third world countries like Mexico.

A strong showing in London December 11 by working people and fighting youth will help strengthen working-class unity and push back the rulers' assault on labor. For those interested in the protest more information can be gotten from the London Labour Council at (519) 642-4701.

Canada protests

BY STEVE PENNER

TORONTO — More than 2,000 delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labour convention voted to hold a one-day strike of all union members in London, Ontario, halfway between Toronto and Detroit, on December 11. The action will protest anti-union legislation and cutbacks by the Conservative government of Mike Harris in Ontario. Delegates to the November 13-17 convention discussed making the London strike the next step in an escalating series of actions building toward a province-wide protest, possibly a one-day strike.

In addition to the plant and office shutdowns on December 11, "London is going to see the biggest demonstration that it has ever seen," Rick Witherspoon, president of the London Labour Council, told delegates. Unionists across southern Ontario are planning to bus thousands to London. Many will arrive on Sunday night, December 10, to participate in picketing of major plants that have a midnight shift and again the next morning. The demonstration will be held later in midday.

The call for the one-day strike and protest took place as workers across Canada stepped up their resistance to attacks by employers. In Calgary, Alberta, 120 laundry workers waged an 11-day wild-cat strike against health-care cuts and the contracting out of their jobs by Ralph Klein's Conservative government. About 3,000 more hospital workers joined the strike action after the Alberta Labour Relations Board ordered an end to the walkout. To the government's shock, the strikers won broad support from working people throughout Alberta. The United Nurses of Alberta and others began to discuss a province-wide hospital strike.

In response, the Klein government backed down. It announced that there would be no further health-care cuts in the next two years and postponed the contracting out of the laundry workers' jobs for one year.

On November 19, up to 4,000 people marched through the streets of Sydney, Nova Scotia, to protest government attacks on health-care services in that province. Victor Tomizek, a coordinator of the march, said in an interview, "People here are closely following news about the strikes in Alberta against health-care cuts. It's going to take the same kind of action here to stop this government."

On November 24, 4,000 day-care workers, parents, children, and their supporters rallied in Toronto protesting the government cuts in day-care subsidies. The protest was only one of many held across Ontario as 11,000 workers in 1,200 day-care centers walked off the job for all or part of the day.

Australia strikes

Continued from Page 16

coming the 8 percent raise, resolved to continue their fight to win equal pay with the contract workers at the mine. The strikers at the Weipa mine are a minority of the workforce. A total of 635 workers are now on individual contracts. Some have maintained their union membership and strikers say they have received financial support from some.

At Weipa, CRA has offered wage rises estimated at between \$A7,000 and \$A20,000 a year as an inducement to switch to the "staff" contracts, which place most conditions — from work hours to sick pay — at the discretion of the bosses and deny workers their right to strike or be represented by the union. All new hires are forced to take the nonunion contracts.

Striker Carla Borgfeldt, a plant operator at the mine for three years, told the *Australian* that her bosses had pressed her to sign a staff contract saying "the company would be fighting any pay rise that involved the union." Simon Keuther, a striking electrician, told the *Sydney Morning Herald* he disagreed with the individual contract offered by the company because "it gives the boss power over everything and it's wide open to abuse."

"There has been a positive response" to the strike from people in the town, according to Bob Richardson, an ACTU industrial officer who spoke to the *Militant* from Weipa. "People have been giving money, food, helping in things like that," he said.

Strong support has come from the nearby aboriginal community of Napranum. Some 300 Aborigines signed a petition in support of the strike and they have allowed strikers to use Bicentennial Park, on aboriginal land, which has been renamed Picket Point. CRA's contempt for workers' rights is seen by many Aborigines as no different from the company's treatment of them since mining began in the early 1960s.

Solidarity has come from other quarters as well. Nigel Gould, secretary of the CFMEU lodge at Weipa, responded to a letter of support received by the strikers from the Bougainville Freedom Movement in Erskineville. He wrote back November 23, "Some of our managers are ex-Bougainville. Our experiences with some of them have given us some inkling of the way they would have behaved in a situation where CRA's repressive philosophies could be implemented away from scrutiny." CRA's copper and gold mine at Panguna in Bougainville, one of the world's largest, was closed in 1989 by an armed rebellion of traditional landholders who had protested its presence from its inception in 1969. It remains closed.

Bob Aiken is a member of the AWU-FIME union at the Capral Aluminium mill in Sydney. Doug Cooper, a member of the same union, contributed to this article.

