

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Cuban writers discuss cultural policies in Cuba

— PAGE 10

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Protests erupt as killer cops are freed

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

Protests erupted in St. Petersburg, Florida, on the night of November 13 after a county grand jury cleared police officer James Knight, who is white, in the killing of TyRon Mark Lewis, an 18-year-old youth who is Black. In another case of police brutality, over 150 people gathered November 13 at the Allegheny County courthouse in downtown Pittsburgh to protest the "not guilty" verdict by an all-white jury of one of three cops accused of involuntary manslaughter in the death of Black motorist Jonny Gammage (see article on page 9).

Two days earlier, New York police raided several apartment buildings in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, arresting 35 people the big-business press described as members of a "leftist cult."

Hours after the St. Petersburg verdict, groups of dozens of Black youth took to the streets of the predominantly Black south St. Petersburg to protest the grand jury decision. The police department sent more than 200 police officers to the area, closing off streets and firing canisters of tear gas. The National Guard was placed on standby as protesters threw bottles and chunks of concrete and set more than 80 fires, according to the Associated Press.

In the course of the disturbances, shots
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Cuban gov't denounces U.S. embargo before UN

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

UNITED NATIONS — For the fifth year in a row the Cuban government used the platform of the United Nations to condemn Washington's escalating economic war against the Cuban people and call for an end of the U.S. embargo of the island.

The Cuban delegation presented a resolution titled "Necessity of Ending the Economic, Commercial and Financial Blockade imposed by the United States of America Against Cuba." It was approved by the UN General Assembly with 138 votes in favor, 3 against, and 25 abstentions — the largest margin to date. Only the representatives of Cuba and Uzbekistan joined Washington in voting.

The document calls on all governments to refrain from enacting laws that unilaterally apply "economic and trade measures by one State against another which affect the free flow of international traffic." It specifically cites the misnamed Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act, or Helms-Burton law, which U.S. president William Clinton signed March 12. The UN resolution says the "extraterritorial effects" of the Helms-Burton act "affect the sovereignty of other States, the legitimate interests of entities or persons under their jurisdiction and the freedom of trade and navigation."

Carlos Lage, a vice president of Cuba's Council of State, headed the Cuban delegation to the UN General Assembly. "The
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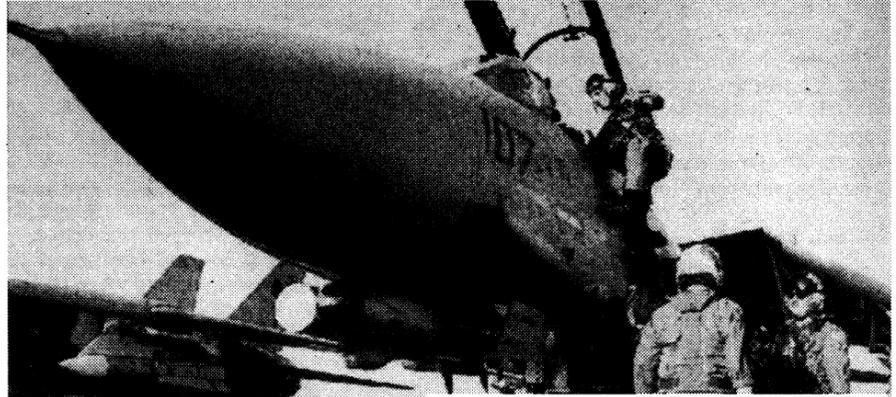
Washington, Ottawa plan Zaire intervention

BY MEGAN ARNEY

On November 12, Ottawa offered to lead a force of 10,000 to 15,000 troops from about a dozen countries to intervene in eastern Zaire under the flag of the United Nations. One day later, the Clinton administration announced its initial approval of sending up to 4,000 U.S. troops as part of the UN intervention force with a Canadian commander and a U.S. officer as his deputy.

Using the pretext of securing "humanitarian aid" for more than 1 million refugees, Paris and other imperialist governments have been pushing for military intervention since the beginning of November. An earlier French initiative to send 4,000 UN troops to Zaire faltered when Washington rejected the plan.

Paris has been pushing for intervention to shore up the declining power of Zairian president Mobutu Sese Seko, who has ruled the mineral-rich country as a dictator for three decades and is one of the main allies of French imperialism in central Africa. Mobutu is currently recovering from prostate cancer surgery in his luxurious villa in southern France. He backed the proposals for an international military force.



Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien (left) and U.S. president Clinton (right) plan to send troops and U.S. war planes to Zaire on "humanitarian" pretext.



Mobutu faces rebellion in eastern Zaire, where groups based among local Tutsis, known as Banyamulenge, have taken over a section of Kivu province. They

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Socialists hit the road to build conferences

BY JACK WILLEY

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists are fanning out across the country, from college

Fight to make 'Militant' subscription drive goals!

— page 5

campuses to factory plant-gates, selling *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions and building toward regional socialist educational conferences taking place November 29-December 1. The conferences, in Atlanta, Peoria, San Francisco and Washington, D.C., will cap off the YS drive to

recruit 80 new members. In the last two weeks alone, 17 more fighters joined the ranks of the Young Socialists.

Socialists in Peoria are traveling to St. Louis, meeting with two people interested in the Young Socialists, including a high school student who met communists at a debate on socialism at the University of Utah. In addition to several other universities in the Peoria region, socialist workers and YS members are building the conference at Western University, the site of a recent anti-Klan rally.

In Morgantown, West Virginia, socialists are working with some of the participants from a recent protest against the Defense of Marriage Act to come to the educational conferences. They are also discussing the regional meetings with activists in the dem-

onstrations demanding prosecution for the cop who killed Jonny Gammage in Pittsburgh. A West Virginia University student is already set to go.

"We are building the conference by getting the socialist press in the hands of militant workers. Bringing along young fighters to sell at mine portals gives them a deeper understanding of the kind of movement we are building," socialist worker Estelle DeBates explained. She and other activists in Morgantown sold 12 copies of the *Militant* at a coal mine portal on November 13.

In Washington, D.C., the YS is setting up speaking engagements at high schools and local universities, explaining the political situation workers face today and the kind

Continued on Page 14

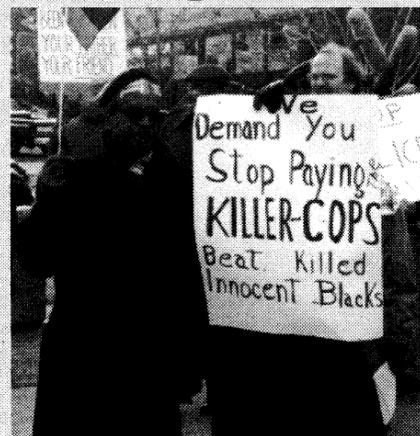
The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists invite you to
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For rides and more information, contact areas listed on page 12

Organizing capitalism's gravediggers — pages 8-9



U.S. jets bomb Iraq

Two U.S. F-16 jet fighters fired missiles on southern Iraq November 2 and November 4 in a provocation against Baghdad. U.S. defense secretary William Perry warned the Iraqi regime that U.S. fighter pilots are "very well armed" and "authorized to launch" attacks if they think they are being tracked by radar. The warplanes were patrolling the "no-fly zone" imposed on Iraq by Washington after the U.S.-led slaughter of the Iraqi people in 1991. U.S. pilots claimed they fired missiles this month because their jets were targeted by Iraqi radar. The Pentagon said the bombings were a mistake, due to false alarms, but soon changed its story and backed the pilots claims.

Meanwhile, the U.S.-led sanctions continue to decimate Iraqi children. According to UNICEF, the UN aid agency, 4,500 children are dying of hunger and disease each month because of restrictions on obtaining funds for purchasing food and medicines.

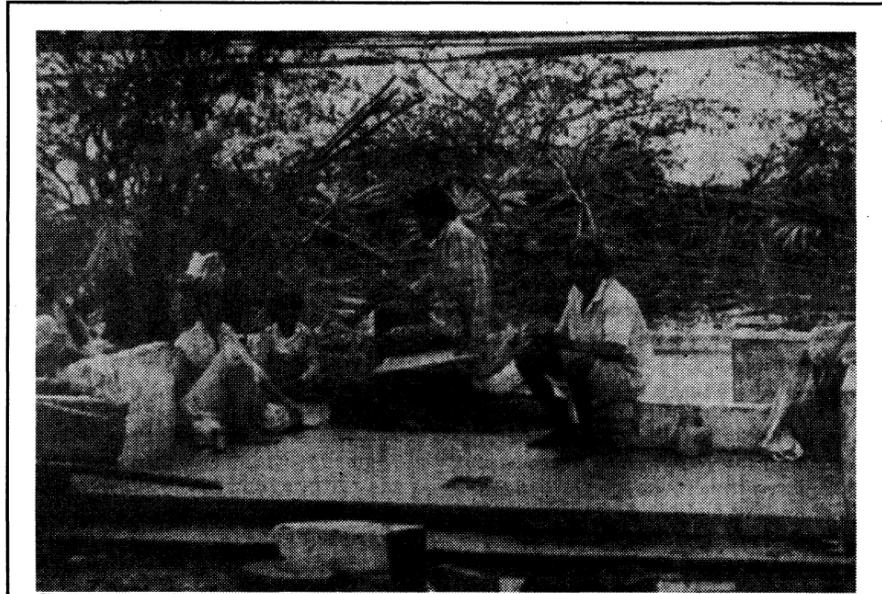
Israeli army bombs Lebanon

Israeli troops and their allied South Lebanon Army, made-up of rightist Lebanese militias, launched tank and artillery bombardment of villages in southern Lebanon November 9. Tel Aviv claimed the assault came in retaliation for an attack by Lebanese rebels. Hezbollah guerrilla fighters fired six missiles at an Israeli military camp in southern Lebanon that day, according to Associated Press, killing one Israeli soldier and wounding two. Hezbollah has waged a campaign to drive the Zionist occupation force from a so-called security zone in southern Lebanon. Tel Aviv established the zone after the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Civil war rages in Afghanistan

The civil war wracking Afghanistan has continued unabated as Taliban troops exchanged artillery fire November 6 with the forces of the coalition of opposition groups trying to retake Kabul, the country's capital. The Taliban, which control two-thirds of the country, seized Kabul in late September. Officials of the former regime fled.

The commander of the ousted government forces, Ahmad Masoud, formed an anti-Taliban alliance with the northern Uzbek



Cyclones decimated India's southeastern coast the second week of November. Heavy winds destroyed rice crops, sugar cane and banana plantations, tearing down power poles and flooding roads. The death toll was reported as high as 2,000. Hundreds drowned when their substandard housing collapsed in the storm.

leader Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum. The alliance stepped up assaults on Taliban troops October 31 "to advance as far forward as possible," Mehrabuddin Masstan, a spokesperson for Massoud, told London's *Financial Times*. Officials in Massoud's headquarters have stressed that recapturing Kabul was politically and militarily vital.

Russians strike for back wages

More than half of the mines in Russia were shut down November 5 as thousands of workers throughout the country went on strike demanding the government pay overdue wages. Millions of workers have not been paid for several months. Demonstrations were organized in hundreds of cities, while Russian president Boris Yeltsin underwent a multiple bypass heart operation. "I don't care what happens to him," Maria Mikhailovna, a retired engineer, told the *Washington Post*. "He's helped many people to leave this life [in the war in Chechnya], especially young people, the pillars of our

society. Many people have suffered terribly, and our president and our parliament are to blame for this."

Canberra refuses visa to Adams

Australia's federal government refused entry visa to Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams on November 8. Sinn Fein is the main nationalist party leading opposition to British occupation to Northern Ireland and demanding unification of Ireland. According to London's *Financial Times*, Australia's federal immigration minister Philip Ruddock justified the decision on the grounds that Adams is allegedly "associated with an organization which has been or is involved in criminal conduct."

Adams was scheduled to visit Australia in mid-November to promote his autobiography. A representative of Reed Books, a Melbourne publisher, told the *Times*, "The Australian public has been denied the opportunity to hear Mr. Adams discuss and debate the books's contents in person."

U.S.-German trade relations sour

A U.S. shipment of genetically engineered soybeans sparked demands that the new product be labeled to distinguish the beans from ordinary ones. "We would like to see the food industry voluntarily label all products that include genetically modified ingredients," said Juergen Ruetters, German minister for science and technology.

U.S. government officials have adamantly opposed the labeling, asserting that it could become a trade barrier and jeopardize nearly \$2 billion worth of exports to Europe. Companies such as Nestlé SA and Unilever have canceled more than \$100 million in soybean orders within the past month because U.S. companies refuse to identify the true nature

of their beans. "There is a slew of new products... that have genetically changed material," declared George Pope, chief agricultural officer at the U.S. mission to the European Union. "If the Europeans just try to single out soybeans, it would look pretty much like an anti-American ploy."

U.S. officers charged with rapes

In a widening scandal, some 30 women soldiers have charged that they were raped or sexually harassed at the U.S. Army's Ordnance Center and School at Aberdeen Proving Ground in Aberdeen, Maryland. One trainer, Staff Sgt. Delmar Simpson has been charged with rape, forcible sodomy, so-called adultery, and obstruction of justice and is now held in a military jail. Similar charges have been filed against company commander Capt. Derrick Robinson. The military brass is also preparing to file charges against a third trainer, Sgt. Nathanael Beach, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

The investigation began in September. It has included interviews with the nearly 1,000 women who have been through the school since 1995. Army lawyers say they will investigate the cases of 19 women who went AWOL possibly because of sexual abuse. "This is going to grow," one general told the *Journal*. "And it's not going to be fun for the army."

Racial scandal rocks Texaco

In an attempt to appease outrage over a racial scandal, the Texaco oil company suspended two executives on November 6. The two participated in a meeting to plan how to destroy documents demanded in a discrimination lawsuit. The company also cut off some benefits for two other officials caught on an audiotape of the meeting using racial slurs to describe Black employees. According to a transcript of the tapes obtained by the *New York Times*, the officials referred to employees who are Black as "black jelly beans" and "niggers" and derided the African-American celebration of Kwanza. The November 11 *Times* reported that an electronic examination of the tapes allegedly shows that the Texaco official did not use the word "nigger" but the word "Nicholas." Richard Lundwall, former senior coordinator of personnel services; secretly made the tapes in 1994 and turned them over to an attorney suing Texaco for discrimination. Lundwall lost his severance package after being forced out in a corporate downsizing.

Texaco's chairman, Peter Bijur, announced the moves at a news conference and considered reaching an out-of-court settlement with the six plaintiffs who filed a \$520 million discrimination suit. Texaco had appealed another discrimination case where a Los Angeles Superior Court jury awarded Janella Martin \$20 million. Martin, who charged the company with failure to promote her because of her gender, agreed to a settlement last December reported to be more than \$1 million.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

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Economic, political crisis shakes Pakistan

BY HILDA CUZCO

A ballooning budget deficit, soaring unemployment, rising foreign debt, and default on loan payments to the International Monetary Fund underline a steep economic downturn in Pakistan. Opposition groups succeed in unleashing a wave of anti-austerity protests against the government. Political instability in neighboring Afghanistan raises prospects of new waves of refugees crossing the border into the country. Tensions and possibility of new military confrontations rise between Islamabad and New Delhi over control of Kashmir.

These events were the political backdrop to the November 5 decision by Pakistani president Farooq Leghari to dismiss Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and dissolve the National Assembly. Leghari issued a decree charging "corruption, nepotism, and violation of rules in the administration of the affairs of the government." The president named Malik Meraj Khalid, once a Bhutto family ally, as caretaker prime minister and announced elections for February 3.

In Washington, the Clinton administration has not made immediate comments on Bhutto's dismissal.

Many among the Pakistani ruling circles used charges of corruption, endemic in all capitalist regimes, to get rid of Bhutto in the hopes of forming a more stable government.

Bhutto was soon placed under house arrest, during which her husband, Asif Ali Zardari, who also faces charges of corruption, was apprehended in Lahore, capital of Punjab province in central Pakistan. Zardari has allegedly made a fortune from kickbacks on government contracts of billions of dollars, and has invested in property purchases in England and maybe France. Bhutto had appointed her husband as minister of investments in September.

The caretaker government is preparing criminal charges against Bhutto and her husband. Interim prime minister Khalid announced in a November 10 news conference that the charges may be wide ranging, fueling speculations that they may prevent Bhutto from running as a candidate in the February parliamentary elections.

Bhutto blasted her removal by Leghari as a recurrent conspiracy "to get rid of the Bhuttos from Pakistan politics," and denied the charges in a 90-minute press conference. "I was the victim of a sustained smear campaign, from Washington, to Paris, to London. Lies, lies, lies!" she said.

Bhutto, 43, who was born into a wealthy family of landowners, has been ousted for the second time. She was dismissed for the first time in 1990, also under allegations of

corruption. In 1976, Bhutto's father, former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was overthrown in a coup by Gen. Mohammed Zia ul-Haq. Three years later, during Zia's reign, Ali Bhutto was hanged on charges of murdering a political opponent.

Many big-business newspapers in Pakistan have tried to implicate Benazir Bhutto's husband in the September killing of the ousted prime minister's younger brother and fierce political opponent Mir Murtaza Bhutto. Following antigovernment protests in the rural areas of Karachi, a Bhutto family stronghold, Ghinwa, widow of Benazir's brother, formally made the allegations before a Karachi judge.

In Karachi's poorest Urdu-speaking neighborhoods, small street celebrations were held after Bhutto's dismissal. Many working people there have been victims of political repression by the government. In this city of 11 million, around 2,000 people were killed in clashes with government forces last year. Reports in Pakistan's big-business press have attributed the killings to strife between the government and the Mojahir Qaumi Movement (MQM), an immigrant-based party that represents almost 60 percent of the city's population which was briefly an ally of Bhutto's ruling party during the late 1980s. Muslims, who migrated from India in 1947, when Pakistan and India were partitioned, make up the movement.

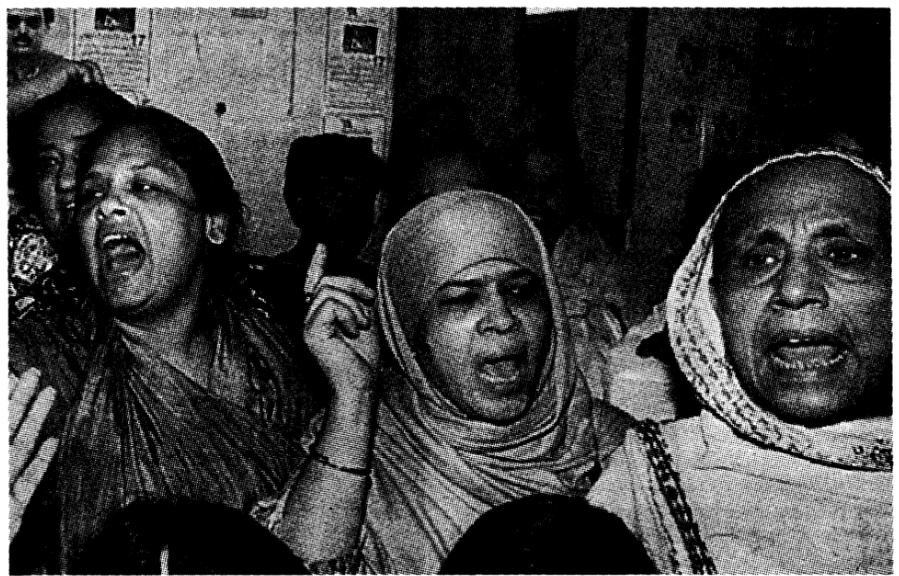
"But Karachi's problems don't just stem from ethnic violence," said an article in the July 19 *Christian Science Monitor*, "they are also due to a widespread breakdown in the city's social services, growing poverty... and rising joblessness."

