

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**'Cuban workers in power
are building socialism'**
— PAGE 10

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 60 NO. 21 MAY 27, 1996

'No trade sanctions on China' says SWP candidate

BY VERÓNICA POSES
AND JON HILLSON

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — Blasting the Clinton administration for its threat to impose trade sanctions against China, Socialist Workers vice presidential candidate Laura Garza told those attending a public campaign meeting here that Washington's aggressive moves should be "rejected by working people in the United States."

Washington's real problem with China has nothing to do with "intellectual property, VCRs, and compact discs," Garza told the audience of nearly 40. The U.S. ruling rich "have never gotten over the fact that China's workers and farmers kicked imperialism out of their country, and that the Chinese, not U.S. big business, run China."

"We denounce their hypocrisy in charging Beijing with human rights abuses," the socialist candidate said. "Washington is the biggest human rights abuser in the world, from their slaughter of working people in Iraq in 1991 to the new immigration law, which will mean more border cops beating and killing Mexicans, Chicanos, and others."

Garza kicked off her national speaking tour with a four-day stop in Minneapolis and St. Paul. A highlight of the trip was 90 minutes of plant-gate campaigning at the big Ford truck assembly plant in St. Paul.

Eleven campaign supporters, including

Continued on Page 4

Pathfinder plans major repairs for cracked wall

BY DAVE PRINCE

NEW YORK — Pathfinder Press has announced plans for major structural repairs to the wall of the Pathfinder Building on which its well-known six-story mural is painted. The building houses Pathfinder's editorial and business offices and printing plant.

Serious water and structural damage is now threatening the long-term usability of the building for Pathfinder's production of revolutionary books. The repair project will stop the water penetration through the brick and will add insulation to the building.

To carry out the needed repairs, the Pathfinder Mural will have to be removed so cracks in the wall can be mended and the entire surface covered with a protective layer of acrylic or a new siding. The repaired wall will have an attractive appearance and be a surface that can be used for painting a new mural in the coming years.

Estimates for the various repair methods being considered start at a minimum of \$100,000. To carry out the project, Pathfinder is appealing to supporters for capital contributions of \$1,000 or more. The work is scheduled to be completed before winter.

Supporters of the mural here are planning

Continued on Page 6

Bosses' profit drive led to ValuJet disaster

Socialist candidates: Labor must lead fight for safety

The following statement was released May 16 by James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, and Janet Post, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 17th District in Dade County, Florida. Harris is a meatpacker and member of the United Food and Commercial Workers union. Post is an airline worker and member of the International Association of Machinists in Miami.

The grim consequences of the airline bosses' drive to increase profits through "cost cutting" were driven home with deadly force this week. The ValuJet crash that killed all 110 people aboard also illuminated the complicity of the federal government, which covered up the record of a company that flaunted safety standards.

The labor movement should demand the immediate prosecution of the responsible company executives and complicit government officials. Unions need to champion the fight for safety, regardless of the profit prerogatives of the wealthy corporate barons.

ValuJet was established as an antiunion outfit. Its owners have sought to turn a profit by paring maintenance to the bare bones, organizing to circumvent repair procedures, and imposing speed-up on the workforce. ValuJet planes, with an average age of 26 years, have had to return to the airport of origin after takeoff 68 times in the last two years. Because of its record, even the Pentagon refused for a time to use the carrier and one administration official stated publicly before the crash she would not fly the unsafe airline.

So what did the government do?
Transportation Secretary Federico Peña

Continued on Page 14



ValuJet plane readies for takeoff in Atlanta. Airline bosses put profits before safety as the federal government looks the other way.

Facts seep out on fatal crash

BY JANET POST

MIAMI — "If these planes fly over the Everglades constantly, how come they're not prepared for this? How come they didn't even know that one day this was going to happen? They wait until after this happens and then figure out what to do?" Dionne McClain raised these questions about the search efforts following the crash of ValuJet Flight 592 in the Everglades, 16 miles from the Miami airport.

McClain is from Tennessee. Her fiancée was killed in the May 11 crash. All 105 passengers and 5 crew members died in the plunge of the 27-year-old DC-9, which was flying from Miami to Atlanta.

The plane had a flight record in the last two years that included seven instances of aborted takeoffs, emergency landings, or return-to-base flights. The cause of the crash remains officially undetermined. But initial

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'Let's build U.S.-Cuba youth exchange'

BY MEGAN ARNEY

Around the country young people are preparing to visit Cuba on the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange July 24 - August 6. The trip is being organized by the National Network on Cuba (NNOC). As of May 15, some 45 applications had arrived at the Cuba Infor-

mation Project, which is coordinating the travel arrangements. Leslie Cagan of the Cuba Information Project said, "There is a lot of interest right now — we're very optimistic. We expect 200 people will be going."

Participants will travel to Cuba for two

weeks, visiting the provinces of Guantánamo and Santiago de Cuba and staying with Cuban families. The deadline for submitting the applications is June 1. The following are reports from different cities where young people have begun to organize fund-raising, travel, and outreach for the Youth Exchange.

ATLANTA — Clint Ivie, a 24-year-old worker at Lear Seating here, is going to Cuba "for several reasons. I think it's a great experience to see what it takes for people to be more interested in helping each other, rather than making a buck. I'm also going for the music."

A plant shutdown this summer coincides with the trip to Cuba, but Ivie, a member of United Auto Workers Local 882, will also be working to "get my union officials involved in helping me get the two additional days I need."

Ivie and another supporter of the Cuban revolution from Athens, Georgia, have teamed up to raise funds for the trip. They are planning to play their instruments — guitar and violin — wherever the can to pay for the trip. A student from Spelman College in Atlanta is also considering going on the Youth Exchange.

BOSTON — Eleven youth are organiz-

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Get your application in now for the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange July 24 - August 6

The National Network on Cuba is organizing a delegation of young people and students from around the United States for a two-week trip to Cuba this summer. The group will spend most of its time in the provinces of Santiago and Guantánamo, with a few days in Havana at the end of the trip. In addition to time spent working with Cubans, participants will visit factories, farms, historic sites, and other places of interest.

The Youth Exchange is open to people between the ages of 15 and 35. The cost is \$855 from Montreal, \$600 from Nassau, Bahamas.

Applications for the trip are due by June 1.



For more information contact:
National Network on Cuba
c/o Cuba Information Project
198 Broadway, Suite 800
New York, NY 10038
Phone: 212-227-3422
Fax: 212-227-4859



Tel Aviv cited for bombing refugee camp in Lebanon

A United Nations report issued May 7 suggested that Israeli forces deliberately bombed a UN camp in Qana, Lebanon, killing 102 refugees, most of them women and children. Among other evidence, UN officials released an amateur video showing an Israeli reconnaissance drone near the base. Some 750 Lebanese civilians fleeing Tel Aviv's bombing campaign in southern Lebanon had taken refuge there at least four days prior to the April 18 attack. Israeli officials first denied that a drone was in the area, and later argued it arrived after the damage was done.

The UN report stated that the concentration of firepower was "inconsistent with a normal overshooting of the declared target by a few rounds, as suggested by Israeli forces," who claimed they were responding to mortar fire from Hezbollah guerrillas fighting Tel Aviv's occupation of southern Lebanon. Israeli foreign minister Ehud Barak called the report "absurd." A spokesperson for the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Madeline Albright, said Washington was "disturbed that the [UN] Secretary General chose to draw unjustified conclusions about this incident that can only divide and polarize the environment."

Serbs strike over unpaid wages

At the Serbian electronics group EI-Nis, 10,000 workers went on strike for a second day to demand payment of overdue wages. Workers at some of the 42 companies in the EI-Nis conglomerate have not been paid since before December. The strikers are also demanding a restructuring of the state-owned group, to give the workers at least 51 percent ownership. On May 8, thousands of strikers gathered in the center of Nis, an industrial town south of Belgrade. Police blocked them when they tried to enter the town assembly hall.

U.S. to hold war games in Baltics

Pentagon officials reported May 6 that U.S. military units will conduct maneuvers in Latvia in July. The "Baltic Challenge" exercises will include forces from Latvia,



Palestinian youth throw stones at Israeli troops on May 1 on the second day of protest actions against the building of a security fence on Arab land.

Lithuania, and Estonia. Washington has been urging the expansion of the NATO military alliance eastward, and supports the efforts of the Baltic governments to join the European Union.

At a new conference praising the Baltic states for what the Associated Press described as "progress toward democracy," U.S. ambassadors to the region also commented on the upcoming elections in Russia. "They [the Baltic states] have a stake in Russian democracy," said Larry Napper, the U.S. envoy to Latvia.

Cops attack nuclear protesters

German police used truncheons, tear gas, and water cannon against more than 3,000 protesters May 8. The demonstrators were protesting the transportation of nuclear waste to a storage plant near Gorleben, Germany. More than 30 people were injured.

Protesters along the route from France slowed the truck's pace, as it took six hours for an 11-mile trip from the Dannenberg train station. Three thousand police in riot gear jogged in formation along the truck and

60 escort vehicles. Protesters have demonstrated against the transportation of nuclear waste for weeks.

Ex-CP-led bloc wins in Italy

A coalition dominated by the Democratic Party of the Left — formerly the Communist Party — won a clear majority in Italy's April parliamentary elections. The Olive Tree alliance has put forward bourgeois economist Romano Prodi as its candidate for prime minister. For a voting majority, it will depend on 35 seats won by Reconstructed Communism (RC), also formed out of the old Communist party. The social democratic coalition beat out the right-wing grouping led by former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi.

Umberto Bossi's Northern League, campaigning on a secessionist, anti-Rome, and anti-migrant worker platform, won 59 seats. Bossi has implied he was not eager to cooperate with the new government.

Meningitis kills 10,000 in Africa

West Africa has experienced one of the largest epidemics of meningitis in recent times, killing more than 10,000 people in the last three months. The disease causes inflammation of the lining of the brain and spinal cord, and is caused by airborne bacteria. Meningitis can be treated in its early stages with antibiotics, but once it invades the bloodstream, death comes quickly.

In Nigeria about 10 percent of the 50,000 cases reported have resulted in deaths. Children, the elderly, and women are most vulnerable to dying. Meningitis has turned up in 14 African countries. Frustrated doctors treat patients in conditions where large stocks of vaccine are too expensive to maintain and health care is often unavailable. "It is not normal that in the 20th century, people should be dying of meningitis, just as if we

were living in the 18th century," said Dr. Idrissa Ouedraogo, a hospital director in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso.

Cop victim dies in Montreal

A taxi driver never gained consciousness after being beaten by Montreal police 29 months ago. Richard Barnabe, 41, died May 9 from internal bleeding. In December 1993, He collapsed in a cell after being arrested for allegedly breaking a church window. Barnabe was admitted into the hospital unconscious and remained in a vegetative state until he died.

Four Montreal police officers were convicted of assault causing bodily harm. Two were given 90 days in prison, one 60 days and one 180 hours of community work. Now appealing the verdicts, the cops have not served any time. Under Montreal law, the upgrading of charges to manslaughter or murder can only be filed if the victim dies within a year and a day of the assault.

Baseball owner defends Hitler

Marge Schott, owner of the Cincinnati Reds, believes that Hitler "was good in the beginning but he went too far." Sparking yet another controversy, the Reds owner's remarks are under consultation of the baseball commissioner. In an interview with an ESPN TV reporter at Riverfront Stadium offices, Schott said of Hitler, "Everything you read, when he came in, he was good. They built tremendous highways and got all the factories going. He went nuts, he went berserk."

Schott was suspended and fined \$25,000 in 1993 for repeated racist and ethnic slurs, using phrases like "million-dollar niggers," and "money-grubbing Jews". When asked about the swastika she kept at home, Schott said it was memorabilia.

Congress OKs 'Megan's Law'

Both the Senate and the House passed a measure that requires all states to notify communities when a person convicted of a sex offense move into their neighborhoods. The legislation is modeled after the New Jersey statute known as Megan's law, but is considered a tougher version. It is named after Megan Kanka, a 7-year-old girl from Hamilton Township, New Jersey, who was kidnapped, raped and killed in July 1994. A neighbor who lived across the street from the girl was charged in the killing.

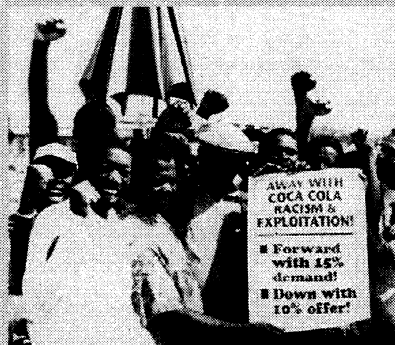
Community warnings after a person convicted of a sex offense is released from prison range from telling local schools and youth groups to ordering visits with each neighbor, depending on the state's determination of the supposed danger level. The new legislation also requires that if states fail to establish a system by September 1997, they would lose some federal anti-crime funds. Fifteen states already require some community notification when someone convicted of child molestation is released.

— MEGAN ARNEY

THE MILITANT

Class struggle in South Africa

The recent national strike involving millions of workers in South Africa reflects the ongoing battle to eradicate the legacy of apartheid. The 'Militant' provides coverage of struggles of working people as they press their demands for better schools, working conditions, and housing. Don't miss a single issue!



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South Africans gain new constitution

BY GREG ROSENBERG

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — By a vote of 421 to 2, South Africa's Constitutional Assembly adopted the country's new constitution May 8.

"The Republic of South Africa is one sovereign democratic state founded on the following values: human dignity, the achievement of equality and advancement of human rights and freedoms; non-racialism and non-sexism; supremacy of the Constitution and the rule of law," and universal adult suffrage, states the first article of the document.

Sharp disputes over the sections on education, the rights of labor, and land reform were resolved decisively in favor of the oppressed majority in the 11th hour of negotiations between the majority African National Congress and the National Party, the former ruling party under apartheid.

One day after the adoption of the constitution, the National Party (NP) announced it would leave South Africa's Government of National Unity on June 30, effectively ending the current coalition government arrangement. While the party's representatives will retain their seats in Parliament, they are forfeiting their seats in the cabinet and the deputy presidency currently held by F.W. de Klerk.

Announcing his party's decision, de Klerk singled out the fact that the ANC had refused to extend the coalition government arrangement beyond 1999, at which time a simple majority vote system will come into effect.

De Klerk said the National Party would constitute itself in the role of a "strong and confident opposition" to the ANC majority. He complained that, while broad consensus was reached on the new constitution, the NP failed to bridge the gap with the ANC on "the role of the trade unions, abortion and the death penalty, and the unqualified protection of private property."

The Inkatha Freedom Party said it will retain its three cabinet positions for now.

The constitutional vote was taken as thousands of people massed outside Parliament in Cape Town to celebrate the victory. Deputies of the ANC, NP, Democratic Party, and Pan Africanist Congress voted in favor. Only the African Christian Democratic Party, led by former apartheid-era Bantustan officials, voted against. The Inkatha Freedom Party boycotted the constitutional process and was absent at the vote.

Stating that the document had been drafted "by the majority for the majority," rightist Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said his party could not in conscience vote against it. But the ANC's refusal to sanction the maintenance of white Afrikaner-only schools led Viljoen's 10 deputies to abstain from the vote.

There is, in addition, no provision for a *volksstaat* — a white Afrikaner apartheid

ministate — as had been demanded by the Freedom Front and other rightist organizations.

'Redress past discrimination'

The education clause finally adopted states that "everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice." Eleven official languages have been adopted. The constitution also says, "The state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives... taking into account... the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory law and practice."

Sharp battles have broken out around the transformation of education in recent months. Some 6,000 people marched earlier this year in the Northern Province town of Potgietersrus and succeeded in forcing the previously all-white school to admit Black children. Almost every week there are reports of new marches, demonstrations, and other protests by teachers, students, and community residents demanding full equality in education.

While the constitution enshrines workers' right to form unions, engage in union activity, and strike, no right is granted for bosses to lock workers out of factories, mines, and mills. The NP, Democratic Party, and all of big business had demanded such a clause. One week prior to the vote, millions of South African workers struck for one day to oppose such a provision.

Business South Africa, the country's largest employers' federation, announced May 9 it would challenge the exclusion of a "lock-out clause" in the Constitutional Court, which will review the document and decide if it adheres to principles agreed on in multiparty talks held before the 1994 nonracial elections. The constitution could be law by September.

Business and the capitalist parties also demanded wording that would put the brakes on the opening of agricultural land to millions of Blacks whose land was stolen from 1913 on. This fight centered on the "property clause" in the document. The text adopted states that "no one may be deprived of property except in terms of law of general application..." It adds that "property may be expropriated only... for public purposes or in the public interest," and states that "the public interest includes the nation's commitment to land reform, and to reforms to bring about equitable access to all South Africa's natural resources."

The section concludes by stating that "no provision of this section may impede the state from taking legislative and other measures to achieve land, water and related reform, in order to redress the results of past racial discrimination."

A demand by the National Party that the constitution include a clause barring abor-



Crowd outside Parliament greets South African president Nelson Mandela after overwhelming approval of new constitution.

tion was rejected. While the document does not specifically address the issue, an amended abortion act is expected to be introduced in Parliament later this year. The procedure was illegal under apartheid law.

The NP withdrawal

The week's events yielded turbulence in the Johannesburg stock and bond markets, and the rand seasawed against the dollar prior to stabilizing May 10. The South African currency has lost about 20 percent of its value against the dollar in recent months.

Appraising developments in the government, the ANC's National Executive Committee met May 11-12. It released a statement greeting "one of the most progressive constitutions in the world," and said the body "agreed that the departure of the NP from the cabinet marked a further step in normalizing our democratic dispensation.... Nation building, reconciliation, reconstruction and development are realities which are broader than a constitutionally entrenched coalition and indeed the latter have often hampered further realization of these goals."

The NP's departure from cabinet was met generally with an air of resigned inevitability from the big-business press. "The need now is for the NP to toughen up its act," said the editors of the Johannesburg *Citizen* May 13.

The adoption of the constitution, and the subsequent departure of the party that led the apartheid regime for 48 years, was greeted with satisfaction by millions of working people. "I am very glad the Nats are leaving government, because they are our enemy," said Lizzie Nyongwane, a resident of Sebokeng who works in Johannesburg.

South African president Nelson Mandela moved swiftly in reaction to de Klerk's announcement, appointing five new ministers, all drawn from the ANC. They are Penuell Maduna, Mineral and Energy Affairs; Valli Moosa, Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development; Derek Hanekom, Land Affairs and Agriculture; Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Welfare and Population Development; and Pallo Jordan, Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Jordan had previously been in charge of Posts and Telecommunications, until being dropped from the cabinet during a reorganization two months ago.

Mandela shrank the cabinet by two members by combining some ministries. In doing so, Inkatha was denied an additional post. The agriculture ministry was merged with land affairs. This move brought protest from the South African Agricultural Union, which speaks for capitalist farmers. The group said that while Hanekom was in charge of land redistribution and restitution, he had not shown a commitment to "agriculturally productive" land.