Workers in Britain strike over pay offer by Ford

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

they're giving us is 4.75 percent," said one worker.

"Yesterday's action came on the same day that a substantially new version of the Dagenham-built Fiesta formally went on sale in the UK," said an article in the *Financial Times* November 17. "The importance of the Fiesta to Ford could increase the workforce's leverage over manage-

members of the Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 4234 on strike against Horizon Airlines, October 30. The protest was held in front of the Horizon terminal in Vancouver. The airline serves 37 cities in the United States and Canada and is owned by Alaska Air Group.

The company insists on the right to contract out work, call in casual labor without any seniority rights, and have management personnel perform work done by union employees.

Not a single striker has crossed the picket line during the two-month strike. The company has flown in replacement workers from Calgary, and has hired a private security firm.

The solidarity rally buoyed the already high spirits of the youthful strikers. "We have too little to lose, as we are so low paid," said one striker. "We also have much to gain for ourselves and our union by the example our solidarity gives."

Christchurch hospital cleaners reject contract

Cleaners at two public hospitals in Christchurch, New Zealand, are mounting daily picket lines since they refused to sign a new contract cutting their wages and working conditions.

The new terms of employment were offered by Crothals P&O, which had just won the contract to clean the hospitals from the Canterbury Health hospital administration. The new company wants to eliminate penal (overtime) rates. Workers on the afternoon shift from Monday to Friday stand to lose NZ\$100 a week (NZ\$1 = US\$.65). Under the contract workers are expected to reapply for their cleaning jobs.

The Hotel and Hospital Work-

ers Union explains in their newsletter that reapplying for jobs had been "a humiliating experience as members with 18 years service were told they didn't have jobs or those offered jobs had their hours cut with increased cleaning!"

To date the big majority of the cleaners have refused to sign the contract despite being told their jobs would be advertised if they did not agree to new conditions. The company is claiming that all positions have now been filled.

Expressing the workers' determination to fight, one picket declared, "With those kind of conditions they can stuff the job."

Food workers in North London fight lockout

Some 150 people joined a demonstration November 3 outside J.J. Fast Foods, a food distribution company in Tottenham, North London, called to support 50 workers who are fighting a lockout. The workers were sacked after they organized into the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) to fight for better wages and conditions.

Demonstrators chanted slogans in Turkish and English. The majority of the workers are of Turkish origin.

Forty-five of the 78 workers had joined the TGWU, held a mass meeting, and elected a shop steward. They presented a list of demands to the boss. According to a strike support leaflet these included: all workers to have contracts; holiday, sick, and overtime pay; lunch and tea breaks for warehouse workers; two shifts for workers in the freezers; and other demands.

When the boss learned that they had joined the union, he sacked 40 workers at once. Another 12

joined them on the picket line.

The boss sent out thugs to attack the picket lines on October 31. Four workers were injured; one was hospitalized with a broken nose. The cops detained one worker overnight and let the company goons walk away.

Farmworkers take strike action in Florida

"The bosses say that we're going to go back on our knees," said one striker. "No" shouted back the crowd. That was the mood of 150 farmworkers at a strike meeting on the third day of their walkout against Pacific Land Company, in Immokalee, Florida.

The workers struck November 13 after the company reduced wages to \$3.85 an hour. Workers are demanding \$5.25 an hour.

At the strike meeting, the strikers and their supporters, who included packinghouse workers and others, sang and danced to the rhythm of Haitian protest songs. Most of the farmworkers are from Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti.

The farmworkers receive no health insurance, have no housing provided, and don't get paid when there isn't work due to rain or a bad harvest.

The workers are confident that with the peek of the harvest coming their strike will win.

Contributors to this column include: Tony Hunt in London; Roger Annis, member of Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union Local 841 in Montreal; Mark Severs, member of IAM Local 2202 in Seattle; Ruth Gray, member of the Engineers Union in Christchurch, New Zealand; Martin Hill, member of the TGWU from London; and Rolande Girard and Verónica Poses from Miami.

ON THE PICKET LINE

about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Walkouts at Ford assembly plants in Dagenham and Southampton, England, stopped production November 16-17. The workers were protesting a final pay offer of 4.75 percent this year and promise of another 4.5 percent next year. A grade 2 line worker is currently paid £6.92 per hour (\$10.73).

The Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU) are demanding a 10 percent wage increase and a cut in the average workweek from 39 to 37 hours.

The walkouts at Dagenham began after meetings called by shop stewards gave out details of the company offer in the Paint, Trim, and Assembly plant. "The day shift downed tools — no way can we work tonight," said one worker.