Sense of a 'military coup'

The army in Pakistan, an Islamic republic with a population of 134 million, "is indisputably the force behind President Leghari," wrote Farhan Bokhari in London's *Financial Times*. While military officials downplayed their role during Bhutto's dismissal, soldiers kept a close watch at radio and television stations, airports and government offices, and at Bhutto's residence, giving a sense of a "military coup" in Islamabad.

The spiraling economic deterioration has played a role in the current political developments. The Pakistani regime has resisted economic pressures to reduce the 26 percent of the budget allotted for defense, citing military threats from its neighboring rival in India. According to a Pakistani Central Bank report, the current account deficit increased to a record of \$4.2 billion.

The relations soured between Islamabad and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) when Bhutto's regime was unable to meet the conditions of two IMF programs. The



Mohajir Qaumi Movement members in Karachi chant slogans against dismissed Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Economic and political instability prompted Bhutto's ouster.

government was forced to negotiate a third financial program last October after the country's foreign exchange reserves dropped to \$750 million — worth only four weeks of imports.

When the regime's June budget showed Pakistan would not meet the IMF requirements, the imperialist financial institution blocked drawings on a \$600 million credit. In order to meet the IMF demands, the Bhutto government had imposed massive taxes four months ago to make 41 billion rupees (US\$1 billion) to reduce the budget deficit by 4 percent by the end of the fiscal year. Last October, a second set of taxes was imposed to raise another 40 billion rupees, and included a devaluation of the currency by 8.5 percent.

The taxation measure targeted agriculture for the first time, alienating many rich landowners in Bhutto's party and fueling opposition. The steep increase in gas prices that followed the currency devaluation, prompted public protests as well.

IMF demands austerity

According to the October 27 *Sunday Times of India*, the constant demands by the IMF for austerity to meet interest payments have contributed to the "deep recession" in the economy. The situation is aggravated by rising unemployment, which stood at 10 percent in 1991.

Opponent organizations called a strike October 26, demanding Bhutto's resignation and early elections. The action blasted the new taxes and austerity measures to comply with the demands of the IMF. The protesters accused Bhutto of financial mismanagement and corruption.

"There is no confidence in this government," said Mushahid Hussein, spokesperson for Pakistan Muslim League (PML), the largest opposition group. PML leader Nawaz Sharif welcomed Bhutto's ouster and expressed confidence in winning the announced elections. Sharif had himself been removed as prime minister in 1993 on simi-

lar charges of corruption.

Right-wing religious opponents announced plans to lead a million people on a march to Islamabad October 27 to demand Bhutto's resignation. Defying a ban on meetings of more than four people, members of Jamaat-e-Islami and the PML marched to the capital. Paramilitary troops and cops were deployed on all roads leading to the city. The police dispersed thousands of demonstrators with tear gas and batons, injuring at least 10. The protesters pelted the police with rocks, smashed vehicles, and set tires on fire. Jamaat leader Qazi Hussain Ahmad pledged more actions against the government.

The day before the rightist march, Pakistan interior minister Nasrullah Bazaar warned Jamaat-e-Islami not to involve Afghan refugees in their protest actions. "If any Afghan refugees participate in the Jamaat agitation... I will see that their family members are expelled from Pakistan," he told the *Sunday Times of India*.

Some 2 million Afghans live in refugee camps in Pakistan. Many support the Afghan fundamentalist groups fighting in that country. Jamaat-e-Islami has close ties with such Afghan groups. The Pakistani government has backed the reactionary Taliban regime that swept into power in Kabul September 27. A civil war is wracking Afghanistan, as opposition forces are trying to retake Kabul.

Meanwhile, the capitalist rulers in Pakistan and India continue their dispute over the territory of Jammu and Kashmir. The rival regimes have fought two wars over control of the area since 1947.

At the same time, Kashmiris have pressed their fight for independence. "Kashmiris have their own nationality. Kashmir is ours," Muhammad Gulzar, a young Kashmiri, told the *Christian Science Monitor*. "This matter must be solved peacefully and if that does not happen then we will pick up weapons and fight for the Kashmir issue. We want back our homes."

IMPERIALISM THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM



V.I. LENIN

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British rulers debate ban on handguns, knives, and curbs on democratic rights

BY TONY HUNT
AND JEAN-LOUIS SALFATI

LONDON, England — Leaders of the two main parties here — the ruling Conservatives and the main opposition group, the Labour Party — have begun campaigning for a general election that must be held by May 1997.

In what *The Economist* has dubbed an "arms-race of authoritarianism," the two parties are competing with each other in pushing for new laws that scapegoat workers and youth for a developing social crisis, give increased powers to the state, and undermine democratic rights.

A massacre in Dunblane, Scotland, in March caused widespread horror among working people. More recently, a youth was convicted for the fatal stabbing last December of head teacher Philip Lawrence outside a school in London. These events and widely reported cases of so-called "disruptive" school children have been exploited by bourgeois politicians. They have sought to portray working people and youth as the source of violence and social breakdown in the decaying capitalist system.

On March 13, Thomas Hamilton walked

into a primary school in Dunblane carrying four legally held handguns and opened fire, slaughtering 16 children and their teacher. He then shot himself. These violent acts prompted liberal newspapers such as *The Independent* to call for gun control as the way to prevent a repeat of this tragedy.

In Scotland, a campaign called Snowdrop was formed involving the parents of the children killed at Dunblane. It called for a total handgun ban. With financial backing from local businesses and assistance from a Labour Member of Parliament (MP), Snowdrop collected 705,000 signatures on petitions through tables in "every large Scottish town," according to the *Sunday Telegraph*. Snowdrop leaders, met separately with government ministers and Labour leader Anthony Blair when they delivered the petitions to parliament. The main Snowdrop spokesperson Anne Pearston, a former accountant, told the *Sunday Telegraph*, "There is too much violence in society." She was invited to speak at the Labour Party Conference.

In response, Conservative Home Secretary Michael Howard published proposed laws, November 1, which he described as

"some of the toughest gun control laws in the world." The proposals call for banning all handguns above .22 caliber. This would mean the destruction of 160,000 of the 200,000 legally held handguns in Great Britain. Smaller caliber sporting weapons will be restricted to licensed clubs. These proposals went beyond the recommendations of Judge William Cullen in a report on Dunblane commissioned by the government.

Banning guns and knives

Pearston and the leadership of the Labour party and the Liberal-Democrats have opposed Howard's proposals as not tough enough and called for a total handgun ban. Labour spokesperson George Robertson said, "There is no place in any decent civilized society for any kind of handguns." Robertson, however, failed to mention the firepower held by Britain's police or its occupation forces in Northern Ireland.

Underlying divisions in the ruling party have come to the surface on this issue threatening its parliamentary majority. Several conservative MPs have opposed the gov-

Continued on Page 4

New Zealand government uses 'domestic violence' debate to curb democratic rights

BY FELICITY COGGAN

AUCKLAND, New Zealand — Suburban police physically removed a 34-year-old man from the home he shared with his 20-year-old partner here October 21, without the woman's prior knowledge or consent. The police were for the first time using powers now available to them under a Domestic Violence Act that came into ef-

AS I SEE IT

fect July 1.

The cops alleged that the young woman was in danger of serious physical assault, even death, from her partner after a long history of sexual and physical abuse during the 18-month relationship. The man had previously faced four separate charges for assaulting women and in August received a suspended prison sentence for an assault on this young woman.

Under the new act, police, relatives, or friends can apply to the courts for protection or other measures on behalf of adults or children whose safety they allege is at risk. Such orders are then permanent and can only be reversed by decision of the Family Court. They replace the previously used nonmolestation orders, which lapsed if there was any liaison between partners. Breach of the new orders carries a NZ\$5,000 (US\$3,900) fine or a six-month jail sentence, rising to two years for repeated breaches.

The act also widens the definition of relationships for which such orders can be served, and of the type of violence covered, to include psychological abuse and threats of violence.

The young woman had in fact laid charges against her partner but her third court hearing was delayed several months. Her father, who supported the police action, said the court system had been too slow and "failed to put him behind bars where he belongs."

A police spokesperson claimed the action had to be taken on the woman's behalf because she was under such severe mental pressure that she was unable to seek the court order herself.

These events have provoked a discussion



Militant/Felicity Coggan

Public sector workers rally May 21 in Hamilton, New Zealand, against cuts in health care. Probes against democratic rights coincide with rulers' drive to gut social wage.

about domestic violence and how to deal with it. Some, supporting the police action, have echoed the cop arguments, reviving the so-called "battered woman syndrome."

Janet Lake, manager of Auckland's Domestic Violence Center, said, "It's good to see the police responding so well and in such a fit and proper manner because there is no doubt some women are too frightened to do anything. They get into states of such gross fear and intimidation and they simply cannot act for themselves." The vice president of the Auckland Council of Civil Liberties, Barry Wilson, welcomed the new act. Maureen Southwick, a senior Family Court lawyer, also backed the police, saying, "Sometimes you reach the stage when you think, what other answer is there?"

Looking to cops is deadly for workers

But looking to the police is exactly the wrong answer to solving the problem of domestic or other violence against women. The police actions should be roundly condemned, along with the powers of the new Act and the "battered woman syndrome" arguments used to justify them.

Concern about the provisions of the new law was voiced by a spokesperson for the National Collective of Women's Refuges, Maria Bradshaw. She said the police action could "set a precedent for people to say they

know better than these women about how to run their lives. It's not unusual for battered women to be told they are not able to make good decisions.... but often women are bidding their time until they can leave safely."

Violence against women is so rooted in the oppression of women as a sex, that the capitalist system reproduces and fosters it, along with racism, to divide and better exploit working people. Along with rape and prostitution, it is a manifestation of women's continued second-class status.

And, while such violence remains all too prevalent, it is also true that important gains have been made in measures to deal with this question. This includes the existence of women's refuges. It also includes the availability of economic assistance, such as the government Domestic Purposes Benefit, paid to women bringing up children alone. Advances in consciousness as a result of gains registered in the fight for women's liberation and other working-class struggles mean more women and men, regard such violence as unacceptable. While many women do remain in violent relationships for long periods, a great number of such women today are able to leave and lead independent lives.

Such advances have been and will continue to be made as part of the broader fight for women's equality — a fight that is part

of the broader struggle to unify the working class across sex, nationality, or race. This progress strengthens the hand of all working people to resist the attacks by the bosses and to overthrow the social and economic system of capitalism from which the oppression and degradation of women flows.

The very real progress that women have made in recent decades has been made precisely because women are not, and refuse to be treated like, powerless victims of circumstance as some supposed supporters of women's rights portray them. Working people should reject the concept of "battered woman syndrome," which has been used in a number of legal defenses of women, including that of New Zealand woman Gaye Oakes, convicted of murdering her husband in April 1995.

Any idea that women, for whatever reason, can become so traumatized as to be unable to take responsibility for their actions simply downgrades women to little more than children or animals, incapable of controlling their daily lives — let alone leading a fight for their liberation or to reorganize society. Such arguments are music to the ears of reactionary and anti-women forces who like to portray all working people this way.

Don't sign rights over to police

The gains women have made came because women acted as conscious fighters, used their political power and human capacities to the full, and in doing so led an advance for all humanity.

These gains have not, and will not, come from signing over our democratic rights to the state to intervene in our lives. The extension of the powers of the police and the courts that the new law entails are a dangerous new probe against the rights of all working people. They are part of preparations by the rulers and their governments for the stepped up repressive powers they will need to use against labor resistance to cutbacks of social programs and wages, redundancies (layoffs), and worsening working conditions.

Using the widespread concern about violence against women to get us to accept the cops' right to snoop on and step into our private lives, is part of the rulers' probes to gut democratic rights.

Encouraging women to look to the cops to solve the problem of domestic violence fosters dangerous illusions for all working people about the role of the police in capitalist society. The cops protect and serve the interests and property of the wealthy ruling families, not women's rights.

Working people should uphold the legal right of women to use provisions against violence from their partners, and insist the police act to protect this right. At the same time, labor should reject any attempt by the cops, among the most notorious brutalizers of women, to unilaterally pose as defenders of women's rights. This simply blurs the fact that the police are bodies of armed men and women serving the class enemy of all working people — the capitalist rulers.

Felicity Coggan is a member of the Engineers Union in Auckland, New Zealand.

British rulers may ban guns, knives, rights

Continued from Page 3

ernment and supported a total ban. They include former cabinet minister David Mellor. Writing in *The Guardian*, another liberal daily, Mellor called for an end to "the growth of an American past-time." Right-wing Tories have attacked the government for different reasons. In the summer, a Conservative dominated parliamentary committee had opposed any ban. Right-wing MP John Carlisle accused the Home Secretary of "panic" and the Dunblane relatives of "hysteria."

The October 17 conviction of 16-year-old Learco Chindamo for the killing of Philip Lawrence allowed electioneering politicians to add knife control to their shopping lists of increased powers. The murdered teacher's wife, Frances Lawrence, published a "manifesto" in *The Times* calling for a "movement" to end "violence and encourage civic values." She also called for a "higher status" in society for teachers and police, an end to the government's "neutrality" on the concept of the family, an emphasis in teaching "effort, earnestness and excellence," and a "ban on the sale of combat knives" and "closure of the shops" that sell them.

"Parties rush to join the new moral crusade" was how the *Independent* described the reaction to the Lawrence manifesto. The paper spoke of a "campaign led by Mrs Lawrence to tackle lawlessness among young people."

Labour leader Anthony Blair said that Lawrence "has done a real service to the country." His deputy, John Prescott, called for a "crusade" against combat knives and attacked the government for not proposing new laws. "We'll work with the government," Prescott declared.

The jailing of a worker on October 31

showed who the real target of these measures is. Dean Payne, 26, was sentenced to two weeks in prison for carrying work knives in his car. He was the first person prosecuted under the Offensive Weapons Act, passed after the Lawrence killing last year.

Workers are the real target

Payne is a casual [temporary] worker at a newspaper distribution depot where he was required to bring his own tools for the job. The judge said there was "no evidence" that Payne had the knives for "offensive purposes" but sent him to jail anyway. The judge's action was publicly praised by Olga Maitland, a right-wing Conservative MP.

The proposed new "Crime Bill" includes a "two strikes and you're out" clause under which defendants are given automatic life sentences. It also calls for abolition of parole and automatic early release for prisoners, and mandatory minimum sentences. As the number of inmates is expected to increase sharply, the government also plans to build 12 new prisons.

A "Police Bill" published November 1 aims to set up a new cop squad with more than 1,400 detectives and an annual budget of £90 million (US\$148 million). The squad will be given greater powers than other police units to enter properties and electronically monitor conversations. The Bill also aims to create a criminal records agency that would provide vetting of convictions and certificates for prospective employees to verify if they have a clean record. While some judges have expressed opposition to these measures, the Labour Party has indicated it will support them.

Editorials in capitalist newspapers have reflected the divided opinion in ruling circles on the effectiveness of these "mo-

ality" campaigns and an uncertainty that attacks on democratic rights can be carried out without triggering working-class resistance. The right-wing *Daily Telegraph* attacked the proposed new gun-controls as "gesture politics" and the debate over them as "demagogic."

"Today, it is social rather than industrial relations that have gone awry" the *Telegraph* said. It urged the government to accelerate cuts on the social wage and encourage "traditional families" and the "institution of marriage." The real problem, according to *The Telegraph*, is "moral relativism," "single-parent households," and the "rights culture of the 60s and 70s."

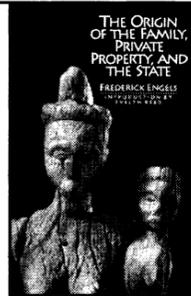
from Pathfinder

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Frederick Engels

INTRODUCTION BY EVELYN REED

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SELL THE BOOKS WORKERS OF THE WORLD NEED

Join the campaign to sell Pathfinder books and pamphlets

YS recruitment can propel subscription drive

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

The international effort to win new subscribers to the *Militant* will need a big push in the final week to wrap up a successful campaign. Using the sales target week November 16-24, *Militant* supporters can go all out to build the Young Socialists and the regional socialist educational conferences at the end of the month. Expanding circulation of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* is linked to recruiting workers and youth to the communist movement.

Seventeen people have joined the Young Socialists in the last two weeks, bringing new forces into the subscription campaign. One YS member from Chicago joined rail workers and other supporters on a four-day Midwest regional packinghouse team.

"In the first week of November, we spent four days talking to packinghouse workers at plant gates in western Iowa, eastern Nebraska and southern South Dakota," wrote *Militant* supporter Mike Galati. The team sold three subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*, one *Militant* subscription and several single copies of both publications.

"While talking to workers at the Hormel plant in Fremont, Nebraska," Galati added, "we learned about a recent contract vote at an Excel plant in Schuyler, Nebraska, barely 50 miles up the road." The workers there explained that they had recently voted to reject a concession contract offered by the company. "The company is offering to increase the pay rate on some of the jobs, but not all," explained Miguel Hernández, a 27-year-old worker in the plant. "They also want a four-year contract instead to three years like the last one."

Galati said that the high point of the team was a sale outside the John Morrell plant in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. The socialist campaigners sold 18 copies of the *Militant*, 11 issues of *Perspectiva Mundial* and one subscription to the Spanish-language monthly to meatpackers there.

Holly Harkness, an auto worker at Ameri-

can Axle in Detroit, said, "I sold two subscriptions to co-workers on the assembly line where I work." American Axle is a former General Motors parts plant of 3,500 workers. GM sold the plant in 1994.

Harkness said she asked one worker who seemed open-minded about politics, "Do you like to read?" He replied "yes" and bought a subscription to the *Militant* when offered to him. "That makes me think there's more people like him out there," she added.

Harkness said supporters of the subscription drive in Detroit had a thorough discussion on how they had fallen behind schedule, and now "everyone thinks we can make this goal. It's just a matter of getting out."



Militant/Mike Galati

Selling the 'Militant' at gate of Hormel plant in Fremont, Nebraska.

Pathfinder Fund at 97 percent

BY MAGGIET ROWE

As we go to press, over \$120,000 has been received for the \$125,000 1996 Pathfinder Fund. This brings the total to 97 percent of the goal. In order to make sure the fund is completed in full, organizers decided to extend the deadline one week. All funds received in New York by Tuesday, November 19 at noon EST will be counted on the final chart, which will appear in the *Militant* printed Thursday, November 21.

Pathfinder supporters in cities around the world have been making an extra effort to contact every potential contributor and collect money from every person in their area who made a pledge. As a result, envelopes full of checks have been flooding into the Pathfinder office for the last week.

In Detroit, Holly Harkness reports that fund supporters found they might be slightly short of their goal, so they got on the phones calling everyone who might be interested in supporting the fund, and organized a raffle. They are selling tickets to co-workers and others to help meet their goal.

Supporters in many cities held special fund-raising meetings last weekend to bring home the fund. In Chicago and Peoria, Illinois, the guest speaker at the fund meetings was Tom Leonard, a longtime socialist who spoke on "Racism, Anti-Immigrant Discrimination, and the Labor Movement." The leaflet for the event explains: "As a young merchant seaman, Tom Leonard witnessed the devastation of and working-class resistance to World War II in Europe and the rise of the anti-colonial revolution in Asia. He draws on his experiences as a union activist and revolutionary working-class fighter to explain the impact of these giant world events on working-class and union

struggles." Emily Fitzsimmons, a rail worker at Burlington Northern - Santa Fe in Seattle, reports that the subscription campaign has pushed ahead of schedule there. "We have sold 37 *Militant* subscriptions, 18 PM subscriptions and 20 NIs." Alaric Dirmeyer, a young worker in Spokane, bought two copies of *New International*. He asked to join the YS and set up a founding meeting on November 11 to establish a YS chapter there.