In other news, the ANC National Executive Committee meeting announced it had decided to release Cyril Ramaphosa from his position as ANC secretary-general once the constitution is ratified by the Constitutional Court. Ramaphosa announced two weeks earlier that he was leaving Parliament to join an investment company owned by Black businessman Nthato Motlana. Cheryl Carolus will continue as acting secretary-general until the next ANC national conference in 1997.

Washington threatens trade sanctions against Beijing

BY MEGAN ARNEY

Washington is threatening to slap 100 percent tariffs on up to \$3 billion in Chinese exports to the United States, and demands Beijing raid or shut down 30 factories in southern China. Chinese officials say they will retaliate, possibly by halting shipments of U.S. aircraft to that country.

Following two days of negotiations over alleged infringements of U.S. copyrights by Chinese companies, Clinton administration officials announced May 14 they would publish a list of Chinese goods that might be sanctioned. Washington claims Beijing has not lived up to an agreement reached in February 1995 after a near-trade war over the production of unlicensed software, compact disks, and videos in China.

The threat comes in the midst of a debate in Washington over the renewal of China's "most favored nation" trading status. The status allows for relatively low tariffs on most Chinese imports to the United States. Chinese exports to the United States came to nearly \$46 billion in 1995, while U.S. exports to China were around \$12 billion. The Clinton administration is expected to call for unconditional renewal of Beijing's trading status.

The Republican presidential candidate, Sen. Robert Dole, has also stated his support for the renewal. In a May 9 speech he

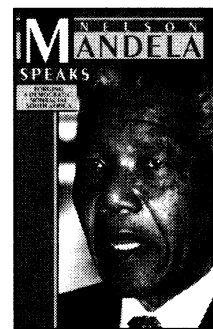
echoed Clinton's calls for trade sanctions, but accused the current administration of inadequately enforcing the 1995 "intellectual property" agreement. Dole also proposed a "Pacific Democracy Defense Program" to develop and deploy a high-tech missile defense system for Taiwan and other Asian governments.

Politicians lobbying against the most favored nation renewal have cited alleged human rights abuses and the Chinese government's insistence on reunification with Taiwan. They have also charged Beijing with shipping equipment to Pakistan that can be used to make nuclear weapons.

Rightist politician Patrick Buchanan has recently attacked both Clinton and Dole for their stance toward China. "It is time Republicans demonstrated that they loathe tyranny more than they love trade," he said, while attacking Clinton for "abject appeasement" of Beijing. Buchanan called for allowing China's trading rights to lapse in June.

Defenders of the current status point to huge economic losses they say could force U.S. companies to the sidelines and give European companies the field for a growing trade market. "I don't think America would want to be on the outside of that market looking in," said one U.S. lobbyist.

for further reading from Pathfinder



Nelson Mandela Speaks

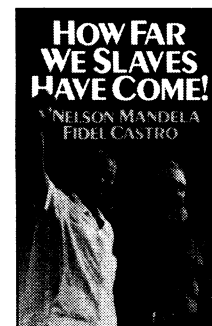
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JACK BARNES

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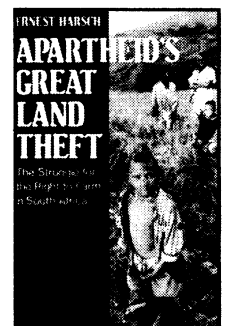
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Socialist candidate starts campaign tour in Minnesota

Continued from front page

six Young Socialists for Harris and Garza, were part of the plant-gate team. Some wore bright sandwich-board placards that read "Defend Immigrant Rights" and "Meet Laura Garza, Socialist Workers vice presidential candidate" to attract the attention of hundreds of workers coming in and out of the plant at the afternoon shift change.

Among those campaigning was Tom Fiske, a member of the International Association Machinists and SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in the Minnesota. The two candidates shook the hands of scores of workers, some of whom stopped to talk with Garza and Fiske.

The United Auto Workers members raised questions about welfare, immigration, unemployment, Cuba, Yugoslavia, downsizing, and the upcoming national Big Three auto contract, among other issues.

"They hope they can divide the working class," Garza said to many of the unionists.

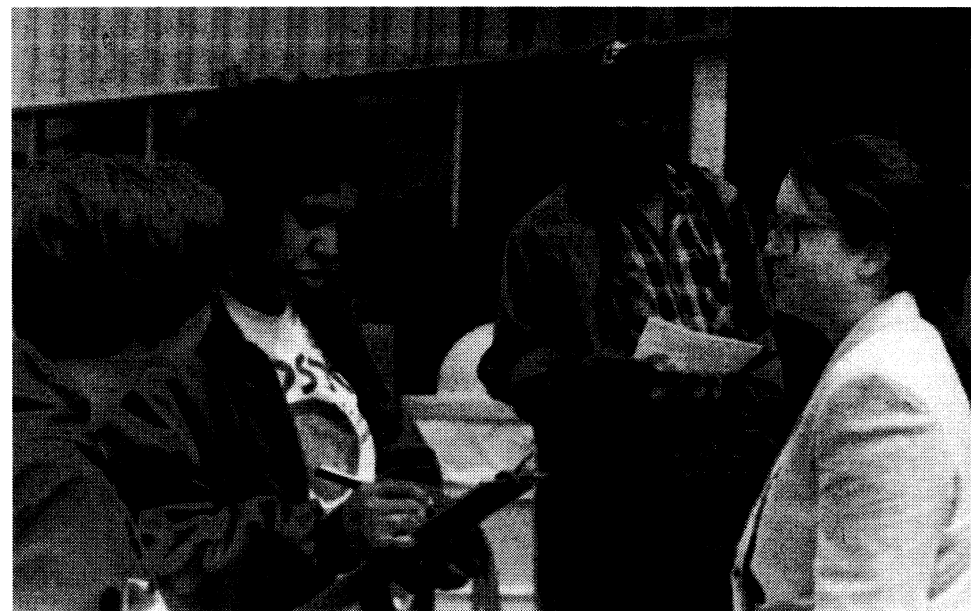
"The bosses use racism and the fear of growing unemployment to blame immigrants for the problems, but it's the bosses who cause unemployment when they lay us off by the hundreds of thousands."

"You're right about immigration," one young worker told Fiske.

"She's got my vote," one veteran union activist said, referring to Garza, "but I'm still going to vote for [Paul] Wellstone," the incumbent Democratic senator from Minnesota.

Many of the Ford workers wished the two socialist candidates good luck. Although the company wouldn't allow campaign literature to be distributed on the company's property, supporters handed out hundreds of leaflets at two of the plant-gates. Nine unionists signed up for more information on the campaign.

At the May 11 campaign meeting, Adriana Sánchez, a leader of the Twin Cities Cuba Network, endorsed the SWP slate



Militant/Jon Hillson

Laura Garza (right), SWP vice-presidential candidate, with Ford workers in St. Paul

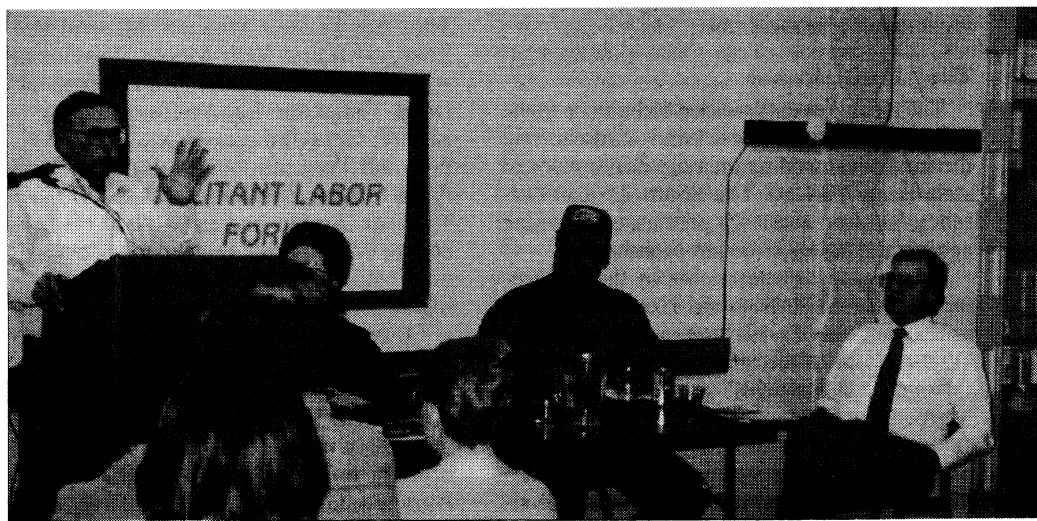
of presidential candidate James Harris and running mate Garza. "This campaign is very important," she said. "It's very important for youth and workers to be represented in these elections."

The young activist hailed the Cuban revolution. "When the people in Cuba march to defend the revolution, it makes us stronger," she said. Sánchez also urged youth in audience to sign up for the July 24-August 6 U.S. Cuba Youth Exchange, and reported on its growth in the Twin Cities.

Fight to defend abortion rights

Garza urged those at the meeting to avoid drawing any conclusion that "pro-abortion rights rhetoric from so-called moderate Republicans indicates any shift in policy."

"This attempt to make the Republican party seem 'nicer' and less coarse is a hoax," Garza said. "It's a reaction to the fact that the majority of working people support the right to choose abortion. And it's a cover for sharper attacks on democratic rights that are sure to come, no matter who wins in November." Supporters of women's right to choose must rely on their own mass mobilizations to defend that hard-fought gain, she said.



Militant/Bill Kalman

Dick McBride (right), Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, joins panelists farm activist Larry Ginter (podium), and Keith Griffin (center), a Montfort meat-packer, at a Militant Labor Forum in Des Moines, Iowa, speaking out against Monfort plant closing.

Need to shift gears in fund drive

BY LUIS MADRID

NEWARK, New Jersey—As we reach the halfway mark in the drive to raise \$90,000 for the Socialist Workers 1996 national campaign, supporters of the socialist alternative across the country must now shift gears in a big way to collect contributions and obtain pledges.

Nearly \$11,000 had been received in the national campaign headquarters in New York as of Tuesday, May 14. Last week we had about \$9,000. With only a handful of

areas outstanding, local campaign goals now add up to slightly over \$85,000.

Energetic fund-raising efforts by campaign supporters in Minnesota are beginning to pay off. And socialist vice-presidential candidate Laura Garza's swing through Minneapolis and St. Paul "boosted our fund-raising efforts," said Jon Hillson, director of the election campaign there.

At a May 11 public meeting featuring Garza, an appeal to supporters by socialist workers congressional candidate Jennifer Benton netted \$1,320 in cash and checks and an additional \$1,240 in pledges. Prior to the meeting, supporters had organized to collect another \$1,200. Those figures "showed us that we can raise the remaining pledges needed to reach our goal of \$5,000, and collect it all in the next month," Hillson remarked.

He noted that among those donating funds during Garza's tour in the Twin Cities "were young socialists working on their first election campaign ever, a co-worker of SWP senatorial candidate Tom Fiske, and other new supporters — as well as longtime partisans of the socialist movement."

Hillson added, "we will be asking for contributions from the nine United Auto Workers members who signed up for more information at a plant-gate campaign stop by Laura Garza."

In preparation for a campaign event during Memorial Day weekend, socialist campaigners in San Francisco are casting their fund-raising net wide. Among other things, they are sending a 200-piece mailing to a broad range of people, including workers and youth met during recent sales of revolutionary books and through the current drive to win new readers to the socialist press.

"We see all these political efforts as reinforcing each other," explained Toba Singer, coordinator of the drive to collect \$10,000 in the San Francisco area. "New subscribers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are going to be reading regularly about the socialist campaign, so they will be among those most interested in contributing. And we are

inviting them to join the campaign," Singer added.

The May 27 event in San Francisco will feature three local socialist candidates for U.S. Congress, Marklyn Wilson, Omari Musa, and Steve Gordon, who is a member of the Young Socialists; as well as Susan Zárate, who is running for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Some *Militant* readers have been clipping the fund coupon in the paper and sending it into the national campaign headquarters with contributions attached. This week, for example, a supporter in Wakefield, Massachusetts, mailed in a coupon along with \$35, and another one in Boca Raton, Florida, contributed \$100.

A supporter in Greensboro sent in an initial contribution of \$150 with a note explaining she had to work some overtime lately. In it she also emphasized, "I wanted to get this to the campaign now, when we especially need it."

Jennifer Benton, the SWP's candidate for U.S. Congress in the 5th Congressional District, made a pitch for funds to back the SWP national campaign. This netted \$1,320 in donations and \$1,240 in pledges.

The contributions helped boost a national effort to raise \$90,000 from supporters across the country. Minnesota supporters had already raised nearly \$1,200 before Garza's tour.

The vice presidential candidate addressed two meetings at the University of Minnesota, one sponsored by the La Raza Student Cultural Center, and another hosted by the campus Socialist Club. Fifteen students attended the two meetings.

"Something important is happening among Chicano, Mexican, and Latino youth," Garza told the meetings. "They are leading a real fight against attacks on immigrant workers, and playing a vanguard role in this decisive struggle for working people."

The SWP candidate also had a breakfast meeting with Cuba solidarity activists.

Garza was interviewed by Minnesota's bilingual weekly *La Prensa* and Pacifica radio station KFAI. Journalists keyed in on her defense of the Cuban revolution and solidarity with immigrant workers. Garza was also a featured guest on the Dark Star program, a major Twin Cities talk show, where she exchanged ideas with the show's host and listeners for two hours, fielding questions from as far as Missouri.

In one exchange with Dark Star, the conservative commentator demanded to know "why so many Cubans want to defect."

"Why do millions of Mexicans come to the United States?" Garza retorted. "Why are there 250,000 Colombians in South Florida? They come for economic reasons. How come you don't call them 'defectors from capitalism.' That's why they're here."

Garza's spirited defense of Cuba and opposition to deportations kept the phone lines lit until midnight. One elderly labor militant called up to defend the SWP candidate. "You can't do anything without unions," he said.

Another worker familiar with the meat-packing industry phoned in to back up Garza's defense of immigrant workers. "The Mexican labor force worked real hard [at a local packing house], worked two jobs, and was treated real bad," he said. "That's the truth and I know it."

Contribute to the Socialist Workers \$90,000 1996 Campaign Fund

Area	Goal	Paid	Percent
Atlanta	2,000	0	0%
Birmingham	3870	40	1%
Boston	3500	370	11%
Brooklyn	7000	810	12%
Chicago	5000	0	0%
Cleveland	1200	25	2%
Des Moines	600	211	24%
Detroit	3500	850	24%
Greensboro	0	150	0%
Houston	2000	0	0%
Los Angeles	8000	0	0%
Miami	2000	440	22%
Morgantown	0	0	0%
Newark	5000	575	12%
New York	7000	401	6%
Peoria	1200	0	0%
Philadelphia	4500	2431	54%
Pittsburgh	5000	1800	36%
Salt Lake	2000	0	0%
San Francisco	10000	783	8%
Seattle	5000	0	0%
Twin Cities	5000	2106	42%
Washington, DC	2000	0	0%
Total as of 5/14	85,370	10,992	13%

Campaign for the socialist alternative!

- ☐ Sign me up as a Young Socialist for Harris and Garza. I want to campaign for the socialist alternative and against the parties of exploitation, racism, and war.
- ☐ Sign me up as a campaign supporter and keep me informed of protests, picket lines, and other political activities.
- ☐ Enclosed is a \$ _____ contribution
- ☐ I want to invite a candidate to speak at my union, school, or organization
- ☐ Enclosed is \$10 for a 12-week subscription to the *Militant*, a socialist newsweekly, or \$6 for 4 months of *Perspectiva Mundial* in Spanish.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

Zip _____

PHONE _____

UNION/SCHOOL/ORGANIZATION _____

Mail to: Socialist Workers 1996 Campaign, P.O. Box 2652, New York, NY 10009

SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

BY HILDA CUZCO

The *Militant* subscription drive and socialist election campaigns offer a good combination of opportunities to step up the sales of socialist literature around the world.

Steve Gordon and Ved Dookhum from the Young Socialists in San Francisco sent in a report on the participation of young supporters of the Socialist Workers presidential election campaign of James Harris and Laura Garza in the first weekend of the five-week *Militant* subscription drive. "Selling off literature tables, as well as campaigning door to door, a total of eight subscriptions to the *Militant*, four to *Perspectiva Mundial*, and two copies of *New International* were sold over the May 11-12 weekend," they wrote.

Mai Yang, a college student at the University of California at Davis, was one of the Young Socialists for Harris and Garza who campaigned with other supporters of the *Militant* on the kickoff of the subscription drive. Mai was part of a team that sold 11 copies to the *Militant* and 2 *Militant* subscriptions. The team attributed its success to the paper's coverage of Cuba.

The Young Socialists for Harris and Garza have been campaigning for the Socialist Workers candidates at political events in the San Francisco area as well, Gordon and Dookhum report. They participated in the May 3 demonstration in front of San Quentin State Prison against the death penalty, and

in a May 10 march in San Jose in response to the police slaying of Gustavo Soto there a week earlier. Young Socialists met many youth who were interested in the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange in July, as well as selling the *Militant* and Pathfinder books.

Initial results from several cities from the subscription drive appear in the chart below. The *Militant* will report on the progress of this campaign, which aims to advance the long-term effort to step up the sales of revolutionary books and literature, based on subscriptions and money received each Tuesday by noon, E.D.T.

New, upgraded bookstores

A number of grand openings and renovations of bookstores are taking place in different cities that will help make Pathfinder books more visible and accessible.

On May 4 a new storefront Pathfinder bookstore opened in Peoria, Illinois. The construction of the store had the

collaboration of supporters in the region. It will be staffed by volunteers five days a week. Angel Lariscy reports that the first day the store was open, an employee from the offices upstairs stopped by, bought *Two Speeches by Malcolm X*, and joined the Pathfinder Reader Club. "Volunteers held a grand opening event on Saturday, May 11, with a panel speaking on what Pathfinder books mean to them."

"Supporters of the Pathfinder Bookstore in Des Moines are finishing up work at the store's new location," reported supporter Bill Kalman. "It is a bright, modern storefront located in a small commercial plaza along a major thoroughfare," he added. Among those who helped with the construction of the store were two former Firestone strikers, a United Auto Workers member from Fawn Engineering, and several packinghouse workers from Perry, Iowa. The effort also succeeded in raising \$3,000 to cover everything from the professional installation of carpeting to a brand new computer. Kalman was quoted in the daily *Des Moines Register* announcing the store's grand opening on June 1.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, M.J. Rahn reports that Pathfinder supporters just completed a renovation of the local bookstore "with new carpet, displays, improved lighting, a new outdoor sign, and

repainted and designed bookshelves." To celebrate the success of the project, supporters are offering discounted packages of *Nelson Mandela Speaks with New International* no. 5, and *New International* no. 7 with *U.S. Hands off the Middle East!* on the job and in the community. "This should help us lead off discussions on the new South African constitution, along with the continuing resistance in Lebanon to Israel's occupation," added Rahn.