Many workers at the Dagenham plant are new hires who have never been on strike before.

"We've given them a 90 percent increase in productivity; all

ment in the pay negotiations."

Irving oil workers say no to union-busting offer

One and a half years on strike has not deterred the fighting spirit of workers at the Irving Oil refinery in Saint John, New Brunswick. On November 9, they voted by 90 percent to refuse the latest contract demand from the company and continue the strike.

"We're very pleased with such a high vote for rejection," said striking worker Cathy Dube in an interview. "It's a tough situation but we're more united than ever."

Strikers have traveled across eastern Canada and the northeastern United States explaining their fight and urging people to boycott Irving Oil products.

Irving Oil is facing stiff opposition in Portland, Maine, the largest city in the state, for its plan to build an oil storage facility along the city's harbourfront. Many residents are concerned about fire safety and pollution.

Horizon Airlines workers rally in British Columbia

Over 100 unionists from British Columbia rallied in support of 65

LETTERS

Not accurate

I was slightly jarred when I read Martín [Koppel's] article in the November 27 *Militant* on the Medicare cuts. One sentence states: "President Bill Clinton has demonstratively vowed to veto these measures, warning that the Republican's budget goes too far too fast."

There's no quotation marks around Clinton's warning so it's not clear whether or not this is actually something he said or a paraphrase of Martín's interpretation of what he said or might say. It seems unlikely to me that he would be so blunt as to say that the Republicans are going "too far too fast."

That's the kind of terminology the *Militant* has been using to describe some of the differences in capitalist political circles. If Clinton did indeed use these words, it would have been stronger to have put them in quotes.

Doug Jenness
St. Paul, Minnesota

Reader Jenness is right in his criticism. Clinton did not say the Republican's budget is going "too far too fast." In fact, while he was running for president Clinton campaigned for and has since consistently advocated what the big-business media now refer to as the program of Newt Gingrich and Robert Dole. — Editor.

Opinion of 'Militant'

In the short time I have been a new subscriber to the *Militant*, the newspaper has become my informational link to the struggles of working people around the world. Its depth, substance, and understanding of labor-related issues is unmatched by anything else I've

read.

Propagation of information must be a central goal of the socialist movement, and the *Militant* performs this task remarkably. Beyond that, the *Militant* often obtains a level of reason and intelligence that is unavailable to the readers of most other newspapers and that differentiates the media of the rational left from that of the reactionary right. The *Militant* also served as an inspiration for myself and fellow leftists on campus [George Washington University] to start our own newspaper, called *Unfiltered* that we will publish soon.

I encourage people to subscribe to the *Militant* and support it financially. Through this help, the *Militant* can continue to inform working people of the world about the issues and the challenges that face them and to organize for the years to come. Happy 67th birthday the *Militant*!

Jesse Strauss
Washington, D.C.

Parole Leonard Peltier

Many people do not know that Leonard Peltier had a parole hearing in 1993, at which time the U.S. Parole Board told him he would not have the opportunity to re-apply for 15 years. It is so encouraging to supporters now to find that the U.S. Parole Commission are scheduled to be at the Leavenworth Penitentiary in December of this year and Leonard Peltier's name is on the list of people to be considered for parole.



While anyone would agree that parole is no remedy for an innocent man, we are encouraged and hopeful Leonard will now finally be paroled.

Accordingly, we are asking people to continue to write supportive letters to Margaret C. Love, U.S. Parole Attorney, 500 First Street, N.W., 7th floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, to support Leonard's Petition for Pardon or Commutation of Sentence; and at the same time write supportive letters to the U.S. Parole Commission, 10220 N. Executive Hills Blvd., Suite 700, Kansas City, MO 64153 regarding Leonard Peltier, U.S.P.L., #89637-132, to support Leonard's application for parole.

If anyone cannot remember details from the many 60 Minute's specials about Peltier, the book *In the Spirit of Crazy Horse* by Peter Matthiessen and the video *Incident at Oglala* produced by Michael Apted and narrated by Robert Redford are available in most public libraries, in book and video stores. Our moral duty as citizens would dictate that we all write letters right now to support this man who has been erroneously or wrongfully incarcerated for the past 20 years.

Davidah Walker
Kansas City, Kansas

Embargo on Cuba

In November 1995 I stood outside a supermarket in Denver, Colorado, and asked 100 people this question: "Should the U.S. government lift the blockade of Cuba?" The neighborhood in which this poll was taken was a mixture of blue-collar and middle-class people. When asked the question, 41 replied yes, 29 no, and 30 were uncertain.