Jason Welling, a 16-year-old high school student in Shoreline, a suburb of Seattle was voted into the YS chapter this past week. Welling bought the YS pamphlet and a six-month subscription to the *Militant*.

Both he and Dimeyer are planning to attend the regional socialist education conference in San Francisco.

Members of the International Association of Machinists in Seattle have sold 11 subscriptions to the *Militant* to co-workers at Boeing and the Todd shipyards. One co-worker at Boeing who had purchased a copy of *Women's Evolution: From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* by Evelyn Reed bought a one-year subscription to the *Militant*.

Militant Subscription Drive OCTOBER 5 - NOVEMBER 24, 1996

	Militant			PM		NI	
	Goal	Sold	%	Goal	Sold	Goal	Sold
CANADA							
Montreal	25	21	84%	8	8	40	23
Toronto	45	29	64%	10	2	25	11
Vancouver	30	17	57%	3	3	20	8
CANADA Total	100	67	67%	21	13	85	42
NEW ZEALAND							
Auckland*	20	15	75%	1	2	15	12
Christchurch	6	2	33%	1	1	4	5
N.Z. Total	26	17	65%	2	3	19	17
AUSTRALIA	15	9	60%	3	1	10	4
SWEDEN	12	7	58%	8	4	15	16
UNITED STATES							
Boston	30	24	80%	15	10	15	13
Los Angeles	85	64	75%	40	31	40	28
Philadelphia*	35	24	69%	15	11	10	9
Houston	40	27	68%	15	15	15	2
Seattle	45	30	67%	20	17	25	18
San Francisco	70	45	64%	30	11	35	24
Des Moines	25	16	64%	15	11	15	4
Atlanta	27	17	63%	20	15	20	9
Miami*	30	18	60%	20	13	22	13
Pittsburgh	30	18	60%	3	2	12	3
Tucson, AZ	5	3	60%	1	0	2	0
Salt Lake City	32	18	56%	12	7	10	0
Birmingham, AL	48	24	50%	5	6	18	4
Washington, DC	30	15	50%	20	15	15	12
Twin Cities, MN	60	29	48%	20	7	25	6
Peoria, IL	25	12	48%	3	1	10	2
Detroit	50	23	46%	10	8	15	12
Greensboro, NC	25	11	44%	5	7	9	3
Cleveland	25	10	40%	8	1	15	7
New York	135	53	39%	105	95	90	28
Newark, NJ	90	34	38%	45	28	45	6
Chicago	60	21	35%	30	19	30	8
Denver	8	2	25%	4	2	2	2
Morgantown, WV	21	3	14%	1	5	7	3
Other		2					
Total U.S.	1031	543	53%	462	337	502	216
UNITED KINGDOM							
London	36	16	44%	8	1	25	20
Manchester	26	6	23%	2	0	15	8
U.K. Total	62	22	35%	10	1	40	28
FRANCE	6	1	17%	3	0	8	3
International totals	1252	666	54%	501	359	671	326
Goal/Should be	1900	852	71%	425	302	550	390
	IN THE UNIONS						
AUSTRALIA							
AMWU-Food	2	1	50%	0	0	2	1
AMWU-Metal	5	2	40%	0	0	1	0
AUSTRALIA Total	7	3	43%	0	0	3	1
CANADA							
USWA	6	6	100%	2	1	6	3
CAW	3	2	67%	1	0	4	1
IAM	7	3	43%	1	0	8	1
CANADA Total	16	11	69%	4	1	18	5
NEW ZEALAND							
EU	4	2	50%	0	0	0	0
MWU	5	0	0%	0	0	0	0
UFBGWU	3	0	0%	0	0	0	0
NEW ZEALAND Total	12	2	17%	0	0	0	0
UNITED STATES							
UPCW	4	3	75%	7	3	3	0
UNITE	15	5	33%	10	2	10	2
UAW	60	17	28%	10	0	30	1
USWA	40	9	23%	10	3	22	3
IAM	64	16	25%	14	3	29	7
UTU	50	12	24%	5	0	28	2
OCAW	27	6	22%	0	1	15	2
UMWA	4	0	0%	0	0	4	2
U.S. Total	260	65	25%	49	9	138	19
UNITED KINGDOM							
RMT	4	1	25%	0	0	4	1
AEEU	6	0	0%	0	0	4	0
TGWU	5	0	0%	0	0	0	0
U.K. Total	15	1	7%	0	0	8	1
*Raised goal							

Pathfinder Fund

CITY	GOAL	PAID	% of GOAL
Seattle*	\$9,000	\$10,291	114%
Atlanta	\$2,700	\$3,275	121%
Boston	\$6,000	\$7,111	119%
San Francisco	\$10,000	\$10,765	108%
Pittsburgh	\$6,000	\$6,230	104%
Salt Lake City	\$3,600	\$3,660	102%
Philadelphia	\$5,000	\$5,050	101%
Miami	\$2,800	\$2,823	101%
Birmingham	\$4,500	\$4,500	100%
Houston	\$3,000	\$3,000	100%
Washington DC	\$3,500	\$3,351	96%
Newark	\$8,500	\$7,675	90%
Twin Cities	\$7,000	\$6,285	90%
Detroit	\$6,000	\$5,327	89%
New York	\$14,000	\$11,753	84%
Peoria	\$2,750	\$2,214	81%
Greensboro	\$2,400	\$1,925	80%
Chicago	\$7,500	\$5,659	75%
Los Angeles	\$12,000	\$8,648	72%
Morgantown	\$1,500	\$978	65%
Cleveland	\$3,100	\$1,120	36%
Des Moines	\$2,350	\$830	35%
Other U.S.	\$650	\$650	
U.S. Total	\$123,850	\$113,119	91%
Australia	\$750	\$450	60%
Belgium	\$200	\$200	100%
Canada			
Montreal	\$465	\$465	100%
Toronto	\$265	\$265	100%
Vancouver	\$100	\$0	0%
France	\$750	\$750	100%
Greece	\$200	\$0	0%
Iceland			
New Zealand*	\$4,550	\$4,719	104%
Sweden	\$400	\$0	0%
United Kingdom	\$697	\$697	100%
International total	\$132,227	\$120,665	97%
Should be	\$125,000	\$125,000	100%

*Raised goal

Young Socialists recruitment drive picks up steam on the home stretch

This column is written and edited by the Young Socialists (YS), an international organization of young workers, students, and other youth fighting for socialism. For more information about the YS write to: Young Socialists, P.O. Box 14392, St. Paul, MN 55104. Tel: (612) 644-0051. CompuServe: 105162,605

Young Socialists join Quebec student actions

BY MICK O'DONNELL AND VICKY MERCIER

MONTREAL — "I am going to the university in January, what I am doing at Cegep, I do for others and for the future," explained Nicholas Boucher, a student at the Cegep du Viewux Montréal, one of tens of thousands of college students in Quebec who have gone on strike. At one point, as many as 23 of the province's 47 Cegeps (community colleges in Quebec) were closed. Participation in protest activities around the strikes are at the center of political activity for the YS chapter here.

The students are protesting plans to cut up to \$100 million from funding to college level education. The most important of their demands is a freeze in tuition fees. Students have organized a series of militant actions including a spontaneous march of hundreds of youth on Halloween night (see article on back page).

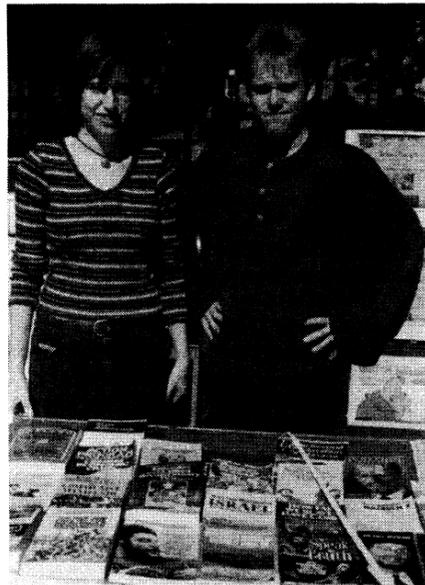
High school students have also responded. Hundreds walked out of their classes at two high schools in east Montreal November 8.

Young Socialists have participated in many of these actions, campaigning around a working-class, communist perspective in the fight for our rights. Several students have signed up for more information about the Young Socialists, picked up copies of the socialist newsweekly the *Militant*, or purchased pamphlets on Malcolm X and the Cuban revolution.

Another action involved hundreds of students in a twenty-four hour occupation of the offices of Quebec's education ministry on November 5. The next day, 5,000 students marched in Longueuil, a suburb of Montreal. One young marcher pointed to and read aloud a sign on a table of the Young Socialists in support of Quebec independence. This incited cheers from a couple dozen other marchers.

The fight against the cuts in funding to education is totally tied to the struggle for Quebec independence. There is an overwhelming amount of support for the independence struggle among active participants in the fight. Five high school students recently attended a class on the Pathfinder pamphlet *An Action Program to Confront the Economic Crisis* organized by the Young Socialists here in Montreal. Dalia Gesualdi-Fecteau, a student at Regina Assumpta, said, "If we win our own country, we will put forward our ideas that we want pay equity and social services available for everyone."

The Canadian constitution imposes on Quebec an undemocratic educational sys-



Militant/ Salm Kolis

New YS members Emily Aland and André Galant in Athens, Georgia.

tem with separate school boards based upon religion and language. The result is an underfunded, inferior school system for Quebecois families who are unable to send their children to private schools. Youth whose first language is English are twice as likely to graduate with a university diploma as those whose first language is French.

The Young Socialists are planning a public forum at McGill University in solidarity with the striking Cegep students.

YS leaders in Canada meet, discuss way forward

BY JACOB GAVIN

TORONTO — Following the Toronto Metro Days of Action, Young Socialists from Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver met to discuss building the YS in Canada.

The October 22-26 Days of Action was a series of demonstrations, pickets and marches against cutbacks to education and health care and attacks on union rights by the provincial government led by Conservative premier Michael Harris. The Days of Action culminated with a rally of hundreds of thousands of working people and students in downtown Toronto October 26. Members of the Communist League in Canada, the Socialist Workers Party from the United States, the YS from both countries, and their supporters came to Toronto to take part in the actions and link-up with fighters.

The next day coordinators from the three Canadian YS chapters — Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver — met together for the first time. Tom Alter, a YS leader in the United States, and Michel Prairie, a leader of the CL in Canada, also attended.

The fact that 16 Young Socialists and three people interested in the YS participated in the Days of Action was "an example of how to build the YS," said Patricia O'Beirne, from Montreal. "It was a rare opportunity to have Young Socialists from across Canada and from the United States collaborate and build our movement through struggles."

Forty-eight young people attending the actions signed up for more information on the YS and six asked to join. Two have since joined the Toronto chapter. A high school student who previously subscribed to the *Militant* joined in Vancouver following a Militant Labor Forum reporting back from the actions.

Having national collaboration in struggles that have a lot of political weight, such as the Quebecois fight for independence, brings the YS closer to forming a national structure in Canada. But "we can't skip steps" in putting together the organization,

Prairie said in the discussion.

The most immediate steps for the YS here involve building the chapters and working towards more collaboration between them in the future. Currently, there are 10 members in Montreal, 6 in Vancouver and 5 in Toronto.

Alter described his experiences building the YS in the United States and participating in the current effort to win 80 new members to the YS there. "Recruitment should be a key point on every chapter's agenda," he said. The YS leaders agreed to raise the possibility of local recruitment drives in all three chapters in Canada.

An effective way of responding to developments in world politics, it was agreed, is to have YS classes. These classes should approach current events from a revolutionary communist perspective, and draw on lessons from history and classical Marxist thought, applying them to current struggles. It is only a very recent development that YS classes have become a weekly norm for all three chapters.

An essential aspect of responding to world politics, said O'Beirne, is distributing Pathfinder literature and the *Militant*. YS chapters have all set subscription goals to contribute to the campaign for the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the Marxist magazine *New International* which ends November 24. In addition, YS members in Montreal have nearly completed translating the YS principles into French.

Defense of the Cuban Revolution was reaffirmed to be a central part of the YS principles. The YS can use literature to educate workers and young people about the example of the revolution and the importance of defending it. The most decisive question in Cuba's defense, however, is the extension of revolutionary movements elsewhere in the world, which remains the fundamental goal of the YS.

Jacob Gavin is the coordinator of the YS chapter in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Joining the GM workers at Janesville picket line

BY TAMI PETERSON AND AMANDA ULMAN

JANESVILLE, Wisconsin — Two members of the Young Socialists and a member of the United Auto Workers (UAW) from Chicago visited striking workers at the General Motors (GM) plant in Janesville November 2. The strike began on October 29. Despite cold weather, spirits were high at the strikers' 10 picketing spots as many cars drove by honking and waving in support.

Strikers spoke about many different issues that they faced inside the plant, including line speed up and forced overtime, where 50 hours is the average amount worked in a week. Jerry Campbell, who is an electrician at the plant and has worked for GM twelve and a half years, said, "Workers are coming in and working 10 hours a day. They go home, go to sleep, then go to work in the morning with no time for recreation."

Another main issue at this plant is the fact that not enough new workers are being hired to make up for those who have retired. All together, team members sold three copies *Militant* to striking workers. YSers got to participate in political discussions with a section of the working class fighting for its rights.

Tami Peterson and Amanda Ulman are members of the Young Socialists in Chicago.

Youth in Iceland protest U.S. embargo on Cuba

BY SIGURDUR JÓHANN HARALDSSON

REYKJAVÍK, Iceland — On November 1 close to 100 people, mostly high school students, marched from the city center to the U.S. embassy here protesting the U.S. embargo against Cuba. The Young Socialists initiated the planning of the action. This protest, which is the first in many years to be held in front of the U.S. embassy, was supported by several pre-university school students' councils, the Apprentice Students' Council, the Peoples

54 new members in the YS!

From July 10 to November 11

City	# of new members
Athens, GA	3
Atlanta	4
Boston	1
Chicago	2
Cleveland	2
Denver	2
Detroit	1
Fresno, CA	3
Houston	3
Los Angeles	6
McAllen, TX	1
Minneapolis/St. Paul	2
Morgantown	1
Muncie, IN	1
Newark	3
New York	3
Philadelphia	1
Portland, OR	1
Salt Lake City	3
San Diego	1
San Francisco	5
Seattle	2
Washington, D.C.	3
TOTAL	54

Alliance in Reykjavik, the Socialist Group of the Peoples Alliance, Peoples Alliance Youth Organization, Iceland-Cuba Friendship Society, and the Young Socialists.

Two university students spoke in front of the embassy, Sigfús Ólafsson, secretary of the Peoples Alliance, and Sýlvía Magnúsdóttir, member of the Iceland-Cuba Friendship Society board. Drífa Snaedal, chairperson of the National Apprentice Students' Union, presented a resolution that was accepted by the protest meeting.

The resolution stated that the meeting condemned the U.S. embargo against Cuba and said that the Icelandic government is responsible as well.

After the protest the Young Socialists had an open house at the Pathfinder bookstore, which about 30 people attended. Ólöf Andra Proppé, a member of the Young Socialists, talked about Cuba. "I often hear the idea that the embargo is a left over from the Cold War," she said. "It is not. The United States and the rulers worldwide are against Cuba because it's an example for workers and farmers, everywhere in the world, for a society where we can decide, and that's why the Young Socialists looks to the Cuban revolution."

One pre-university student bought a subscription to the *Militant*. Another had read a pamphlet from Pathfinder in the library at his school and wanted to read more about socialism. Eleven youth signed up to be invited to the next class or forum at the bookstore.

In Iceland it is hard to find anybody who supports the embargo against Cuba, but few people realize that the embargo is to stop the example of the Cuban revolution. The ruling class of Iceland is very servile to the United States on this question. Lára Margrét Ragnarsdóttir, conservative Independence Party member on the Parliament Committee for Foreign Affairs, said that she is concerned about the increasing numbers of tourist tours from Iceland to Cuba this fall and the effect this will have on relations with Washington.

Sigurdur Jóhann Haraldsson is a YS member in Reykjavik.

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Washington will send troops into Zaire

Continued from front page

did this after being threatened with expulsion from Zaire by local pro-government politicians. The rebels are backed by the government of neighboring Rwanda, which has relied on U.S. support since it came to power in 1994.

One thousand of the U.S. troops Clinton committed are to be stationed around rebel-held Goma in Zaire. They are to take over Goma's airfield and control a three-mile corridor from there to the Rwandan border. Another 2,000 to 3,000 GIs would be dispatched in neighboring countries like Kenya and Uganda.

Washington displaced Paris as the main imperialist power in Rwanda two years ago, and is pushing to expand its influence throughout central Africa, an area where French domination has been prevalent until now.

The Rwandan government has announced that any French units sent to the region are unwelcome in that country, because of close ties Paris had with the former regime in Rwanda that organized massacres of 500,000 people in 1994. "The French have been part of the problem of this region, they cannot be part of the solution," said Rwandan presidential adviser Seth Kamanzi.

Washington wields veto power

An official announcement of the Canadian-led deployment was canceled at the last minute November 12, when the Clinton administration did not approve the plan. While UN officials said that 1,500 Canadian troops could be on their way to Zaire within days, U.S. government representatives continued to block approval at the UN Security Council.

Washington is wielding its military superiority, along with its veto power at the

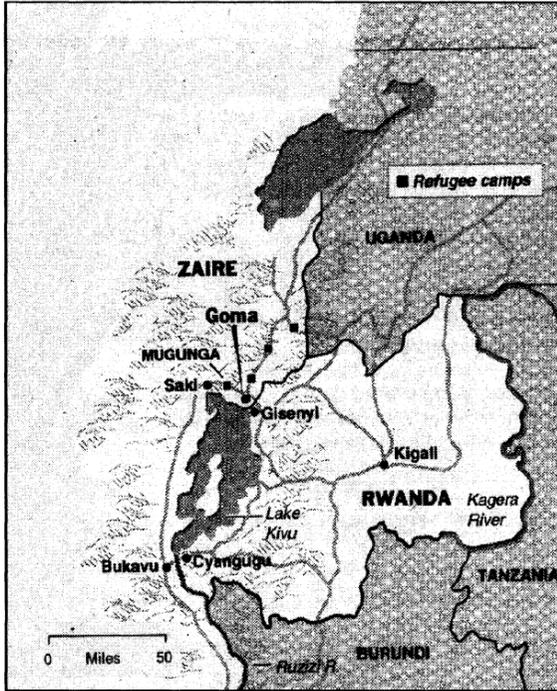
Security Council, to put its stamp in the course of events.

"U.S. planes key for Canadians to get to Zaire," was the headline of an article in the Canadian daily *Globe and Mail*. "Canada simply doesn't have the capacity to move even a small, lightly armed force a third of the way around the world," the article said. "Unless the Americans get us there, we won't be there, or at least not in time," a senior Canadian military officer acknowledged yesterday.

The story continued, "Even France and Britain will be hard pressed to transport the 1,000 or so troops that each is expected to contribute to the 12,000-plus force. Smaller countries, such as the Netherlands and the Scandinavian nations, will also need the help of the U.S. Air Force."

Raymond Chrétien, Canada's ambassador to the United States, has been assigned by Ottawa to serve as the go-between in the Canadian effort to play a major role in any imperialist intervention in Zaire. The Canadian rulers aim to reverse their army's tarnished public image as "peace makers."

Canadian troops took part in the U.S.-led invasion of Somalia in 1992-93, and Ottawa's "peacekeepers" tortured and killed civilian Somalis. The revelation of these murders provoked a major public scandal in Canada. The elite airborne regiment involved was disbanded, and after months of investigations Canada's minister of defense and the army's chief of staff were forced to resign in early October.