Persistence pays off

From Atlanta, supporter Linda Joyce sent a note about an overdue sale at work. "It took several weeks to complete a sale to a fellow UAW member at the Ford plant here who had indicated he wanted *Blacks in America's Wars*," said Joyce. "It was always, 'Catch me tomorrow,' or 'I'll bring the money Friday,' etc., until I thought I was being a nuisance. Then he bought it and just a few days later he said, 'Hey, do you have any more books like that? I didn't want it to end!' I mentioned that we could look through the catalog, but he said, 'No, I want to come down to the bookstore, I want to see them all.' I intend to follow through

on that — no matter how long it takes."

Pathfinder supporters in the unions are continuing to campaign for a monthly goal of selling 400 books and pamphlets a month to their co-workers. Weekly totals for these sales, which seem to have been swallowed up in cyberspace this week, should continue to be sent in by 8 a.m. each Monday.

Monthly Sales of Pathfinder Books										
May 12: 23% should be: 39%										
			Through Pathfinder Bookstores			To Commercial distributors			Total	Readers Club Members
			Goal	Sold	% sold	Goal	Sold	% sold	Goal	Sold
UNITED STATES										
Boston	65	65	100%	50	13	26%	115	78	68%	40
Greensboro	41	18	44%	36	19	53%	77	37	48%	29
Cleveland	50	15	30%	40	28	70%	90	43	48%	18
Seattle	80	17	21%	60	40	67%	140	57	41%	57
Pittsburgh	63	6	10%	49	35	71%	112	41	37%	32
Washington, D.C.	54	20	37%	42	14	33%	96	34	35%	35
Peoria	27	16	59%	21	1	5%	48	17	35%	17
Los Angeles	120	21	18%	95	48	51%	215	69	32%	70
San Francisco	95	32	34%	74	22	30%	169	54	32%	67
New York	175	31	18%	175	80	46%	350	111	32%	77
Philadelphia	63	18	29%	49	10	20%	112	28	25%	40
Atlanta	48	13	27%	32	5	16%	80	18	23%	38
Salt Lake City	50	15	30%	40	5	13%	90	20	22%	38
Chicago	77	20	26%	60	0	0%	137	20	15%	38
Newark *	171	0	0%	133	44	33%	304	44	14%	97
Twin Cities	86	18	21%	67	1	1%	153	19	12%	56
Detroit	77	15	19%	60	2	3%	137	17	12%	45
Houston	45	7	16%	32	0	0%	77	7	9%	33
Morgantown	32	2	6%	25	0	0%	57	2	4%	19
Birmingham*	65	0	0%	50	0	0%	115	0	0%	51
Brooklyn*	165	0	0%	130	0	0%	295	0	0%	73
Des Moines*	45	0	0%	35	0	0%	80	0	0%	29
Miami*	55	0	0%	42	0	0%	97	0	0%	32
Total	1749	349	19%	1397	367	26%	3146	716	23%	1031
Goal/Should be	1800	702	39%	1400	546	39%	3200	1248	39%	
* no new report										
AUSTRALIA										
	36	10	28%				36	10	28%	1
CANADA										
Toronto	90	26	29%	70	0	0%	160	26	16%	52
Vancouver	36	17	47%	28	4	14%	64	21	33%	50
Montreal	72	11	15%	64	0	0%	136	11	8%	36
Total	198	54	25%	162	4	2%	360	58	16%	138
Goal/Should be	220	86	39%	92	36	39%	312	122	39%	
NEW ZEALAND										
Auckland	65	33	51%				65	33	51%	38
Christchurch	28	11	39%				28	11	39%	14
Total	93	44	47%				93	44	47%	52

Militant Perspectiva Mundial New International SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE MAY 11 — JUNE 16, 1996					
City	Militant		PM		NI
	goal	sold	goal	sold	goal sold
United States					
Atlanta	27	2	10	3	8
Birmingham, AL	35		7		20
Boston	40		10		20
Brooklyn	75	2	35	2	35
Chicago	40		20		12
Cleveland	20		6		5
Des Moines	30		20		15
Detroit	50	2	8	1	15
Greensboro, NC	30		5		5
Houston	30		20		8
Los Angeles	60		30		30
Miami	35	3	15	3	15
Morgantown, WV	21		1		6
New York	70	1	40		35
Newark, NJ	80		30		30
Peoria, IL	15		2		5
Philadelphia	40		10		12
Pittsburgh	40		5		10
Salt Lake City	59	2	16	1	19
San Francisco	65		20		40
Seattle	50		10		15
Twin Cities, MN	55		10		15
Washington, DC	30		10		10
Total U.S.	997	12	340	10	385
Australia					
	10		3		5
Britain					
London	20		20		3
Manchester					
Sheffield					
Total	20		20		3
Canada					
Montreal	25	2	8		35
Toronto	45	2	10	1	20
Vancouver	20		3		10
Total	90	1	21		65
New Zealand					
Auckland	30		2		5
Christchurch	12		1		2
Total	42		3		7
Iceland					
	10				10
International	1169	13	387	10	475
Total					3
IN THE UNIONS					
United States					
UMWA	5				5
OCAW	35				
UAW	80		15		35
IAM	56		16		26
UFCW	5		7		7
UNITE	25		8		10
USWA	45		5		35
UTU	60		5		30
U.S. Total	311		56		148

Pathfinder supporters launch store in Greece

BY GEORGES MEHRABIAN

ATHENS, Greece — On April 27, Diethnes Vima (International Forum) held a grand opening of its new store in a working-class community here. The store will be the headquarters of the Diethnes Vima publishing house and also of the Committee of the Friends of the *Militant*.

Diethnes Vima has translated and published in Greek *The Truth About Yugoslavia*, originally published in English by Pathfinder, and "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War," an article from the Marxist magazine *New Interna-*

tional. The books have been important tools in politically countering the drive toward war in the Balkans.

The grand opening featured a forum on "Che Guevara, Cuba, and Imperialism Today" attended by some 20 people. Dora Davanelou, a *Militant* subscriber and high school student, was the first speaker. "Many of my classmates wear Che pins but few know what he stands for and what Cuba stands for," she said. "The capitalists want to separate Che from Cuba. Our task is to tell people the truth," she said. Earlier in the week, Davanelou had helped distribute fliers about the opening at a book table set up in front of a high school.

Another table was set up in front of the

large Skaramangas Shipyards, attracting the attention of many dockworkers.

Natasha Terlexis, an airline worker and president of Diethnes Vima who was the main speaker of the forum, announced the translation and publication in Greek of *The Second Declaration of Havana*, a 1962 manifesto of revolutionary struggle.

Two garment workers attending their first forum bought each a copy of *Che's Political Writings* in Greek. Another participant bought *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, and another got the CTC's convention theses. Twelve people volunteered their labor in the construction of the store. Among them were garment, construction, and airline workers, as well as high school students.

Pathfinder repairs

Continued from front page
a range of activities and projects to continue the political legacy of the mural and sales of Pathfinder books.

Pathfinder supporters in Newark, New Jersey, have begun to investigate ways to erect a large reproduction of the mural on the new wall. Thousands of people around the world have heard about the mural, and many have visited over the years. Since it is located along a busy highway and recreation area on Manhattan's lower west side, many stop by the site to photograph the mural or buy a book at the adjacent Pathfinder Mural Bookstore.

In late June, before the repairs begin, local supporters are hosting an event to celebrate the mural project's contribution over the past decade to focusing attention on the history of the working-class movement and the writings of revolutionary leaders from around the world. The event will feature a program celebrating the mural that will help launch the new project to repair the wall. The lot in front of the wall will be beautified as part of upgrading the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore.

Pathfinder plans into 21st century

Greg McCartan, Pathfinder's editorial director, said in an interview, "Pathfinder's decision to make the repairs and appeal to supporters for substantial capital contributions comes from our long-term commitment to meet the need of workers, youth, and other fighters to read and discuss the

coming months include *Capitalism's Growing World Disorder: Working-Class Politics in the 21st Century*. It will contain a series of public talks and reports by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes in 1992-95. These documents, which have been adopted by the party's National Committee and conventions, summarize the SWP's view of the evolution of world politics since the onset of the world capitalist depression in the aftermath of the Gulf War.

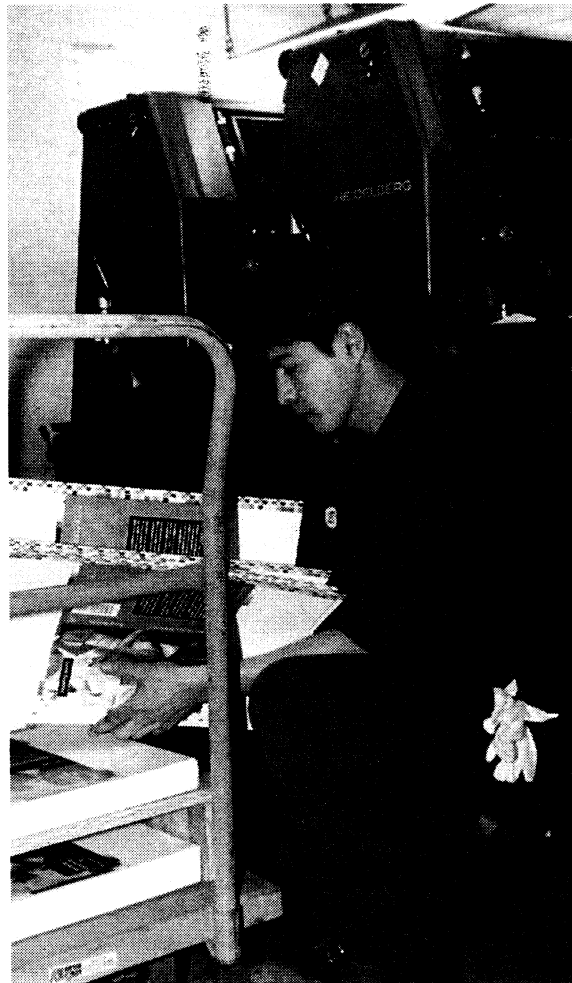
Also planned is the English-language edition of the diary of Harry Villegas — known as Pombo — on the Bolivian guerrilla campaign led by Ernesto Che Guevara in the mid-1960s. Villegas is today a brigadier general in Cuba's army.

Pathfinder also plans to publish a French-language edition of *An Action Program to Confront the Coming Economic Crisis*.

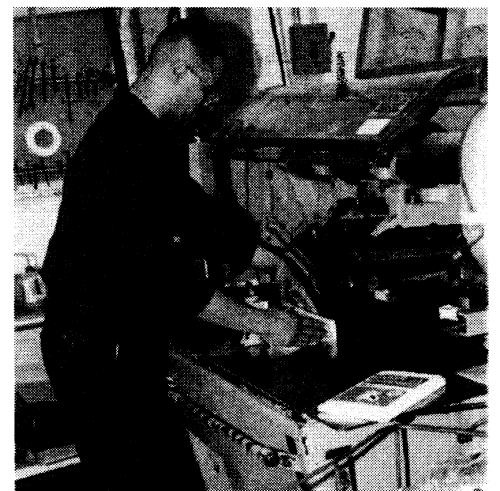
Increased Pathfinder sales

"Our decision to repair the building has been reinforced by the initial successes of the campaign launched in January by socialist workers and youth to increase the sales of Pathfinder books," McCartan said.

"One important indicator of the difference this effort has made is the dramatic increase



Militant/Brian Taylor



Militant/Brian Taylor

Left, press operator Bill Estrada inspects covers for *The Revolution Betrayed*. New sheetfed presses purchased in 1993 have advanced Pathfinder's ability to produce books and pamphlets. Above, Kevin Jones prepares to trim reprint of *Cuba for Beginners*.

have to be completely repainted to restore it along with the repair of the wall, a several-year project that would involve massive financial resources.

Celebrate decade of Pathfinder mural

Supporters in the area are contacting artists who worked on the mural, those who have helped defend the mural from rightist attacks over the years, and all supporters of Pathfinder to attend the June celebration. Many people will want to take the time to see the mural again, or for the first time, in the next two months before the repair work begins.

Dedicated to the working people of New York and the world, the mural has become an international landmark, attracting thousands each year from around the country and around the world. This response is an affirmation of the power of the revolutionary ideas contained in the words on the painting of Pathfinder's printing press, which is a centerpiece of the mural — "The truth must not only be the truth; it must also be told" — a quote from Cuban president Fidel Castro.

The event will be hosted at the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore, which has been the first introduction to Pathfinder books for many visitors to the mural. Volunteers and contributions are being encouraged to prepare a permanent pictorial history of the mural for display in the bookstore.

The event will celebrate both the mural and Pathfinder's ongoing publishing plans. The mural itself commemorated the history of the working-class movement and the toilers who have given their lives in the fight for a just society, with portraits of revolutionary and Marxist leaders, and the efforts of Pathfinder and its predecessors to publish the writings and speeches of these leaders.

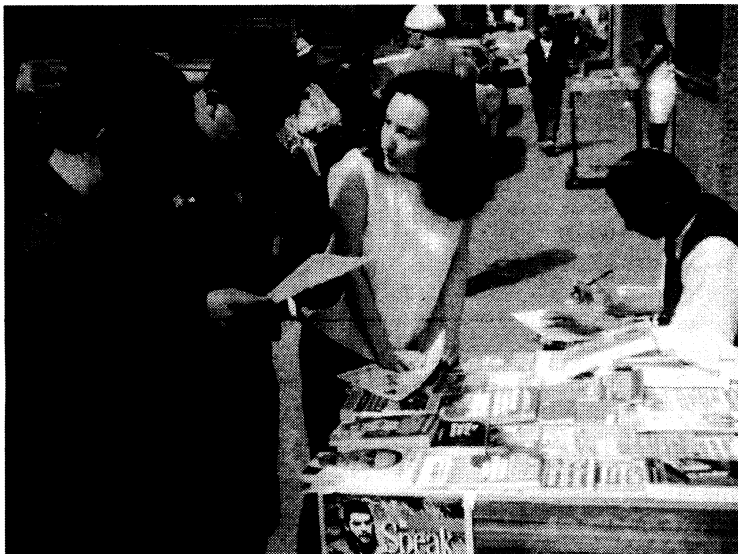
The celebration will highlight the history of the mural — the more than 80 volunteer artists from 20 countries who created it, the effective defense of the mural from political attacks and physical attempts to deface it, and Pathfinder's ongoing plans to publish and sell revolutionary literature. The mural has been an attractive publicizer of the books, appearing on many of Pathfinder's promotional materials and on the cover design of many Pathfinder reprints and new books.

Appeal for capital

McCartan explained that the more than \$100,000 needed will come from capital contributions from supporters of Pathfinder in a position to give \$1,000 or more. These contributions can come from trusts, accident settlements, bequests, and other windfalls. They have ranged from \$1,000 to \$10,000 to more than \$100,000. Workers in unions have contributed bonuses and buyouts, putting these settlements from the capitalists to use for the long-term advancement of the communist movement.

Anyone who would like to make a contribution can contact Pathfinder, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Contributions toward the mural reproduction and display of a history of the mural for the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore can be sent to that bookstore at 167 Charles St., New York, NY 10014.



Militant/Cecilia Ortega



Militant/Janet Roth

Left, sales to auto workers at Chrysler plant in Mexico City. Right, Pathfinder supporter staffs table at April 25 rally against attacks on immigrants in Auckland, New Zealand.

revolutionary and Marxist books Pathfinder publishes and distributes, both now and into the 21st century.

"These books are indispensable to those fighting against imperialism's march toward fascism and war. They are a necessary component of the preparation for the great revolutionary struggles against capitalism that are ahead," he said.

"Our physical plant must be in good condition, as we take steps to increase our production of reprints and new books to meet the demands of increasing sales."

New titles Pathfinder will produce in the

in sales to Pathfinder bookstores, the main distributors of Pathfinder books

"Orders from these bookstores for the first four months of 1996 totaled \$59,000, compared to just under \$70,000 for the entire year in 1995 — more than triple the amount sold to Pathfinder bookstores during the first four months of last year," McCartan noted. "Volunteer Pathfinder sales representatives have also begun to expand sales to retail bookstores, libraries, college bookstores, and other commercial outlets."

Pathfinder has been at its present location for nearly 25 years. Capital contribu-

The most recent renovation of the building, and one of the most extensive, was carried out in 1991-92. More than 100 construction volunteers from several countries completely remodeled the editorial and business offices of Pathfinder as well as the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, which are also housed in the building. The Socialist Workers Party national office was part of the new construction as well.

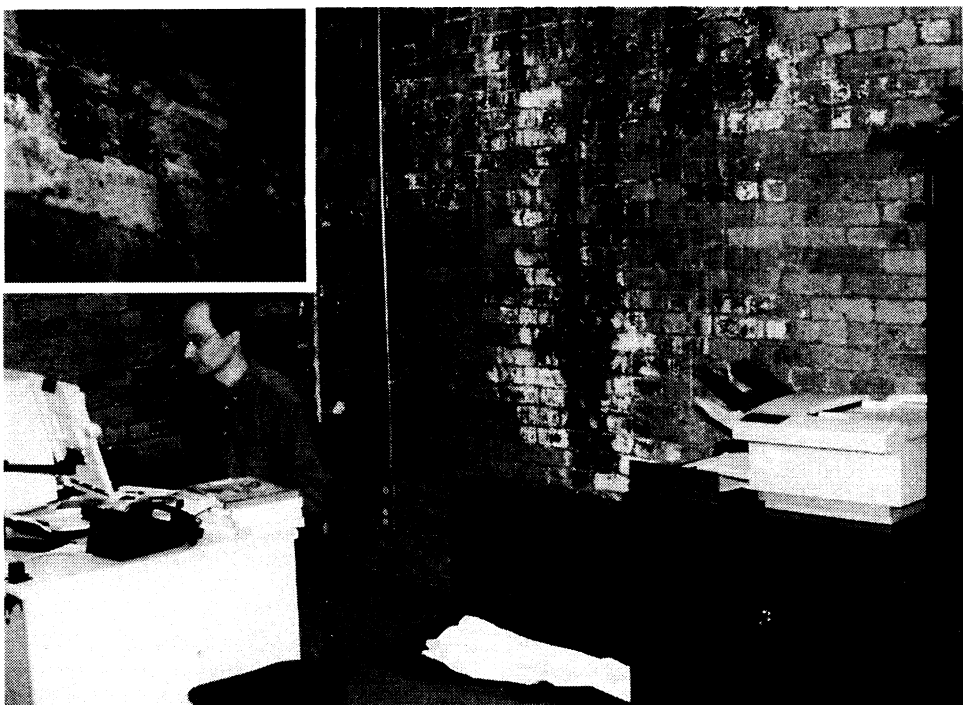
The volunteer crew also transformed an old warehouse that was part of the Pathfinder Building into a modern factory facility where the books are bound and finished. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were raised for the project from hundreds of supporters.