Although no other comments were solicited, the people who answered yes did on occasion volunteer additional information. It was obvious from their remarks, that they were sympathetic with the suffering of the Cuban people and were puzzled as to why the blockade had gone on for such a long time — 34 years.

It can be concluded from this general consensus that the majority of the people polled did not understand why their government continues to isolate Cuba with such persistent determination and they would like to see the blockade ended for humanitarian reasons.

But it is unlikely that the government will concede to their wishes for this sentiment alone, and improbable that they will respond, theirs is a cold-cash and no-credit political strategy. The only way the majority opinion of the public sector can get the Cuban blockade lifted is by finding allies with enough political clout to impress or ignore the power of the intransigent policy makers.

Orlando Martínez
Denver, Colorado

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of 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.

France: workers, youth protest cuts

BY NAT LONDON

PARIS, France — University students throughout the country have begun a nationwide general strike just as the government and millions of workers have squared off for a major confrontation.

The main issue for the labor movement is a government austerity program being discussed in the National Assembly, which includes drastic cutbacks in the social security system. The university students are demanding increased funding for their schools and hiring of additional staff.

The wave of student strikes started at the university in Rouen in the Normandy region and has already spread to more than 20 of France's 90 universities. General student assemblies are being held at many of the campuses not yet on strike. Over 100,000 students throughout France demonstrated November 21 to press their demands.

Strike paralyzes transportation

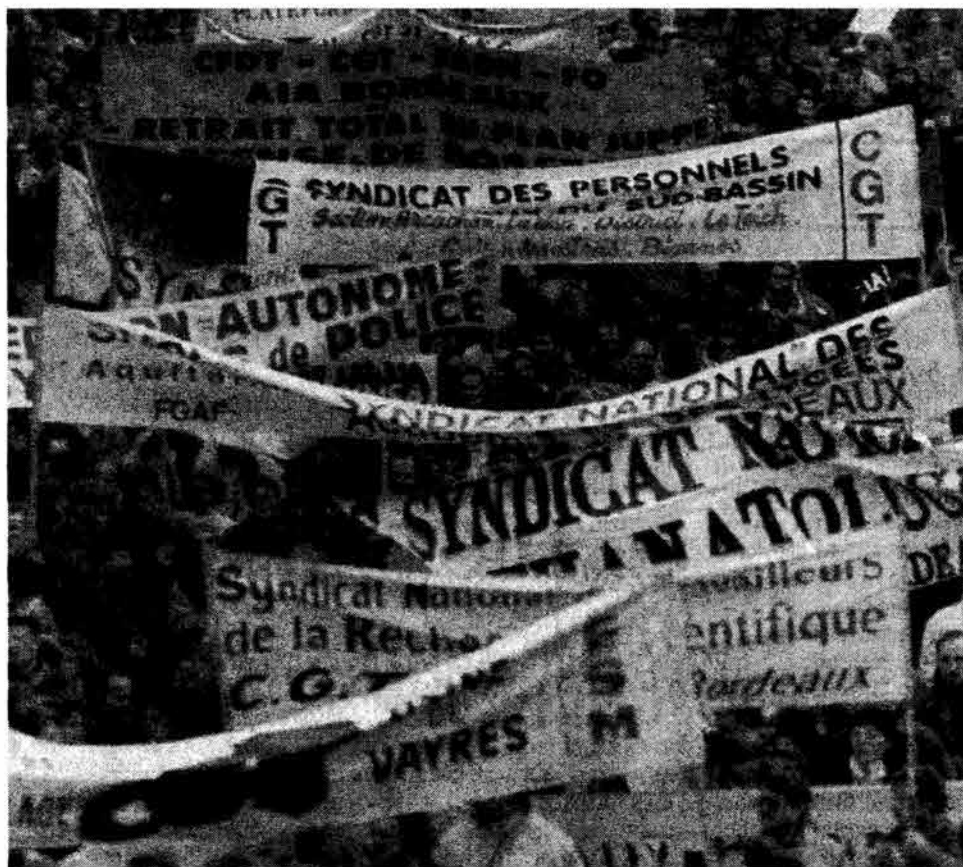
Three days later, several million public service workers took part in the second 24-hour general strike in the last six weeks. Train, subway, bus, and air traffic ground to a halt as hundreds of thousands of workers demonstrated against a series of government austerity measures that would freeze wages and raise the retirement age of public workers.