After all, "We are a French speaking country," commented Canadian prime minister Jean Chrétien, referring to his government's proposal for heading the intervention in Zaire, according to the Montreal daily *La Presse*. The November 13 issue of the paper paraphrased Chrétien saying that "Canada never went through dark periods in that part of the world." The article also pointed out that Ottawa has troops in Haiti, where it has replaced a U.S.-dominated invasion force.

What most articles in the big-business press fail to point out is that the refugee crisis in Zaire, touted as the reason for inter-

vention, was caused by many of the same imperialist powers preparing to send military forces into central Africa.

Imperialism to blame for crisis

The government of Belgium—the former colonial master of Rwanda, Burundi, and the Congo (now Zaire)—promoted the divisions between Hutus and Tutsis to maintain control of the colonies. In Rwanda, about 85 percent of the population is considered Hutu, and 15 percent Tutsi. The composition of Burundi is similar. Members of the Rwandan capitalist class who are Hutu had ruled the country since colonial rule ended in 1962.

In the three decades since formal independence of those countries, French imperialism became the dominant neocolonial power. Paris had 2,500 troops in Rwanda backing the brutal 20-year reign of former Rwandan president Juvénal Habyarimana, who died in an airplane crash in April 1994 along with the president of Burundi. The Hutu-dominated regime then unleashed troops and vigilantes in massacres of hundreds of thousands. In addition to political opponents of the government, many of those killed were of Tutsi origin.

In July 1994, the government was defeated by the forces of the Tutsi-dominated Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Washington backed the new RPF regime and set up a military basis in Kigali, the country's capital. Prior to the RPF victory, government officials ordered a massive exodus into neighboring Zaire and other countries, alleging the RPF would kill anyone suspected of being Hutu.

That's when the camps near Goma and other Zairian cities were set up. These camps are under the military control of the Interahamwe vigilante militias and former officers of the Hutu-dominated Rwandan army, who were heavily involved in the 1994 massacres.

Both groups are still well armed and use the camps as bases to launch raids into neighboring Rwanda and Burundi. They had also persuaded some Zairian Hutus to join them and launched attacks against Zairian Tutsis in Kivu province, forcing thousands to flee their homes.

In another development, the government of South Africa said it is considering sending troops to Zaire as part of an international UN force. South African deputy president Thabo Mbeki met with the Zairian president at Mobutu's villa on the French Riviera November 12, according to *Johannesburg's Business Day*. Mbeki said later in Rome that his government will participate in a UN military deployment.

GM gains concessions from UAW

BY HOLLY HARKNESS

DETROIT — United Autoworkers Union (UAW) negotiators reached agreement on a three-year contract with General Motors Corporation on November 2. The contract mirrors the agreements already reached at Ford and Chrysler. However, the contract contains several provisions that give GM greater flexibility to reduce its workforce.

General Motors stock rose \$1.625 to \$55.625 when Wall Street investors received word that the contract allows GM to cut between 30,000 and 35,000 jobs over the life of the three-year deal.

"It may seem as if the UAW is imposing the same deal on GM that it negotiated recently with Ford and Chrysler, but in reality things are being carefully fudged to make the contract fit with GM's needs," *Fortune* magazine observed.

Despite record profits of \$6.9 billion last year, GM's car and truck business has steadily lost its competitive advantage over not only Ford and Chrysler, but Japanese and German automakers.

GM's labor costs remain considerably higher than those of its competitors, because GM makes more of its own parts in-house at full Big Three [GM, Ford, and Chrysler] wages, and because GM hasn't driven down the labor time needed to produce each vehicle as much as its rivals.

"GM's labor costs per vehicle amount to 17.5% of revenue per vehicle... That compares with 10.2% for Chrysler Corp. and 5% for Ford Motor Co.," stated an article in the November 11 *Wall Street Journal*.

Saying they would stem the loss of jobs from Big Three operations, UAW officials negotiated agreements this year to "guarantee 95 percent of current employment" over the life of the contracts. But these agreements contain provisions for automakers to exempt "troubled" or "noncompetitive" plants from the guarantee. Also excluded from the equation are jobs lost to "efficiency gains."

The UAW officials signed several documents that state for the record that GM is different than Ford and Chrysler. The pact with GM allows them to adjust the workforce in larger geographic groupings than at Ford or Chrysler. For example, GM's 13 factories in Flint, Michigan, which employ 28,000 workers, constitute a single

grouping. So GM could sell off an entire plant of 1,400 workers without violating the 95% limit.

Another element of GM's cost cutting plan comes into play as current employees retire. About half of GM's 213,000 U.S. hourly workers will be retiring in the next 10 years, and the new contract raises incentives for workers to take early retirement. Even though the UAW agreement forces GM to replace most of these workers, the company can do it at a greater cost reduction.

The deal allows the company to pay lower wages at any new parts operations it buys or starts up. At other GM plants, new hires earn only 70 percent of the base pay and take three years to catch up. GM does not have to provide medical benefits to these workers for the first seven months. Under the new contract these workers will be forced to use an HMO for their medical benefits for the first two years.

GM officials said that they expect the agreement to allow them to get about halfway to their goal of matching the productivity of the leading Japanese automakers. This means shedding 35,000 hourly jobs of the 70,000 GM needs to cut.

The national agreement, which includes a \$2,000 lump sum the first year and 3 percent wage increases the next two years, is likely to pass in ratification votes that will be carried out through November 15. But if the past two years are any indication, the company faces stiff resistance from its workers when it comes to local agreements.

In addition to the national contract, each UAW local must work out a local agreement with the plant it organizes. These agreements cover everything from job classifications to safety rules to staffing levels at that specific location.

In October two UAW locals at GM plants in Indianapolis and Janesville, Wisconsin, went on strike over disagreements in the local negotiations. This included demands for more jobs to relieve the burden of overtime, unresolved grievances, and seniority rights. Over the past three years there have been numerous walkouts at local plants, the longest being the 17-day strike at GM's Delphi plants in Dayton, Ohio.

The strike in Indianapolis ended after five days and the Janesville strike was settled November 6. These strikes and the three-

week walkout against GM in Canada cost the company a loss of about 135,000 cars and trucks. The Janesville plant shut down production of GM's most popular sport utility models, the Tahoe and Suburban. But GM showed it was willing to take the loss in its push and shove with the union.

Only 10 of 123 UAW local agreements had been settled at General Motors plants as of November 3.

Holly Harkness is a member of Local 235 at the American Axle Manufacturing plant (formerly GM's Chevy Gear and Axle).

Metal bosses, union negotiate over sick pay cuts in Germany

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — Talks between the employers in the metal and engineering industry and the IG Metall union in the German state of Baden-Württemberg have collapsed. The negotiations over company plans to cut sick leave payments had been scheduled for November 7. The rulers in Germany as well as the union officialdom had hoped to reach a pilot agreement that could serve as a model for all Germany on the question of sick pay. After three waves of protests by hundreds of thousands of metalworkers in the last month alone, the German ruling class is increasingly nervous that the union officials could lose control over the workers' protests.

The German daily *Die Welt* reported that the IG Metall's chief negotiator, Gerhard Zambelli, said the union was not willing to meet the employers' demand that workers give up vacation days and vacation payments in exchange for maintaining 100 percent sick leave payments. Zambelli said the talks collapsed because the employers insisted that if the union didn't grant more concessions they would "strictly apply the new law," which allows the bosses to lower the sick pay to 80 percent as of October 1.

Negotiations are now scheduled for November 19 in the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen. *Die Welt* reported that both Dieter Hundt, the representative of the employers, and Zambelli were skeptical that the negotiations in that state will serve as a

model either.

"It makes no sense to continue the negotiations in Karlsruhe as the IG Metall is so hell-bent on the question of the sick leave payments," Hansjörg Döpp, the bosses' chief negotiator in Nordrhein-Westfalen, told *Die Welt* after the negotiations had collapsed in Baden-Württemberg.

In the state of Bavaria, where 150,000 workers participated in protests on November 4, IG Metall has canceled its contracts. They will expire at the end of January, which makes it possible for the union to call a strike in February.

The London *Financial Times* commented that the collapse of the negotiations in Baden-Württemberg with "Germany's metal and engineering industry moved one step closer to possible all-out strikes." In addition to IG Metall, officials from other unions in the DGB federation say they will fight to defend the sick pay. The union federation is supposed to discuss an action program against attacks on social security at its special convention in mid-November.

Meanwhile, unemployment figures released for October show joblessness is at a record high of 4.04 million, an increase of 41,000 over the previous month. Three-quarters of the increase came in western Germany.

Carl-Erik Isacsson is a member of the metalworkers union at the Scania truck plant in Södertälje, Sweden.

Organizing capitalism's gravediggers

New York area socialists strengthen trade union work, build Young Socialists

BY NAOMI CRAINE

NEWARK — Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialists chapters in New York and New Jersey are taking steps to strengthen the organization, functioning, and striking power of the communist movement in this area. In a series of meetings in late October and early November, they discussed the world and U.S. political situation and how, by organizing to meet the opportunities to build a proletarian party and communist youth organization today, the communist movement can prepare itself to lead the larger class battles to come.

The discussions in New York and New Jersey followed recent meetings of the National Committees of both the SWP and YS, as well as a meeting of the party's national trade union leadership. These meetings examined the direction of the bipartisan offensive against the working class led by Clinton administration; the assault on democratic rights, including government police probes; and the employers' continued drive to amass greater profits at the expense of workers. The political situation today creates openings to recruit and demands more disciplined functioning and proletarian norms by party branches and socialists functioning in the trade unions.

The top priorities following the meetings here are to help bring to a successful close the Young Socialists drive to recruit 80 new members by December 1 and building the regional educational conferences sponsored by the SWP and YS November 29-December 1. (See ad on front page.)

One of the main questions the socialists grappled with was why bolshevik norms of organization are necessary to organize the working class and its allies in a revolutionary struggle to replace the capitalist government with one of workers and farmers. Today, this requires local party units capable of responding to political developments, organized fractions of socialist workers carrying out common work in the industrial unions, and functioning units of a communist youth organization.

The socialist workers decided they could better organize themselves along those lines by reorganizing their branch structure in the area to two units, one in New York and the other in Newark. Previously there were three branches in Brooklyn, New York, and Newark. Two dozen members of the New York and Newark branches are moving across the state line as part of setting up new branches that are roughly the same size, as are several members of the Young Socialists. Some half dozen socialist workers from the area will also be moving to other cities to help build the communist movement.

A delegation from the SWP's national trade union committee met and worked with socialist workers in the area who are members of five industrial unions — the International Association of Machinists; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; United Auto Workers; Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; and United Transportation Union — to discuss how to im-

prove their collective functioning and communist work in the trade unions.

At the same time, leaders of the Young Socialists met with the New York and Newark chapters of that organization and adopted measures to bring their organizational forms in line with their political goals. These include holding weekly decision-making meetings, electing executive committees and organizers rather than coordinators, and building the YS as a proletarian youth organization. The SWP and YS decided that where their members are working jobs in factories, mines, or mills and are in the same union, they will meet together to collectively decide the course of their political work on the job and in the union.

Communist workers and youth also decided to continue 24-hour defense of the Pathfinder Building, which houses the offices of Pathfinder Press, its printshop, and the *Militant*. This defense, carried out over the last six years, has also protected the Pathfinder mural — a six-story depiction on the south wall of the building of the revolutionaries Pathfinder publishes and other working-class fighters from around the world. The mural, which was completed in 1989, has now been covered over in order to halt water seepage and structural damage to the building.

'The Changing Face of U.S. Politics'

Dennis Richter, a rail worker and leader of the party's national trade union committee, gave a report here to the final meeting of the members of the SWP and YS in the district November 3. Over the previous two weeks, he said, socialist workers in five unions "discussed the importance of going back and looking at what communist trade union work is, and to our handbook, *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics — Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions*." The book, by SWP national secretary Jack Barnes, describes the experience of the working class over the last two decades, and reflects the hard-earned lessons drawn from the activity of the organized class-conscious and revolutionary-minded section of that class.

Richter cited a report to the 1979 SWP convention reprinted in the book, which explains that the goal of communist workers in the unions "is quite simple: to do everything possible to transform the American unions, as Trotsky explained, into 'instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.' What we do is aimed at advancing toward revolutionary unions as combat organizations of the American working class. In the process of doing this, we'll build the irreplaceable political instrument of our class — a revolutionary party of industrial workers."

Over the past decade, Richter said,



UAW members picketing outside GM plant in Indianapolis October 30, are part of resistance in working class.

branches and industrial union fractions of the party retreated in their functioning and political work on the job. This was due to setbacks the working class suffered under the blows of the ruling class offensive. Along with that retreat came a slide in the norms of the party units. Fraction and branch meetings became less political, mass work and union work less directed through democratic and centralized organization, and habits of discipline and attention to detail eroded.

Although there are not rapid political developments going on, he said, there is enough happening in the class struggle to simultaneously transform this functioning and to recruit a new generation to the communist movement.

Using *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* — along with issues of the *New International* magazine that contain the main strategic lessons of the communist movement over the last 20 years — is especially important today because of workers' resistance to the employers' attacks and the attraction of a layer of youth to communist politics. These facts open the possibility for communists to reconquer the lessons contained in these documents.

Describing the current political situation, Richter said, "The ruling class has a big job in front of it that won't be accomplished without giant struggles involving massive violence: the employers will drive to fundamentally alter the relations between capital and labor to lay the basis both to raise the average profit rate and to increase the mass of profits.

"What the rulers can't avoid is a frontal assault on the industrial working class," he continued. "They look around and say, 'We have low interest rates, low inflation, stagnant or declining wages, and a fairly stable economy. But we haven't even come close to what we need to accomplish.' There is a wing of the ruling class that wants to push faster and harder and there are companies willing, like General Motors is right now, to take a strike in order to push workers back further."

The day before, GM reached a tentative national contract agreement with the United Auto Workers (UAW). Workers at GM plants in Indianapolis and Janesville, Wisconsin, were still on strike over local issues, particularly demanding relief from massive overtime work. These walkouts were settled over the next few days, with the company pledging to hire a few more workers at the struck facilities.

The national contract allows GM to eliminate some 35,000 jobs over a three-year period, close several plants, and pay lower wages to workers in new parts operations. Nevertheless, company officials say the pact doesn't do the job of putting GM on par with its competitors in terms of labor costs and

productivity. The number-one U.S. automaker also recently took a strike at its Canadian plants, before signing a contract where the Canadian Auto Workers members gave similar concessions.

War of position between classes

Richter said that although there are few strikes or labor battles now, there is "a giant war of position going on between the classes. This war is not so clear from the outside. It's one that doesn't always break out into the open. It's like watching someone doing isometric exercises. You have two sides pushing against each other, even though it may not look like there is much tension or energy being exerted."

As the employers probe workers' resistance and test how far they can push, the reelection of President William Clinton "will represent a continuation of his administration leading the bipartisan assault on our social wage and our living conditions," Richter said.

"Clinton claims he is the great supporter of the downtrodden," the SWP leader said. "The Republicans want to march down the field 100 yards to the right, and Clinton says, 'No! You have to bring it back 40 yards.' So after organizing to push 60 yards to the right, he's hailed by groups on the left and the union officialdom as someone who's defending working people!" The coming bipartisan assault on Medicare is a prime example of this.

The tension and desire to stand up and fight by working people often breaks through the surface. Richter pointed to Leland, Mississippi, where 400 people turned out to protest the death of Aaron White. At first police said the Black worker was shot by cops near the town of 6,300. Later they changed the story, claiming White committed suicide. Authorities declared a state of emergency and imposed a 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. curfew after some residents pelted police cars with stones.

Another, more sustained, sign of this resistance is the rise in struggle against national oppression by Chicanos and Mexicans, which could be seen in the fighting spirit and youthfulness of the October 12 march on Washington for immigrant rights. It is also reflected in a series of skirmishes by packinghouse workers, particularly Latinos, in the Midwest against immigration raids and the conditions they face on the job.

Because of this resistance among workers and youth whose first language is Spanish, a few of whom are joining the communist movement, Pathfinder Press has made the top priority of its Spanish-language publishing program to produce an edition of *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* in Spanish. Several workers at the November 3 meeting enthusiastically became the first of the many volunteers that will be needed to translate, typeset, and proofread the material for this book. That work has already begun.

As part of responding to the rise in the struggles by Chicanos and Mexicans throughout the southwest, Laura Garza, who was the SWP candidate for U.S. vice president, will soon be moving from New York to Houston.

In addition, leaders of the YS and other socialist workers from New York and elsewhere are moving to Des Moines, Iowa, to strengthen the communist movement there, and to Morgantown, West Virginia, where for the first time in over a decade some of the coal mines have begun hiring young workers.

The morning after the meeting, rail worker Simone Berg and Mike Galati, who works in Pathfinder's printshop, took off for Des Moines to join a week-long sales team to reach meatpacking workers with the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Pathfinder books.

Young Socialists recruitment drive

Young Socialists leader Jack Willey also gave a report to the meeting in Newark,

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summing up the conclusions of the YS leadership delegation. He reported on the Young Socialists drive to recruit 80 new members between July 11 and December 1. The effort is picking up steam, he said. In at least three cities, workers joined the YS after meeting a co-worker who is part of the communist movement. Several other new recruits are also young workers who met socialists campaigning on the streets or at political meetings. Other new YS members include youth who helped lead protests in defense of affirmative action and immigrant rights in California, students who organized meetings for Socialist Workers candidates to speak at their schools during the election campaign, and others. "Chapters report running into small groupings of young fighters attracted to communist politics," Willey added. "In some places this has resulted in recruitment of two or more people at a time."

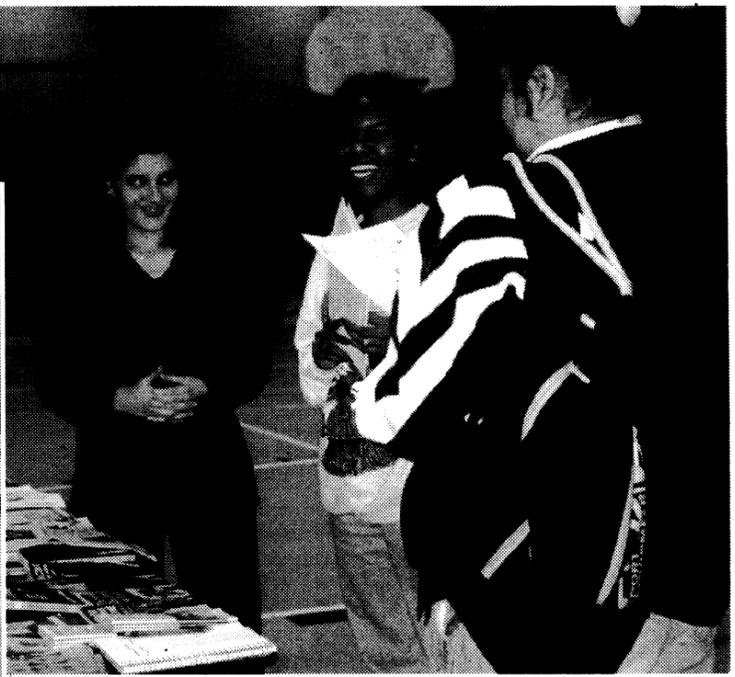
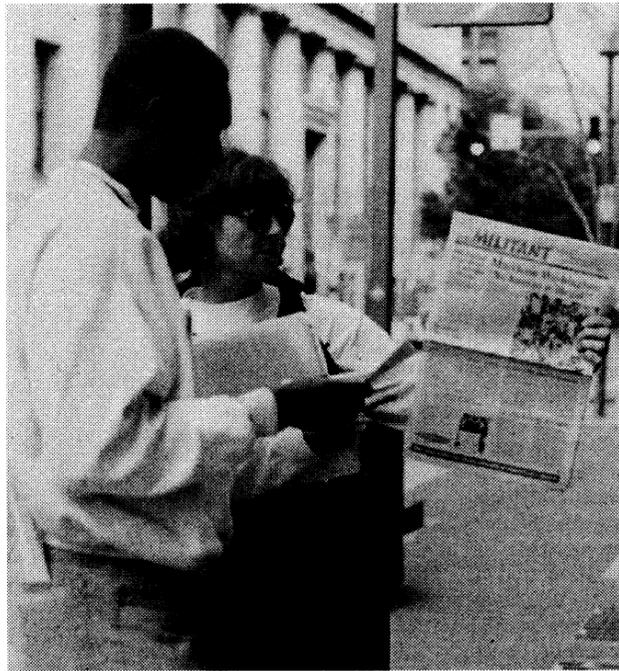
Six youth have joined the YS in the New York/New Jersey area since the recruitment drive began in July.