The building had originally been constructed for industrial use. Heavy loads were put on the upper floors, which were used for ship repairs and as a parking garage. Recent inspections found cracks throughout the wall that had developed due to this stress.

Water penetration into the cracks and seepage into the wall as a whole have caused pieces of exterior brick to break off and metal structural elements to corrode. Where the outer skin of the brick breaks off, the porous interior is exposed. The deteriorated brick is vulnerable to water penetration. For this reason the rate of water damage and structural damage to the wall will accelerate until it is repaired.

Last winter, water penetrated through the brick and cracks in the south wall with every heavy rain, making it impossible to work in parts of the building for periods of time. Buckets and plastic sheets had to be used to prevent extensive water damage to the interior.

The Pathfinder Mural itself has chipped and faded from seven years of harsh weather conditions along the Hudson River. It would



Militant photos by Eric Simpson

Inset, rain damage caused cracks in wall at SWP national office in Pathfinder Building. Above, plastic tarp on carpet protects floor from water damage during rain storms.

Mural born from international struggles

BY SAM MANUEL

In the fall of 1987 a wide range of individuals launched the Pathfinder Mural project. They included political activists in the arts, civil rights and anti-apartheid fighters, opponents of U.S. military aggression in Central America, supporters of women's equality, and rank-and-file unionists. For nearly a decade this mural has been a creative promotional for the revolutionary books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder.

The centerpiece of the Pathfinder Mural is a giant printing press on the background of a globe. The press churns out books for fighting unionists, farmers, and youth around the world. On the pages of the books are portraits of outstanding revolutionary, communist, and working-class leaders whose writings and speeches are published by Pathfinder. The press is engulfed in a march of fighting workers and farmers from throughout history and from around the world. At the base of the mural is a banner that proclaims "For a world without borders!" in English, French, and Spanish.

More than 80 artists from 20 countries contributed works on the mural, which took more than two years to complete.

The mural attracted interest and support — as well as political debate — from the start. As the mural was unveiled, two prominent New York dailies carried editorials attacking it. The *New York Post* condemned the decision by the New York State Council on the Arts to provide \$500 for the \$125,000 project. The *Daily News* editors invited vandalism of the artwork, suggesting someone paint "R.I.P." and "Never Again" over it.

The *Post* also ran an article by Patrick Buchanan titled "Why subsidize defamation?" The piece attacked both the Pathfinder mural and art exhibitions about AIDS.

Supporters of democratic rights responded. They spoke out in defense of free speech and sent protest messages to New York mayor Edward Koch, calling on city authorities to ensure the mural and the Pathfinder Building were not attacked. After a couple of vandal attacks, supporters of the mural organized nightly vigils to guard the mural against further assaults.

International project

Over the last seven years, the image of the mural has become known internationally, from book fairs in Tehran to factories in Cuba. In 1992, the Pathfinder Mural Bookstore opened next to it. There, visitors from all over the world who stop to look at the mural can purchase the range of books published and distributed by Pathfinder, as well as posters and postcards of the artwork.

Among the initial supporters of the project were singer-composers Pete Seeger, Roy Brown, and Thiago de Mello; poets Dennis Brutus and Sonia Sanchez; constitutional attorney William Kuntzler; and muralists Juan Sánchez, Eva Cockcroft, and Mike Alewitz, who organized the initial work and designed the conceptual sketch for the mural. African National Congress youth leader Victor Mashabela toured the United States promoting the mural and Pathfinder books.

Several prominent artists from around the world contributed major portraits. Arnaldo Guillén, director of the National School of Plastic Arts in Managua, Nicaragua, painted portraits of Nicaraguan revolutionaries Augusto César Sandino and Carlos Fonseca. Ricardo Carpani of Argentina and Dumile Feni of South Africa contributed portraits of Argentine-born Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara and of Nelson Mandela, the then-imprisoned leader of the



Militant/Margrethe Siem

The Pathfinder Mural, launched in 1987, has become known internationally, from book fairs in Tehran to factories in Cuba.

African National Congress of South Africa, respectively. Both Carpani and Dumile were forced into exile for the political character of their art.

Gerard Kelly, a prominent muralist in Belfast, Northern Ireland, was prevented by U.S. authorities from contributing his portrait of James Connolly, a socialist and central leader of the 1916 Easter Rising in Ireland. He was arrested on arrival at New York's Kennedy Airport for allegedly failing to mention he had previously served a prison sentence in Northern Ireland. His sketch of Connolly was rendered by a New York artist.

Internationally exhibited Cuban artist Aldo Soler provided portraits of Fidel Castro and of the co-founder of modern communism, Karl Marx. The portrait of Marx's central collaborator, Frederick Engels, was done by Iranian artist Marjan Harnoz. Renowned U.S. muralist Eva Cockcroft painted the portrait of U.S. mineworkers leader Mother Jones. Carol Byard, a painter and sculptor in New York, contributed the portrait of the U.S.-born fighter for Black rights and revolutionary, Malcolm X.

Grenadian photographer and painter Maxine Broderick provided a portrait of the leader of the 1979 Grenadian revolution, Maurice Bishop. Lynne Pelletier of the Quebecois and English-Canadian group Artists for Action painted the portrait of Thomas Sankara, who headed the revolutionary democratic government of Burkina Faso in the mid-1980s. Portraits of Farrell Dobbs, a central leader of the Minneapolis teamster labor upsurge and of the Socialist Workers Party, and of SWP founder James P. Cannon were painted by former coal miner Robert Allen.

Minneapolis-based artist Seitu Ken Jones painted the portrait of Black rights fighter

W. E. B. DuBois, founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. A sketch by New York artist May Stevens of the Polish-born German revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg was rendered on the mural by Mike Alewitz.

Boston artist David Fichter contributed the portrait of U.S. Socialist Party leader Eugene Debs. A group portrait of five leaders of the Communist International in Russia — Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, Leon Trotsky, Karl Radek, Gregory Zinoviev, and Nikolai Bukharin — was painted by Malcolm McAllister from New Zealand.

Among those depicted in the crowd of fighting people are Chen Duxiu, a founder of the Chinese Communist Party; ex-slave, abolitionist, and Underground Railroad leader Harriet Tubman; Irish Republican Army fighter and prison hunger striker Bobby Sands; Cuban national independence leader José Martí; Native American Sioux leader Sitting Bull; New Caledonia independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou; Paris Commune leader Louise Michel, and many others. Teams of artists from Australia, Samoa, New Zealand, and the Philippines depicted scenes and leaders of struggles against colonial conquest in that region.

Advocate for revolutionary books

Artists from Mexico, El Salvador, Uruguay, and India contributed to the mural.

The promotional impact of the mural for Pathfinder extended beyond its location in Manhattan. The participation of international artists helped to spread the word about the mural and Pathfinder around the world. Artists groups, unionists, and political activists held events to raise funds and

help send artists to participate in the painting of the mural.

Many of the artists contributing feature works in the mural also participated in speaking tours in which they spoke about their art, work on the project, and art and politics in their respective countries. These included discussions with striking paperworkers in Maine, farm workers in Washington state's Yakima Valley, striking coal miners in West Virginia, Turkish immigrant workers in London, and at art galleries and institutes across the country.

Photo displays of the mural have also been featured as promotional for Pathfinder at book fairs in Havana, London, Tehran, Sydney, Montreal, Sweden, and Trinidad. Tourists and local residents visit the mural each year. Some tour organizations have added visits to the mural to their itineraries. Several art classes from nearby universities and high schools also include visits to the mural in their study courses.

During its production and afterward the mural received extensive media coverage. It included television news broadcasts on most stations in New York, many across the country, and several around the world. Articles on the mural appeared in many international newspapers and magazines.

Sam Manuel was the director of the Pathfinder Mural Project in 1988-89. He is a rail worker and member of the United Transportation Union in Washington, D.C.



Militant/Bob Cantrick (left photo), Alicia Merel (center photo), Eric Simpson (right photo)

More than 80 artists from 20 countries contributed to mural. Left: members of Quebec collective Artfact, Carla Nemiroff, Kim Adine Sutherland, Reisa Levine, Louise Dubreuil, Maral Sarafian, and Lynne Pelletier. Center: South African artist Dumile Feni. Above: Cuban artist Aldo Soler (center) with leaders of United Farm Workers of Washington State during his speaking tour.

Cuban working people opened new

This is the final installment in the *Militant's* series "Pages from Cuba's Revolutionary History," coinciding with the publication by Pathfinder of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War: 1956-58*.

Previous installments have featured articles by and about combatants of the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, which led the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas.

BY MIKE TABER

Last November and early December, I was part of a *Militant* reporting team to Cuba that had the opportunity to look through several rich archives of photographs depicting the history of the Cuban revolutionary struggle. A number of these can be found in *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* and in the pages of the *Militant* in recent weeks.

In addition to photos from the revolutionary war itself, many others were obtained depicting the momentous political battles and popular mobilizations following January 1, 1959, culminating in the proclamation of the victory of the socialist revolution in early 1961.

These photos constitute an invaluable resource for understanding the Cuban revolution—what it is today and where it came from. They help bring to life the history of this revolution, seen through the efforts, and the faces, of real men and women. They show workers, peasants, women, and youth taking control of their country's destiny, transforming themselves and opening up a new chapter in the history of the Americas.

This collection of graphic images is also a unique educational tool. For example, one gets a much deeper appreciation of the scope of the popular mobilizations surrounding Cuba's nationalization of U.S. companies during early August 1960 after seeing photographs of the "Week of National Jubilation," as Cubans referred to it. The photos vibrate with Cuban workers' determination, self-confidence, and humor.

Photographs came from four principal collections, whose collaboration and enthusiastic help are gratefully acknowledged:

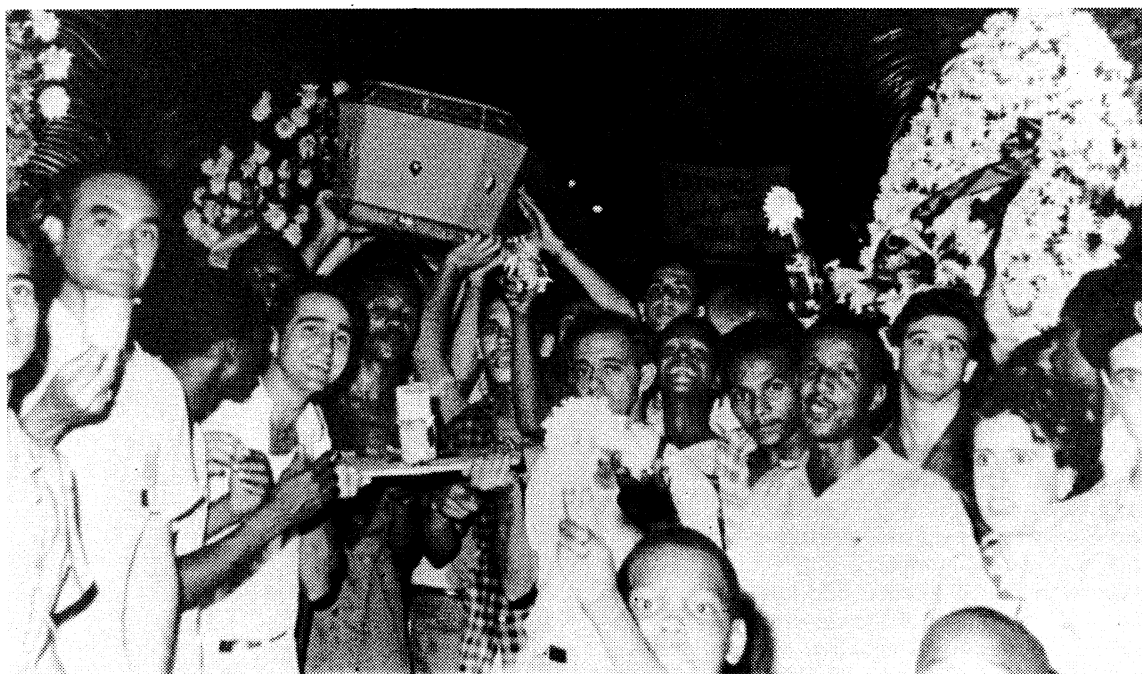
- **The Council of State Office of Historical Affairs.** This office traces its history to the efforts of Celia Sánchez, one of the leaders of the July 26 Movement and Rebel Army. From the very beginnings of the revolutionary war, Sánchez campaigned to preserve the historical record of the Cuban revolution for future generations.

- **Bohemia**, a news magazine published continuously since 1908. During the Cuban revolutionary war it was the largest-circulation weekly publication expressing anti-Batista sentiment. It has one of the largest historical photo archives in Cuba.

- **Granma**, the daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Cuba. Its predecessor was *Revolución*, the newspaper of the July 26 Movement, published underground in Havana during the anti-Batista struggle, becoming a daily paper January 2, 1959. It was renamed *Granma* in 1965, after merging with the newspaper *Hoy*, formerly the voice of the Popular Socialist Party. In addition to the work of its own photographers, *Granma* inherited the archives of several newspapers that supported U.S. government attempts to overthrow the revolution after 1959 and were closed down by the workers and peasants government.

- **The Institute of Cuban History.** This research center was created in 1987 out of the merger of three separate historical institutes. It has important and well-organized holdings of books, periodicals, manuscripts, photographs, tape recordings, and other resources. Its collection is particularly strong in the areas of Cuba's colonial history, the struggle against Spanish rule, and the history of the Cuban workers movement since its foundation.

We include on these pages a display of some of these photos.



In early August 1960, in response to mounting economic, political, and military aggression by Washington, the revolution nationalized the holdings of U.S. corporations in Cuba. During the "Week of National Jubilation" that followed, a demonstration was held in Havana where working people conducted a symbolic burial of U.S. corporations, each represented by a coffin. The "funeral march" ended at the waterfront, where the coffins were thrown into the sea. (Photo above: *Bohemia*) Signs in photo at left include: "The gringo octopus is dead" and "Here lies a Yankee monopoly." (Photo: Council of State Office of Historical Affairs)



In response to the attacks by Washington and the former Cuban landlords and capitalists, Cuban working people took up arms to defend the revolution. Above, members of a women's artillery unit, and, left, one of the first peasant militia units during 1960-61.

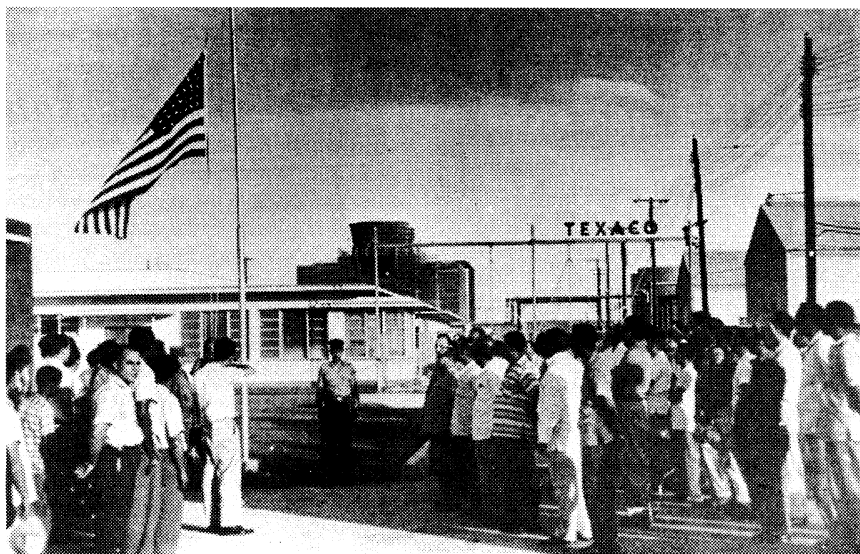
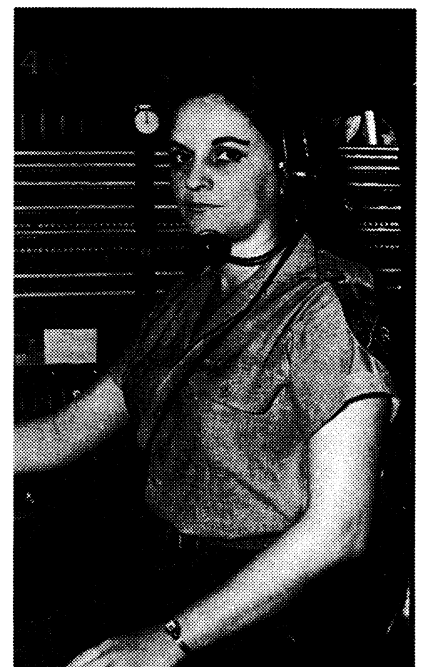
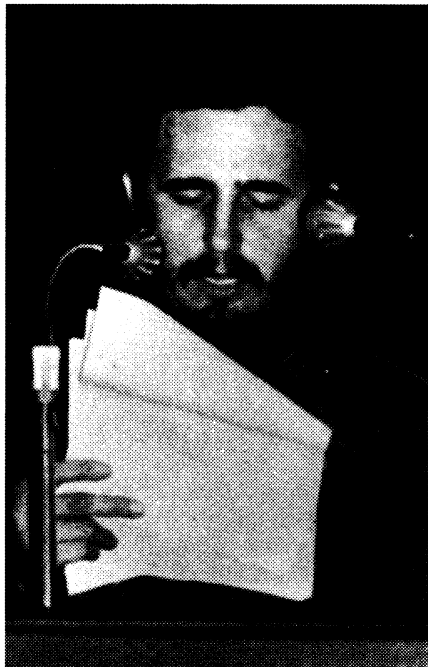
(Photos: *Granma*)



Above, Ernesto Che Guevara doing voluntary work, 1963, testing a prototype sugarcane-cutting machine. With him is Carlos Coello, who accompanied Guevara to Bolivia in 1966-67, using the name Tuma. (Photo: Institute of Cuban History)



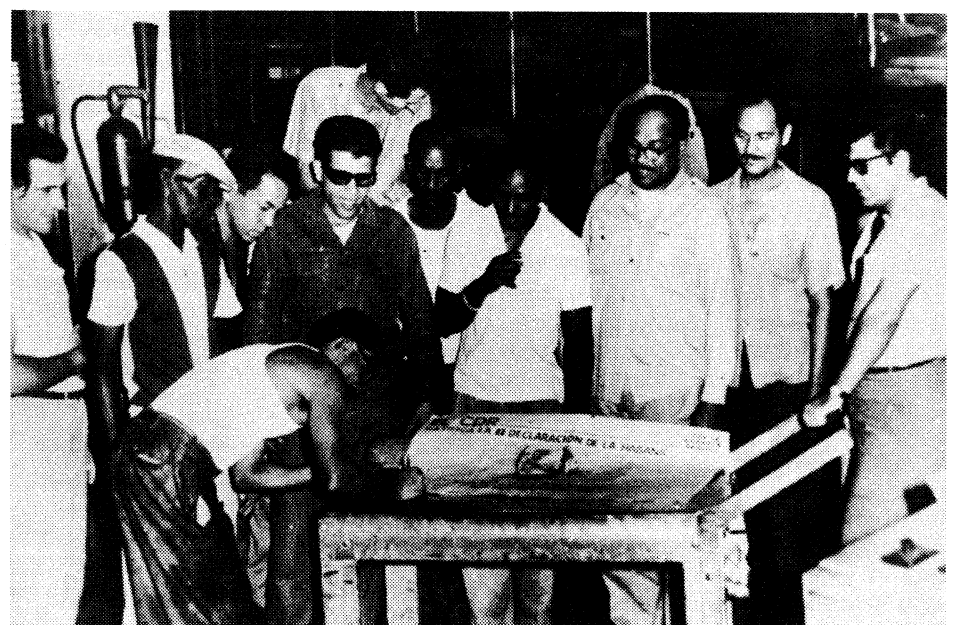
chapter in the Americas



Above left, Fidel Castro reading the nationalization decree, August 6, 1960. Workers from the nationalized factories and workplaces themselves led the takeover of the formerly U.S.-owned companies. Above center, militia members in front of the Cuban Telephone Company, August 1960. One of the workers, above right, in militia uniform, staffs the switchboards. Left, workers at the Texaco oil refinery lower the U.S. flag after its nationalization, August 1960. (Photos: Bohemia)

***"What is behind the Yankees' hatred of the Cuban revolution? What explains it is fear. Fear that the plundered people of the continent will seize the arms from their oppressors and, like Cuba, declare themselves free people of the Americas."*—Second Declaration of Havana**

In 1962 the workers and farmers of Cuba issued the Second Declaration of Havana. In that document they pointed to the example of the Cuban revolution as the way forward for the oppressed and exploited throughout Latin America. Bottom of page, rally of one million in Havana to support the proclamation of the Second Declaration of Havana, February 1962. Inset, workers signing the historic document. (Photos: Bohemia)



'Workers in power building socialism'

CTC general secretary opens 17th congress of Cuba's trade union federation

The following are major excerpts of a speech by Pedro Ross, general secretary of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC), opening the plenary sessions of the CTC's 17th congress April 28. Cuba's trade union federation held its national convention April 27-30 in Havana. Nearly 2,300 delegates and guests from Cuba and 1,400 international observers participated.