Workers were also protesting drastic measures to cut the social security system, which includes medical care, retirement, and unemployment benefits. This strike followed a similar 24-hour action on October 10, during which 3.5 million workers walked out.

By midday on November 24, all 14 Paris subway lines were closed, as was the suburban train network. With 80 percent of air traffic controllers out on strike, Air Inter, the main domestic carrier, was forced to cancel 84 percent of all flights inside France. Striking sailors blocked the ferry service linking the French-run island of Corsica to the mainland.

Schools closed throughout France and striking electrical workers came close to bringing about a nationwide power outage. Bus service stopped in most major cities. Students joined the demonstrations of striking workers.

The number of university students has tripled in the last decade and budget cutbacks have resulted in horribly over-



Thousands of striking public workers march in Bordeaux, France, November 24.

crowded conditions. Universities built for 8,000 students now often accommodate over 30,000.

Some schools report only two square meters of floor space per student. Lecture halls often have seating capacity for only one-third of the enrolled students, while the rest sit on the floor, in hallways, or are turned away. Many courses necessary for graduation have no rooms or professors assigned to them at all.

Students in Rouen started their movement in October with a series of demonstrations. On October 26, hundreds of students occupied the rectorat, the regional offices of the Education Ministry. They were brutally attacked by riot police during the night. The cops evacuated the occupied building.

The next day thousands of students, parents, and faculty members demonstrated in the streets of Rouen. The university was occupied and a national demonstration was called for November 9. The students declared that their school needed

an additional 12 million francs (\$2.5 million) budgeted and the hiring of nearly 250 additional university personnel.

As demonstrations started at other universities, the government tried to head off the movement by agreeing to some of the demands in Rouen. It finally agreed to an additional 6 million francs this year, 3 million francs in 1996, and the hiring of 200 additional university personnel, including 188 professors. Instead of halting the protests as the government had hoped, these concessions spurred demonstrations on other campuses. A victory similar to that at Rouen was soon won by striking students at the University of Metz.

The national day of action on November 21 drew tens of thousands. Dozens of actions were held throughout the country. The press reported that 20,000 demonstrated in Toulouse, 25,000 in Paris, and actions in the range of 5,000 took place in Montpellier, Aix, Lyon, Tours, Nantes, Pau, and La Rochelle.

For the first time, thousands of high

school students joined the protests.

Following the demonstration in Paris, students occupied the Pantheon, a large monument in the Latin Quarter of Paris near the University of Sorbonne, to set up a national coordinating committee of the schools on strike.

Students join workers on strike

The all-night meeting called for increasing the national university budget by 2 billion francs, for equal rights for foreign students, and for granting tenure to all university employees. It also called for another national day of action on November 30 and for joining with striking public workers in their anti-austerity protests on November 24.

Many students were particularly angry about the opening of the Faculté Leonardo da Vinci, a university in the Paris suburbs. Built with public funds, it is run more like a private university, with a 25,000-franc tuition fee instead of the 800 francs asked for at other schools. Although the school has only 360 students currently enrolled, it has the same budget as the nearby University of Nanterre with 38,000 students.

Student activists have renamed this campus the 'Fac Pasqua' [Pasqua faculty]. Charles Pasqua was the minister of the interior in the previous government of Edouard Balladur. The November 21 national student meeting voted to occupy the 'Fac Pasqua' the following week.

In response to the wave of student protests, Education Minister François Bayrou announced a new plan for universities. It includes an additional 200 million francs per year for the next four years and 90 'special mediators' to negotiate with students at each campus. Students have so far rejected the offer as inadequate.

Meanwhile, unions called another one-day general strike on November 28. In addition, following their successful one-day action on November 24, railroad workers voted to continue their walkout indefinitely. They were joined by the Paris bus drivers.

Nat London works at the Renault auto plant at Choisy-le-roi and is a member of the CGT. Nathalie Camier, a student at the University of Paris VIII who participated in the November 21 National Student Strike Coordinating Committee meeting, contributed to this article.