"As we start to recruit larger numbers to the Young Socialists, we keep running into a big problem," Willey said. "We started anew in building a communist youth organization two years ago. We began with politics, not with organization. Now there is a gap between our political line and organizational norms.... The YS is extremely inefficient as a result of our lack of bolshevik norms and methods of organization."

The New York and Newark chapters concluded that "we need to function collectively, meet weekly, and have our structures reflect our political goal: leading young people to join the revolutionary battles of the working class and its allies to overturn the government of the final empire and open the fight for socialism," Willey explained.

"We discussed the difference between coordinators, which have existed since the formation of the Young Socialists [in 1994], and organizers. The former is a social democratic concept, the latter a bolshevik one," he continued. "The New York chapter voted to form an executive committee that is responsible for organizing all the members to carry out the decisions of the chapter meetings on a week-to-week basis. This is a leadership committee," elected by the chapter membership. One of its members will be the organizer.

"The only way that a communist youth



Militant/Phil Norris (left), Gerardo Sánchez (top)

Socialists are organizing to build communist movement. Left, selling the *Militant* at rally demanding justice for Jonny Gammage in Pittsburgh. Above, YS leader Verónica Poses (left) talks with students at Little Priest Tribal College in Winnebago, Nebraska.

organization will gain the discipline and organization" it needs, Willey said, "is to model itself after the proletarian party, and to adapt the party's method of organization according to the needs of the YS."

That's one reason why strengthening the political functioning of the SWP branches and trade union units is so necessary today, Richter stated. "The health and welfare of the Young Socialists is directly determined by what the party does and becomes."

Proletarian habits and discipline

"In the last few months, we've been confronted with a series of probes on our democratic rights by the ruling class," Willey said, pointing to another reason the communist movement needs to reconquer proletarian habits and discipline. "The economic assault, including several different laws that have been passed, brings with it attacks on democratic rights. This includes the 'anti-terrorism' bill, the 'anticrime' bill, and the various pieces of anti-immigrant legislation. There are other measures that aim to criminalize youth, such as attempts to force drug testing on those who are getting their driver's license, and imposing curfews.

"The probes include the call I received from a man stating he was from the Treas-

ury Department inquiring about the U.S. Cuba Youth Exchange,"

which Willey participated in last summer, he said. "It includes the FBI interrogating employees at TWA [TransWorld Airlines] after the crash of Flight 800, and in the months after that, continuing interrogations by government agencies of workers at JFK airport."

The TWA investigation highlighted the importance of communist workers functioning collectively and discussing politically what is happening at their workplace and industry. In his report, Richter noted, "The FBI went into action right after the crash and began to put pressure on the workers there and called IAM [International Association of Machinists] members in for questioning. The fraction [of socialist workers in the IAM] met and had a discussion on our stance of not talking to the FBI."

'Need to take ourselves seriously'

"But then the fraction stopped working its way through this," Richter continued, "coming back to it in the concrete situation workers at TWA face, and what it means tactically on the job. What does a communist worker do when told by a boss that they have to speak to the FBI? You have to be prepared and help prepare others before it happens. You have to know what you're go-

ing to say, to know what your rights are."

Organizing the defense of the Pathfinder building is a crucial piece of forging the kind of movement needed today, Richter added. "We are dangerous people," he said. "The rulers take us seriously. We need to do the same for ourselves."

The rail worker recalled, "Participating in a defense guard was one of my first political actions as a Young Socialist Alliance member" in New York in the early 1970s. "We had to defend the Communist Party mayoral candidate at Columbia University against clubs and bats" wielded by the National Caucus of Labor Committees, a grouping led by Lyndon LaRouche that called itself Marxist but was on the road to becoming fascist. The attack was part of "Operation Mop-up," in which this outfit carried out physical assaults on members of the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party. "The way we organized our defense showed me that the type of organization I was in was serious about what it set out to do," Richter said.

The SWP and YSA — the predecessor of today's Young Socialists — carried out a victorious 15-year lawsuit against the FBI and other government cop agencies for spying and disruption against the communist organizations. In the course of the trial, the government was forced to admit scores of burglaries against the offices of the SWP and YSA. Richter pointed to this as another example of why a 24-hour defense guard is a conquest for the workers movement.

Willey described how socialists in North Carolina got a taste of the future a few months ago at a forum on fascism that they organized with some youth in Asheville. Several ultrarightist skinheads came into the meeting, wearing spiked brass knuckles and mace, and stated they were fascists.

Willey quoted a report by Diana Newberry, a YS leader who was in North Carolina at the time. "They were out for recruitment," Newberry wrote. "They very calmly and sanely talked about their family, the decay of society and to their ideas of saving the white race.... This is a brief picture, but it's important to keep these things in mind when they happen because we will face it more in the future."

Willey agreed, adding, "It drives home once again the importance of the YS catching up on the proletarian habits and norms of functioning," such as being prepared to defend any meeting you organize.

The reorganized SWP branches and YS chapters in the New York/New Jersey area have plenty of work to dive into. SWP and YS members are involved in building a tour for Cuban writer Norberto Codina in the New York area November 17-24, which will be an opportunity to work with youth and workers attracted to the socialist revolution in Cuba (see itinerary on back page). The tour can be part of communists' "work in defense of the Cuban revolution, and how we can use it to explain an example of workers in power," Richter said.

At these events and through the rest of the *Militant* subscription drive, they will be working to recruit to the Young Socialists and build the regional socialist educational conference that begins in Washington, D.C. November 29.

Protests erupt as killer cops walk

Continued from front page

were fired, striking one police officer in the leg and another, the copilot of a police helicopter hovering overhead, in the arm. Neither cop was seriously wounded.

Eight fires at homes and businesses were still burning early the next morning. Police chief Darrel Stephens said early November 14 that the cops arrested eight people in the

course of the night.

Similar but wider protests had taken place in the same area October 24, soon after two white police officers stopped and then shot and killed Lewis.

The police stopped Lewis's car at an intersection claiming he was speeding. They later said the car was stolen. When Lewis, who had a passenger, did not roll down his

window, police officer Sandra Minor beat her baton on the car. Officer Knight walked to the front of the car and shot Lewis five times through the windshield. Knight claimed he fired after the automobile "lurched forward." Witnesses contradicted the cop's account. Iris Brinkley told a local reporter, "The car was going slow, it was just like when you take your foot off the break." Other witnesses said Lewis was getting out of the car.

The grand jury ruled that "the death of TyRon Lewis was the result of a justifiable homicide under Florida law," saying that Knight was in danger of being run over and that the shooting was not racially motivated.

The decision means Knight will not face criminal charges. He has been suspended from active duty for 60 days for failing to take "reasonable means to avoid the danger."

Police chief Stephens is trying to pinpoint blame for the unrest on the National People's Democratic Uhuru Movement, a Black organization based in the neighborhood. "A good part of the activity taking place on the streets tonight was planned," Stephens said. "I don't believe that this was a spontaneous event."

According to the Associated Press, around 4:00 p.m. on November 13, hours after the grand jury ruling, Uhuru supporters were gathered in front of a house, handing out flyers calling for a community meeting. "Killer cop goes free," the leaflets read. "We will not be shot down in the streets like dogs. Neither will we be pushed into jails for defending our community.... Get orga-

Continued on Page 14

All-white jury frees Pennsylvania cop

BY EDWIN FRUIT

PITTSBURGH — Over 150 people gathered November 13 at the Allegheny County courthouse in downtown Pittsburgh to protest the "not guilty" verdict delivered that day by an all-white jury in the trial of police officer John Vojtas, one of the three cops charged with involuntary manslaughter in the death of Jonny Gammage. On October 18, Judge David Cashman declared a mistrial in the case against two other cops indicted on similar charges. Those two cops await a new trial.

The coroner's report had said that Gammage, a 31-year-old businessman who was Black, died of suffocation through compression of his neck and chest after the cops stopped his car and put him under arrest. The jury for Vojtas's trial was selected from Lackawanna County, which is 350 miles away from Pittsburgh and has a population that is 99.3 percent white.

Shouting "No Justice, No Peace," and "You can run, you can hide, this is still homicide," an angry but disciplined picket

scored the November 13 verdict. On just two hours notice, outrage over this injustice brought out the protesters, who included Black and white students, working people, and others.

Protesters marched to the Federal Building to illustrate their call for government intervention in the case. At a news conference held at the same time as the protest, the Pittsburgh NAACP called for a march for Saturday, November 16, starting in the Hill District in the Black community and ending at the Allegheny County Courthouse.

"The local system of justice has spoken, but we feel that a gross injustice has been done," said Tim Stevens at the NAACP news conference. He said the NAACP would ask the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division to investigate "the apparent criminal violation" of Gammage's civil rights.

Edwin Fruit is a member of the International Association of Machinists in Pittsburgh.

La Gaceta writers discuss cultural policy in Cuba

Among the features of the September-October issue of *La Gaceta de Cuba* are several articles replying to a new publication in Madrid entitled *Encuentro de la cultura cubana* [Cuban Cultural Encounter], edited by Jesús Díaz. We reprint below major excerpts of such an article by Pedro de la Hoz.

Díaz is a writer and filmmaker who defected from Cuba several years ago. De la Hoz, a frequent contributor to *La Gaceta*, is editor of the magazine *Arte Cubano* [Cuban art].

La Gaceta de Cuba, published six times a year in Spanish by the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (UNEAC), is a leading forum for discussion on culture, politics, and the challenges facing the Cuban revolution today.

The translation, footnotes, and sub-heads are by the *Militant*.

BY PEDRO DE LA HOZ

The title suggests good will: *Encuentro de la cultura cubana*. A few words on the masthead describe the magazine as "an independent quarterly publication that does not represent and is not connected to any political party or organization inside or outside Cuba." The lead editorial insists that "we seek to help present our culture in its diversity, in its contemporary and international scope, and as one of the principal hopes of the nation."

Certainly there can never be an excess of space for points of encounter and dialogue on Cuban culture. But in this case looks are deceiving. The launching over the summer of this magazine, published in Madrid and edited by the writer and filmmaker Jesús Díaz, pursues clear political aims.

Beginning with its lead editorial, *Encuentro* makes an error of presumption. In Cuba important space has opened up in recent years, space for demonstrating the diversity and the contemporary and universal reach of Cuban culture; and for discussing the country's past, present, and future.

Space for debate in Cuba

This space, which has continued to grow, bears no resemblance to the caricature that *Encuentro* terms "one of the sorriest aspects of the current situation in the country," consisting of "an attempt to divide up the Cuban population into two poles that are usually presented as irreconcilable: those living on the island and those in exile." The director of *55 Brothers* should know that the process he filmed effectively in its initial moments has today matured and become irreversible. But I will return to this later.

Nevertheless, even the magazine's pretensions of constituting the sole space for discussion would be worthy of consideration if it respected the objective and pluralistic spirit proclaimed in its lead editorial. To call things by their name—a name that *Encuentro* avoids and covers up shamefacedly—this is a right-wing political publication that seeks to present our country

from this perspective.

The magazine's views are smuggled in under a supposed liberalism and a left-wing appearance. It promotes the idea of the irreversible frustration and agony of the Cuban revolutionary process. It incites intellectuals living inside and outside the island—including those who sympathize or show respect and comprehension for the country's situation—to wash their hands of Cuba and adopt instead the perspective of a dependent Cuba, a Cuba that used to exist.

A quick glance at the magazine's contents reveals its viewpoint without too much difficulty. The materials range from an academic examination by Jorge Domínguez, a Harvard University professor and active member of the Inter-American Dialogue committee, to a haranguing diatribe against Cuba today by Marifeli Pérez-Stable.

Domínguez presents his interpretation of Cuba's situation in the 1990s, starting from the hallowed neoliberal stereotypes of U.S. political science. But the academic cover doesn't work. His presentation dissolves into speculation and prophecy, and responds more to desire than to reality.

Accusations such as arbitrariness, repression, censorship, and control are repeated in a Goebbels-like manner throughout the pages of the magazine, in an attempt to discredit Cuba. Domínguez's political fiction utilizes these terms, and Marifeli Pérez-Stable picks them up in her article, "Mission Fulfilled: How the Cuban Government Eliminated the Threat of Dialogue." Her analysis, written with a tone of obsession, touches on the nature of the revolutionary power, which for her rests on "an intensive exploitation of the reserves of good will, and the people's fear of the unknown."

Profound contempt for Cuban people

These appreciations demonstrate an ignorance of the true dynamic of Cuban society. They show a profound contempt for the Cuban people who, by their own decision, have faced the most difficult years of our contemporary history. And they display an absolute and total attempt to reduce things to the exclusive model that the United States tries to impose on a world scale, in which everything that does not resemble this model in body and soul is of no value at all.

To attribute to the Cuban government "the decisive vote in the approval of the Helms-Burton Law" because it shot down the planes sent by the counterrevolutionary Brothers to the Rescue that violated the nation's sovereignty, is a perfidious claim.¹ By this view, the Cuban revolution should be permissive, complacent, obedient, fearful; ready to avoid everything that might bother or provoke the rage of the neighbor to the north.

Nothing is accidental in the conception and order of the magazine's contents. As part of this whole dramatic act, articles are inserted that are less prejudiced or genuinely literary, as part of a homogeneous whole: against the revolution, everything; within

the revolution, nothing.²

As proof, the magazine contains a documents section that at first glance might seem fair and objective. It includes the declaration by the Conference of Cuban Catholic Bishops; the "Conclusions and Recommendations from the Report on the Human Rights Situation in Cuba" by the special reporter of the Geneva Commission; and disjointed fragments of the report of the Political Bureau to the Fifth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.³

It does not take too much effort to see how things are manipulated here. The editors mutilate the party document, intentionally ignoring its examination of the social conditions in the country, while stressing only those fragments that could be construed as an attack on intellectuals, relying of course on a partial and out-of-context reading of it.

Publishing the document by the special reporter is an even greater act of bias, since it is widely known that it merely echoes the most hostile sectors of the Cuban-Miami enclave, and is an instrument of the anti-Cuban policy of U.S. administrations.

Added to this is the clear manipulation of various titles and informational materials ("We are losing all our values" is the title given to an interview with Tomás Gutiérrez Alea,⁴ to make the reader believe he was a dissident, something that cannot be found anywhere in the interview) and a sick insistence on trying to show that cultural activity on the island is suffering incurable paralysis.

To verify this last point, it's sufficient to observe the sham type of dialogue the magazine proposes to us. The literature section contains reviews of ten titles, all of them published in the United States and Spain. The editors list another 31 books, only two of them published in Cuba.

More than a few lines in this section contain tendentious political assessments. The language can sometimes be crude and gross, as with the case of Zoe Valdés's review of the photographic essay *La vida: La Habana 1994*, by Alberto Schommer. (In passing, Valdés commits the blunder of attributing the text of the well-known song by Pablo Milanés, *La vida no vale nada* [Life doesn't matter] to the Rosenbergs. She's got the song mixed up.)

One truly painful case for those who know him is that of Eliseo Alberto, whose article "The Gray Years" seems much closer to the prose of Cabrera Infante's *Mea Cuba* than one might suppose. At times it would even appear to echo Pérez Roura, García Fusté, Celedonio González, and other persons who vociferate from the airwaves of Hialeah. The writer treats as taboo the entire experience of the Cuban revolution, stating that its errors arise from monstrous deformations. Embodied in his apocalyptic outburst is a type of rhetoric alien to Cuba's cultural experiences—that of the horror of the Gulag



La Gaceta de Cuba features literary and visual pieces like the one above made by mid-century artist Amelia Peláez.

and the purges.

He forgets that with all the difficulties, wrongs, and errors in the institutional life of Cuban culture in these years; and despite certain aberrations like those of the 1970s, in Cuba there was never a general stifling of thought, nor of the nation's spiritual richness.

A fair and broad cultural policy

In fact the opposite was the case. The credit for this rests with the Cuban intellectual movement, with its numerous and pluralistic proponents, and with a fair and broad cultural policy. These factors were decisive in overcoming the errors and defeating symptoms of mediocrity, sectarianism of various types, and the ambitions of opportunists and demagogues.

It's painful to read sentences such as the following, which can be classified as among the clumsiest examples of political kitsch: "Paid henchmen consisting of incompetents and hired lieutenants, drunk on the liquor of envy...transformed our theaters, galleries, and publishing houses into latrines where they, and they alone, swam at will like tadpoles in a sea of rafts." Or this adage: "The weed of lies invaded the meadow of intelligence." Where does one get such hatred, such built-up resentment?

If anyone wants to see an example of a conscious political sellout and a blatant intellectual mercenary act, a few pages later there appears an article by the French writer of Venezuelan origin, Elizabeth Burgos, in which she accuses the Cuban revolution of the death of the poet Roque Dalton.⁵ It would not be worth paying the slightest attention to this article were it not for the fact that beyond attacking Roque's memory, it exemplifies a political type—the repentant individual who wants to brew up a new political invention today.

With the exception of the assistant editor, Pío E. Serrano, a correspondent for Radio Martí—that is, an agency of the U.S. government—the intellectual nucleus sponsoring this anti-encounter consists of something we could call a Cuban and Latin American "New Right." It is composed, in its majority, of persons like Jesús Díaz himself, who had long records as militants—

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La Gaceta de Cuba



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Notes

¹ On February 24, 1996, two small aircraft piloted by members of the Miami-based Cuban American counterrevolutionary group Brothers to the Rescue were shot down over Cuban airspace after defying repeated warnings by Cuban air traffic controllers and air force pilots. U.S. President William Clinton used as a pretext this action by the Cuban government in defense of the country's sovereignty to justify signing the misnamed Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act. The legislation, also referred to as the Helms-Burton law, registered a significant escalation of Washington's economic war against the Cuban people.

² The author here uses a reversal of a phrase by Cuban president Fidel Castro, which summarized the cultural policy of the Cuban revolution in its early years. "Within the revolution, everything; against the revolution, nothing," said Castro. This statement was part of a June 30, 1961, speech Castro gave to a conference of writers and artists in Havana, which has come to be known as "Words to the Intellectuals."

³ Raúl Castro's report to the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba in March 1996 was published in the April 10 issue of the English-language Cuban weekly *Granma International*.

⁴ Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, who died earlier this year, was one of Cuba's leading film directors.

⁵ Roque Dalton was a Salvadoran poet and revolutionary. He was killed by factional opponents in 1975.

Hurricane Lili hits Cuba hard, but not one person is killed

BY SETH GALINSKY

MIAMI — In spite of winds of 80 miles an hour, with some blasts as high as 124, not one human being was killed during Hurricane Lili's sweep through Cuba October 18. The storm, however, demolished thousands of homes and caused severe damage to some of the island's main crops.