BY PEDRO ROSS

We dedicate our opening remarks and our congress to the millions of Cuban woman and men who, despite all the difficulties, have risen each day for the past few years to work for Cuba and its future, and to those who have led our homeland through the greatest risks and perils in its history. Let us dedicate our first words to all those who have made possible the apparent miracle in which a small country — engaged in a tenacious struggle against underdevelopment and subjected to U.S. hostility and harassment — successfully resisted the devastating impact of the disappearance of its main socialist allies and the intensified imperialist blockade, then halted a drop in production, and now is beginning the long, difficult, but viable road to economic recovery.

The powerful neighboring enemy from the savage and brutal north has gambled, and continues to gamble, on the prospect that Cuba will not survive the tightened noose they are attempting to strangle us with, or their extraordinary campaign of confusion and ideological subversion.

We are, and always will be, confident in the patriotism and dignity of Cubans, in their revolutionary consciousness, in their unity around this effort and cause, which has earned us the respect and solidarity of the peoples of the world.

This is above all a political congress, meeting at a time when a rabidly annexationist bill, dictated by the Yankee ultra-right and Miami's counterrevolutionary mafia, has been approved. This law confirms that our only alternatives are to be free or be slaves; to be a nation proud of its sovereignty or a colony carved up among capitalists from the United States, whether by birth or by choice; to be a nation of workers in power building socialism or to return to times worse than Batista's tyranny....

Union movement greatly strengthened

This is what has guided our activity over the last few years, and led us to issue the call for the Workers Parliaments and to organize the initial Efficiency Assemblies, one after another.²

Above all, this has guided us since May 1, 1995, when we issued our call and began the hard work over the year-long march toward this congress. It is a congress that has been at the heart of every workplace, where open discussions and freely expressed opinions on the theses have taken place.

This congress has been based on the participation of 169 municipalities and 14 provincial conferences. It has drawn on the experience not only of our cadres but of thousands of specialists and technicians organized in work groups, commissions, and workshops, who enriched our efforts from the locals and union bureaus on up. We arrive at these final sessions with a greatly strengthened union movement.

These are not just methods of unionism but a policy of the revolution from which we can never deviate: constant communication and dialogue to discuss and analyze together with workers every important step the country must take. We have always acted with the consensus of the masses....

The workers' opinions are reflected throughout the theses, collectively drawn up by the union leadership and serving as the basis for this 17th Congress. They present in a clear and cogent manner the situation



Delegates at CTC congress April 28. Banner reads, "In Cienfuegos, yes, we can do it." Inset: CTC general secretary Pedro Ross.

Cuba is passing through and the role of the union movement in confronting the new approaches and adjustments we have been adopting in the economic field in order to maintain workers power, national independence, and socialism....

While it may seem obvious after five years of the special period,³ we must never forget that the previous economic situation will no longer return. Now we must confront unequal trade, rising prices for many goods we must import, including fuel and foodstuffs, as well as falling prices for many of our leading exports. All this takes place amid a true economic war being waged against this country, which raises the cost of our trade and financial operations, if not halting them altogether....

We need to grasp the full implication of the Cuban economy's number one limitation today. It is the lack of hard currency, the shortfall in investment capital to restore the productive cycle in industry and agriculture. We are forced to legalize the use of foreign currencies alongside ours, to open chains of stores to obtain hard currency, to allow foreign investment and accreditation of foreign companies, and the development of tourism, with its many advantages and resulting problems and deformations, which create social differentiation and certain attitudes, lifestyles, and attitudes against which we cannot slack up in our struggle to preserve the moral values of the revolution and socialism....

Workers understand that everything we do from our position of power, even that which is not purely socialist, is done under the current conditions to advance along a socialist course.

We will not tolerate corruption, theft

Workers can understand the fact that there are greater social inequalities than we have been accustomed to, if they are necessary to revitalize the economy, assimilate changes, and stimulate sectors that are playing a vanguard role in the country's recovery. What we will not tolerate, and will decisively combat, is the development of cronyism, nepotism, privilege, corruption, and theft....

There is nothing more politically important than the successful culmination of the sugar harvest. It is my great pleasure to report to you that following the May Day celebration, within a few weeks, we will be able to tell our people, the whole country and the world that we exceeded the production plan set for this harvest. This represents at least a 30 percent increase over the previous harvest. The workers in our main industry achieved this triumph step by step, together with the cane cutters, who mobilized in response to the call made by the leadership of the revolution....

We are speaking of a victory that will have a bearing on this year's economic growth, on maintaining and expanding the international credits needed to continue to revive the sugar industry, and on our people's morale and spirit. Furthermore, it is one of the sharpest blows we can inflict on the sponsors of the infamous Helms-Burton law....

The discussions on the theses provided a broad framework for analyzing how to

strengthen the work in the Basic Units of Cooperative Production [UBPC] and the state agricultural farms, the role of the union in the struggle to make these units profitable and efficient, and the weight they should bring to bear to increase production, to supply the basic needs of the population through state markets and food services at official prices. They must exert greater pressure to lower today's excessively high prices on the agricultural markets, which result from the limited presence of state and co-operative producers and the pressure exerted by middlemen and speculators to search for excessive profit margins at the expense of those who honestly live off their wages or pensions. Many have pointed out the importance of strengthening the historic alliance of the working class and working farmers, as well as united action to find answers to these difficulties. These problems directly affect urban workers' families, and they require solutions that undoubtedly must be found within the framework in which these agricultural markets were created.

In discussing these theses, workers understand that organizational formulas can play a certain role such as exerting greater control over the agricultural markets and getting the state distribution agency to serve as intermediaries. However, these problems will be thoroughly solved only by increasing production, by fully developing the country's various forms of agricultural production — state, cooperative, and private. Many of these lands still suffer from low yields, inadequate use of scientific and technical methods, and a shortage of labor.

Another central priority that is fundamentally in the workers' interests is the need to make state enterprises more efficient and competitive. Our power is based on socialist property, and our hard-won independence, sovereignty, progress, and social justice will be consolidated to the degree we are capable of demonstrating that efficiency is not exclusively the product of commercialism and its alienation, or of capitalist property, or of exploitation of man by man....

The enemy's permanent aggressiveness, the tightening of the blockade through the new slavery law, as Raúl [Castro] calls the Helms-Burton monster, are aimed at trying to strangle us, behead the party and the socialist state, take power away from the workers, and restore neocolonial capitalism under the rule of the transnationals and the annexationist mafia of Miami.

Behind this policy is the goal — never given up — of creating a conflict or provoking a situation that in some way could justify a Yankee military intervention....

Gap between income and needs

We know that today there is a wide gap between the income and the necessities of most workers, but we also know that the gap will not be bridged by wages that are not backed by production of goods and services.

Gradually, and in line with the beginning of economic recovery, incentives have been offered to provide greater possibilities of income for more than one million workers in jobs related to exports, import substitution, or other activities that provide hard

currency....

The efforts to provide jobs for young people and the protection of women workers — two topics that were extensively discussed — will also be among the main political and social objectives of the union movement.

Cuban workers will never allow ourselves to be dragged down to the selfish and individualistic mentality that capitalist ideology seeks to portray as inherent to human nature. Collectivity and solidarity are among our most cherished values and they constitute the marrow of national unity and the unity of all workers around the principles of the Cuban socialist revolution....

We would also like to address our visitors and class brothers and sisters from around the world. You can rest assured that Cuban workers and their union movement will firmly uphold and never give up the banners of independence, revolution, and socialism.

Defending Cuba's cause today in the face of imperialism's brutal aggression is undoubtedly the best contribution we can make today to internationalism and solidarity with the workers and peoples. We will not use our difficulties to shut ourselves in like a snail inside its shell. We are not just fighting for ourselves. Our voice and our fighting spirit are and will be on the side of workers in any corner of the world, of all sister organizations that defend their just demands....

Workers around the world confront enemies whose ideas aim to deny them their rights and aspirations. In essence they are the same ones who are trying to enslave Cubans as a Yankee colonial possession. Our struggle is one and the same. Today it may be centered here, but tomorrow imperialism's main blows may be directed elsewhere. We must all unite today, as never before, so that Cuba's victory will be the victory and stronghold of all the workers of the world.

Forty-four years ago, when Batista's tyranny was imposed on our people through a traitorous blow, Fidel Castro proclaimed, "I don't know what demented pleasure our oppressors feel when they lash their whips across human backs, but I do know there is an infinite joy in fighting them, in raising one's arm and declaring, 'I will not be a slave!'"

Through the revolution and thanks to the revolution we ceased being slaves forever, and we will never go back to being slaves. May Fidel's words at the Moncada trial⁴ be heard once again, "We were born in a free country that our parents bequeathed to us, and the island will sink into the sea before we consent to be anyone's slaves."

Let us join that idea with Antonio Maceo's⁵ immortal cry on the 100th anniversary of his fall in battle at Punta Brava: "Whoever attempts to seize Cuba, will grasp only her blood-soaked soil, if they do not first perish in the attempt."

1. The "Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act," also referred to as the Helms-Burton law, was signed by U.S. president William Clinton March 12. The measure significantly tightens Washington's embargo and travel restrictions against Cuba.

2. The CTC initiated assemblies in every worksite, called the Workers Parliaments, in January 1994. The meetings considered fiscal and other proposals discussed in the National Assembly the month before, aimed at reviving industrial and agricultural production. The Efficiency Assemblies were subsequent workplace meetings organized by the unions.

3. "Special period" is the term used by Cubans to describe the economic crisis triggered by the post-1989 disruption of aid and trade with the former Soviet bloc countries.

4. On July 26, 1953, 160 combatants led by Fidel Castro attacked Moncada, the main Cuban army garrison in Santiago de Cuba, as well as the Bayamo barracks. The attacks failed and over 50 revolutionaries were captured and murdered; 28 were imprisoned and amnestied in 1955. During his October 1953 trial, Castro laid out the program of the revolutionary armed struggle against Batista's dictatorship in a speech known as "History Will Absolve Me."

5. Antonio Maceo was a leader of the Cuban wars for independence from Spain in the late 1800s.

Read the

**Theses of the
Central Organization
of Cuban Workers (CTC)**

Available at Pathfinder Bookstores
(see page 12) or send \$3 to the Militant, 410
West Street, NY, NY 10014

Cubans celebrate Bay of Pigs victory

BY RÓGER CALERO

PLAYA GIRÓN, Cuba — Two Young Socialists from the United States participated in the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of one of the first big defeats of U.S. imperialism in the Americas, held here April 19. Diana Newberry and this writer had been invited to tour Cuba by the Union of Young Communists (UJC) to speak about the resistance of workers and youth in the United States to the mounting attacks on their working and living conditions by the bosses and their political parties.

Thirty-five years ago, in less than 72 hours, Cuban workers and farmers — organized in the popular militias and the Cuban armed forces — defeated a U.S.-led counterrevolutionary invasion at Playa Girón (also known as the Bay of Pigs). The mercenaries hoped the invasion would spark a popular revolt in Cuba that would justify direct military intervention by the U.S. government aimed at crushing the socialist revolution.

"They tried to plant fear in us about communism, even though we did not know what socialism was," said one of the participants in that battle at an event organized by the UJC, called "A Meeting of the Generations."

"We embraced the revolutionary cause because we knew our lives had changed."

Nearly 2,000 youth had the chance to hear stories by veteran combatants who fought

in Playa Girón. Among the veterans at the meeting were Lester Rodríguez, Oscar Fernández Mell, Ramón Salinas, retired Revolutionary Armed Forces general Enrique Carrera, and others like them who were also combatants in the Cuban revolutionary war that overthrew the Fulgencio Batista dictatorship.

Victoria Velázquez, UJC first secretary, and Luis González Nieto, UJC second secretary, attended the event along with other members of the provincial and national leadership of the UJC and the Cuban Communist Party. The Young Socialists were introduced during the program to a cheering crowd of Cuban youth.

General Carrera described the conditions in which they fought and how they defeated the enemy planes that launched attacks from bases in Nicaragua and the United States. "[Now] we practice the strategy of 'war of the entire people,' but at the time we went through one of the most difficult moments in the history of the revolution," he said.

One youth asked the combatants if they had ever thought about the possibility of defeat. "It was impossible to think of defeat," replied Abraham Macíquez, who was among the first to join in combat against the mercenary invasion. "People came with and without weapons, and demonstrated that there was an entire people determined



Militant/Róger Calero

Nearly 2,000 Cuban youth heard veterans and asked them about the Bay of Pigs battle

to defend the conquests of the revolution. That is why the victory at Girón is the victory for the entire people."

About 1,500 of the participants were soldiers, teachers, farmers, and workers who rode in a bicycle caravan in a symbolic reenactment of the 162-kilometer march that militias from Havana undertook to get to the battlefield in Girón. Along the road to Playa Girón, members of the mass organizations and Territorial Troop Militias stood guard at sites where militia members had fallen.

Fernández Mell, a captain and doctor in the Rebel Army during the revolutionary war, had been second in charge of the command post at the Australia sugar center, site

of fierce battles between the mercenary aviation and Cuban anti-aircraft machine gunners. He described how young combatants kept advancing along the road despite the number of casualties.

The meeting of the generations was one in a series of events organized around the country by the mass organizations and other institutions in Cuba. On the weekend of April 14, units of the Territorial Troop Militias were mobilized in a national Defense Day in which the population conducted exercises in military defense and production around the country. In Havana, the mobilization was organized by the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

Youth across U.S. organize to visit Cuba in July

Continued from front page

ing to go to Cuba this summer from the areas of Boston and Hartford, Connecticut. A planning meeting was held here May 12. Nine people, including five high school students, took applications which they plan to turn in at the May 17-18 NNOC meeting in New York City.

Youth going on the exchange are discussing a variety of fund-raising ideas, such as marching as a U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange contingent in a gay pride parade and hosting a video showing of the film *Gay Cuba*. Two activists are putting together a fund-raising dance. A New Hampshire fund-raising event is being built for June 27.

In addition, the July 26 Coalition, a Cuba solidarity organization here, sent out a 750-piece mailing that included the Youth Exchange flyer. Another local organizing meeting will be held May 22.

MINNEAPOLIS — Activists from the Twin Cities Cuba Network have distributed 2,000 leaflets promoting a May 19 benefit for the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange at film showings, political events, a recent Cinco de Mayo parade, and through mailings. One activist painted an advertisement for the event in the window of the popular restaur-

rant. The network also meets weekly to organize its activities.

There are several outreach and fund-raising efforts for the Youth Exchange under way, including a raffle, a rummage sale, and a send-off of the Minnesota contingent in July. Twenty-two young people in Minnesota have applied to participate in the trip to Cuba so far. Amy Vruno, a University of Minnesota student, explained why she's going. "I just want to see Cuba firsthand without the filters of the news media, or other people's filters," she said.

"I want the opportunity to speak with workers, farmers, teachers, and students to see if they enjoy the way the system works," said Jennifer Molina, an 18-year-old member of La Raza Student Cultural Center at the University of Minnesota.

MIAMI — Several young people from this area, including two Cuban-Americans, have taken applications for the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange. Sandra Collado, an organizer of the project in Miami, spoke before

the Haitian rights group Veye-Yo to announce the trip. Following that meeting, a leading activist in Veye-Yo said she wanted to go, and will talk to others about joining the Youth Exchange.

Collado also spoke on a Haitian radio station, Pep-La. A presentation was also made to the Alliance of Cuban Workers in the Community (ATC). The Miami Coalition to End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba is organizing a fund-raising picnic and an expanded coalition meeting to get more support and more youth to go on the trip.

NEW BRUNSWICK, New Jersey — Nine youths from Newark and New Brunswick met May 14 to discuss finances, fund-raising and logistics for the exchange. Six of those attending were part of Latino groups at Rutgers University in New Brunswick. Eight took applications and agreed to get them in as soon as possible.

The meeting discussed what is happening in Cuba today and raised questions from how to get a passport to whether participants

should tell anyone that they are going to Cuba since Washington restricts travel there. Lorena Gaibor, a national coordinator for the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange, replied, "You should tell everyone you're going. It is your constitutional right to travel to any country that you want to." They also discussed lining up editorial assignments with local and campus papers to write about their experience and get the truth out about Cuba.

The Youth Exchange Committee-New Jersey decided to open a checking account and establish a financial committee. Ideas for fund-raising included a May 16 party for Seniors Week at Rutgers University, a raffle, a public meeting and party with a live band at a local restaurant, and reaching out to activists, professors, and others to donate to a collective fund for the group to get to Cuba this summer.