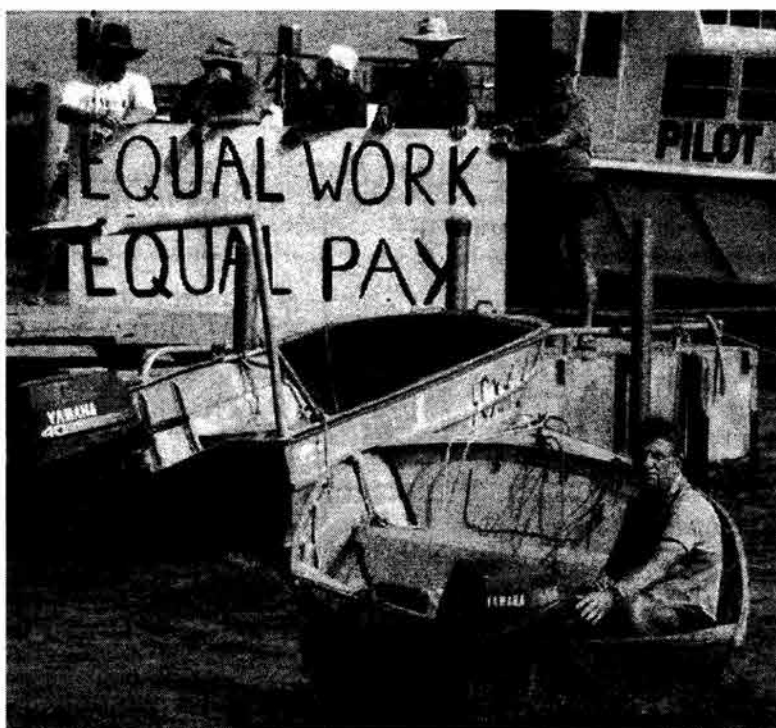
Miners strike wins widespread support in Australia

BY BOB AIKEN

SYDNEY, Australia — A fight by bauxite miners against union busting in Weipa has won wide support in the labor movement here, including a nationwide solidarity strike by 20,000 miners. Five pickets were arrested November 24 as some 75 strikers continue their floating blockade of Weipa port, using small boats to disrupt the shipping of bauxite, in defiance of a November 21 federal government back-to-work order.

The miners walked out October 13, demanding wage parity with the majority of the workforce, who are now on individual contracts, and the right to collective bargaining. The blockade began soon after the walkout.

Weipa, in far north Queensland, is a company town of 2,500 dominated by the Comalco bauxite mine. Workers have been resisting a union-busting drive for the last two years by CRA Ltd., Comalco's parent company and the fourth largest corporation in Australia. Four unions are directly involved, with most of the strikers recently having voted to be-



Strikers are maintaining blockade of Comalco docks in Weipa

long to the United Mineworkers Division of the Construction, Forestry, Mining and Energy Union (CFMEU).

The Weipa strike escalated into the most significant confrontation between the bosses and unions here in recent years, following a November 10 injunction

granted to CRA by the Queensland Supreme Court to stop the blockade.

CRA moved to serve writs for civil damages totaling millions of dollars on 49 strikers and 3 unions. In response, CFMEU-organized coal miners in Queensland and New South Wales led the way, shutting down all CRA coal mines November 11 for 48 hours and again November 15-16. Some 20,000 coal miners shut down the entire industry November 20-22, as part of a planned seven-day national strike, which cost the coal bosses some \$A26 million (\$US19 million) per day in lost production.

Maritime Union of Australia members shut down most main ports November 16-19, stalling 120 ships and delaying 5.4 million metric tons of cargo. Among other actions that took place was a picket line of up to 150 workers that shut Comalco's Boyne Island aluminum smelter near Gladstone, Queensland, November 21.

"We're seeing the emergence of a form of militancy which we've been free of for a long time," complained Ian Salmon, the

president of the Business Council of Australia, November 19.

CRA's anti-union drive at Weipa, according to John Maitland, president of the miners union, has "happened with the current Industrial Relations Act," brought in by the Labor government of Prime Minister Paul Keating. The law permits non-union individual contracts.

When Keating's attempt at a directly brokered settlement fell through, Justice Deidre O'Connor, president of the Industrial Relations Commission, called a compulsory conference of Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) officials and CRA executives November 18, where it was agreed to put the strike to binding arbitration. About 200 supporters of the Weipa strikers rallied outside the commission's offices and packed the hearing two days later.

The full bench of the commission ruled November 21 that all employees at the Weipa mine who were not on individual contracts would get an 8 percent wage rise backdated to March 1994, with applications for further increases by individual workers to be heard beginning the next day. O'Connor ordered all industrial action to cease immediately, which the ACTU agreed to in exchange for the pay rise and CRA agreeing to drop its suit for damages against the strikers.

Union members at Weipa, while wel-

Continued on Page 14