"Every life saved is a victory," noted a headline in the weekly edition of *Granma International*, a newspaper published by the Communist Party of Cuba.

The hurricane completely destroyed 5,640 houses and damaged 84,000. Hardest hit was the province of Cienfuegos in southern Cuba, which was battered for seven hours when the storm seemed almost to stand in one place.

Damage to agriculture was extensive, but Cuba's mobilization of 73,000 members of the Civil Defense to evacuate 247,000 people in 9 of the island's 14 provinces in just 48 hours prevented loss of life. Of 62,000 evacuated from their homes in Havana, 22,000 were housed in shelters set up by the state.

Citrus, sugar cane, tobacco, and banana crops suffered heavy losses. Some 145,000

tons of oranges and grapefruits were damaged in Matanzas and the Isle of Youth, along with 22,500 tons of coffee, 35,000 hectares of bananas, and 523,770 hectares of sugar cane, much of it flooded [1 hectare = 2.47 acres]. Thirty sugar mills were damaged, mostly with torn roofs.

Cuban president Fidel Castro immediately toured some of the hardest hit areas. "To truly comprehend what this monster has done, you have to see it for yourself," Castro said.

Cuban gov't requests aid

On October 21, the Cuban government requested that the United Nations send aid to the hurricane victims.

"With a high level of urgency and as a number one priority, providing food for large numbers of people affected is necessary," stated Roberto Robaina, Cuba's Minister of Foreign Relations in a letter to the United Nations.

In response to Cuba's request, the European Union approved sending \$800,000 worth of emergency aid, mostly antibiotics and other medicine. OXFAM-Cuba, a charity organization, donated \$36,000.

Hurricane aid to Cuba sparked a controversy that reflected continuing divisions among rightists in Miami.

At the request of the Catholic Archdiocese, right-wing Spanish-language radio station *La Cubanísima* appealed to Cuban-Americans here to donate food, which would be distributed by Caritas, the Catholic relief agency that has offices in Cuba. Thousands responded, bringing aid to the station's offices in Little Havana. Other right-wing stations, including Radio Mambi and WCMQ viciously attacked *La Cubanísima* for "betraying" the struggle.

In an attempt to use the difficulties of the storm damage and "humanitarian" aid to further the struggle against the Cuban revolution, right-wing volunteers at *La Cubanísima* and other locations wrote anti-revolution slogans on the outside of some of the aid packages collected.



Granma International
Hurricane Lili hit Cuba October 18, forcing many people to evacuate their homes. Hardest hit by disaster were banana plantations, above, where some 34,918 hectares were completely or partially destroyed. No one was killed.



Many Cuban-Americans were uncomfortable with this act. A Cuban worker at Marino, a Miami sewing plant organized by the United Steelworkers of America, told fellow unionist Rollande Girard that she had planned to send three bags of food, after hearing the radio appeal. "But when she found out they were writing political slogans on the aid packages, she decided to send it some other way," Girard said in an interview. "Instead of giving it to *La Cubanísima*, she gave the aid to the Alliance of Cuban Workers in the Community (ATC)," a group of Cuban-Americans in Miami who oppose the U.S. embargo of the island. ATC is also sending hurricane relief.

Havana returns provocative packages

While the Cuban government accepted most of the 75,000 tons of aid in the first shipment, it returned to Caritas about one fourth of the packages, which were covered with the most blatant counterrevolutionary slogans.

The *Miami Herald* and its Spanish language-edition *El Nuevo Herald* tried to paint the slogans as innocuous. "The boxes were marked by the contributors with the word 'exile' and the phrase 'Love can do anything,'" *El Nuevo Herald* claimed.

But Francisco Aruca, a radio commentator who opposes the U.S. embargo, exposed the truth on his daily program on WOCN. Aruca explained that many of the packages were marked PAL, the initials for Pan, Amor, y Libertad (Bread, Love, and Liberty) the slogan of an alliance of Brothers to the Rescue, the Association of Cuban American Veterans, and the Alliance of Young Cubans. These three groups organize activities aimed at overthrowing Cuba's revolutionary government. Brothers to the Rescue organized repeated provocations through illegal flights violating Cuba's airspace, leading to the downing of two of its planes by the Cuban air force in February.

"The darkness of Castro-communism has passed," said one of the leaflets packed in with the aid. "Now, together as brothers, we will make a new future."

José Ciro González, president of Caritas Cuba, told foreign reporters in Cuba November 6 that "it is not correct, prudent, or logical to make a donation and put on the labels provocative and even offensive phrases."

Even some of the right-wingers in Miami had to concede on this point.

"It was a mistake to send the donations labeled with political messages," admitted Francisco Santana, a Catholic priest who was one of the main organizers of the aid sent from Miami. "This time we're going to make sure that boxes marked with PAL will not be sent to Cuba."

In response to the right-wing maneuver, a November 2 editorial was published in daily *Granma* under the heading, "Our people will not accept anything that wounds their dignity."

The paper pointed out that the right-wingers in Miami, "played games with those people in the Cuban community, who with a truly humanitarian spirit, sent their spontaneous aid."

Granma noted that even though "this cooperation from the United States is practically insignificant in relation to the resources and enormous efforts" that people in Cuba are carrying out "with their own efforts" and some foreign assistance, the Cuban government did not want to reject the aid from Miami "so as to not hurt the feelings of many people who in good faith made modest, but noble, contributions."

Cubans mobilize to repair damage

Thousands of Cubans took to the streets October 20 to clean-up debris and remove fallen branches and trees, while government organized brigades worked around the clock to restore electricity.

Plans to repair the hurricane damage in the sugar industry, one of Cuba's key sources of hard currency, were implemented almost immediately. According to the October 30 *Granma International*, "repair of the sugar mills is already functioning at a normal pace." Sugar industry minister Nelson Torres told the paper that the key task now is to get the water out of the cane fields, so that the moisture does no do any more damage.

While in Chile, Cuban president Castro stated that in spite of the recent problems, he anticipates 7 percent growth of the country's gross domestic product this year.

Seth Galinsky is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1138 in Miami.

For itinerary of U.S. speaking tour of Norberto Codina, editor of 'La Gaceta de Cuba,' see Page 16.

Cuban writers discuss culture, art

Continued from Page 10

including people not free of extremist displays.⁶ Perhaps this background is what deters them today from using, as they should, the term "right-wing" to describe themselves, and to publish a magazine like *Encuentro* with a certain left-wing veneer. In its pages capitalism and its institutions are presented as an inevitable and necessary evil that perhaps, after all, is not as bad as they previously believed. Nor are imperialism and its servants as bad as they once thought....

Is it viable for those who reject the motives for which the majority of the nation lives and fights should hold a privileged position as a meeting ground of Cuban culture? If the real aim of those who publish this magazine is, as they proclaim, to create space that is "open," why not prioritize other areas of intellectual activity, like artistic creation itself, where agreement can be greater than in the field of one-sided political discourse?

"Culture itself is a meeting point," says the poet Gastón Baquero in the article that launches this magazine, and that is what virtually all Cuban intellectuals aspire to, whether living on the island or residing abroad. But in the present case, those responsible for this publication have chosen to base their discourse on a narrow and anachronistic right-wing political fringe, marked by intolerance.

Cultural climate of 1990s

The Cuban cultural climate of the 1990s has opened up, as never before, to dialogue, points of contact, and inclusion. *La Gaceta de Cuba* has featured Cuban poets, narrative writers, and essayists who live in the United States, or other parts of the world.

Temas, Casa de las Américas, Unión, Lo

Que Venga, Arte Cubano, La Revista del Vigía, among other publications, have included articles by émigré authors and assessments of their artistic and literary contributions, without generational exclusions, and without distinguishing the motives that led to their decision to live in other countries. Articles by and about Gastón Baquero, Severo Sarduy, Lydia Cabrera, Jorge Mañach, Agustín Acosta, José Kozler, Roberto González Echevarría, Mayra Montero, Cristina García, among many others, have been published.

Exhibits have been held in Havana featuring works by Ernesto Pujol and dramatic works by Dolores Prida. The paintings of old and new émigrés occupy prominent places in public collections. And academic figures born in the United States and who teach at U.S. universities, frequently participate in events held in Cuba. In 1995 UNEAC and the University of Havana's Center for Political Alternatives organized an encounter on "nation and identity" that turned out very fruitful owing to the frankness and constructive spirit of the discussion among Cubans from all over.

This does not mean that all pending matters related to the relationship between intellectuals living inside and those living outside the island have been resolved to everyone's satisfaction. But to achieve this, openness, clarity, responsibility, and good will are needed. It would progress much faster were there not so much opportunism, so much base interest, so many unscrupulous attempts at manipulation.

Some Cuban writers living both inside and outside the island collaborated in this first issue of the Madrid magazine. Clearly they were motivated by what they believed would be new space for cultural dialogue. As they come to appreciate the magazine's

unmistakable political affiliation, its anti-Cuban activism, *Encuentro* will surely disappoint them and others.

The financing of the magazine, although not stated explicitly, obviously responds to the interests of those who, instead of encounter and dialogue, dream of destroying revolutionary Cuba.

Encuentro shows one face that will never characterize the "diversity" of Cuban culture: the face of distance and rejection.

Notes

⁶ Note by Pedro de la Hoz: Jesús Díaz has always acted in an opportunist manner and with a clear double morality. "I am not a politician, and my space for action is very limited; this space exists between the front and back covers of my books," he told a correspondent for the *Miami Herald* in April 1992. However, he had no qualms about acting like [Brothers to the Rescue leader] José Basulto's copilot. "I do not believe that the existence of a multiparty system would resolve anything in Cuba," he declared in November 1991 to *Quehacer* (Peru), but shortly thereafter he bet on "social democratic" and "Green" solutions (*Cuba Libre*, Germany, no. 4/92).

But perhaps his political evolution is best captured by what he declared to the German journalist Horst Eckert-Gross in October 1992: "Cuba's greatest problem is the future. How can one conceive a future in a world where the USSR no longer exists, a world totally dominated by capital?..."

"Is it possible to imagine Cuba, poor and isolated, capable of solving a task that not even the rest of humanity has been able to solve? I don't think so." As can be seen, Jesús Díaz not only stopped believing in the revolutionary effort, shaken by political changes on a world scale in the 1990s, but he very rapidly lined up behind the dominant ideology in a world "totally dominated by capital."

United Nations condemns U.S. embargo on Cuba

Continued from front page

Cuban people are the principal victims of the blockade, and those of us who suffer from it know it well," Lage said in his speech to the assembly. "But this absurd policy is also against the interests of the people of the United States, violating their own human rights."

As in the past, government representatives from Canada, China, Russia, and the great majority of countries from Latin America, Africa, and Asia voted in favor of the UN resolution. This year, they were joined in the 185-member assembly by several delegates of states in Eastern and Central Europe that abstained last year: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and the republic of Slovenia.

Votes in favor of previous similar resolutions were 59 to 3 with 71 abstentions in 1992, 88 to 4 with 57 abstentions in 1993, and 101 to 2 with 48 abstentions in 1994. Last year the resolution passed 117 to 3 with 38 abstentions.

The delegates from Germany, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom — which had abstained in previous annual votes — cast their ballots against the embargo this time, along with the rest of the 15 members of the European Union (EU).

John Campbell, UN ambassador of Ireland, which holds the rotating six-month presidency of the EU, spoke for the European Union. After criticizing the government of Cuban president Fidel Castro for alleged lack of democracy and "human rights violations," Campbell stated, "We cannot accept that the United States may unilaterally determine or restrict the European Union's economic and commercial relations with any other state. Measures of this type violate the general principles of international law and the sovereignty of independent states."

Campbell was reacting to the intensifying trade offensive by Washington against its imperialist allies, who are also competitors, especially in Canada and Europe. This offensive is registered in the Helms-Burton act as well as subsequent U.S. legislation penalizing companies in third countries doing business in Iran and Libya. Campbell said the EU is asking the World Trade Organization to rule that the U.S. government is violating WTO rules with Helms-Burton. It is unlikely, however, that the World Trade

Organization will rule against Washington because the Clinton administration paid special care in wording the law precisely to avoid such legal challenges from its allies.

Campbell noted that the EU members agreed unanimously October 28 to enact countermeasures to try to shield companies based in Europe from sanctions under Helms-Burton. The Canadian government, now Cuba's largest trading partner, has passed similar legislation.

The Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity Act allows Cuban-American and other U.S. businessmen whose property was expropriated on or after Jan. 1, 1959 — when Cuban workers and peasants overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista — to sue anyone who invests in those properties. It also requires U.S. officials to deny entry into the country by any non-U.S. residents who "traffic" in confiscated properties. So far, Washington has barred executives of the Canadian mining and oil concern Sherritt International Corp. and several other firms from Canada, Italy, and Mexico from getting U.S. visas.

U.S. delegate Victor Marrero complained that Cuba was "manipulating the concerns

of countries around the world to claim support for its reprehensible policies of intolerance and oppression."

"Not even the Roman empire in its time tried to impose a law to govern the world," said Lage in his speech, referring to the signing by Clinton of the Helms-Burton law.

Lage detailed the history of imperialist domination of Cuba by Washington prior to the 1959 revolution and the policies the White House unleashed aimed at undermining the workers and farmers government that came to power after the overthrow of Batista.

"When president John F. Kennedy decreed the blockade against Cuba on Feb. 3, 1962, he didn't do anything more than legalize a practice already in place for three years," Lage said. Later in his remarks Lage described Kennedy as "the president of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the imposition of the blockade, and the October crisis." In this instance, Lage was referring to the failed invasion of Cuba in April 1961 by 1,500 Cuban counterrevolutionaries armed, trained, and backed by Washington; and what is described in the United States as the "missile crisis" in October 1962, when U.S. forces imposed a naval blockade on Cuba

and brought the world to the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

Lage said that the breakup of the Soviet Union led many to believe "that the end of socialism in Cuba was inevitable." He outlined the steps Washington took in the last five years to "reinforce the blockade."

After describing the extreme hardships the Cuban people faced following the abrupt end of aid and favorable trade relations with the former Soviet bloc countries, Lage said his country is on the road to economic recovery. "No one with common sense is asking today whether or not the revolution is about to crumble." The Cuban leader said his government expects growth of the Gross Domestic Product to reach 7 percent this year, up from 2.5 percent in 1995.

"Cuba reiterates its desire for normal relations with all countries, including the United States," Lage said in concluding his speech. "But if [Washington] continues to try to starve a people whose only crime is its aspiration to live free, independent, and with the social justice possible in today's world ... history will prove that human dignity is more powerful than the entire force of an empire."

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After the Elections: Social Struggles to Come. Panel discussion with Gale Shangold, Socialist Workers Party, member of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees. Fri., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. (1 1/2 blocks west of Vermont.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Defend Affirmative Action. Speaker, Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party, member of International Association of Machinists in California. Fri., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 803 Peachtree St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (404) 724-9759.

ILLINOIS

Peoria

Equal Rights for Immigrants! Speakers: Cappy Kidd, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 915 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (309) 676-2472.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Stop the Assault on Social Security, Medicare, and other Entitlements. Fri., Nov. 22, 8 a.m. 780 Tremont St. (corner Mass. Ave.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (617) 247-6772.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Russian Revolution of 1917: Its Lessons for the Struggles of Today. Fri., Nov. 22, 7 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Revolutionary Cuba in the World Today. Speaker: Doug Jenness, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Steelworkers of America. Fri., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Crisis in Central Africa: Why Working People Should Oppose U.S., French or UN Intervention. 1930 18th St. N.W. (at 18th and Florida, entrance on Florida) Donation: \$4. Tel: (202) 387-2185.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Protest Canberra's Denial of a Visa for Gerry Adams. Sat., Nov. 23, 7 p.m. 66 Albion St., Surry Hills. Donation: \$4. Tel: (02) 9281-3297.

CANADA

Vancouver, B.C.

East Timor: Canadian Complicity in Genocide. Speakers: Jaggi Singh, member of the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN); Paul Kouri, trade union and political activist; Chuck Demers, Chair of East Timor Awareness at Burnaby; Central High School and supporter of the Young Socialists. Fri., Nov. 22, 7:30 p.m. 3967 Main Street (between 23 and 24 Ave.) Donation: \$4. Tel: (614) 872-8343.

UNITED KINGDOM

Manchester

The Crisis in Central Africa. Speaker: Hugh Roberts, Communist League. Fri., Nov. 22, 7 p.m. 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 0161-839-1766.

CALENDAR

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

The Right To Travel to Cuba. Defending the Free Exchange of Ideas. Speakers: Wayne Smith, Chief U.S. Diplomat in Cuba, 1979-1982. Visiting Professor of Latin American Studies at John Hopkins University; Senior Fellow, Center for International Policy Studies, Washington, D.C.; John Reinstein, Legal Director, American Civil Liberties Union of Massachusetts; and participants in study tours to Cuba from Bates College and RCC, with slides. Wed., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. Roxbury Community College, Student Center, Cafeteria. For more information, call (617) 442-6879 or (617) 776-5832.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Cuba: Moving Into the 21st Century. Speaker: Félix Wilson Hernández, First Secretary, Deputy Chief of the Cuban Interests Section, Washington, D.C. Sponsored by the Twin Cities Cuba Network. Wed., Nov. 20, 7 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 310 E. 38th St. For more information, call (612) 624-1512.

OHIO

Cincinnati

What If Workers Ran the Economy? In Cuba They Do. First-hand report and slide show on the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC) 17th National Congress. Sponsored by People in Solidarity with Cuba and the Cincinnati Central American Task Force. Tue., Nov. 19, 1 p.m. Room 165 Muntz Hall, Raymond Walters College. At 7:30 p.m. Room 118 Law School, University of Cincinnati (Corner of Clifton and Calhoun Ave.). For more information, call (513) 777-6180 or (513) 561-8283.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

March against Racism and Pauline Hanson. Assemble Sydney Town Hall, 12:30 p.m. March to First Fleet Park. Sat., Nov. 23, Sponsor: Coalition Against Racism. For more information, call: (02) 9267-4463.

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SWEDEN

Stockholm: Vikingagatan 10 (T-bana St Eriksplan). Postal code: S-113 42. Tel: (08) 31 69 33. Compuserve: 100416,2362

Clear enough? — In Quebec, the union officialdom proposed, timidly enough, that companies create enough jobs to reduce the current 12 percent jobless rate to 8 percent by 2002. Responded the head



Harry Ring

of the Chamber of Commerce: "Businesses are born to make profits, not to create jobs."

That's capitalism — Harper

Collins is publishing two Muhammed Ali books. *Healing*, a \$9.95 paperback co-authored by the former boxing champ, is aimed against racism. To get the contract for it, Ali had to agree to a photo book about him (\$50 hardback, \$25 paper.). Harper Collins is heavily promoting *Healing*, but printing only a relative handful of copies. Why? The old bait-and-switch hustle. People come in for the lower priced one and you sell them the expensive one.

Makes ya proud — The California Youth Soccer Association-North no longer accepts birth certificates from other countries as proof of age for cup competitions. It's suspected

that this intended to thwart applications by undocumented young soccer players.

Prejudice? Nonsense — Kentucky police dropped drug charges against Fadel Salem, 21, and Mohammed Khalid, 18, after a crime lab verified their contention that the white substance found in their car was dried yogurt, a staple in their Palestinian homeland. They were fined \$50 and court costs on a speeding charge.

No pride in education system? — "School districts around the country are practically begging for qualified bus drivers who will work odd hours for low pay and few

benefits." — News item.

Hey, it's good for business — A survey of 57 teaching hospitals found only one in 14 that made a practice of serving health-oriented food. The rest apparently load on the fat, cholesterol and salt.