Arlene Rubenstein in Atlanta, Ryan Kelly in Boston, Jon Hillson in Minneapolis, and Ernie Mailhot in Miami contributed to this article.

Cuban youth publicize world festival

BY BRIAN TAYLOR

HAVANA, Cuba — Union of Young Communists (UJC) leaders Victoria Velázquez and Rogelio Polanco left for a week-long trip to Brazil and Chile May 5 to publicize the 14th World Festival of Youth and Students, set for August 1997 in Cuba. Velázquez, first secretary of the UJC, and Polanco, head of the organization's international relations, said prior to their departure that the UJC plans to send many of its leaders and cadres all over South America and the Caribbean, as well as Europe, Africa, Asia, and North America. They will meet with youth organizations, visit universities, and invite everyone to assemble in Cuba the summer of next year.

Velázquez announced the call for the festival at the million-strong May Day march here, which was dedicated to Cuba's youth. "In 1997 we will meet in socialist Cuba," Velázquez said, where "nothing has been impossible for Cuban patriots since we got rid of capitalism through a genuine revolution."

Among other topics, the UJC leader said, the international youth gathering will discuss democracy, peace, the struggle for sovereignty, women's rights, employment, the environment, and "how to raise our voices to condemn racism, xenophobia, and imperialism."

The first international preparatory meet-

ing for the festival took place April 23 in Brussels, Belgium, said Polanco, who represented the UJC at the meeting along with Ibis Alvisa González. Several organizations were present, including the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). There, it was decided to hold the event in Cuba in the summer of 1997. The UJC initiated the process of consulting other organizations around the world immediately after the Cuba Lives international youth festival in August 1995. Since then, some 90 organizations from nearly 50 countries have expressed interest in participating.

"The Festival will be self-financed with the support of each participant and with the creation of an international solidarity fund that will give financial assistance to delegates from the Third World," said Velázquez, in her comments at the May Day mobilization.

In addition to tours by UJC leaders around the world, Cuban youth organizations are hosting brigades and other trips to Cuba, leading up to the 1997 festival.

In the United States, for example, the U.S.-Cuba Youth Exchange, organized by the National Network on Cuba and hosted by the UJC, is organizing a few hundred youth to go to the Caribbean country in July to see the reality of the Cuban revolution and take the experiences back to the United States, encouraging more young people to

check it out. A similar exchange is being organized by young people from Mexico. The UJC is hosting many other international solidarity brigades this summer as part of the efforts to build the 1997 world youth gathering.

Festival participants will be divided among 14 provinces throughout the island. They will stay with Cuban families and, for some portion of the trip, will be issued bicycles to get around. Massive preparations are under way to be able to host such an event with thousands of young people. Translators and translation equipment will have to be acquired, paper for the materials given out will need to be obtained, and the political preparation for the topics to be discussed must be organized. There is much excitement among Cuban youth about this event.

Scheduled to coincide with the World Festival of Youth and Students is an international gathering of trade unionists. Tentatively called the International Conference of Workers for Unity in Action against Neoliberalism, it was called by a May 2 gathering of unionists from around the world who attended the 17th Congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers.

To help coordinate efforts to organize and build the world youth gathering, a second international preparatory meeting will take place in October in Cuba.

Pastors for Peace fights government attacks

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — The organization Pastors for Peace continues to come under attack from the U.S. government because of its effort in January and February to organize a shipment of medical supplies and computers to Cuba. Some 400 computers were confiscated, and the government is trying to subpoena the records of the project, called the U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment. It is also demanding the records of the previous Friendshipments organized since 1992. Pastors for Peace lawyers are trying to limit the scope of the subpoena to the point of the violation of the U.S. embargo. Government attorneys are seeking to gain the broadest possible access to the records of the Friendshipments. The next hearings on the subpoena have been postponed to June.

Four leading activists of Pastors for Peace, including its director, Lucius Walker, are on a fast demanding the release of the computers. On May 12 the U.S. Treasury Department said it would release those of the computers that originated in Canada.

— TOM FISKE

Bosses' profit drive led to ValuJet crash

Continued from front page

reports mentioned the possibility of a major equipment malfunction, or the explosion of used oxygen generator bottles, filled with chemicals, being shipped in the plane's cargo hold next to some tires, which could have caught fire.

The Federal Aviation Administration said May 15 that the carrier was not authorized to carry the hazardous material as cargo. The oxygen generator canisters, which have caused heat explosions on at least two other occasions in the past decade, had been improperly mislabeled as empty, not giving a clue to the crew of the possible danger.

Several hours passed before officials found a way to begin searching the area on the ground, and debated as darkness approached whether it was possible to set up lights. Meanwhile local workers with airboats, who were some of the first to arrive on the scene, were turned away from assisting because of potential environmental hazards and concern "they might scavenge the victims' bodies," according to local TV news.

Meanwhile, ValuJet's safety record was already seeping into the news. A few former employees have spoken out. "I had legitimate safety concerns," Nancy Chagares, a

former ValuJet flight attendant, told WSVN-TV in Miami. "I witnessed a captain who grounded an aircraft and 15 minutes later they sent that same airplane out."

Anglea Corley, another former ValuJet worker, told TV reporters that the airline regarded maintenance as an extra expense. "Maintenance should be what you have to do to stay in the air," she said.

"They let things go that other airlines would not let go. I've been on planes where things were written off," said Joseph LoMonoco, who also worked for ValuJet.

By May 13, search parties were in the swamp. Scenes of the operation on television were interspersed with hourly discussions on airline safety.

"According to the National Transportation and Safety Board, ValuJet has an incident rate four times higher than the biggest airlines," said a report on ABC's "Nightline." ValuJet is a "cut-rate airline with cut-rate maintenance that somehow, until now, has been able to avoid any tough action from the FAA [Federal Aviation Administration]," Nightline's Brian Ross commented.

"Other than its shareholders, no one has been a bigger booster of ValuJet than Secretary of Transportation Federico Peña," Ross continued. Peña had just been in Miami. News coverage repeatedly featured his statement that "ValuJet is a safe airline, as

is our entire aviation system."

The jet used for Flight 592 was a DC-9 built in 1969. Problems with the plane had included electrical fumes in the cockpit, cracks in the fuselage and vertical stabilizer, hydraulic pump problems, a faulty heat exchanger, loss of cabin pressure, and a rear door opening. FAA administrator David Hinson told reporters that "not a single one of these was a serious emergency." In the last eight years, the plane had 27 "service difficulty" reports.

On the day of the crash, before the flight left Atlanta for Miami, mechanics twice repaired circuit breakers for the fuel pump system in a half-hour delay that passengers were told came from "paperwork."

The average age of ValuJet planes, almost all of them DC-9s, is 26.4 years, making it the oldest fleet in the United States. But many other airlines fly old planes too, including Northwest Airlines, which owns 176 DC-9s, and TWA, which operates 58. The average age for U.S. commercial jets is 15 years.

"New aircraft cost tens of millions of dollars, and many airlines have decided it is more economical to refurbish their old planes than buy new ones," commented an article in the May 14 *New York Times*.

Airline crash expert Arthur Wolk explained on NBC's "Today" program that "there is no requirement imposed by the

FAA to upgrade older planes to modern safety standards."

In the last two years ValuJet planes have returned to the airport of origin 68 times. An NBC "Dateline" report said there have been 256 malfunctions at ValuJet since it started up in October 1993, several of which led to fires on the aircraft. In a DC-9 engine fire last June in Atlanta, several people on board were injured.

In 1995 the U.S. Department of Defense decided to prevent ValuJet from flying military personnel after the Pentagon "found the airline's safety and maintenance programs unsatisfactory," ABC News reported.

In an essay in *Newsweek* that received final editing the morning of the crash, Mary Schiavo, inspector general of the Transportation Department, stated that she refused to fly ValuJet "because of its many mishaps." After the crash Schiavo defended her statement, while administration officials took sides on the issue. "It is not the function of a public official to go public," said Sen. Ted Stevens.

Furthermore, Schiavo has said she will pursue allegations that FAA inspectors "felt pressure to tone down action on ValuJet." At recent congressional subcommittee hearings, FAA inspectors, with faces hidden for anonymity, complained of being overworked and undertrained.

Continued on Page 14

Russia

Continued from back page

outdoor market in the Chechen village of Urus-Martan May 7 killing 5 people and wounding 21. "My husband and I were on our way to get water," a woman told Associated Press Television. "From nowhere came five helicopters and immediately started bombing the market."

Yeltsin announced a cease-fire March 31, but Russian soldiers continue pounding rockets and artillery shells into Chechen villages. At the height of Moscow's military onslaught, more bombs were dropped every hour on Grozny, Chechnya's capital, than were dropped on Sarajevo per week during the most intensive fighting in Bosnia, according to one *Financial Times* report.

Washington has remained a firm supporter of Yeltsin's assault in the region. Asked whether that stance was wrong, Clinton told reporters, "I think it depends.... Do you believe Chechnya is a part of Russia, or not?" Clinton added that the U.S. government "has taken the position that Chechnya is a part of Russia."

Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, who was killed in an April 21 Russian rocket attack, said recently that the rebels were much more committed to winning "the war than Russia, because what is left for us? A destroyed economy, no industry, no production. People are left without a roof over their heads, without bread, without jobs."

Streets in Estonia, Latvia, Ukraine, and Turkey have been named in honor of the slain Chechen fighter. Members of Parliament in Poland gave a brief tribute to him in early May.

—CALENDAR—

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Ending 20 Years of Genocide: East Timor, Human Rights and Self-Determination. Speaker: José Ramos, Special representative of the Council of Maubere Resistance, the umbrella for East Timorese organizations supporting self-determination for East Timor; Amy Goodman, News Director, WBAI, host, Pacifica Radio's Democracy Now; and Allan Nairn, journalist, *Nation* magazine. Tue., May 21, 7:30 p.m. *Park Slope Methodist Church, 6th Ave. and 8th St. Donation: \$5. Sponsor: East Timor Action Network/NY. Tel: (718) 788-6071.*

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

What the U.S. Government Doesn't Want You to Know: Eyewitness Reports from Cuba. Panel of speakers who have recently traveled to Cuba, including Horace Gale, former treasurer of National Ministry of American Baptist Churches; John Dowlin and Bill Moffett, who toured Cuba by bicycle as part of international cycle tour; Dr. Pedro Ferreira, born in Cuba; and Glova Scott, U.S. rail worker who attended recent national convention of Central Organization of Cuban Workers. Sat., May 25, 7 p.m. *Friends Center, 15th and Cherry. Sponsored by Philadelphia Cuba Support Coalition. For more information, call (215) 482-4685.*

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

FLORIDA

Miami

Cuba Today: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Participant at the Central Organization of Cuban Workers congress and May Day march held in Havana. Fri., May 24, 7:30 p.m. *137 N. E. 54th St. Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (305) 756-1020.*

IOWA

Des Moines

Immigration and Capitalism. Speaker: Shirley Peña, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., May 24, 7:30 p.m. *2724 Douglas Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (515) 277-4600.*

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Report Back from Cuba: Revolution Strengthened by Recent Trade Union Con-

gress. Speakers: Argiris Malapanis, writer for *Militant* newspaper; Brian Taylor, Young Socialists, and writer for the *Militant*. Fri., May 24, 7:30 p.m. *214-16 Ave. A. (at 13th St.) Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (212) 388-9346.*

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Minimum Wage Debate. Speakers: John Staggs, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress, District 2. Fri., May 24, 7:30 p.m.

Pittsburgh

Shut Down All the Chernobyls! Speaker: Dr. Judith Johnsrud, co-led the U.S. delegation for the scientific conference in Kiev, Ukraine in 1991, director of the Pennsylvania Environmental Coalition on Nuclear Power; member of the Sierra Club National Nuclear Waste Task Force. Fri., May 24, 7:30 p.m. *1103 E. Carson St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.*

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WASHINGTON, D.C.

Eyewitness Report from Cuba — From the Nationwide Trade Union Convention to the May Day March of Millions. Speaker: Brian Taylor, staff writer for the *Militant* and leader of the Young Socialists and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 31, 7:30 p.m. *1930 18th Street NW (corner of 18th Street and Florida Ave., Suite #3, entrance on Florida Ave.). Donation: \$4. Tel: 202-387-2185.*

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

In Defense of the Cuban Revolution: An Answer to Daniel Alarcón (Benigno). Speaker: Joanne Kuniansky, Communist League, member of AMWU union at F. Muller. Sat. May 25, 7 p.m. *66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 281 3297.*

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Colby lives — Before his recent death ex-CIA chief William Colby achieved a form of immortality. He joined with ex-KGB general Oleg Kalugin in making a CD-ROM



Harry Ring

game, "Spycraft: The Great Game." The two erstwhile foes join in saving civilization from a Russian mafia gang.

Speak, bro — A news item reported that when Gerald Grinstein

retired last year as chairman of the Burlington Northern Santa Fe rail line he received a cash bonus of \$1.5 million, plus his \$750,000 salary. Someone posted the item in the break room of the company's Balmer yard in Seattle. An added comment observed: "Another obscene greedy pig bonus."

Makes a pungent sauce — With a reported shortage of durum wheat, used in making pasta, the feds will pay millers \$35 a ton to process durum from Southwest crops infected with a rare fungus. (Assertedly, it costs more to process the infected wheat.) They assure the fungus is not harmful to humans but concede that if the infestation is heavy enough the flour may smell bad and

taste "unusual."

Favors moderate extremism — One-time French film star Brigitte Bardot says her marriage to Bernard d'Ornole is made difficult by his support for the ultraright National Front, which she finds "too extremist." She also declares she may have to flee France, which she asserts has been "invaded by a foreign, especially Muslim, overpopulation."

Simple solution — Britain's National Health Service reported significant progress in ending the intolerable situation of people waiting for more than a year to get necessary hospital care. They expanded staffs and facilities? Nope. They simply arbitrarily chopped people from waiting lists. A spinal specialist at one

hospital sent a letter to patients declaring, "I do not regard this as satisfactory, but I am told this is how the health service is to run."

Just helps 'em make right choice — A survey found that among preteens, only Bugs Bunny outranked Budweiser's frog in recognition. A Bud official said the commercial won't be yanked, that it's not aimed at children, and besides, "Watching a beer ad does not cause a kid to drink."

Breathe shallow — Each year in the United States, some 64,000 people die one to two years prematurely because of pollution, a study by the Natural Resources Defense Council showed. Those

with heart and lung diseases are most vulnerable to the lethal particles carried by the smoke and soot from coal-fired plants, gas- and diesel-powered vehicles, and other sources.

It's being taken care of — The highest estimated pollution toll was the Los Angeles-Long Beach area. Runner-up was the New York City-New Jersey area. Interestingly, in most of the 239 areas where that pollution study was conducted, the level of poisonous particles met current health standards.

Thought for the week — "In the past five years, they [pollution particles] have killed more people than AIDS." — Harvard Medical School professor Joel Schwartz.

Bosses press austerity in Pacific island nation

BY JAMES ROBB

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — The South Pacific nation of the Cook Islands, a former colony of New Zealand, is in a state of near financial collapse. The Cook Islands government has already defaulted on loans to Nauru and New Zealand. Nauru, another Pacific island nation, is itself on the verge of defaulting on bonds sold in Japan.

The government of New Zealand, which ruled the Cooks as a colonial possession until the islands declared independence in 1965, has refused to provide any further aid until the Cook Islands government implements a financial austerity plan that meets Wellington's approval. The residents of the Cook Islands, a nation of 18,000, are New Zealand citizens, and Wellington retains control of military and foreign affairs there.

The New Zealand government decided on a policy of "tough love," Foreign Minister Don McKinnon said, accusing the Cook Islands government of "profligate spending."

On February 28 McKinnon rejected a request by the Cook Islands Ministry of Finance and Economic Management for a \$10 million emergency loan, demanding an austerity plan instead.

Cook Islands prime minister Geoffrey Henry outlined a plan on March 21 with an immediate across-the-board wage cut of 15

percent for government employees, "user-pays" charges for government services, and the sale of some state enterprises and houses. But McKinnon demanded harsher measures.

More deep-going cuts were announced April 23. These included a further 50 percent pay cut for all state workers in May and June. This means that in those months a primary school teacher, for example, will earn NZ\$70 per week (NZ\$1 = US\$0.67), down from \$155 per week in January.

A bailout proposal by the Asian Development Bank calls for 1,800 of the country's 3,000 state workers to be laid off as a precondition for new loans.

The financial crisis is being felt in other ways as well. Cook Islands television has been struggling to provide four hours of broadcasting a night since Television New Zealand refused to supply programs. TVNZ is reportedly owed \$235,000. Petrol and medicines are reported to be running short. Lines form early on government paydays, for fear that the banks will run out of cash.

In 1994 the major Australasian banks Westpac and ANZ forced the Cook Islands government to withdraw the recently introduced Cook Islands currency, replacing it with strictly rationed New Zealand currency.

For most of this century the Cook Islands economy was based on exports of citrus fruits

and pineapples. But in recent years these industries have declined, unable to compete with the cheaper products of Australian agribusiness, and tourism has become the mainstay of the economy. The last decade saw the number of tourists rise steadily to a high of 57,000 in 1994.

But last year tourism fell by 15 percent. Cutbacks by the airlines servicing the Pacific region ended flights to the Cooks from the United States. And a rise in the New Zealand dollar made it cheaper for tourists from New Zealand to travel further away.

The tourism crisis is epitomized by the huge, unfinished Cook Islands Sheraton Hotel. The project was left two-thirds finished in 1993 with debts of NZ\$75 million — more than half the country's foreign debt. It is expected to be offered for sale, complete with a casino license, for about NZ\$26 million — one-third of its replacement cost — along with two other state-owned hotels. McKinnon described the sale of the hotels as "a positive step."

Meanwhile, the financial instability of the Cook Islands is having political repercussions in New Zealand.

One of the means by which the Cook Islands government sought to solve its mounting financial difficulties in the late 1980s was to set up a tax haven for wealthy businessmen. Several major New Zealand companies took advantage of this scheme,

including the Bank of New Zealand, merchant bankers Fay and Richwhite, and Brierley Investments.

In 1992 rightist politician and Member of Parliament Winston Peters began clamoring against this scheme, presenting Parliament with "a winebox full of documents" that he claimed were evidence of tax evasion and other corrupt financial operations by these corporations. Peters demanded a public inquiry.

The subsequent "winebox inquiry," and the reluctance of both the Cook Islands government and the corporations concerned to cooperate with it, have been a long-running issue in New Zealand politics, raising accusations of corrupt practices by the New Zealand Audit Office, and bolstering Peters's efforts to portray himself as a fighter against corruption. Peters is now the main leader of the right-wing New Zealand First party, which devotes much of its demagoguery to railing against immigrants from the Pacific Islands and Asia.

Asserting that "the Cook Islands was instrumental in a massive raid on this country's revenue," Peters said that if the government of that nation did not cooperate with Wellington's inquiry, the New Zealand government should limit financial aid to it.

James Robb is a member of the Meatworkers Union of Aotearoa in Auckland.

Puerto Rican nationalist leader: 'Cuba is dignity of the Americas'

BY JON HILLSON

MINNEAPOLIS — Feeling "at home" in front of an overwhelming young Latino crowd that jammed La Raza Student Cultural Center at the University of Minnesota and repeatedly interrupted his speech with cheers, Puerto Rican nationalist leader Rafael Cancel Miranda urged his listeners "to use your heads, and fight against exploitation and oppression."

A lifelong combatant for Puerto Rico's independence, Cancel Miranda spent 25 years in jail for participating in an armed attack, along with three fellow *independentistas*, on the U.S. Congress in 1954. A fifth nationalist prisoner, Oscar Collazo, had been imprisoned for a 1950 attack on President Harry Truman's house. Cancel Miranda had previously been jailed as a youth for refusing to be drafted into the U.S. army for the Korean War.

Cancel Miranda, 65, lives in Puerto Rico and spoke here as part a U.S. campus tour. He devoted his talk to explaining the necessity of independence for Puerto Rico and the continuing struggle to seek freedom for 15 political militants behind bars in U.S. prisons.

The five nationalist freedom fighters were released from incarceration after an international defense campaign, based in Puerto Rico and the U.S. Puerto Rican community. Although they refused to seek parole or clemency from the U.S. government, President James Carter felt compelled in 1979 to grant them a pardon in exchange for the release of several U.S. mercenaries held in Cuba for spying. The freed nationalists were greeted as heroes by 5,000 supporters at the San Juan airport.

Cancel Miranda devoted nearly half an hour to a spirited defense of the Cuban revolution during animated exchanges with the audience, often punctuated by applause.

"As long as Cuba fights," he said, "all of America has an example, has hope, has dignity. If Cuba is crushed, everybody in the world will suffer."

A regular visitor to the island, Cancel Miranda saluted Cuba's continued defiance of the dictates of Washington. "I was in Cuba right after the pirate planes [piloted by Brothers to the Rescue] dropped leaflets on Havana," he said. "The Cubans warned the United States this must stop. Who knows what's in those planes. Bacteria? Chemicals? All this has happened before. What is 'air-space' to the United States? What happens if a foreign airplane flies over Washington without permission?"

"I was sorry to hear that two planes were shot down over Cuba in February," Cancel Miranda said slowly. "I wish it had been 10. Now they know not to do this." Most of the crowd erupted in applause.

"Cuba has the only free air in the Americas. Who owns the airspace of Mexico? Who owns the airspace of my country, a U.S. colony?" the nationalist leader asked. "Cuba lifts us all."

"What does the U.S. government fear? There is no Soviet Union, no Eastern bloc. Why does it fear this little country, Cuba? Because Cuba does not bow to them, it does not take orders. It fears Cuba for the same reason it fears anyone who thinks, anyone who uses *this*," Cancel Miranda said, pointing to his head.

A Puerto Rican student asked the speaker to respond to charges that Cuban president Fidel Castro is a dictator.

"No, no, no, it is not Fidel they are worried about," Cancel Miranda said. "It is not 'Fidel the dictator.' It is the fact that there are 11 million Fidels in Cuba, 11 million Cubans who will not leave, who defend the revolution. Cuba is the dignity of Latin America. It is the dignity of every person in this room."

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People
Price 10¢

May 28, 1971

The May 15-16 weekend was marked in more than a dozen places around the country by GI antiwar actions, demonstrating the growing opposition among members of the armed forces to U.S. aggression in Indochina. Despite restrictions by the brass at most bases, and severe harassment of GI organizers at some, a number of the actions were significant in size.

Demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam, more than 1,000 GIs marched through the streets of Killeen, Texas, May 15. The demonstration was organized by the Ft. Hood Spring Offensive Committee. The significant turnout might have been even larger had the brass not restricted hundreds of GIs to base and placed them on "riot duty."

On May 16, 1,300 people, including more than 600 GIs from Ft. Bliss, gathered in McKelligon Canyon in El Paso, Texas, for a peace festival.

More than 1,000 people, including about 150 active-duty sailors, marched around the Great Lakes Navy training base in Chicago May 15 and then attended a rally in Foss Park, adjacent to the base.

More than 6,000 people, led by a contingent of 25 active-duty GIs, marched in Salt Lake City May 15 in the largest antiwar action ever held there.

On May 17 there was a smaller but not insignificant GI antiwar action. A tiny item in the May 18 *New York Times* reported that 31 GIs had been arrested while peacefully demonstrating in Seoul, South Korea, against the Vietnam war. "The soldiers,

from military camps in and around Seoul," the *Times* reported, "were all clad in civilian clothes, many of them dressed like hippies. They wore black armbands," the report continued, "and chanted 'peace now, peace now.'"

THE MILITANT

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

May 25, 1946

It has been reported that 20,000 armed peasants are at this moment waging civil war in the Philippines. They are revolting not only against their U.S. imperialist masters, but also against the native capitalists and landlords who for years have enslaved and exploited them. This agrarian revolt is being led by the Hukbalahaps, a guerrilla movement organized in 1935 with the avowed purpose of taking the land from the landed aristocracy and dividing the big estates among the peasants.

When the Japanese overran the Philippine Islands, the Hukbalahaps conducted extensive guerrilla warfare against the invaders and made every attempt to coordinate their forces with those of the regular Filipino and American armies. But [Gen. Douglas] MacArthur waged a ruthless campaign against the Hukbalahaps, for while these peasant fighters opposed Japanese imperialism, they refused to abandon their struggle against the native landlords.

The American military has established a puppet guerrilla organization known as USAFFE (United States Army Forces in the Far East) and is now sending it into the Luzon hills on punitive expeditions. On May 11, a six-hour battle between the Hukbalahaps and the USAFFE took place near Cabanatuan. At least three peasant fighters were killed.

S. Africa toilers register gains

The adoption of a new constitution by South Africa's Constitutional Assembly registers what workers, rural toilers, other democratic-minded fighters, and the leadership of the democratic revolution in the African National Congress have conquered. It marks the transition from the constituent assembly and national coalition government to the dawn of a democratic republic.

In this process, the working class, by allying itself with the rural toilers, is putting its stamp on the struggle to carry through the democratic revolution in the most thorough and uncompromising way. This has been the case throughout the decades-long battles that led to the freeing of Nelson Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC, and the one-person, one-vote elections in 1994 in which the ANC won a decisive majority.

Registering the sweeping victory over the old racist order, the new constitution enshrines broad democratic rights. The bill of rights bans discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, age, pregnancy, or marital status. It establishes rights to adequate housing, food, water, education, health care, and jobs, all of which were denied to the Black majority under apartheid.

The constitution establishes the complete reversal of the former apartheid policies and practices on the question of land. It codifies the principle of land reform and leaves the door open to its implementation to redress the nearly complete expropriation of the African population.

The document codifies labor's right to form unions, engage in union activity, and strike. It does not give the bosses the right to lock out workers on strike, which had been one of the main demands of big business. The April 30 strike by millions of members of the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the simultaneous street mobilizations by hundreds of thousands of workers dealt a blow to the employers' efforts to include such a provision.

The recent mobilizations demanding that all-white schools admit Black children played a role in ensuring that the provisions on education guarantee the right for everyone to receive education in one or more of the 11 official languages they choose. This is an essential step in forging a nation that can overcome divisions among Africans — Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, or Tswana, who were kept apart by apartheid through language differences, regional

disparities, and different tribal origins — and between Africans and others.

The new constitution reflects the progress South African toilers have made in their battle to eradicate the legacy of apartheid. The slow but steady class differentiation under way — allowing some to farm, some to become professionals, some to become retailers, and others wage workers, *all regardless of race by law* — is a further sign of progress in the development of a South African nation.

The vast majority of Africans remain dispossessed of land, and conditions of life and work for millions of Black proletarians are night and day from those of South African whites.

The recent labor mobilizations, however, show that the working class has decisive weight and power in the unfolding class struggle. That's what worries investors in the country's stock markets and the architects of apartheid in the National Party who walked out of the coalition government the day after the adoption of the constitution.

The claims by National Party leaders over the last few years that they represent the aspirations of all South Africans and would become a majority party ring more hollow than ever. F.W. de Klerk and his ilk have continued to promote racist, anti-working-class policies. The National Party never carried much weight in the coalition government. But as the ANC correctly pointed out, its presence in the cabinet was an impediment to democratic change. Its departure reflects a relationship of class forces that favors revolutionary democrats.

These conquests make it more possible for working people to organize, discuss, collaborate with fellow fighters, and become deeply involved in political and social life without fear of persecution. This is necessary for forging the kind of proletarian leadership that can be built within the ranks of the ANC, if the democratic revolution is to be led to triumph and the doors opened for workers and peasants to wage a struggle for political power.

Young people and toilers from around the world should stand shoulder to shoulder with revolutionary democrats like Nelson Mandela and South Africa's working people in their struggle to wipe out the vestiges of apartheid and climb the next mountain on the road to freedom.

Socialists condemn ProfitJet

Continued from front page

flew to Miami to reassure the public that ValuJet is a safe carrier despite the crash. Only days later the Federal Aviation Administration acknowledged the company was not authorized to carry hazardous oxygen generator bottles in its cargo bins that may have caused a fatal explosion. So far the FAA has not taken any measures to curb the unsafe operations of this company.

While the low-fare, nonunion carrier may have a higher incidence of safety violations than its larger competitors, the cost-cutting drive to boost profit rates is rampant throughout the airline industry. While the airline bosses cry crocodile tears over the latest aviation disaster, they are escalating layoffs of airline workers instead of creating more jobs that could be a step toward safer conditions. Among them are larger, unionized airlines such as USAir, which announced layoffs of thousands of workers

and the elimination of Miami as a maintenance station the same week as the ValuJet crash.

The human toll of May 11 is the blood payment for antilabor policies and "cost savings" wrenched from airline workers in the form of lower wages, longer working hours, and unsafe working conditions.

Only the labor movement can fight for safety. There is constant pressure on individual workers to identify with the company they work for and go along with concessions and cutting corners on maintenance and safety procedures. Demanding jobs for all, fighting to unionize the unorganized workers, and championing safety every day on the job become more important than ever for the unions.

By leading a fight to protect the lives of passengers and flight crews alike, airline workers can win wide support in their battle against the bosses, who put a price tag on people's lives.

Facts seep out on fatal air crash

Continued from Page 12

David Stempler, president of the Airline Safety Association, pointed out on National Public Radio that the crash happened while the airline was under a second FAA inspection. In the wake of the crash, the only FAA proposal is for inspectors to ride in the cockpit of ValuJet planes for the next 30 days.

Obviously irritated by the sudden uproar, FAA administrator Hinson exclaimed at a May 14 congressional hearing, "When we say an airline is safe to fly, it is *safe to fly*. There is no gray area." As the heat in the debate turned up a notch, one senator was shown on national news telling colleagues, "You all better get a TV and find out what is going on, because this thing is getting volatile."

ValuJet is one of 20 "no-frills" or "low-cost" airlines operating; some 20 more are waiting to start up. In two years the nonunion airline has grown from 2 to 51 planes, and in the last year passengers are up 57 percent as more working people are forced to buy cheap tickets.

To keep up with the profits of their larger competitors, the low-fare carriers cut their costs to the bone.

One way ValuJet and other such airlines cuts costs is by farming out maintenance to nonunion contractors, who pay workers much less and require them in some cases to work on many different types of aircraft for quick turnarounds.

The turnarounds are important to company profits. ValuJet has few extra planes, and sometimes none, so it must keep jets in the air to maintain their flight schedules. In addition, most work is done at hangars away from the airport, which may be FAA-approved but do not have on-site FAA inspectors.

Airline workers here have been discussing the FAA investigation, and some are directly affected by it. Interna-

tional Association of Machinists (IAM) members at AeroThrust were informed that one of the engines on ValuJet Flight 592 had been worked on at AeroThrust and that FAA inspectors would be visiting the plant. Subsequently an IAM District Lodge 40 notice was posted in the plant expressing sympathy for the families of the victims. The statement said union mechanics and inspectors would continue to perform quality work; that speculation about the crash would not aid in the investigation; and that the union would cooperate fully with the federal investigation.

"I would really hate to think that anything I did contributed to the accident, but I don't think so," said one AeroThrust mechanic.

At the United Airlines flight kitchen, the disaster brought many comments. "The first thing they do at a crash is send out maintenance to paint over the company logo on the tail," said a mechanic who used to work on crash equipment. "They don't want the airline's name popping up on those gruesome news photos." Another kitchen worker, concerned about the airlines using decrepit planes, said, "They should put those old planes in the barn."

At USAir here, a few days before the crash, two-thirds of the workers were told they were being cut from the station. After the crash, many of the workers thought more seriously about the relation between downsizing and maintenance of the planes. "No maintenance — that's the wave of the future. We're going to see more ValuJets," said one mechanic.

Janet Post, a member of IAM Local 368 at United Airlines in Miami, is the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress in the 17th District in Dade County, Florida.

Who lost cold war?

Who lost the cold war? This question has been raised on numerous occasions since the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the fall of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe.

"What was defeated in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was Stalinism, not imperialism," writes David Frankel in a letter. The *Militant* "gives the impression that the struggle over property relations in Eastern Europe (and in the Asian workers states and Cuba as well) has already been decided" when it states that Washington lost the cold war, Frankel says.

The *Militant* has never said this question has been settled — that's exactly the point. The fact remains that

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

the imperialists haven't yet succeeded in their strategic goal of overturning the workers state and restoring capitalist property relations in a single one of these countries.

"Cold war" was the term used to describe the strategic military course forced on U.S. imperialism and its allies by the international balance of class forces following World War II. Facing a rise in anticolonial struggles and the refusal of U.S. troops in 1945-46 to continue fighting — particularly against the revolutionary forces in China — Washington was limited to using its military power to attempt to contain extensions of the revolutionary overturns of capitalist property relations and blows against imperialist domination.

Imperialism was forced to rely on pressuring the bureaucratic castes in the Soviet Union and Eastern European workers states to police the working class there and keep it isolated from the struggles of workers and peasants around the world.

From Washington's viewpoint, this strategy would prepare the way for direct military aggression, after the working class was sufficiently weakened by Stalinist demoralization. But that didn't happen. Instead, the working class proved stronger than the Stalinist apparatuses, which came crashing down starting in 1989.

In early February, for example, almost half a million miners went on strike in Russia to demand back wages; they were joined by nearly one million Ukrainian miners. Working people in Germany — east and west — continue to resist the austerity measures the government there seeks to impose, and the ruling capitalist class in Bonn is choking on its unsuccessful efforts to force workers in eastern Germany to accept capitalist social relations. In May some 10,000 workers at an electronics factory in Serbia went on strike demanding back wages. This is evidence that the working class in Eastern Europe and Russia has not been defeated.

Stalinism was not defeated but considerably weakened. The regimes that were overthrown have not been replaced by anything progressive, as a glance at the various presidential candidates in Russia or the warring gangs led by different wings of the former ruling bureaucracy in Yugoslavia will tell you.

The imperialists tried to wait out the carnage in Yugoslavia, hoping it would weaken the workers state sufficiently for them to walk in and restore capitalism. But Washington and its rivals in Bonn, Paris, and London have a problem. Working people have not been crushed in Yugoslavia; instead, they continue to seek ways to struggle to end the bloody slaughter and improve their living and working conditions. Imperialism is forced to send its troops in preparation for directly taking on and trying to break the working class there.

In this process, struggles by working people in the Eastern and Central European workers states and in capitalist Europe will more and more influence each other. Workers will be more open to seeing their fight as a struggle against the dehumanizing system of exploitation and imperialist oppression by the capitalist classes and its reflections through various transmission belts, whether Social Democratic, Stalinist, or other petty-bourgeois misleaderships.

Frankel states, "One immediate result of the downfall of Stalinism has been to allow the imperialists a freer hand in military moves," as if Stalinism has ever halted their war moves around the world.

In a 1993 interview with the Mexican daily *El Sol de México*, Cuba's minister of the armed forces, Raúl Castro, explained how he went to Moscow in the early 1980s seeking support against Washington's renewed war threats. Castro said the Soviet leader he spoke with replied, "We cannot fight in Cuba because you are 11,000 kilometers away from us. Do you think we're going to go all that way to stick our necks out for you?"

But the collapse of the Stalinist regimes and apparatuses removed the biggest obstacle to forging the kind of communist leadership that is necessary for any advances in the struggle for national liberation and socialism. Political space exists to develop revolutionary leadership in all the workers states. Young fighters, whether in eastern Germany, Chechnya, or Yugoslavia, are in a better position today to find out the truth about the Cuban revolution and will be attracted to its shining example. That's why the socialist course led by the revolutionary leadership in Cuba remains the greatest proof that imperialism lost the cold war.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

Pittsburgh actions defend desegregation

BY BILL SCHEER

PITTSBURGH — Fifty parents, students, and community activists gathered in front of the Board of Education building here April 29 to urge the school board to pull back on its plan to drastically reduce school busing for the purposes of desegregation.

At its meeting the next day the board retreated from its original proposals and implemented a plan that adds some neighborhood schools but does little to reduce busing.

The board had announced earlier this year that it intended to end busing, a move that would lower the rate of integration in the schools from 58 percent to 45 percent and increase the number of racially isolated schools in the city. A busing plan is currently in effect as a result of a 1979 court-mandated order. The Pittsburgh chapters of the Urban League and the NAACP have led protests, rallies, and educational forums in the last several months to oppose the new redistricting plan.

At a news conference in March, Esther Bush, president of the Urban League, said the plan "is setting us back 100 years," referring to the 1896 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* case, where the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "separate but equal" schooling for Black and white students was the law of the land.

Last June, Mayor Tom Murphy and members of the City Council urged the school board to end its policy of busing. Council member Dan Onorato, an opponent of desegregation, which he labels "forced busing," said busing has caused Black and white middle-class families to leave the city, threatening the tax base and reinforcing poor, inner-city schools.

Eugene Beard, education director of the Pittsburgh chapter of the NAACP, answered this by saying, "They talk about white flight to the suburbs, saying that those people left

the city because they didn't want their kids on buses. But if you talk to those people, you will find most of those people's kids are still on buses. It's not the bus. It's us!" According to the school board's own statistics, the net loss of school enrollment in the past 10 years has been around 300 students.

Both supporters and opponents of school desegregation have turned out for public hearings that the school board was forced to conduct. City Council member Joe Cusick has led many of those advocating "neighborhood" schools instead of busing.

Both sides have held public demonstrations. On March 18 some 200 people marched against the school board plan. The next week 150 marched to end busing. At times the hearings were raucous, with the board threatening to close down the meetings if order could not be restored. Those opposed to the plan wore buttons saying "Resegregation is not an option," while those in favor had signs and buttons saying "Neighborhood Schools."