Fifty-fifty — Hammacher-Schlemmer is offering a king-size model railway for \$34,000. The reader who sent the item comments, "\$34,000 is just about as much as I made last year working for an actual railroad."

McDonald's a hog? — The day after it opened its first outlet in India, McDonald's was found to be

scarfing up too much electricity. Use of scarce power is controlled in India and a check at McDonald's found it was using nearly three times its allotted amount.

The level playing field — "Women earn £5,000 a year less than men and do twice as much housework." — UK government figures cited in the London Evening Standard.

Wipe that smile off your face — Psychologists at a Norway business college say a study showed that unhappy people are better workers than cheerful ones. Glum folks, they say, are less confident, so they work harder.

'The colonialist hand is visible in the Congo'

Castro, Guevara speak out against 1960s UN intervention in central Africa

Reprinted below are excerpts of speeches by Cuban president Fidel Castro and Ernesto Che Guevara on events in the Congo (now Zaire) during the early 1960s. They are taken from Pathfinder's *To Speak the Truth: Why Washington's 'Cold War' Against Cuba Doesn't End* by Castro and Guevara.

In September 1960, at the instigation of the U.S. government, a section of the Congolese army led by Col. Mobutu Sese Seko seized power in a coup. Five months later, Patrice Lumumba, the country's first prime minister and a central leader of Congo's anticolonial movement, was killed by the

BOOK OF THE WEEK

forces of Moise Tshombe, a wealthy plantation owner who was backed by 10,000 Belgian troops. The government of Belgium was Congo's colonial master until June 30, 1960, when the country won independence.

After Lumumba won the presidency in a general election, Belgium's rulers backed an antigovernment rebellion by Tshombe's forces in Katanga province. To counter the Belgian-backed uprising, Lumumba invited the United Nations to send "peacekeepers." But instead of fighting the rebellion, UN troops disarmed Lumumba's forces, thus aiding Belgian troops. Following Mobutu's coup, Lumumba was arrested and handed over to Tshombe, who had him murdered.

After Lumumba's death, anti-imperialist forces continued the fight to liberate their country. By early 1964 these young rebels known as *simbas* (lions)—often armed with spears, bows, and arrows—had chased Mobutu's troops out of large parts of the Congo.

Facing this critical situation, Mobutu brought back Tshombe, who was in exile for a brief period of time, and named him prime minister. Tshombe recruited an army of mercenaries from South Africa, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Europe, and the United States. Of the latter, many were CIA-trained Cuban counterrevolutionaries from Miami.

With U.S. air protection, mercenaries traveled freely through rebel-held areas, killing villagers indiscriminately. In the town of Kindu alone, they massacred more than 3,000 people of all ages. The mercenaries termed their butchery a "rabbit hunt."

On Nov. 24, 1964, U.S. air force "escorts" ferried 600 Belgian paratroopers in an attack on Stanleyville, allegedly on a "humanitarian rescue mission" to save "white hostages." Thousands of Congolese died in the attack. So many bodies were left lying in the street that a typhoid epidemic broke out.

The killing was still going on when Guevara addressed the United Nations General Assembly on Dec. 11, 1964.

Several months later, Guevara led a contingent of Cuban internationalists to the Congo to lend assistance to the liberation fighters there.

Tshombe's mercenaries and their imperialist backers eventually crushed the anti-imperialist rebels. In 1965, Mobutu ousted Tshombe and proclaimed himself president. He has remained in power ever since with the backing of Washington, Paris, and other imperialist powers who are today vying over a new intervention in Zaire.

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Fidel Castro, September 1960

We condemn the way in which the intervention by United Nations forces was carried out in the Congo. First of all, the UN forces did not go there to counter the invading forces, for which they had originally been sent. All the time necessary was given to bring about the first dissension [within the Congolese government], and when this did not suffice, further time was given enabling the second division to occur in the Congo.

Finally, while the radio stations and airfields were being occupied, further time was given for the emergence of the "third man," as such saviors who emerge in these circumstances are known. We know them all too well, because in 1934 one of these saviors also appeared in our country, named Fulgencio Batista. In the Congo his name is Mobutu.... Mobutu became a frequent visitor to the U.S. Embassy and held long talks with officials there.

One afternoon last week, Mobutu conferred with officers at Camp Leopold, and got their cheering support. That night he went to "Radio Congo"—the same station Lumumba had not been allowed to use—and abruptly announced that the army was taking over. In other words, all this occurred after frequent visits and lengthy conversations with officials of the U.S. embassy. This is what *Time* magazine says, a defender of the monopolies.

In other words, the hand of the colonialist interests has been clearly visible in the Congo.

Che Guevara, December 1964

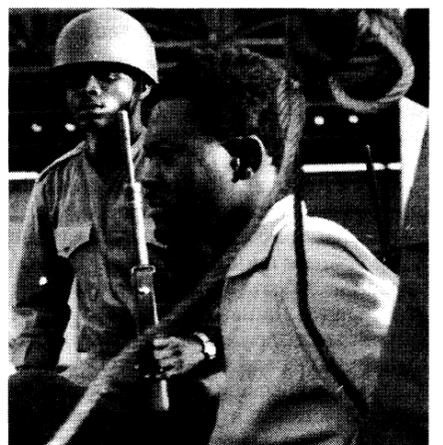
I would like to refer specifically to the painful case of the Congo, unique in the history of the modern world, which shows how, with absolute impunity, with the most insolent cynicism, the rights of peoples can be flouted. The direct reason for all this is the enormous wealth of the Congo, which the imperialist countries want to keep under their control....

Those who used the name of the United Nations to commit the murder of Lumumba

are today, in the name of the defense of the white race, murdering thousands of Congolese. How can we forget the betrayal of the hope that Patrice Lumumba placed in the United Nations? How can we forget the machinations and maneuvers that followed in the wake of the occupation of that country by UN troops, under whose auspices the assassins of this great African patriot acted with impunity? How can we forget, distinguished delegates, that the one who flouted the authority of the UN in the Congo — and not exactly for patriotic reasons, but rather by virtue of conflicts between imperialists — was Moise Tshombe, who initiated the secession of Katanga with Belgian support? And how can one justify, how can one explain, that at the end of all the UN activities there, Tshombe, dislodged from Katanga, should return as lord and master of the Congo? Who can deny the sad role that the imperialists compelled the United Nations to play?...

And as if this were not enough we now have flung in our faces these latest acts that have filled the world with indignation. Who are the perpetrators? Belgian paratroopers, carried by United States planes, who took off from British bases....

Our free eyes open now on new horizons and can see what yesterday, in our condition as colonial slaves, we could not observe: that "Western civilization" disguises behind its showy facade a picture of hyenas and jackals. That is the only name that can be applied to those who have gone to fulfill such "humanitarian" tasks in the



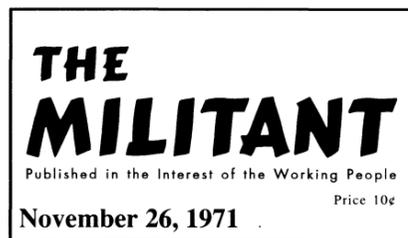
Patrice Lumumba, captured in 1961.

Congo. A carnivorous animal that feeds on unarmed peoples. That is what imperialism does to men. That is what distinguishes the imperial "white man."

All free men of the world must be prepared to avenge the crime of the Congo.

Perhaps many of those soldiers, who were turned into subhumans by imperialist machinery, believe in good faith that they are defending the rights of a superior race. In this assembly, however, those peoples whose skins are darkened by a different sun, colored by different pigments, constitute the majority. And they fully and clearly understand that the difference between men does not lie in the color of their skin, but in the forms of ownership of the means of production, in the relations of production.

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



November 14 — Hundreds of thousands of Chileans turned out to welcome Cuban Premier Fidel Castro when he arrived in Santiago November 10. The trip, which is scheduled to last for at least 10 days, is Castro's first to Latin America in over 11 years. It is a dramatic sign of the growing breakdown in the U.S.-inspired efforts to isolate Cuba from the rest of Latin America.

Castro's trip to Chile is taking place at a time when Washington, D.C. is making increasingly menacing noises about Chile's nationalization of U.S.-owned copper companies. The first indication that the U.S. was exerting pressure on Chile came last August 11 when the Export-Import Bank rejected a six-month-old Chilean request for a \$21 million loan and loan guarantee for the purchase of three Boeing jets. Henry Kearns, president of the bank, said that Chile could expect no loans from U.S. lending agencies until it agreed to pay what the U.S. considered satisfactory compensation for its nationalization of three copper companies: Cerro, Kennecott and Anaconda. The mounting economic pressure on Chile is also reflected in the fact that during the past year private foreign companies have

virtually ended any investment in Chile.

The September 28 announcement of Chile's decision not to pay compensation to two of the copper companies, Kennecott and Anaconda, set off the loudest saber rattling in Washington.



November 23, 1946

New leaps in prices have followed Truman's announcement last week of the decontrol of virtually all consumers' goods.

Truman's latest capitulation to the Wall Street price-gougers has brought still deeper slashes in the American workers' living standards.

Among the food items soaring in price are meats, butter, flour, bakery products, fats and oils. Beef, pork and lamb again have gone up in price after a temporary slight decline when hoarded meats, backed up in warehouses were dumped on the market.

In the week after Truman's order, wholesale hog prices jumped \$2 to \$4 per 100 pounds. Wholesale butter advanced three cents a pound and flour 15 cents per 100 pounds. These will lead to sharp advances in retail prices. Moreover by mid-winter, another meat shortage is anticipated, which will drive prices up still further. Already there is a slackening in livestock sent to the slaughter houses.

Pathfinder

To Speak the Truth

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

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Imperialist hands off Zaire

Class-conscious fighters around the world should loudly protest the imminent imperialist intervention in Central Africa. Using the pretext of a "humanitarian mission" to save refugees and the fig leaf of United Nations, Paris, at first, and now Washington and Ottawa are pushing to send thousands of troops into eastern Zaire and the surrounding region. Their aim is to prevent the further weakening of the Mobutu Sese Seko dictatorship and to maintain imperialist plunder of this mineral-rich region. The bickering between Paris and Washington over which will lead the pack is nothing but a quarrel among thieves over who will usurp more of the fruits of labor of the toilers in Central Africa. This inter-imperialist competition has become a motor force of the class struggle today.

The truth is that the crisis affecting over one million refugees is a direct result of the policies of Washington and Paris. It is these and other imperialist powers, which, through UN intervention in the early 1960s, crushed the anti-imperialist movement led by elected Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and put in place the present dictatorship led by Mobutu. The rulers of Belgium fueled tribal divisions between Hutus and Tutsis to maintain colonial rule.

As part of the UN force that intervened in the Congo (now Zaire) in the 1960s, Canadian, Belgian, and U.S. troops were complicit in the kidnapping and murder of Lumumba. Paris supported the former regime in Rwanda that massacred hundreds of thousands in 1994. And U.S. and Canadian troops were among those that tortured and killed civilians during the 1992-93 imperialist intervention in Somalia, again under the blue flag of the United Nations.

As Ernesto Che Guevara told the world addressing the UN General Assembly in December 1964, "Western civilization" disguises behind its showy facade a picture of hyenas and jackals. That is the only name that can be applied to those who have

gone to fulfill such 'humanitarian' tasks in the Congo."

Not one of the imperialist politicians who has wrung their hands over the plight of the refugees has proposed to open the borders of their respective country to those who are dying by the thousands. Instead they propose a military intervention to try to maintain stability in the region of Central Africa and continue to siphon the product of the blood and sweat of peasants and workers in the region.

The whole situation in Central Africa is marked by the growing conflict between two imperialist powers, Washington and Paris. As the crisis of capitalism deepens, imperialist competition is becoming sharper. Paris considers Central and Western Africa as an area under its domination and has intervened militarily 35 times in the last 34 years to maintain its influence. As recently as last May, French troops sent to the Central African Republic to crush a military rebellion were met by demonstrators chanting "Death to the French."

On the other hand, Washington is using its military power to impose its dominance at the expense of its imperialist rivals. By planning military intervention in Central Africa, Washington seeks to gain advantage over its rival, French imperialism. Ottawa by proposing to head up an intervention force is seeking as a smaller imperialist power with no previous empire, no world cop image and an army that speaks French to prove its usefulness to other imperialist powers as it promotes its own interests in Africa.

Intervention by Washington, Paris, and Ottawa will only deepen the suffering of the toilers of Central Africa. The way forward lies in the struggle of the workers and farmers of the region to rid themselves of imperialist domination. Workers, farmers and youth should demand: No imperialist military intervention in Zaire! Open the borders to the refugees!

Building socialist conferences

Continued from front page

of movement that must be built to lead the working-class and its allies in the battles ahead. One high school student who met socialists at the October 12 immigrant rights demonstration, has come to Militant Labor Forums and Young Socialists classes and plans to attend the conference.

"The Changing Face of U.S. Politics: Charting the Working-Class Road to Socialist Revolution" is the theme of each conference. They will center on building the kind of proletarian party and communist youth organization capable of leading workers and their allies in the historic struggle to overturn capitalism and pave the road toward

building socialism.

Each conference will feature four major presentations, highlighting the growing world capitalist disorder and the class tensions, polarization and resistance it creates. Several classes will be held at each conference on a variety of topics, including the rise of the Chicano movement; the place of Black nationalism in the fight for socialism; the history of the Russian revolution; the fight against government and employer spying and harassment; women's liberation and the Marxist movement; the crisis facing working farmers; the counterrevolutionary role of Stalinism; and fascism: what it is and how to fight it.

Hundreds protest cop brutality

Continued from Page 9

nized!" In that situation, and in full view of 40 protesters, police officers descended on the scene and arrested three Uhuru supporters allegedly on outstanding warrants.

About two hours later cops came back and broke into the same house, claiming they had gotten a call reporting gunfire in the area. The cops were reportedly pelted with debris and officer Keith Glasgow was shot through the left calf.

Iris Brinkley told reporters she was in the house when police in riot gear forced their way in and sprayed tear gas. "How did they justify what they did?" she said. "They sure have no respect for the Black community. All we were doing was having a meeting."

Two days before the St. Petersburg verdict, police in New York raided several apartment buildings in Crown Heights, Brooklyn, arresting 35 people the big-business press described as members of "a leftist cult." Of those held, six people were charged November 12 for possessing illegal weapons. Cops claimed they seized 16 pistols, 26 rifles, 5 shotguns, and 2 replicas of Thompson submachine guns.

A front-page article in the November 13 *New York Times* said that police officials claim those arrested are followers of Eugenio Perente-Ramos, who died in March 1995 and had built "a mythological persona as a radical labor organizer." The article said Perente-Ramos's followers sometimes called themselves the Provisional Communist Party or the National Labor Federation, and are dedicated to research of different groups.

Using language trying to paint those arrested as revolutionaries conspiring to commit violent

acts, the *Times* story said the police stumbled "onto the headquarters of what they called a heavily armed leftist cult that had been living quietly in Brooklyn for 20 years, talking into the night of impending revolution and filling out mounds of bureaucratic paperwork." The cops say they raided the houses and found weapons accidentally, after investigating a complaint of a crying child.

In 1984, the FBI reportedly raided what the *Times* described as Perente-Ramos's headquarters at Carroll St. in Crown Heights — the same apartments the New York cops entered November 12 — claiming it had evidence that the so-called Provisional Party of Communists "planned a series of violent acts." Police officials said November 12, however, that none of the related groups involved in the recent raids had any record of violent acts.

CORRECTIONS

The *Militant* introduced two errors in editing the article on labor mobilizations in Bavaria, Germany, in the November 18 issue. The headline and first sentence of the article — titled "1.5 million hold protests and strikes in Bavaria" — stated incorrectly that 1.5 million workers and others took part in the November 4 actions. The correct figure is 150,000. The article also stated that 1.5 million took part in a previous round of labor mobilizations on October 1. The correct figure is 150,000.

The article in the same issue titled "Clinton set for next step in attacking social wage," stated incorrectly that Medicare was won as part of the 1935 Social Security Act. Medicare and Medicaid, however, were enacted in 1965.

Music does not spark revolutionary struggle

Several weeks ago, *Militant* reader Ian Harvey raised several criticisms of an article in the *Militant* on the death of Tupac Amaru Shakur. Harvey's letter was published in the November 4 *Militant* under the heading "Is rap revolutionary?" The article he questioned, "What's behind rap artist's murder?" appeared in the October 7 *Militant*. Rap artist Shakur was fatally wounded in a September 7 drive-by shooting and died a week later.

"Taylor completely dismisses the importance of rap music," Harvey wrote. "It is true that Tupac didn't come as far in his political evolution as Malcolm [X] did, but that has everything to do with something Taylor

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

never mentions, however. Capitalism always and necessarily appropriates forms of subversive cultural expression to increase its profits." Rappers like Tupac Shakur don't "have a message that will do much to train and inspire potential revolutionaries among their listeners" but "that means very little to the youth that listen to them." Harvey asserted. "The subversiveness of rock and roll and rap can serve sometimes as an impetus to revolutionary politics in youth," he stated.

Claiming that Shakur was headed in a revolutionary direction is not factually accurate. None of his actions as a public figure points to such a trajectory. It is at best wishful thinking, but it leads to something much more damaging to the working class fight for Black freedom. It distorts what a revolutionary is, and promotes petty bourgeois arguments that success under capitalist society — that is, making money as a businessman, albeit Black — qualifies one as a political leader.

While Harvey describes Shakur as a "potentially revolutionary young fighter," Shakur did not participate in, nor was he helping to advance any political struggle. He simply reflected in his lyrics a piece of the reality that many young people, especially young Blacks, see and experience today. This includes hating the cops and abhorring racism. Shakur's experience as a Black man, however, does not make him any more of a revolutionary than actor Bill Cosby. Tupac Shakur's rap, even if it was "revolutionary" sounding, wouldn't mark him as a class struggle fighter. A decision to fight for revolutionary change, coupled with concrete actions to put into effect one's ideas are the best gauges. This judgment is no insult or slander to Shakur, it merely describes him as what he was — a successful artist and businessman.

Malcolm X became a revolutionary leader only when the development of his political consciousness, flowing out of experiences during the explosive social movement for Black rights in the 1950s and 60s, brought him into leading the struggle for Black freedom in his time in a revolutionary, anticapitalist direction. Before that, Malcolm Little was immersed in criminal activity — not the type of person political fighters would approach, orient to, or have relations with. It was only when Malcolm completely broke with this lifestyle that it became possible for him to rise to the caliber of leadership, and integrity that made him a menace to the exploiters the world over, especially the capitalist rulers of the United States. Looking to anti-social or lumpen elements as a force for revolutionary struggle harms working people and the struggle for Black rights. These bourgeois elements prey on the working class and are dangerous to working people.

Working-class fighters, of course, don't reject the possibility for those inspired by a rising social movement, or struck by one or another of the atrocities of capitalism, to break with parasitical behavior and join the class struggle.

Harvey argues that this class view "means little to the youth that listen to" rappers. He underestimates the potential of young people to embrace revolutionary ideas. Youth, however, have been at the forefront of working-class struggles throughout history. A young Karl Marx and Frederick Engels drafted the *Communist Manifesto*. It was a young Thomas Sankara who helped lead the revolution in Burkina Faso, and young rebels in the Sierra Maestra mountains of Cuba led many of the columns of the Rebel Army that brought U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista to his knees in 1959. In recent years, young people have poured into the streets in actions for Quebec independence and Irish freedom. And Chicano and Latino high school and college students converged on the U.S. capital October 12 to join others in demanding equal rights for immigrants.

It is simply not true that political discussion on revolution "means little to the youth." Malcolm X, pointing to examples of youth taking the lead all over the world said, "young people are the ones who most quickly identify with the struggle and necessity to eliminate the evil conditions that exist." The revolutionary leader cited the "powerful example in the young simbas [lions] in the Congo and the young fighters in South Vietnam" as lessons for youth in the United States on world revolutionary struggle.

Finally, Harvey says that "rock and roll and rap can serve sometimes as an impetus to revolutionary politics." This is a false premise. No art form has ever been the vehicle by which a revolution is ignited. Music and other art forms are influenced by the class struggle, not vice versa. This is why strike songs can have progressive social content, but few would argue that a strike hymn, as opposed to a company offensive that drives workers to the point where they fight or lose dignity, sparked a labor rebellion.

Russian Bolshevik leader Leon Trotsky explained in his book *Art and Revolution*, published by Pathfinder, that the "Marxist conception of the objective social dependence and social utility of art, when translated into the language of politics, does not at all mean a desire to dominate art by means of decrees and orders. It is not true that we regard only that art as new and revolutionary which speaks of the worker, and it is nonsense to say that we demand that all poets should describe inevitably a factory chimney, or the uprising against capital." Trotsky also guarded against the other extreme. "However fantastic art may be," he said, "it cannot have at its disposal any other material except that which is given to it by the world of three dimensions and by the narrower world of class society."

— BRIAN TAYLOR

Boeing admits 737 has 'engineering problem'

BY ROBBIE SCHERR
AND SCOTT BREEN

SEATTLE—In a dramatic turnaround, The Boeing Company—the world's largest airplane manufacturer—publicly admitted that an engineering problem could cause their 737 model to go out of control. The 737 is the most widely used passenger jet in history with more than 2,700 currently flying throughout the world.

On November 1, Boeing issued a "service bulletin" to all airlines to immediately inspect their 737 rudder control systems for a jammed valve — acknowledging it could cause a dangerous, uncommanded swing of the plane's rudder.

That same day, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) ordered emergency inspections of the rudder system on every U.S.-registered Boeing 737 airliner to take place within ten days.

The valve malfunction can cause what is known as a "rudder hardover," in which a rudder swings all the way to one side, and can throw the plane into an out of control roll. Problems with the rudder system are suspected to have caused two crashes—one in Colorado Springs, Colorado, in 1991, in which all 25 people aboard died; and one in Pittsburgh in 1994 in which all 132 aboard perished.

Just two weeks earlier the National Transportation Safety Board (NTSB) issued a list of 14 recommendations to the FAA to address potential problems with the 737 rudder control system. The recommendations grew out of a nearly two-year investigation into the accidents.

Throughout the investigations of the Colorado Springs and Pittsburgh disasters, Boeing has maintained that the rudder system was not responsible and that no substantial changes were needed. Despite evidence to the contrary, and its own recent tests verifying that the rudder control system can seriously malfunction, Boeing still denies that this problem was responsible for the crashes or the hundreds of pilot reports of uncontrolled rudder movements throughout the years.

However, NTSB Chairman Jmaes Hall issued a statement that Boeing's service bulletin "brings us closer to finding the answer to these twin tragedies [Pittsburgh & Colorado Springs]."

Both the FAA order and Boeing's surprise reversal came the day after the *Seattle Times*

finished running a five-part, front-page series on Boeing 737 safety problems by aerospace reporter Byron Acohido. Entitled "Safety At Issue: The 737," the series documents the mechanical problems with the 737 and the plodding course of the accident investigations. The articles indicate a possible coverup by both The Boeing Company and the government agencies involved.

Reporter Acohido had written several articles earlier this year about the crash of TWA 800 in July, of an aging Boeing 747 airliner. While the government and the news media were promoting the theory that a "terrorist" bomb or missile caused that crash, Acohido suggested that it could have been the result of mechanical failure, and documented other similar cases. With 98 percent of the plane wreckage recovered now, investigators have found no evidence of a bomb or missile, and have had to grudgingly endorse the idea that a mechanical problem may have caused the TWA disaster.

Following a barrage of letters to the editor of the *Seattle Times* from Boeing executives, employees, and other individuals, Michael Fancher, the paper's executive editor, defended the *Times* decision to run Acohido's series over the objections of the aerospace giant. Fancher reported that Boeing executives had refused to be interviewed for the series and had urged that Acohido be removed from the aerospace beat at the *Times*.

Boeing defends its record

Harold Carr, Boeing Vice-president for Public Relations and Advertising, defended the company's refusal to cooperate with Acohido in a lengthy article in the November 1 *Boeing News*. The *News* is a 16-page company newspaper, with a weekly circulation of 100,000. Ironically, the article was entitled "Reporter's Tack Doesn't Change Facts: Boeing Builds Safety into Every Airplane."

The same issue of *Boeing News* featured commentary on the *Times* series by Charlie Higgins, Boeing Commercial Group Vice President of Airplane Safety and Performance. Higgins wrote, "The most intensive investigation... has not revealed any airplane-related problem that could have caused or contributed to the Pittsburgh accident."

Both articles appeared the same day that Boeing acknowledged the design problem



USAir planes at Baltimore-Washington international airport, where airline is largest carrier. A USAir Boeing 737 crashed in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1994, killing all 132 passengers and crew aboard. Investigation has pointed to a malfunction in the jet's rudder as a probable cause of disaster. Boeing, the plane's manufacturer, had long refused to admit problems in the 737's rudder control system. Boeing has now acknowledged such an engineering problem that could make 737s go out of control.

with its rudder control system!

The *Seattle Times* series also described how the FAA and National Transportation Safety Board—the two government agencies responsible for air safety—rely heavily on airplane and parts manufacturers to investigate crashes and other potential problems with their products. Acohido pointed out how investigations and recommendations are weighed toward the financial interests of airplane manufacturers and the airline industry. He described the aggressive lengths to which Boeing goes to protect itself against liability lawsuits in the event of an airplane crash.

The *Seattle Times* has now reprinted the entire series as a 24-page tabloid, making it available upon request at no charge. It is also available on the Internet.

Boeing officials say they will supply airlines with a "quick-fix" repair kit for the rudder power control unit in the next 30 days, claiming this will, in the short term, solve the problem they discovered. Boeing says it will also make available rudder "limiters" that can physically prevent rudder hardovers. The company says it will take three years to retrofit all the 737s in operation with these devices. The potential cost has not been made public, nor has Boeing

indicated whether it would pick up the tab.

Earlier in October, while denying it had anything to do with the results of the accident investigations, Boeing announced that rudder limiters would be installed on all of the new generation of Boeing's 737, the first of which will be delivered in early December of this year.

The series in the *Seattle Times* and the admission by Boeing of a rudder problem have sparked a discussion among aerospace workers—over 80,000 of whom work in the Seattle area for Boeing—on the safety of the 737 and other Boeing products. Some of the questions workers are discussing are: Did Boeing know about the problem? When did it find out? Did it engage in a coverup? Is Boeing responsible for the Pittsburgh and Colorado Springs crashes? What other problems may exist that Boeing management is not divulging? Are Boeing's measures sufficient to protect the flying public?

Officials of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), the largest of the unions among Boeing production workers, have not commented publicly on the issue.

Robbie Scherr and Scott Breen are members of IAM Local 751, and work at Boeing's Everett plant.

LETTERS

Reality of high school

Recently the national TV news presented a story on conditions in the schools in Broward County, Florida. As a student at Northeast H.S. in Ft. Lauderdale (Broward County) I wanted to let readers know about some of the conditions at my school, which has approximately 1,600 students.

Because there are not enough teachers, several of the classrooms are closed. There are not enough chairs or books. Some of the books are so old that we have to update them by hand. For example, in a history book from 1979 we have to redraw the maps and write in the changes that happened from 1979 to 1996.

In biology class we can end up with low grades because three of us share a microscope so we don't have time to look at the slides.

Also, the lines in the cafeteria are so long we don't have time to eat. Only four of the restrooms in the school are open.

We also have a lot of cops at the school who can search our lockers without permission. There are cameras everywhere and the school wants to use the money it got for computers for more cameras and metal detectors. They now want to put cameras in the classrooms.

This week the school board announced it wanted to tie the wages of the teachers in Broward County, for the first time in Florida, to the scores on standardized tests taken by the students. The teachers union made protest signs, held a press conference, and threatened a picket.

The situation is on hold for now.
Nathalia Póses
Ft. Lauderdale,
Florida

Protest Defense of Marriage Act

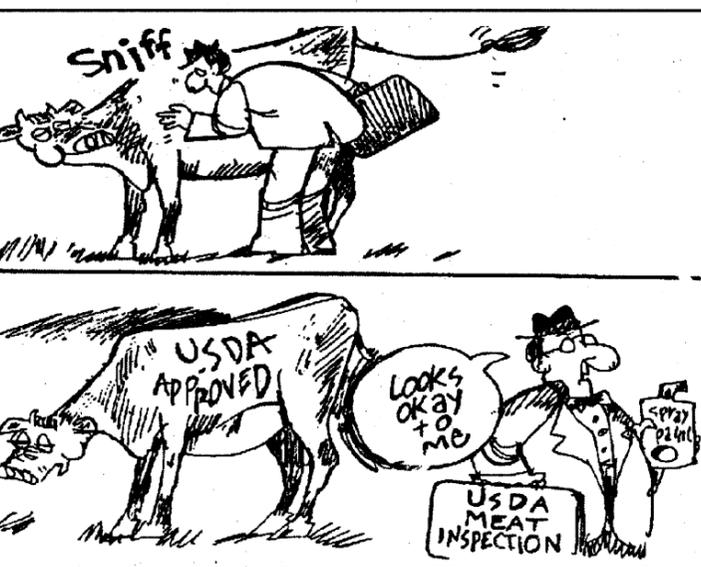
The "Defense of Marriage Act" signed by President Clinton was the subject of a discussion at the Los Angeles Militant Labor Forum Oct. 25.

Craig Honts, a rail unionist, spoke for the Socialist Workers Party. Andrew Rakos spoke for the Freedom to Marry Coalition. In September, the coalition held a demonstration against the then pending law.

Rakos pointed to the denial of medical plan benefits to same-sex partners as a key issue. He said, if someone dies without leaving a will, their estate goes to a surviving spouse. Refusal to recognize same-sex partnerships denies this.

He described passage of the Defense of Marriage Act as part of the ongoing gay-bashing drive. With it, he said, a majority of both houses of Congress have declared that gays and lesbians "are not equal human beings."

Honts likened the reactionary character of the antigay law to the state statutes that barred marriages between Blacks and whites, which were not declared unconstitutional



until 1967.

Honts added that these attacks are part of the drive against the social wage—the benefits and entitlements which are an essential part of the living standards of working people. Such attacks, he added, affect all working people and should be resisted by the unions.

Following the forum, I talked by phone with Heather Carrington, an activist in the Freedom to Marry Coalition.

She estimated that 250 people gathered at a busy intersection in West Hollywood September 16. They set up a speakers platform right at the street crossing and protesters began to congregate in the street. There was a heavy presence of cops but they didn't interfere. The

meeting was held and traffic in the area was shut down for an hour. The coalition will work to generate opposition to these measures.

Harry Ring
Los Angeles, California

Don't deport Morrison

Matt Morrison, a former Irish POW and resident of St. Louis for the past 11 years, is one step closer to being deported. Although Morrison is married to a U.S. citizen and is the father of two American children, the Department of Justice declared him an "excludable alien" due to his involvement as a teenager with the Irish Republican movement.

On Oct. 22, 1996, the Depart-

ment of Justice dismissed Morrison's appeal.

New immigration law appears to significantly narrow the possibilities. Prisoners have 30 days to show cause why they should not be deported.

What I would to ask you to consider, is faxing Clinton and Janet Reno and ask them to block Matt's deportation. The fax doesn't need to be long or eloquent. A message like "Don't Deport Matt Morrison" and your name and address would be sufficient. We are trying to get 1,000 faxes from all over the country to send on November 2 and 3.

The fax number for the White House is: 1-202-456-2461. The fax number for Reno is: 1-202-307-6777.

Matt Morrison grew up in the Brandywell area of Derry City in the 1950s. He was a student at Coleraine University in 1975 when he was arrested and charged with an attack on a member of the RUC. While being interrogated, Matt was so badly beaten that he lost the hearing in one ear. Matt served 10 years as a Republican political prisoner.

Anyone wishing to communicate with Matt can write him at: P.O. Box 3008, St. Louis, Missouri 63130.
Terry Griffith
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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.

Thousands protest Montreal summit

Students, other demonstrators blast austerity measures of Quebec gov't

BY JOE YOUNG

MONTREAL — Up to 5,000 people protested October 29 outside the Economic Summit held at the Sheraton Center here. The gathering, sponsored by the ruling Parti Québécois, was aimed at drawing the labor movement into deeper class collaboration with big business to fend off resistance to the provincial government's austerity program.

A sizable contingent of college students, who are on strike against the imposition of fees undermining the principle of free public education, was prominent in the action. Hundreds of students returned to the Sheraton on October 31 to raise their demands once again. Many others, representing welfare rights groups and women's and other organizations, took part. Trade unions were scarcely represented.

Several summits of this kind have been organized in Quebec since the 1970s. They have usually been organized when the Parti Québécois (PQ) heads the Quebec government. These meetings bring together representatives of the government, big business, trade unions, student groups, and organizations active on social issues. Their major aim has been to promote union collaboration with big business in solving the economic crisis of capitalism in favor of financiers, industrialists, and landlords.

The Parti Québécois is a capitalist party that demands sovereignty for Quebec. It is based on a layer of Quebecois businessmen and professionals who want more powers for the Quebec government in order to increase their wealth. This brings them into conflict with the federal regime. For this reason, the PQ is portrayed and perceived by



CEGEP (junior college) students demonstrate outside Quebec Economic Summit, to protest the provincial government's hikes in school fees and other austerity measures.

many as a defender of the national rights of the Quebecois, an oppressed nationality in Canada. This is why this party's leadership is more successful in bringing employers and union officials around the table when other provincial government officials in Canada have a more difficult time in their

attempts.

At the last economic summit held in March, an agreement was reached, with the union officials present, that the budget deficit would be reduced to zero in four years. Since that meeting, the Quebec government has unleashed growing attacks on social pro-

grams. It has announced additional cuts of CAN\$880 million (US\$632 million) in health care funding.

The central theme of this summit was "job creation." Projects were announced that are supposed to create 74,000 new jobs. The summit adopted the objective of bringing Quebec's unemployment level down to the average in Canada as a whole by the year 2000. Presently, Quebec's official unemployment rate is 12.6 percent, compared to 10 percent throughout Canada. For the last 35 years, joblessness in Quebec has hovered some 3 percent higher than the Canadian average. This reflects the national oppression of the Quebecois.

The summit participants agreed that the legal work week will be reduced from 44 to 40 hours a week. The gathering proposed tax breaks for employers who hire new people if their labor force has agreed to work less hours with a cut in pay. New taxes the government will levy were falsely justified as needed to raise funds to create jobs for those on welfare. The summit also voted to ease regulations on wages and working conditions in a number of industries.

Union leaders coming out of the summit were ecstatic. Lorraine Pagé of the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) said, "We have just lived through a moment of exceptional solidarity." Clément Godbout of the Quebec Federation of Labor who had earlier called the meeting "a summit of the bosses" proclaimed it in the end, "a summit which creates hope."

At a CEQ general council meeting just before the summit, however, there was opposition to participation. Jocelyne Wheelhouse, a member of the sociopolitical action committee of the teachers union, spoke against attending. Referring to the March summit, she said, "They used our participation to legitimize cuts in the two big budgets of health and education."

On the second day of the October summit, student representatives walked out because the government would not commit itself to freezing education fees. They were followed on the last day by some representatives of community and women's groups, including the Quebec Women's Federation, who left when the government refused to guarantee halting cutbacks on welfare.

At the summit, business representatives demanded a loosening of laws that promote use of the French language. Their report said, "Although political uncertainty is growing around the world, Quebec is the only place in North America where there is such uncertainty." They were referring to the fight of the Quebecois for their national independence. Last year, a proposition favoring Quebec sovereignty came within 1 percent of the vote of winning.

The Quebec government promised the business representatives that the language laws will be applied in a more flexible fashion for business executives and their families who move to Montreal.

As the summit closed, the strike in the community colleges against cutbacks in education was growing. At the beginning of November thousands of students had walked out of 19 colleges.

Cuban editor begins U.S. tour

Norberto Codina discusses art, literature & culture in Cuba today

On November 11, Norberto Codina, editor of *La Gaceta de Cuba*, began a U.S. speaking tour on campuses, cultural centers, and other events in the Chicago area. *La Gaceta* is published six times a year by the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba (see ad on page 10). Speaking to some 40 students and others at DePaul University in Chicago November 11, his first speaking engagement, Codina described a recent flowering of art and literary debate in Cuba as "one of the greatest moments in Cuban art and literature."

Félix Masud-Piloto, Director of the Center for Latino Research at DePaul University, is hosting the tour. Codina, who is also a poet, was invited to come to the United States by professors and student groups at 15 universities in the Chicago and New York areas.

Below is a sketch of Codina's schedule in Chicago and the New York/New Jersey area itinerary.



Militant/Sam Manuel

Cuban editor Norberto Codina

Friday, Nov. 15 — Lecture at Northwestern University.
Poetry reading at Calles y Sueños.

Saturday, Nov. 16 — Breakfast with workers.

New York/New Jersey

Monday, Nov. 18
12 noon — Presentation at high school class at Brooklyn school.

5 p.m. — Dinner with workers, Manhattan.

8 p.m. — Forum at West Beth Gallery hosted by artists Cliff Joseph, Carol Byard 463 West St., Manhattan (entrance on Bethune). Tel: (212) 691-1500.

Tuesday, Nov. 19
12:30 p.m. — Art, Literature, and Culture

in Cuba Today Pratt Institute, Brooklyn Reading Room of Library. Sponsored by Departments of Social Science and Urban Planning.

Tel: (718) 636-3567 or 636-4414

4 p.m. — Lecture and Poetry Reading, Borough of Manhattan Community College. Terrace Room. Sponsored by BMCC Student Gov't and the Hispanic Heritage Committee.

199 Chambers St. (between Broadway & West Sts.).

Tel: (212) 406-3980

8 p.m. — Evening With Youth,

Tel: (718) 399-7257

Thursday, Nov. 21

7 p.m. — Lecture at Rutgers University.

New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Friday, Nov. 22

7:30 p.m. — Forum at Casa de las Americas.

104 W. 14th St., Manhattan.

Tel: (212) 675-2584

Sponsored by: Casa de las Americas, Center for Cuban Studies, Centro de educación de trabajadores, Dominican Committee of Friendship with the Peoples, Cuba Information Project, Dominican Friends of Cuba, Freedom Socialist Party, Guyanese American Workers United, Haiti Anti-Intervention Committee, Haitian Constituency USA, MADRE, Socialist Workers Party, U.S. Healthcare Trade Union Committee, U.S./Cuba Labor Exchange, Workers World Party, Young Socialists.

Chicago

Monday, Nov. 11 — Reception at DePaul University.

Tuesday, Nov. 12 — Program at Waubensee Community College Program and dinner at Benedictine University.

Wednesday, Nov. 13 — Lecture at Harold Washington College Reception at El Yunque cultural center.

Thursday, Nov. 14 — Event at Northern Illinois University hosted by VALE Latino coalition.

DYNAMICS OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

A MARXIST APPRECIATION

Joseph Hansen
How did the Cuban revolution come about? Why does it represent, as Joseph Hansen put it, an "unbearable challenge" to U.S. imperialism?

Available from bookstores, including those listed on page 12, or from Pathfinder, 410 West St., NY, NY 10014.