In April the Urban League sponsored a forum with a panel of speakers, including education professors from the University of Pittsburgh and a representative of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. All pointed out that desegregation is under attack around the country and said it was important to fight that trend here. The speakers cited statistics showing that schools with all or predominantly Black enrollment were short-changed in resources, which ultimately led to big achievement gaps between Black and white schools.

Following the school board's April 30 decision, Randall Taylor, vice president of the Pittsburgh NAACP, said the new plan would still "resegregate" the city schools but at a slower pace. Taylor had chaired the protest the day before.

Two of the three Black members of the

school board also voted against the revised plan and, according to the May 1 *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, said they did not believe it provided enough money for predominantly Black schools.

Valerie Njie, president of the Schenley High School Parents-Teachers Organization, said at the April 29 protest, "While we pushed them back, we must maintain our vigilance because if we don't they will re-segregate the schools."

In the meantime, a bill to make it illegal to bus students for the purposes of desegregation is being pushed through the Pennsylvania state government in Harrisburg. One of the main sponsors of this bill is State Representative Frank Gigliotti of the 22nd District, on Pittsburgh's South Side. According to the May 1 *Post-Gazette*, he said, "I am disappointed with Mayor Tom Murphy, totally upset with him," because he had not spoken out against the revised plan.

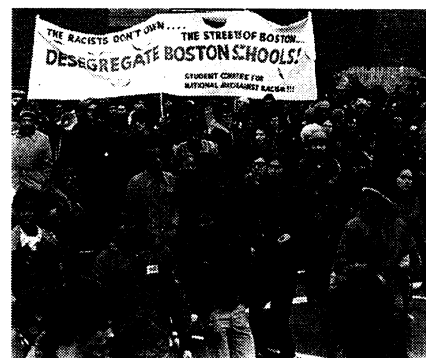
Gigliotti, a Democrat who is endorsed by the Allegheny County AFL-CIO, is being opposed in the upcoming November elections by a Republican and by Edwin Fruit, a candidate for the Socialist Workers Party and member of International Association of Machinists Local 1976.

Fruit, who spoke at the April 29 protest, said, "'Neighborhood schools' can only mean more segregation and less equal education. From the attacks on immigrant workers to the rulings overturning affirmative action, what is happening here is going on across the country. We have to continue to protest and stay in the streets until we win and maintain our rights." Socialist campaign supporters handed out a statement titled "Resegregation is not an Option! Keep the Buses Rolling!"

Bill Scheer is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1557 in Clairton, Pennsylvania.

From Mississippi to Boston

The Demand for Troops to Enforce Civil Rights



How does the demand that the federal government provide troops to protect civil rights fit into a strategy of mobilizing working people and others to defend and advance these rights?

These articles on the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s, and the school desegregation fight of the 1970s, are taken from the *Militant*. \$6.00

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LETTERS

Who lost the 'Cold War'?

I have followed the *Militant's* coverage of world events since the debacle of Stalinism in Eastern Europe with great interest and appreciation, but also with a lot of questions and some disagreement. I think this was summed up for me by your editorial in the April 15 issue, which stated in so many words that U.S. imperialism lost the cold war.

The cold war, in my opinion, did not stem fundamentally from the existence of Stalinism, but from the drive by imperialism to destroy the Russian Revolution. The imperialist powers instituted an economic and diplomatic embargo against the Soviet Union immediately after World War I, and before Stalin's rise to power. For several years they carried on a direct military intervention as well. Their object, as in Cuba today, was to overthrow the newly established revolutionary government. When direct military intervention failed, the imperialists continued to attack the workers state by economic means. German imperialism, under Hitler, resumed the direct military assault, but was defeated.

With the end of World War II, Washington emerged as the preeminent military and economic power in the world, but the world imperialist system as a whole was weakened. The British and French lost their grip on most of Africa, India, Indochina, and the Middle East in the face of a huge revolutionary upsurge by the oppressed nations they had colonized. Plans for new military attacks against the workers states were scuttled by the revolutions in China, Korea, and Yugoslavia. Imperialism was forced once again to resort to more indirect methods of attack in its campaign to destroy the revolutionary gains in those countries which had abolished capitalist property relations. Such was the origin of the Cold War.

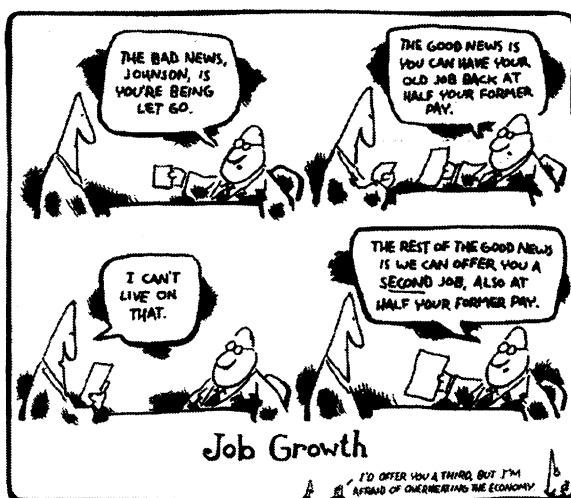
What is the situation now? It is certainly true that the imperialists have not overthrown the property relations established by the revolutions in the Soviet Union, China,

and the Eastern European countries. But their efforts to do this are hardly over. I agree with the *Militant* that it will take direct imperialist military intervention to achieve those goals. But that is precisely what is happening today in Yugoslavia. In Germany, the unification of the country under a single capitalist government has set the stage for a confrontation over which social relations will prevail. Which class will emerge victorious in that conflict remains to be seen.

When the *Militant* talks about Washington having lost the Cold War, it gives the impression that the struggle over property relations in Eastern Europe (and in the Asian workers states and Cuba as well) has already been decided. In my opinion this issue will never be decisively settled as long as the socialist revolution has not triumphed in the major imperialist countries. Who would have thought five years ago that we would see 60,000 NATO troops occupying Yugoslavia?

What was defeated in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was Stalinism, not imperialism. It is certainly true that imperialist pressure led to the rise of Stalinism, and the imperialists did their best to use those regimes in their assault on the working class. But Washington and its allies hardly invested a lot of effort and prestige in supporting those governments. The reality is that the Stalinist regimes were ground up between the unrelenting pressure of imperialism and the resistance of the working class. Now that they have gone down to defeat, the ground has been cleared for a more open struggle between the contending classes over the future of Europe.

This leads me to the second point about the *Militant's* coverage of these events that I want to raise. I believe that the defeat of Stalinism was a victory for the working class



and an event which, in the long run, can only help the growth of socialist consciousness around the world. But the immediate impact of the crumbling of the Stalinist regimes has been mixed. For the first time in decades, the workers and farmers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are able to participate openly in politics, and to make their voices heard. This is clearly progressive. On the other hand, the long night of Stalinist repression has left a legacy which will not be overcome overnight. This reactionary legacy is seen in widespread illusions about imperialist democracy and the role of Washington among the Soviet and East European populations. In its most virulent form, as in Yugoslavia, it is directly threatening the foundations of the workers state.

One immediate result of the downfall of Stalinism has been to allow the imperialists a freer hand in military moves to advance their interests. I believe that this was the case with the Gulf War, and it is certainly so in Yugoslavia today. It seems to me that at times the *Militant* is so intent on stressing the fact that the downfall of Stalinism was a historic victory for the working class — and it was — that its interpretation of immediate and conjunctural issues in world politics gets muddled. This brings me back to the editorial in question.

I think the editorial gave a somewhat rosy view of Cuba's situation.

Notwithstanding statements about how Washington lost the Cold War, it seems to me that the threat of an imperialist invasion of Cuba is as strong now as at any time since the days of the Cuban Missile Crisis. I agree that the Cuban leadership, in standing up to Washington and refusing to compromise its principles, is taking the best possible course for defending their country and their revolution. But it is Washington that is on the offensive right now. This fact is separate from the issue of how successful or long-lasting the imperialist offensive will be. I would appreciate a fuller explanation of the *Militant's* position on these issues.

Dave Frankel

Ferndale, Michigan

No such 'peaceful planes'

I would like to comment on Chad Oakley's letter (April 29, 1996) that dealt with the shooting down of "peaceful planes" over Cuban waters.

For years "anti-Castro" Cubans have been training in the Florida swamps for a rerun of the 1961 Bay of Pigs, with the full knowledge and aid of the U.S. government. In that invasion, planes camouflaged with Cuban markings bombed and strafed Havana and other areas. For almost 40 years, the American ruling class has been trying to destroy the Cuban Revolution by every means possible — assassination of its leaders, blockade of oil, food, medicines, CIA-engineered sabotage and threats to any country that trades with Cuba.

In the past these "peaceful planes" leaving from Miami have set Cuban canefields on fire by dropping incendiary bombs, infected cattle and tobacco fields with diseases, and scattered tens of thousands of leaflets urging Cuban citizens to take part in acts of violence and sabotage.

Since 1990, 14 infiltrations and

pirate attacks, such as firing on tourist hotels from small boats offshore have been documented by the Cuban government. In each instance notes were delivered to the U.S. government asking it to take appropriate measures to end these illegal and dangerous acts. In the last two years these attacks have become bolder and have intensified (Robaina, Cuban minister of Foreign Affairs speaking at the U.N. March 5, 1996).

Putting a decisive end to these escalating provocations was an absolute necessity in defense of Cuban sovereignty. And to Cubans, sovereignty equated socialism and vice versa.

That a small country like Cuba has the dignity and the will to successfully stand up to a most powerful and ruthless (remember Vietnam!) ruling class is an example for oppressed people of the world. It means that this class is not invincible and that Canadian and American workers can also defend their economic and democratic rights against these same powerful corporate bosses — and win!

Bea Bryant
Blenheim, Ontario

On liberation struggles

Great coverage of the national liberation struggles in Ireland, Palestine, and Quebec!

J. P.
Houston, Texas

What about Mark Curtis?

Please send me the *Militant* as soon as possible — I miss it. Will Mark Curtis ever get out of jail?

D. G.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Yeltsin's woes worry big business

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Russian president Boris Yeltsin is in a shaky position heading into the June 16 presidential elections in Russia, as the economy continues its tailspin and the war against independence fighters in Chechnya drags out. In the polls, Yeltsin is running behind Communist Party chairman Gennady Zyuganov. The election campaign is being portrayed by the big-business press as a battle between "democratic reform" and the return of a new "iron curtain."

The nine other candidates in the race, including ultrarightist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, former Soviet Union president Mikhail Gorbachev, retired army general Aleksandr Lebed, and U.S.-trained economist Grigory Yavlinsky, have been largely ignored in the media.

On a visit to Beijing in April, Yeltsin stated, "If they [the Communist Party] win, civil war would start in Russia." Yeltsin's security chief, Gen. Aleksandr Korzhakov, suggested May 5 that the elections be postponed, arguing that Russians were not "civilized" enough to take a vote so soon. Yeltsin called U.S. president William Clinton two days later, however, to assure him that the elections would proceed on schedule.

Washington has made no secret of its support for the incumbent, a former leading official in the Communist Party and the government in the Soviet Union. "Thanks to President Yeltsin's leadership, 60 percent of Russia's economy is in the hands of its people, not the state," Clinton declared at an April 21 news conference in Moscow. "Democracy is taking hold."

Anti-Yeltsin sentiment

Zyuganov, for his part, has been riding a wave of anti-Yeltsin sentiment. "The opposition's great advantage is that it is not responsible for what was done in the country over the past four or five years, but Yeltsin is," said Nikolai Ryzhkov, former Soviet prime minister.

Zyuganov has declared he would maintain state ownership of some branches of industry, energy, transport, and communications. He constantly stresses Russian nationalism in public appearances and says he would annul the 1991 treaty dissolving the Soviet Union.

One of Zyuganov's chief advisors is Aleksandr Prokhanov, editor of the newspaper *Zafra*, who is well known for his Russian chauvinist and anti-Semitic remarks. Prokhanov describes joint ventures with capitalist investors as "hyenas feasting on the energy of the Russian nation." He assails Yeltsin for not being able to "make a decision without consulting his friend Bill Clinton."

In an April 21 meeting with Clinton in Moscow, however, Zyuganov stated that Washington should not be worried if he wins the election. "The relationship with the



Chechens from town of Shali protest after Russian military ordered them to expel rebel fighters. The resistance to Yeltsin's war is increasing among working people in the region.

United States is friendly, and will continue to be so," he said.

High stakes for capitalists abroad

International investors have been underwriting Yeltsin's candidacy by taking a series of financial measures to bolster his chances for re-election. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) agreed to give Moscow a \$10.2 billion loan last March. This loan followed a \$6.2 billion loan provided by the imperialist financial institution in March 1995.

On April 29, a group of international creditors, called the Paris Club, rescheduled \$40 billion of the debt of the former Soviet Union. Moscow assumed responsibility for \$120 billion to \$130 billion in debts accumulated by the former Soviet government.

The Russian government was due to re-

pay \$8 billion this year. The new agreement requires Moscow to make annual interest payments of \$2 billion, gives it a six-year grace period on principal repayments, and spreads its remaining financial obligations over 25 years.

The Paris Club deal is contingent on the IMF pact, which requires the Kremlin to reduce social spending and limit state control over the economy. "If the agreement with the IMF collapses, the accord with the creditors collapses," declared Christian Noyer, chairman of the Paris Club.

Meanwhile, the London Club of commercial bank creditors is negotiating a deal to reschedule \$33 billion of Russia's debt to commercial banks.

A U.S. treasury official told the *Wall Street Journal* the financial arrangement was good because it involves no debt write-off

and obligates the Russian government to "pay in a timely way and pay it all." Russia's publicly traded commercial debt rose one cent April 29 to 41 cents on the dollar, up from a low of 18 cents in March 1995. The Russian government pays more for the money it borrows from investors than almost any other government in the world, according to the *Financial Times*.

An article in the April 29 *Journal* said bankers made the deal to back the Yeltsin regime because "a Communist government could choose — as Lenin did 75 years ago — not to honor the foreign debts."

While capitalist investments continue to trickle into Russia, they are low compared to those in Eastern and Central Europe. From January 1991 to October 1995, international investments in Russia, a country of 148 million people, amounted to \$4.9 billion. Hungary, with 10 million citizens, received almost twice as much in the same period.

Meanwhile, the conditions of working people in Russia continue to worsen. Life expectancy for men dropped from 63.8 years in 1990 to 58 years in 1995. The mortality rate per 1,000 people soared from 11.2 in 1990 to 15.7 in 1994.

Unemployment has risen from 7.5 percent to 8.2 percent, while real income for Russian workers plunged 13 percent last year. Millions of workers are frequently not paid on time. More than 500,000 teachers went on strike last September to protest unpaid wages and low pay.

Moscow fails to crush Chechens

Yeltsin has publicly stated that his re-election hinges on ending the war against Chechnya. More than 30,000 people have been killed since the Russian president sent thousands of troops to crush the Chechen fight for independence in December 1994.

Russian helicopters fired rockets on an

Continued on Page 12

Rallies oppose pay freeze in Germany

BY CATHARINA TIRSÉN
AND CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM — Tens of thousands of workers demonstrated and held spontaneous work stoppages May 10 in cities across western Germany, protesting a proposed wage freeze for public employees. According to the public employees union, ÖTV, government offices and services such as garbage collection were temporarily at a standstill. Wage negotiations for 3.2 million public employees are presently taking place. ÖTV has demanded a 4.5 percent raise.

The proposed wage freeze for public employees is part of a "program for growth and employment" consisting of \$32 billion in cuts in social services announced April 25 by German chancellor Helmut Kohl. The German economy has suffered a downturn over the last half year. The government is now projecting a mere .75 percent growth in gross domestic product in the first half of 1996, down from earlier forecasts of more than 2 percent.

"The changes proposed by the government are the only road to strengthen the economy and industry to create more jobs and in the future secure the social system," Kohl stated. Some 4.5 million workers are presently unemployed in Germany, about 10 percent of the workforce.

The government wants to lower sick pay from 100 to 80 percent, raise the retirement age from 60 for women and 63 for men to 65 for both, postpone a previously pledged increase in child allowances, and freeze wages for public employees, as well as enforce other cuts affecting students, the unemployed, and workers depending on welfare.

Other recommendations, however, such as one unpaid sick day, raised by Finance

Minister Theo Waigel in parliament in early February, are not part of the proposal.

Some 40,000 people assembled in Bonn April 28 to protest the dismantling of a law regulating business hours for stores and shops. The labor movement fought for these hours — which are more restricted in Germany than in most other countries — to limit evening and weekend work.

Klaus Zwickel, chair of the metalworkers union, IG Metall, threatened to strike if the government did not take back the proposals to cut unemployment benefits and sick pay. The relatively high level of sick pay in Germany was won after a strike by the metalworkers in 1957.

At the traditional May Day demonstrations, many trade union officials spoke out against the cuts. "This proposal will build a new wall in this country, one between rich and poor," said Dieter Schulte, chairperson of the German trade union federation DGB, speaking in Berlin. Many of the May Day demonstrations were smaller than usual, however.

Schulte complained that the government had not taken the hand offered by the union officials, referring to the "alliance for jobs" discussed at a meeting of the unions, the employers, and the government in January where labor officials promised to hold back wages in exchange for promises to cut unemployment in half by the year 2000. His speech was met by protests by some participants.

On February 12 more than 4,000 metalworkers and retirees had protested attacks on early retirements. Workers have had the right to retirement with 90 percent of their wages at the age of 60, and at an earlier age in the steel industry.

The following evening, representatives of

the government, unions, and employers signed an agreement to increase the early retirement age step by step. "The alliance for jobs has passed its first test," was Schulte's comment at the time.

On May 1 the Bremer Vulkan shipyard company announced it would file for bankruptcy for two shipyards in Bremen and Bremerhaven, two cities in northwest Germany where unemployment is a record 15 percent. Six thousand workers demonstrated outside the gates of the shipyard that day. Some 2,500 had marched from the city district of Vegesack.

Bremen mayor Henning Scherf said he still hoped for some kind of solution to the shipyards in that city. His words were met with boos and whistles.

The shipyards in Rostock, Wismar, and Stralsund in eastern Germany, which for some years belonged to the shipyard company in western Germany, are not affected by the bankruptcy. They have temporarily been taken over by the federal government and the state of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, where they are located.

The governmental coalition in that state, made up of the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party (SPD), is falling apart over how big a portion of the costs the state should pay as opposed to the federal government in Bonn.

In a further setback to the Kohl government, the prime ministers of all 16 state governments in Germany rejected the federal government's proposals in mid-May, saying these put too much of the burden of the projected cuts on state and local budgets.

Carl-Erik Isacsson and Catharina Tirsén are members of the metalworkers union in Södertälje and Stockholm, Sweden.

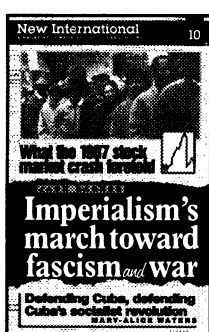
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